



PERCEPTIONS OF POLYAMORY IN CANADA

Prepared by:

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This report presents a detailed analysis and discussion of the data collected from a national survey undertaken by the Canadian Research Institute for Law and the Family in the summer of 2016. It examines the sociodemographic attributes and attitudes of people identifying as polyamorous, with the goal of obtaining a better understanding of the prevalence and nature of polyamorous relationships to inform the development of family justice policy and legislation, and is the second Institute report on the subject of polyamory and the law. The first publication, “Polyamorous Relationships and Family Law in Canada,” presented a high-level early analysis of the survey data but primarily focused on the extent to which the domestic relations legislation of Canada’s common law provinces do and do not address the legal issues arising when one or more persons enter or exit a polyamorous relationship.

Thanks are due to Ms Alysia Wright, the Institute’s former Coordinator of Alberta-based Research Projects, for her assistance in helping to develop this project, conducting the survey, and preparing an initial analysis of and observations on the data collected. We would also like to thank Ms Zoe Duff, of the Canadian Polyamory Advocacy Association, for the insight she generously provided into the experiences of the polyamorous community and the draft survey instrument, and especially for the help she provided in recruiting survey participants.

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FOREWORD

The traditional model of the western nuclear family, composed of a husband, a wife and a modest but manageable number of children, has evolved at a breakneck pace over the past fifty years. From the introduction of Canada's first national divorce legislation in 1968, and the evaporation of the stigma associated with marriage breakdown that followed, to the rising ubiquity of the blended family, to the legalization of same-sex marriage in 2005 and today's unquestioning and uncritical acceptance of unmarried cohabiting relationships, the idea of *family* has changed enormously, and continues to change. Family, it seems to me, is no longer tied to presumptions about marriage, gender, sexual orientation, reproduction and childrearing.

I worked as a family law lawyer for fourteen years in British Columbia, before leaving private practice to work in research. All of my clients, and there have been thousands of them over the years, had legal problems involving dyadic relationships, relationships involving pairs of adults that may be sexual, emotional or, hopefully, both. Some clients needed help entering these relationships, most needed help leaving, but all had questions about the legal consequences of relationships between adult pairs. Indeed, all of the legislation concerning families and family breakdown in Canada is built on explicit or implicit assumptions that the number of adults in a family is *two*. The federal *Divorce Act*, for example, defines "spouse" as "either of two persons who are married to each other," while the *Civil Marriage Act* provides that marriage is "the lawful union of two persons to the exclusion of all others." British Columbia's *Family Law Act* is less direct, and, in dividing property following separation, provides that "each spouse has a right to an undivided *half* interest in all family property."

In 2013, however, I was contacted about a potential appeal by counsel for the individuals involved in a family law dispute concerning a non-dyadic relationship, a relationship, in that case, involving a number of women and a man, and their children. This required a shift in my thinking, and a significant reappraisal of my understanding of the governing legislation: how do the rules and principles of family law apply to individuals in or leaving non-dyadic relationships? Does "spouse" *always* mean one-half of a pair of adults? How many parents can a child have? If that number is limited, then how many guardians can a child have? How many adults may be legally responsible for financially supporting a child?

To my surprise, I was consulted in connection with a different non-dyadic relationship shortly afterward. And, after relocating to Alberta later that year, I have found myself continuing to be consulted, with increasing frequency, about the rights, responsibilities and obligations potentially flowing from non-dyadic relationships.

Clearly the circumstances of the individuals involved in the appeal were not an isolated case, and it occurred to me that the notion that romantic relationships, whether casual, cohabiting or connubial, must be limited to two persons at any one time may be the next focal point of change in the continuing evolution of *family*. At present, however, our family law system in Canada is largely ill-suited to managing the formation or dissolution of non-dyadic relationships, as I wrote in an earlier paper, "Polyamorous Relationships and Family Law in Canada." Change will be required if non-dyadic family structures continue to increase in popularity and prevalence, and to make those changes, whatever they may be, more information about non-dyadic relationships will be required than is currently available.

The research described in this report was conducted to obtain demographic and attitudinal information about Canadians involved in non-dyadic relationships, better understand how they see themselves and how they believe the general public sees them, and expand our knowledge of the frequency and nature of non-dyadic relationships. This research is among the first of its kind to be undertaken on Canadian polyamorists, and suffers from a number of limitations as a result. Despite its flaws, this research provides important information about an emerging form of relationship and should serve as a stepping stone for future enquiry.

John-Paul Boyd

1.0 INTRODUCTION

Dyadic relationships involve pairs of individuals connected to each other in varying degrees of emotional, sexual or financial dependence with varying expectations of devotion, fidelity and permanence. Non-dyadic relationships concern people involved in more than one relationship at a time, each of which may also vary in emotional, sexual or financial dependence and in expectations of devotion, fidelity and permanence, and may or may not be subject to expectations as to the interdependence and commitment of the group as a whole.

Non-dyadic relationships have gained a certain amount of public notoriety in recent years, firstly through the relationships depicted in reality and dramatic television series such as *Sister Wives* from TLC and *Big Love* from HBO, and more recently through the criminal prosecutions of Winston Blackmore and James Oler,¹ the patriarchs of the religious community of Bountiful, British Columbia, for the criminal offence of polygamy.² These relationships, factual and fictional, share the common qualities of being patriarchal, matrimonial and mandated by god. They are not, however, the only form of non-dyadic relationship.

The terms *polygamy*, and its kissing cousin *bigamy*, concern married relationships. A marriage is bigamous when at least one of the spouses is a party to a valid pre-existing marriage or has married more than one person at the same time. A marriage is polygamous when at least one of the spouses is married to more than two other people. The term “bigamy” comes from the Latin root for *twice* and the Greek root for *marriage*, while “polygamy” comes from the roots for *many* and *marriage*.³

The term *polyamory* is a contemporary portmanteau of the Greek root for *many* and the Latin root for *love*. People who are polyamorous are, or prefer to be, involved in intimate relationships with more than one person at the same time; marriage is neither necessary nor a dominant characteristic of polyamorous relationships. Polyamorous

¹ The judgment on the prosecutions can be found at *R. v Blackmore*, 2017 BCSC 1288.

² *Criminal Code*, RSC 1985, c. C-46, s. 293. Bigamy is made a criminal offence pursuant to s. 291 of the *Code*.

³ A polygamous marriage between one woman and two or more husbands is, more specifically, a *polyandrous* marriage, while a *polygynous* marriage involves one man and two or more wives. The form of polygamy for which Blackmore and Oler were convicted was polygynous, Blackmore with respect to 25 wives and Oler with respect to five.

relationships vary in interdependence and commitment, and in expectations of sexual and emotional fidelity. An individual may be simultaneously involved in a number of romantic relationships without those partners being in a relationship with each other, or significant, committed relationships may exist among all involved. An individual may be involved in a primary dyadic or polyamorous relationship that is committed and enduring, while one or more members of that relationship maintain more peripheral secondary relationships with others. Or, an individual may be involved in a number of concurrent relationships that are more sexual than romantic in nature and involve a diminished sense of interdependence. If common traits can be drawn from relationships and relationship preferences that are as diverse as those enjoyed by polyamorous individuals, they are beliefs in: the equality of relationship members; the importance of honesty and candour between members; and, the unfettered right of members to leave a relationship if and when they choose.⁴ These relationships are not patriarchal, they are not necessarily matrimonial and they are not mandated by religious doctrine.

The exact number of Canadians who consider themselves to be polyamorous or are engaged in polyamorous relationships is unknown.⁵ The limited data available from the United States suggests that, in 2009, one in 614 Americans lived in openly polyamorous relationships,⁶ and that, in 2010, one in 500 Americans described themselves as polyamorous (Anapol, 2010).⁷ *Loving More*, a magazine aimed at polyamorists, had “15,000 regular readers” in 2009, a readership that had doubled in only ten years (Barnett, 2014). Other research suggests that as many as one in five Americans have been involved in consensually non-monogamous relationships at some point in their lifetime (Hauptert *et al.*, 2017). The research presented in this paper found that 82.4% of the 480 respondents to our survey *strongly agreed* or *agreed* that the number of people who identify as polyamorous in Canada is increasing, while 80.9% *strongly agreed* or *agreed* that the number of people involved in polyamorous relationships is increasing.

⁴ See the discussion below at §3.3.2.

⁵ Statistics Canada does not collect data on non-dyadic family relationships. “Census families” in the 2011 Census are composed of: married spouses living in the same home, with or without children; “common-law” couples living in the same home, with or without children; and, single parents living with one or more children. Marital status of census respondents is tracked as married, separated, living common-law, widowed and divorced.

⁶ Jessica Bennett, “Polyamory: The Next Sexual Revolution?” *Newsweek* (28 May 2009), available at <http://www.newsweek.com/polyamory-next-sexual-revolution-82053>, retrieved on 7 June 2016.

⁷ If similar base rates apply in Canada, in 2009, 54,950 Canadians would have lived in openly polyamorous relationships and, in 2010, 72,000 Canadians would have described themselves as polyamorous.

1.1 Purpose and objectives

The purposes of the Institute's Survey on Polyamorous Relationships and Perceptions of Polyamory in Canada were to obtain data about the demographics of polyamorous individuals, the attitudes of polyamorous individuals and the composition of polyamorous families, as well as information about perceptions of polyamorous relationships in Canada to inform the development of family justice policy and legislation. Accordingly, data were collected from respondents across Canada to achieve:

- a) a better understanding of the prevalence of polyamorous relationships in Canada;
- b) a better understanding of the nature of, and legal issues involved in, polyamorous relationships; and,
- c) an understanding how individuals identifying as polyamorous perceive their own relationships and the views of the general public on their relationships.

1.2 Methodology

The data for this project were collected through an electronic survey hosted on FluidSurveys, a Canadian-based polling platform subsequently purchased by the American firm SurveyMonkey, during the summer of 2016. The survey was advertised through social media and word of mouth, by both the Institute and the Canadian Polyamory Advocacy Association, an advocacy group based in British Columbia, and participants who completed the survey were offered the opportunity to enter a draw for a modest prize. The data were exported from FluidSurveys to IBM's SPSS Statistics software package, a statistical analysis program, at the conclusion of the data collection period, cleaned by Institute staff and analyzed.

1.2.1 Ethical considerations

This project underwent an internal ethics review prior to commencing the Survey on Polyamorous Relationships and Perceptions of Polyamory in Canada. We considered the primary ethical considerations for this project to be the anonymity of participants and the confidentiality of their responses, the vulnerability of participants and ensuring that participants' consent to participate in the study was informed and voluntary.

The survey was conducted on an anonymous basis; no identifying information was requested, unless participants chose to provide their name and email address to enter the prize draw, and IP addresses were not tracked. Data were analyzed, both quantitatively and qualitatively, and have only been reported in aggregate form. The contact information of participants choosing to enter the draw was removed from the data set after the draw and dissociated from participants' responses.

In light of the possibility that participants might experience emotional upset, trauma or other adverse consequences as a result of answering the survey questions, the contact information for 24-hour counselling services was provided in the survey text.

In order to ensure that respondents' participation was informed and voluntary, the introduction to the survey included a statement informing respondents of the purpose of the survey, explaining how their responses, if any, would be used; and explaining the steps taken by the Institute to ensure the confidentiality of their identities and responses. The statement informed respondents that the aggregated results would be used for a final report that would be available on the Institute's website as well as for possible blog posts, journal articles and other publications.

1.2.2 Survey development

The Institute developed a 28-question survey, reproduced in the Appendix, that was loosely based on a survey the Canadian Polyamory Advocacy Association conducted of its members in 2010. The Survey on Polyamorous Relationships and Perceptions of Polyamory in Canada was intended to:

- a) obtain basic sociodemographic data on respondents, including information about gender identity, sexuality, religious affiliation, income and educational attainment;
- b) obtain data on respondents' involvement in polyamorous relationships and the makeup of respondents' relationships;
- c) obtain information on the legal steps, if any, taken by respondents to formalize the rights and responsibilities of the members of their relationships;
- d) examine respondents' agreement or disagreement with a series of attitudinal statements about polyamorous relationships, including the equality of

relationship members, honesty among members and members' participation in relationship changes;

- e) examine respondents' views on statements about the status of polyamory and polyamorous relationships in Canada, including public perceptions of polyamory; and,
- f) examine respondents' views on statements about the impact of the criminalization of polygamy on their pursuit of and participation in polyamorous relationships.

The options provided for the demographic questions about respondents' religious affiliation and ethnicity were based on estimates from Statistics Canada's 2011 National Household Survey for the most common religious affiliations and ethnic origins.⁸ Respondents could provide a write-in response if none of the options reflected their religious affiliations or ethnic origins.

We defined our use of the word *polyamorous* in the introductory text to the survey:

In this survey, we are using the term **polyamorous** to refer to committed romantic relationships between more than two adults. Other terms that mean roughly the same thing as polyamory include polygamy, polyfidelity, consensual non-monogamy, polyandry, polygyny and so on. We are using polyamory to refer to all of these relationships.

We also provided definitions for our use of certain terms in the demographic questions about respondents' sexuality:

Heterosexual (sexual, emotional, and/or romantic attraction to the opposite sex)
Homosexual (sexual, emotional, and/or romantic attraction to the same sex)
Bisexual (sexual, emotional, and/or romantic attraction to the same and different genders)
Polysexual (sexual, emotional, and/or romantic attraction to multiple genders)
Pansexual (sexual, emotional, and/or romantic attraction to all genders)
Asexual (not sexually attracted to any gender)

⁸ Religion: Statistics Canada, 2011 Census of Population, National Household Survey, cat. no. 99-010-X2011032. Ethnic origins: Statistics Canada, 2011 Census of Population, National Household Survey, cat. no. 99-010-X2011028.

Although the survey was developed in consultation with the CPAA, it was insufficiently inclusive and failed to represent the reality of many respondents' lives and relationships, leading to a number of significant limitations in some of the data obtained. These limitations are discussed in Chapter 4 of this report, as are recommendations to improve future research.

1.2.3 Participant recruitment

The survey was advertised on the Institute's website and through social media accounts operated by Institute staff members. News of the survey was similarly shared on the website of the CPAA, a national organization with significant connections among the polyamorous community, through its social media accounts and through its email lists. Individuals receiving notice of the survey were encouraged to share the information within their own networks. We expected that this means of recruitment, known as snowball sampling, would be the most cost-effective way of reaching as many individuals within our target population as possible.

In a further effort to maximize participation, potential respondents were offered the opportunity, at the end of the survey, to enter a draw for a \$100 prepaid Visa gift card; the Institute has successfully used this means of incentivization to encourage participation in other research. The draw was conducted at the end of the data collection period, using SPSS Statistics to randomly select a respondent from among those electing to enter the draw, and the gift card was mailed to the winner.

1.2.4 Data collection

The data collection period ran over seven weeks, from 20 June to 8 August 2016, during which time a total of 596 electronic surveys were initiated. A total of 116 respondents provided no information beyond basic demographic information and their responses were removed, resulting in 480 valid surveys that are analyzed in this paper.

As a result of the methods used to recruit participants, the total number of individuals receiving notice of the survey is unknown and the response rate accordingly cannot be calculated.

1.2.5 Analysis

The data obtained from the survey were exported from FluidSurveys, cleaned to remove incomplete responses, and analyzed using SPSS Statistics. All identifying

information was removed from the data to ensure the anonymity of respondents and the confidentiality of their responses.

1.3 Organization of the report

Chapter 2 of this report discusses the criminal and family law of Canada, focussing on the law in Alberta, and how the law impacts the lives of individuals identifying as polyamorous, and is intended to provide additional context to the analysis of the data obtained from the Survey on Polyamorous Relationships and Perceptions of Polyamory in Canada which follows.

Chapter 3 reviews the sociodemographic characteristics of respondents to the Survey on Polyamorous Relationships and Perceptions of Polyamory in Canada at some length, compared, where possible, to the general Canadian population; the characteristics of respondents' relationships and households; and, respondents' attitudes toward polyamory and polyamorous relationships, and their perceptions of the attitudes of Canadians toward polyamorous relationships.

Chapter 4 includes a discussion about the approach taken to drafting the survey and feedback from community members, a summary of key findings from the data, and recommendations for law reform and for further research in light of our analysis and conclusions.

2.0 POLYAMOROUS RELATIONSHIPS AND THE LAW IN CANADA

This chapter provides a brief discussion of the criminal and family law of Canada as the law impacts the lives of individuals identifying as polyamorous, focussing on the law in Alberta, and is intended to provide additional context to the portions of the Survey on Polyamorous Relationships and Perceptions of Polyamory in Canada concerning:

- a) respondents' views of polyamory in Canada and the impact of the criminalization of polygamy on their relationship choices;
- b) respondents' views of Canadians' perceptions of polyamory; and,
- c) the steps taken by respondents to address the legal issues arising or potentially arising in the course of their relationships.

A more complete discussion of the intersection between family law and the polyamorous family relationships is provided in the Institute's earlier paper, "Polyamorous Relationships and Family Law in Canada" (Boyd, 2017).

2.1 Polyamorous individuals in society

Almost all of Canada's most important social institutions are predicated on the assumption that adult relationships are dyadic. The Canada Pension Plan provides survivor's benefits to only one spouse or common-law partner; the Old Age Security spousal allowance can only be paid to one spouse or partner. The Canada Revenue Agency forms used to calculate tax liability likewise assume that taxpayers have sequential but not concurrent relationships, an assumption shared by the provincial legislation on wills and estates and, for the most part, the provincial and territorial legislation on domestic relations. The challenges faced by polyamorous families, especially those with children, cover every aspect of life in Canada:

- Who will schools recognize as parents and guardians, entitled to pick children up from school, give permission for outings or talk to teachers about academic performance?
- Who can get information from and give instruction to doctors, dentists, counsellors and other health care providers in respect of a child or partner?

- Who can receive benefits from an employee’s health insurance? Who is entitled to coverage under provincial health care plans, such as OHIP in Ontario or MSP in British Columbia?
- Who is entitled to claim public benefits such as the Old Age Security spousal allowance or Canada Pension Plan survivor’s benefits?
- What are the rights and entitlements of multiple adults under the provincial legislation on wills and estates, or the federal legislation on immigration?
- How many adults may participate in the legal parentage of a child under the legislation on adoption and assisted reproduction?
- What are the rights and entitlements of individuals leaving polyamorous families under the provincial and territorial legislation on domestic relations?

Many of the answers to these questions come down to how the applicable laws, policies and rules define terms like *parent*, *guardian*, *spouse*, and *adult interdependent partner* in Alberta or *common-law partner* under most federal statutes. Although schools and hospitals tend to look at the nature of the relationship between the individuals in question rather than a textbook definition of “parent,” for example, public and private agencies providing benefits tend to cleave more rigidly to defined terms. Some polyamorous families have, for example, been required to decide which of the adults in their family will be deemed to be an employee’s “partner” for the purposes of health care and prescription coverage,⁹ resulting in the coverage of the employee and the family member selected as his or her partner, but the denial of benefits to others.

The most urgent of these questions, however, likely relate to individuals’ entitlements and obligations under the provincial legislation on domestic relations.

2.2 Polyamorous relationships and family law

The statutes on domestic relationships govern family law disputes in Canada and include a key federal statute, the *Divorce Act*,¹⁰ as well as subject-specific legislation that varies from province to province and territory to territory. In Alberta, these statutes are

⁹ CBC Radio, *The Current* (16 September 2016)

¹⁰ *Divorce Act*, RSC 1986, c. 3 (2nd Supp.)

the *Family Law Act*¹¹ and the *Matrimonial Property Act*.¹² These laws are explicitly and implicitly directed toward adults involved in dyadic relationships. The *Divorce Act*, for example, only applies to married spouses, with “marriage” defined in the federal *Civil Marriage Act* as “the lawful union of two persons to the exclusion of all others,”¹³ while the *Family Law Act* applies to parents, married spouses and adult interdependent partners, with “adult interdependent partner” defined in the provincial *Adult Interdependent Relationships Act* as requiring a “relationship of interdependence ... between 2 persons.”¹⁴

People who identify as polyamorous are, or prefer to be, involved in more than one intimate relationship at a time. Some individuals are involved in stable, long-term, loving relationships involving two or more other people. Others are simultaneously engaged in a number of relationships of varying degrees of interdependence and commitment. Still others are involved in a web of concurrent relationships ranging from short-term relationships that are purely sexual in nature to more enduring relationships characterized by deep emotional attachments.

The legislation on family law is of critical importance to people entering and leaving family relationships in general. For those entering a relationship, it helps them anticipate the potential legal entanglements that may result from their relationship, including the consequences of having children and registering property in joint tenancy. For those leaving a relationship, it sets the parameters of their entitlements and obligations on important issues such as the parenting arrangements for children after separation, child support, spousal support, and the division of property and interests in property. The extent to which such legislation applies to the people involved in a polyamorous relationship may be a determining factor in an individual’s decision to enter or exit such a relationship.

The parties to a dyadic relationship will typically find themselves dealing with family law issues at one of three points in the arc of their relationship: at the beginning, before or shortly after the decision is made to live together or to marry; toward the end, when the collapse of the relationship has become reasonably foreseeable; and, after the end of the cohabiting phase of the relationship, when separation has occurred. The parties to a

¹¹ *Family Law Act*, SA 2003, c. F-4.5

¹² *Matrimonial Property Act*, RSA 2000, c. M-8

¹³ *Civil Marriage Act*, SC 2005, c. 33, s. 2

¹⁴ *Adult Interdependent Relationships Act*, SA 2002, c. A-4.5, ss. 3 and 4

polyamorous family or web of relationships share the same basic relationship trajectory, except that the family or relationship web may neither form nor dissolve *in toto*.

The legal issues potentially affecting those involved in a polyamorous relationship are the same as those involved in a dyadic relationship, less the question of divorce only married spouses must answer. Apart from that, however, the parties to a polyamorous family or relationship web will need to be concerned with the following matters when the relationship dissolves or diminishes:

- a) the care and management of children after the dissolution of one or more adult relationships;
- b) the payment of child support and children's special expenses;
- c) entitlement to and liability for the payment of spousal support;
- d) the division of property, including jointly-owned property and interests in respect of property owned by only one or some of the participants in a relationship; and,
- e) the allocation of debt for which one or more participants are or may become liable.

Although recourse to the courts under provincial and territorial legislation may always be had with respect to parenting and child support, regardless of the status of the relationship between the adults involved, the applicability of the legislation with respect to other legal issues will, however, depend on:

- a) a careful reading of the applicable statute to determine how terms such as *spouse*, *guardian* and *parent* are defined;
- b) the extent to which unmarried persons may rely on the statute in respect of the division of family property and establishing entitlement to spousal support; and,
- c) a construction of the statute which is holistic and takes into account the overall scheme of the statute and the intentions of government.

In Alberta, the *Family Law Act* concerns determinations of the parentage of children, guardianship of children, the care of children after separation, child support, spousal

support and support for adult interdependent partners. The *Matrimonial Property Act* concerns the division of the family home, household goods and other property between spouses. The *Adult Interdependent Relationships Act* defines the circumstances in which unmarried cohabiting adults, including relatives, may acquire quasi-spousal status for the purposes of the *Family Law Act* and a number of other statutes.

2.2.1 Children

The provisions of the *Family Law Act* on parentage at ss. 7 and 8.1 are worded so as to limit the number of legal parents a child may have to two, even when the child is born through a means of assisted reproduction. The provisions of the *Child, Youth and Family Enhancement Act* on adoption allow “an adult” to apply for an adoption order,¹⁵ and although the act does not contain an express statement to the effect that a child may only have two parents, s. 72, on the effect of adoption orders, provides as follows:

- (2) Subject to subsection (3), for all purposes, when an adoption order is made, the adopted child ceases to be the child of that child’s previous parents, whether that child’s biological mother and biological father or that child’s adopting parents under a previous adoption order, and that child’s previous parents cease to be that child’s parents and guardians.
- (3) If a child is adopted by the step-parent of the child, the child does not cease to be the child of the parent who has lawful custody and that parent does not cease to be the parent and guardian of the child.

However, pursuant to s. 23 of the *Family Law Act*, the court may appoint any number of persons as the guardian of a child, even where one or both of the child’s parents are guardians:

- (1) The court may, on application by a person who
 - (a) is an adult and has had the care and control of a child for a period of more than 6 months, or
 - (b) is a parent other than a guardian of a child,make an order appointing the person as a guardian of the child. ...
- (9) For greater certainty, one or more persons may be appointed guardians of a child under this section despite the fact that one or both parents of the child are guardians pursuant to section 20.

¹⁵ *Child, Youth and Family Enhancement Act*, RSA 2000, c. C-12, s. 62(1)

Under s. 21 of the act, guardians are entitled to be informed of and consulted about significant parenting decisions that need to be made, are responsible for nurturing the child's physical, psychological and emotional development and are responsible for providing the child with the necessities of life.

Where a child has more than one guardian, a guardian may apply for a parenting order under s. 32, but only where:

- a) the guardians cannot agree as to how the rights and responsibilities of guardianship should be exercised; and,
- b) in the case of guardians who are parents, the guardians have separated.

Parenting orders may allocate the rights and responsibilities of guardianship between guardians and provide for parenting time with the child.

Under s. 35, a guardian and another other person may apply for an order for contact between a child and a person who is not a guardian. Parents, guardians and persons standing in the place of a parent to a child may apply for such orders as of right, others, however, require leave of the court, sought on notice to the child's guardians, pursuant to s-s. (2).

The powers entailed by guardianship, described at s. 26(5) and (6), do not include guardianship of the estate of the child. Under s. 8 of the *Minors' Property Act*,¹⁶ guardians may receive property with a value of \$10,000 or less on behalf of the child and are trustees of that property for the benefit of the child.¹⁷ The court may appoint one or more "persons," who may or may not be the child's guardians, as trustees of children's property pursuant to s. 10 of the act.

2.2.2 Child support

Under ss. 47 and 49 of the *Family Law Act*, parents and persons "standing in the place of a parent" are obliged to provide support for a child.¹⁸ The definition of *standing in the*

¹⁶ *Minors' Property Act*, SA 2004, c. M-18.1

¹⁷ *Minors' Property Act Regulation*, Alta Reg. 240/2004, s. 2(1)

¹⁸ The same obligation exists in respect of children younger than 16 for anyone who is "a parent, foster parent, guardian or head of a family" under s. 215(1)(a) of the *Criminal Code*.

place of a parent at s. 48 includes spouses as well as persons “in a relationship of interdependence of some permanence” with a parent:

- (1) A person is standing in the place of a parent if the person
 - (a) is the spouse of a parent of the child or is or was in a relationship of interdependence of some permanence with a parent of the child, and
 - (b) has demonstrated a settled intention to treat the child as the person’s own child.

Note that this definition does not use the term “adult interdependent partner” in tandem with “spouse” to establish liability for support, requiring instead a “relationship of interdependence of some permanence with a parent.” This, firstly, lowers the threshold of the nature of the relationship that must be proven in order to establish liability for child support and, secondly, expands the pool of potential payors beyond the dyadic limitations imposed on standing as an adult interdependent partner under s. 5 of the *Adult Interdependent Relationships Act*.

Under s. 50(1) of the *Family Law Act*, a parent or guardian may apply for a child support order, as well as “a person who has the care and control of the child.” Pursuant to s-s. (4), the court may make an order against more than one “parent” of a child.

2.2.3 Spousal support and adult interdependent partner support

Under s. 56 of the *Family Law Act*, every spouse or adult interdependent partner has an obligation to support the other spouse or adult interdependent partner.¹⁹ Although a person may only have one married spouse and s. 5 of the *Adult Interdependent Relationships Act* has the effect of

- a) limiting a person to having one adult interdependent partner at a time, and
- b) preventing a spouse from being an adult interdependent partner while living with his or her spouse,

a person may nevertheless be subject to two simultaneous support obligations where the relationships are successive and the relationship first in time is a marriage.²⁰

¹⁹ The *Criminal Code* imposes a similar obligation on married spouses at s. 215(1)(b).

²⁰ See, for example, *Austin v Goerz*, 2006 BCSC 2055, affirmed on appeal, a case from British Columbia.

2.2.4 Division of property

Under ss. 1(e) and 3(1) of the *Matrimonial Property Act*, only married spouses or formerly married spouses may apply for a matrimonial property order, including orders under s. 19 for the exclusive occupancy of the family home. Unmarried persons are ineligible for relief under the act.

2.2.5 The laws of Alberta and Canada's other common law jurisdictions

The statutes of Canada's territories and common law provinces²¹ all impose a liability for child support on persons standing *in loco parentis* or as a stepparent to a child, whether another person is subject to a concurrent child support liability in respect of that child or not. As a result, all members of a polyamorous relationship meeting these definitions are potentially liable to pay support for a member's child.

A dependent adult family member may be entitled to spousal support from another member of a polyamorous family or web of relationships where:

- a) the person is a married spouse of another participant in the relationship; or,
- b) the person qualifies as an adult interdependent partner (Alberta), as an unmarried spouse (British Columbia, Ontario, Prince Edward Island, Saskatchewan), as a partner (Newfoundland and Labrador) or as a common-law partner (Manitoba, New Brunswick, Nova Scotia) of another member.

A dependent adult family member may be entitled to spousal support from more than one member of a cohabiting polyamorous family where the legislation is not drafted so as to preclude the possibility of concurrent spousal relationships, as it generally is in Alberta, and the person qualifies as an unmarried spouse or partner of those members.

In all provinces but Alberta and Manitoba, a child's parents may share custody of the child, as well as the associated rights to receive information about the child and make decisions concerning the child, with:

²¹ See "Polyamorous Relationships and Family Law in Canada" (Boyd, 2017) for a more complete discussion of these statutes and their impact on individuals involved in polyamorous relationships.

- a) other family members who fall within the statutory definition of guardian (British Columbia, Nova Scotia) or parent (New Brunswick, Newfoundland and Labrador, Ontario, Prince Edward Island); and,
- b) any other family members where the legislation does not require a family relationship to apply for custody (British Columbia, New Brunswick, Newfoundland and Labrador, Nova Scotia, Ontario, Prince Edward Island, Saskatchewan).

The legislation of British Columbia and Newfoundland and Labrador additionally allow more people than the natural parents of a child to be the legal parents of that child where the child is conceived through assisted reproduction.

In all provinces except Manitoba, a child's parents may share guardianship of the child, and the associated obligations as trustees of the child's property, with one or more other adults.

With the exception of British Columbia, Manitoba and Saskatchewan, statutory rights to the possession and ownership of property are restricted to married spouses, limiting the relief available to the unmarried members of a polyamorous family or relationship web to: the legislation generally applicable to co-owned real and personal property, such as Alberta's *Law of Property Act*;²² and, whichever principles of equity and the common law might apply in the circumstances of the relationship, usually unjust enrichment and the constructive trust. The statutory rights available in British Columbia, Manitoba and Saskatchewan arise from the application of the local legislation to unmarried spouses (British Columbia, Saskatchewan) and common-law partners (Manitoba), and the failure of the legislation to preclude the possibility of concurrent spousal relationships.

It is worth noting that the *Family Law Act* of Ontario²³ and the *Family Law Act* of Prince Edward Island²⁴ are unique in Canada in explicitly recognizing spouses within polygamous marriages celebrated outside of Canada as "spouses" for the purposes of the division of property, the payment of child support and the payment of spousal support.

²² *Law of Property Act*, RSA 2000, c. L-7

²³ *Family Law Act*, RSO 1990, c. F.3

²⁴ *Family Law Act*, RSPEI 1998, c. F-2.1

2.3 Polyamorous relationships and criminal law

The federal *Criminal Code* is the law of Canada, and is applicable in all provinces and territories. Although polyamorous relationships are not criminalized, involvement in bigamous and polygamous marriages are indictable offences subject to a maximum penalty of five years' imprisonment.

The elements of the offence of bigamy are set out at s. 290 of the *Code*:

- (1) Every one commits bigamy who
 - (a) in Canada,
 - (i) being married, goes through a form of marriage with another person,²⁵
 - (ii) knowing that another person is married, goes through a form of marriage with that person, or
 - (iii) on the same day or simultaneously, goes through a form of marriage with more than one person;
 - (b) being a Canadian citizen resident in Canada leaves Canada with intent to do anything mentioned in subparagraphs (a)(i) to (iii) ...

The elements of the offence of polygamy are provided at s. 293:

- (1) Every one who
 - (a) practises or enters into or in any manner agrees or consents to practise or enter into
 - (i) any form of polygamy, or
 - (ii) any kind of conjugal union with more than one person at the same time,²⁶whether or not it is by law recognized as a binding form of marriage, or

²⁵ "Form of marriage" is defined at s. 214 of the *Code* as follows:

form of marriage includes a ceremony of marriage that is recognized as valid

- (a) by the law of the place where it was celebrated, or
- (b) by the law of the place where an accused is tried, notwithstanding that it is not recognized as valid by the law of the place where it was celebrated;

²⁶ "Polygamy" and "conjugal union" are defined in neither the *Code* nor the federal *Interpretation Act*, RSC 1985, c. I-21.

(b) celebrates, assists or is a party to a rite, ceremony, contract or consent that purports to sanction a relationship mentioned in subparagraph (a)(i) or (ii), is guilty of an indictable offence and liable to imprisonment for a term not exceeding five years.

Bigamous, polygamous and polyamorous relationships all share the quality of involving more than two simultaneous participants. Bigamous and polygamous relationships both involve marriages or, to be more precise, ceremonies which purport to marry their participants.

Polyamorous relationships, on the other hand, do not involve marriage ceremonies claiming to bind the participants to each other, although such relationships may certainly include one or more dyads who are married to each other. Although the term *conjugal union* at s. 293(1)(a)(ii) of the *Criminal Code* might be perceived as potentially criminalizing unmarried cohabiting relationships between more than two persons, the term is defined in neither the *Code* nor the federal *Interpretation Act*²⁷ and a number of court decisions have held the phrase to relate to marriages or relationships that purport to be married relationships. The Ontario Court of Appeal determined the phrase to “predicate some form of union under the guise of marriage” in 1937;²⁸ a similar conclusion was reached by the British Columbia Supreme Court more recently in *Reference re: Section 293*:²⁹

[992] In my view, the concept of “conjugal union” in s. 293 is intended to capture a union which is a marriage. That is made plain by the closing words of ss. 1(a), “whether or not it is by law recognized as a binding form of marriage”. It is also made plain by dictionary meanings of the two words. ...

[1017] A “conjugal union” coming within the prohibition may not need be recognized as a “binding form of marriage,” but the whole thrust of the section is that it must be a purported form of marriage. ...

[1020] In my view, it is clear that the offence created in ss. 293(1)(a) is premised on some form of sanctioning event because the status prohibited by the section – “polygamy” and “any kind of conjugal union with more than one person at the same time” – both have at their core, as I have discussed, “marriage” (whether or not recognized as legally binding). And “marriage” has at its core the

²⁷ *Interpretation Act*, RSC 1985, c. I-21

²⁸ *Rex v Tolhurst and Wright*, [1937] OR 570 (OCA)

²⁹ *Reference re: Section 293 of the Criminal Code of Canada*, 2011 BCSC 1588

voluntary joining of two individuals with the requisite intent to “marry” and the recognition and sanction by the couple’s community. ...

As a result of these decisions, even mutually cohabiting members of a polyamorous relationship are likely protected from prosecution under the *Code’s* polygamy provisions, so long as no member is simultaneously married to more than one other person. However, information provided by the Canadian Polyamory Advocacy Association suggests that the distinction between polygamy and polyamory is not well understood, and that a substantial number of people contacting the CPAA seek information about the potential criminal consequences, including the probability of prosecution, of their involvement in polyamorous relationships.

3.0 SURVEY FINDINGS

This chapter analyzes the information provided by respondents to the Institute's Survey on Polyamorous Relationships and Perceptions of Polyamory in Canada, collected between 20 June and 8 August 2016. The chapter reviews: the sociodemographic characteristics of respondents, compared, where possible, to the general Canadian population; the characteristics of respondents' relationships and households; and, respondents' attitudes toward polyamory and polyamorous relationships, and their perceptions of the attitudes of Canadians toward polyamorous relationships.

3.1 Demographic and identity characteristics

This section describes the sociodemographic characteristics of survey respondents, including gender identity, age, sexuality, ethnicity, educational attainment, religious affiliation, income and place of residence.

3.1.1 Place of permanent residence and age

Survey respondents were asked to identify the province or territory of their permanent residence. The majority of respondents who answered this question lived in British Columbia (n=125, 35.1%), Ontario (n=99, 27.8%), Alberta (n=69, 19.4%) and Quebec (n=33, 9.3%), while the remaining respondents lived in almost all of Canada's other provinces and territories (n=24, 6.7%),³⁰ in the United States (n=4, 1.1%) and in countries other than Canada and the United States (n=2, 0.6%); see Figure 3.1.1.

Given that 91.6% of the respondents identifying their province or territory of residence live in just four provinces, data examined by respondents' place of residence throughout this report will use Alberta, British Columbia, Ontario and Quebec for that analysis. It should be noted, however, that slightly more than one-quarter of respondents (n=124, 25.8%) declined to answer this question.³¹

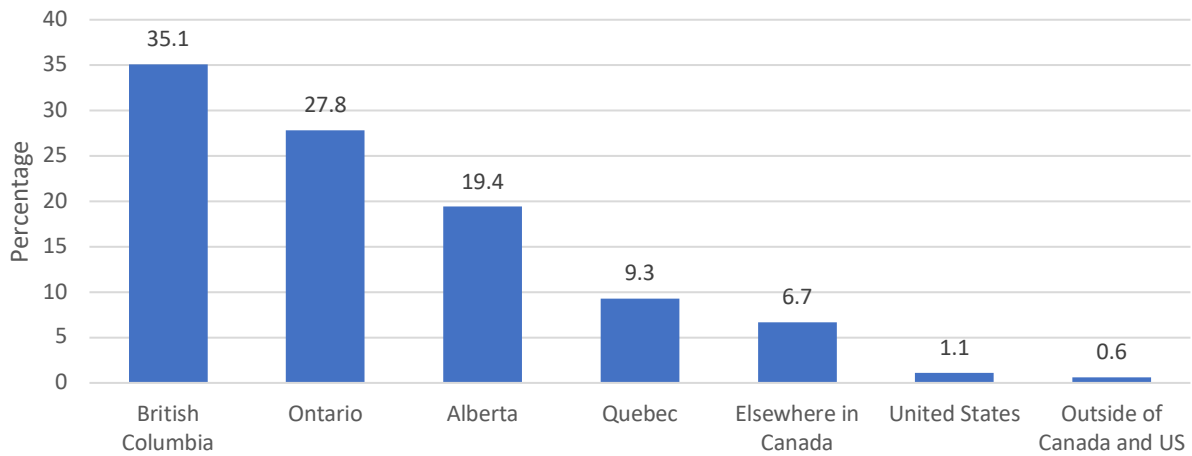
Compared to Statistics Canada's estimates of the general Canadian population for the third quarter of 2016, respondents were disproportionately more likely to live in British

³⁰ Nunavut was the only jurisdiction in Canada in which no respondents identifying their place of permanent residence lived.

³¹ For a discussion of the implications of this response rate, see §4.3 below.

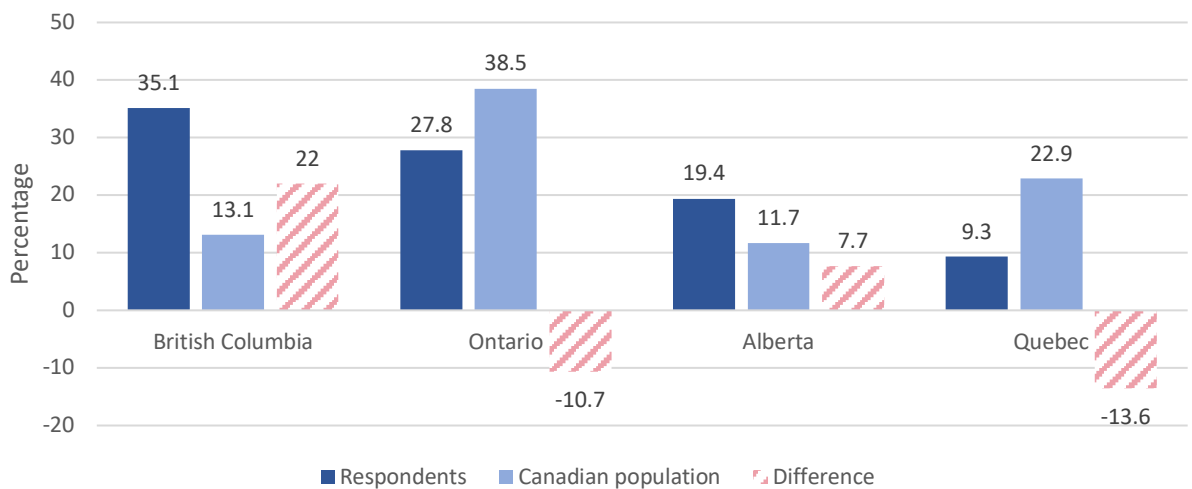
Columbia ($\Delta=22\%$) and Alberta ($\Delta=7.7\%$) than in Ontario ($\Delta=-10.7\%$) and Quebec ($\Delta=-13.6\%$); see Figure 3.1.2.

Figure 3.1.1
Proportionate distribution of respondents' residences within Canada and elsewhere



N=480
missing cases=124

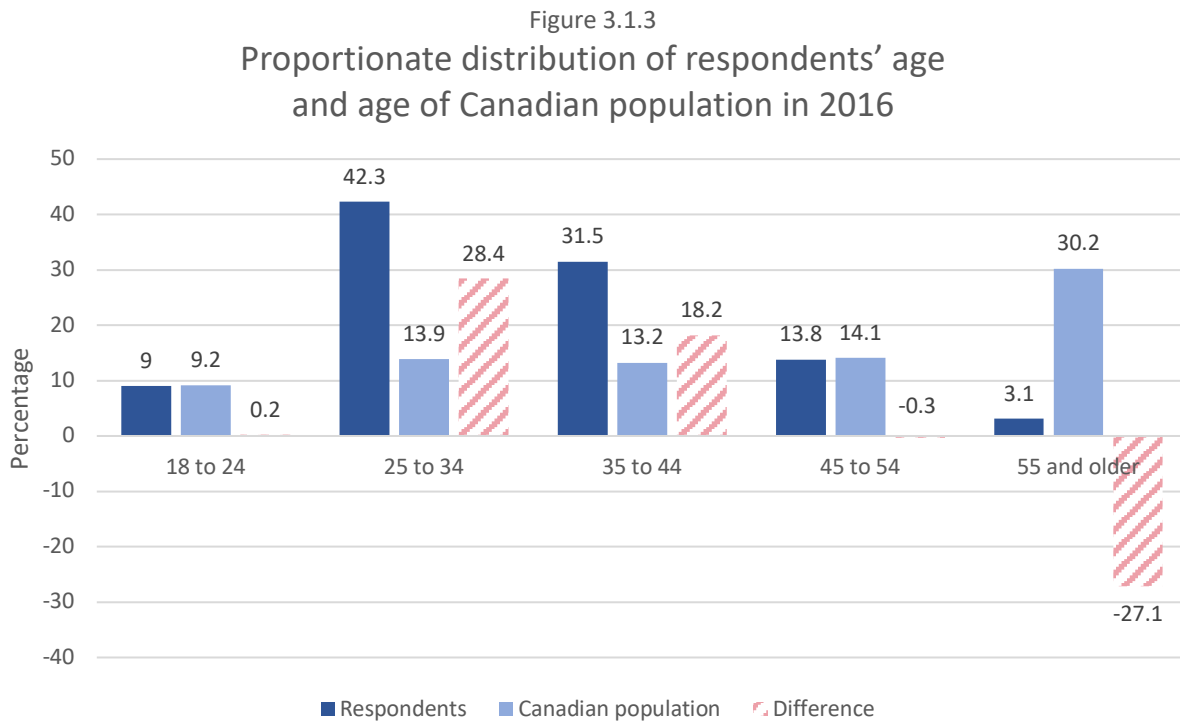
Figure 3.1.2
Proportionate distribution of respondents' residence and residence of Canadian population in four provinces in 2016



N=480
missing cases=124
data source: Statistics Canada, CANSIM Table 051-0005, *Estimates of population, Canada, provinces and territories, quarterly (persons)*

Respondents tended to be younger than the general Canadian population in 2016. Most respondents were 25 to 34 years of age (42.3% of respondents, compared to 13.9% of

Canadians; $\Delta=28.4\%$), followed by respondents who were 35 to 44 (31.5%, compared to 13.2%; $\Delta=18.3\%$) and respondents who were 45 to 54 (13.8%, compared to 14.1%; $\Delta=-0.3\%$); see Figure 3.1.3.³²



N=480

data source: Statistics Canada, CANSIM Table 051-0001, *Estimates of population, by age group and sex*

3.1.2 Gender and ethnic identity

The majority of respondents described their gender as female (59.4%) or male (30.8%), with smaller but still significant numbers of respondents describing their gender identities as genderqueer (3.1%), gender fluid (3.1%) and transgender (1.3%); see Figure 3.2.1. Eleven respondents (2.3%) described themselves in other terms, including *agender*, *bigender*, *gender neutral* and *non-binary*.

The disproportionate representation of respondents identifying as female was more acute among those younger than 35 (63.8% female, compared to 23.2% male) than among those aged 35 to 54 (56.2%, compared to 38.2%). Likewise, more respondents under the age of 35 described their gender identity in terms other than male or female (13%) than those aged 35 to 54 (5.5%); see Figure 3.2.2.

³² Two respondents (0.4%) identified themselves as being under 18 years of age; 15 respondents (3.1%) said they were 55 or older.

Figure 3.2.1
 Proportionate distribution of respondents' identifications of their gender

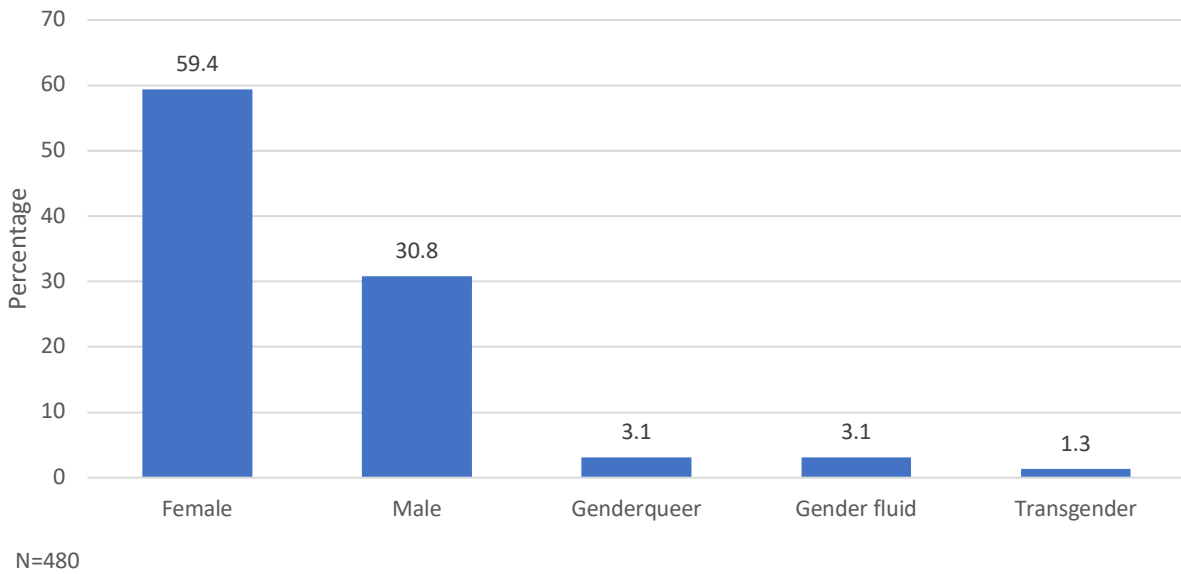
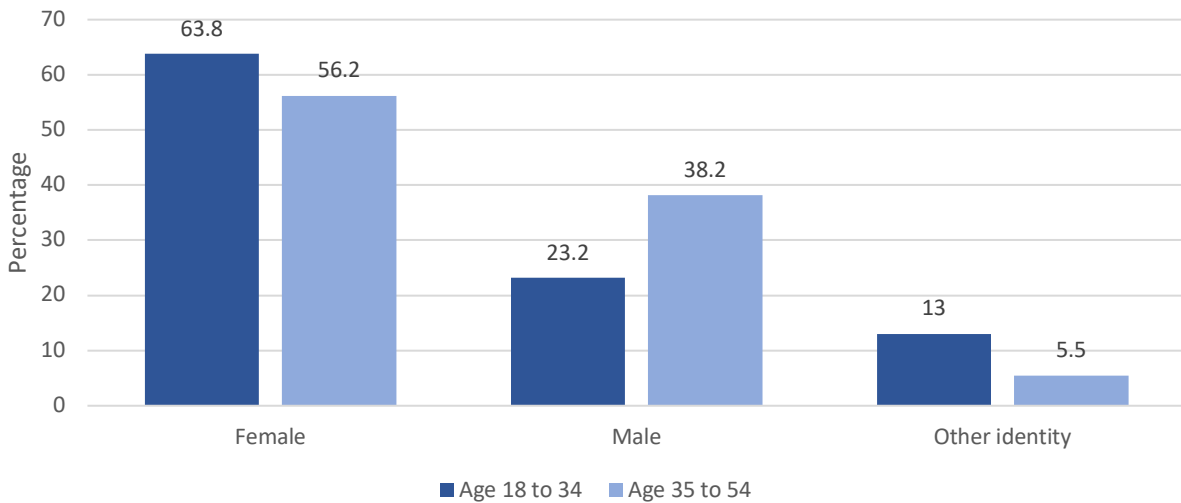


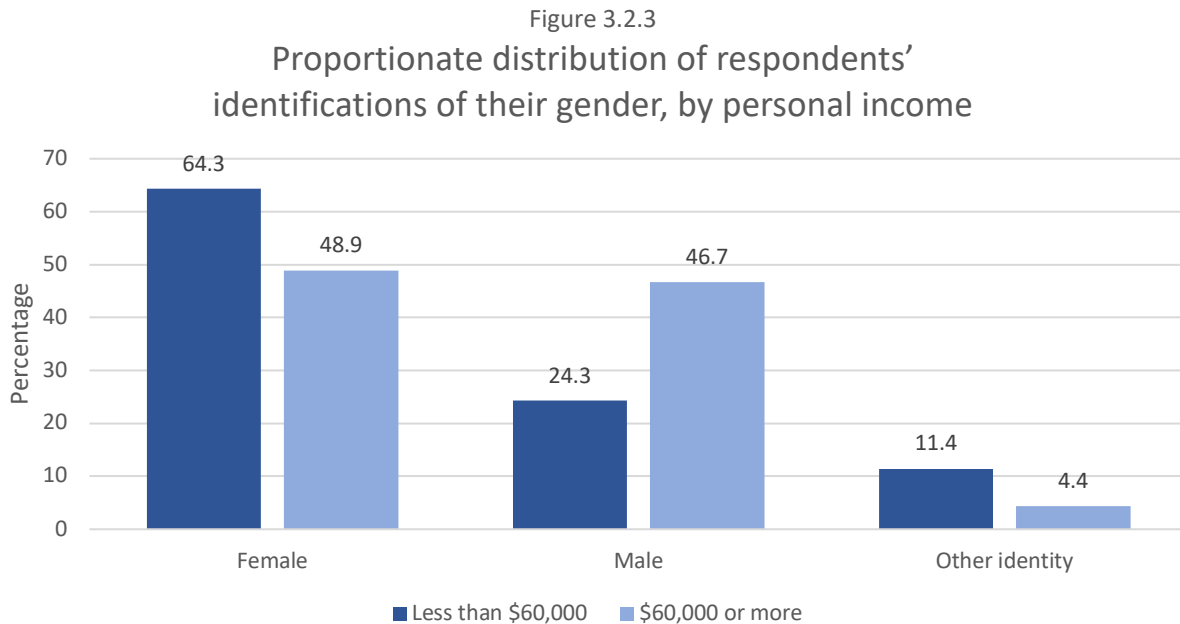
Figure 3.2.2
 Proportionate distribution of respondents' identifications of their gender, by age



n=463

However, when analyzed by personal income, the gender gap was more pronounced for those earning less than \$60,000 per year and almost equalized for those earning \$60,000 or more. More respondents earning less than \$60,000 identified as female (64.3%) or another gender (11.4%) than respondents earning \$60,000 or more (48.9% and

4.4%, respectively), and the proportion of respondents identifying as male and female were similar for those earning \$60,000 or more (46.7% and 48.9%); see Figure 3.2.3.

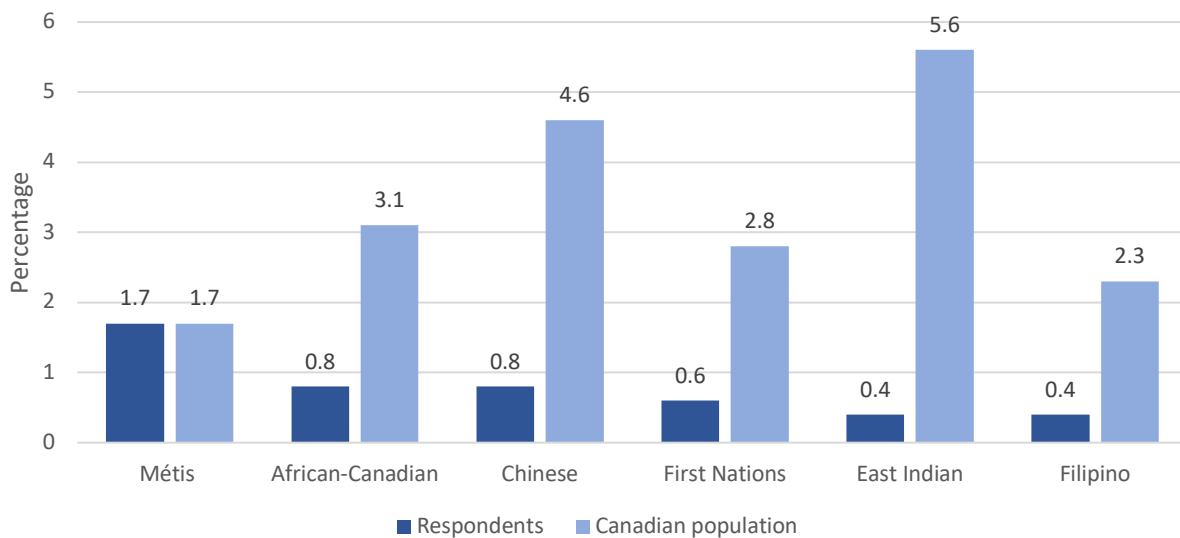


N=480
missing cases=10

The vast majority of respondents (90.2%) described themselves as being of Caucasian or European ethnicity, with less than ten percent of all respondents identifying themselves as Métis (1.7%), African-Canadian (0.8%), Chinese (0.8%), First Nations (0.6%), East Indian (0.4%) or Filipino (0.4%). Respondents were much more likely to be of Caucasian or European ethnicity than the general Canadian population. The data from the 2016 Census suggests that 72.9% of Canadians are not among Canada’s Aboriginal peoples and are not visible minorities, as the agency defines the term,³³ while 1.7% of Canadians identify as Métis, 3.1% identify as African-Canadian, 4.6% identify as Chinese, 2.8% identify as First Nations, 5.6% identify as East Indian and 2.3% identify as Filipino; see Figure 3.2.4.

³³ Statistics Canada draws its definition of “visible minority group” from the definition in the *Employment Equity Act*, SC 1995, c. 44, s. 3 as “persons, other than Aboriginal peoples, who are non-Caucasian in race or non-white in colour.” See Visible Minority and Population Group Reference Guide, Census of Population, 2016 (25 October 2017), Statistics Canada, available at <http://www12.statcan.gc.ca/census-recensement/2016/ref/guides/006/98-500-x2016006-eng.cfm>.

Figure 3.2.4
 Proportion of Aboriginal peoples and visible minorities among respondents and the Canadian population in 2016



N=480

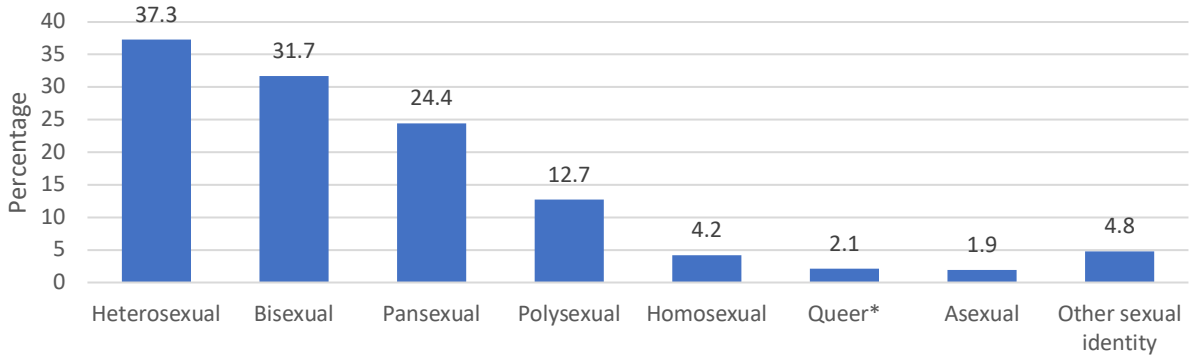
data sources: Aboriginal peoples in Canada: Key results from the 2016 Census, *The Daily* (25 October 25, 2017), Statistics Canada; Statistics Canada, 2016 Census of Population, cat. no. 98-400-X2016190

3.1.3 Sexuality

A significant plurality of respondents described their sexuality as either heterosexual (37.3%) or bisexual (31.7%). Other respondents described their sexuality as pansexual (24.4%), polysexual (12.7%), homosexual (4.2%), queer (2.1%), asexual (1.9%) and heteroflexible (1.3%); see Figure 3.3.1. A small number of respondents (n=17, 3.5%) described their sexuality in still other terms, including *demisexual*, *sapiosexual*, *heterosapiosexual* and *sexually fluid*.

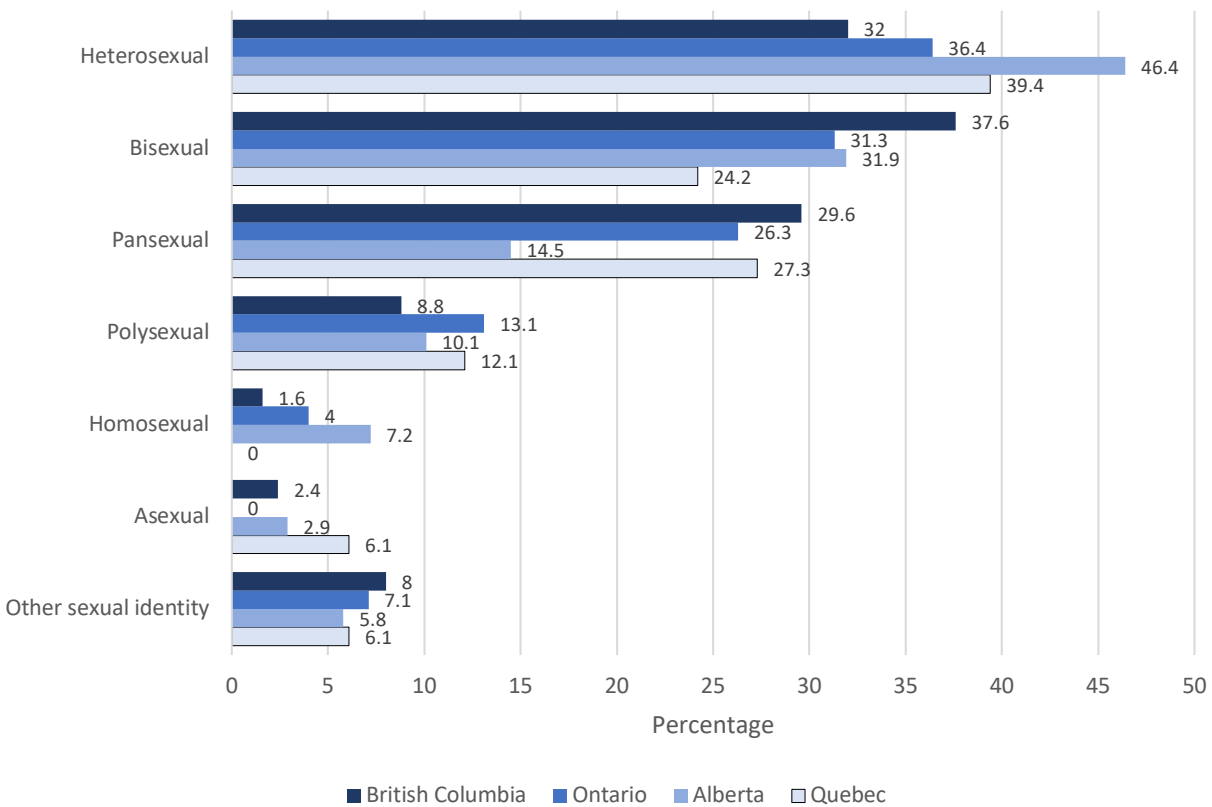
Examined by the four provinces with the greatest number of respondents, respondents residing in Alberta were more likely to describe their sexuality as heterosexual (46.4%) than respondents from Ontario (36.4%), British Columbia (32%) or Quebec (39.4%); see Figure 3.3.2. British Columbia respondents were more likely to describe themselves as bisexual and pansexual (37.6% and 29.6%, respectively) than respondents from Ontario (31.3% and 26.3%), Alberta (31.9% and 14.5%) or Quebec (24.2% and 27.3%). Ontario respondents were slightly more likely to describe themselves as polysexual (13.1%) than respondents from British Columbia (8.8%), Alberta (10.1%) or Quebec (12.1%).

Figure 3.3.1
 Proportionate distribution of respondents' descriptions of their sexuality



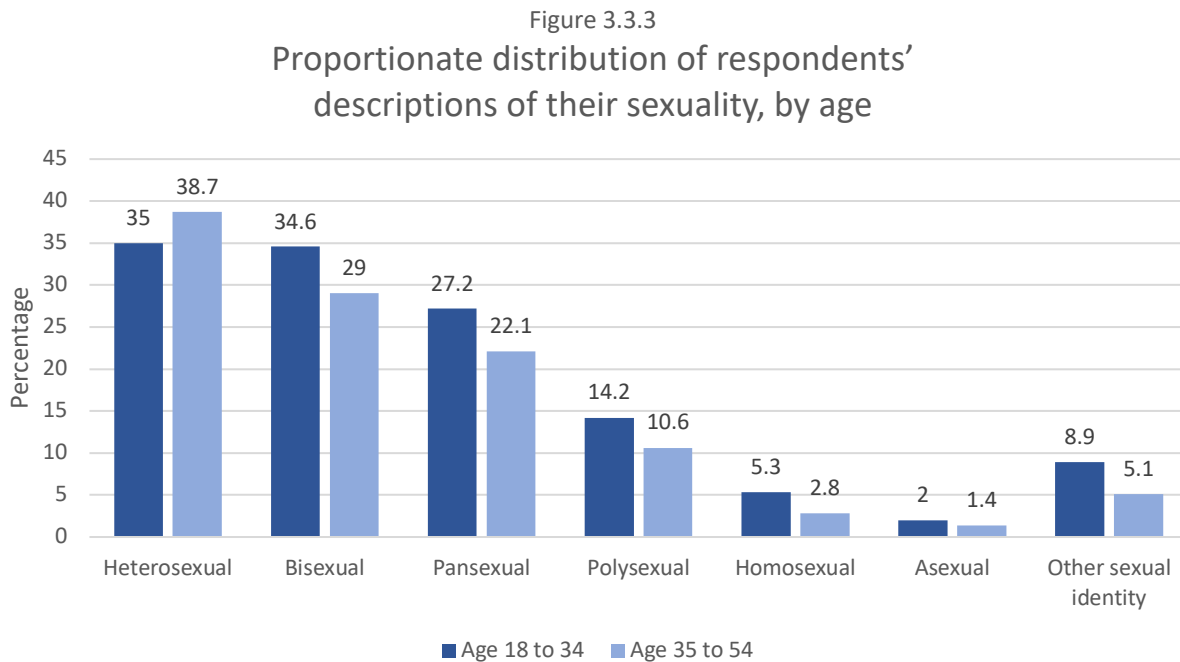
N=480
 multiple response data
 * provided by respondents as write-in response

Figure 3.3.2
 Proportionate distribution of respondents' descriptions of their sexuality in four provinces



n=329
 multiple response data

Examined by age, respondents who were 35 to 54 years old were more likely to identify as heterosexual than younger respondents (38.7%, compared to 35%), and were less likely to describe their sexuality in any other terminology; see Figure 3.3.3.



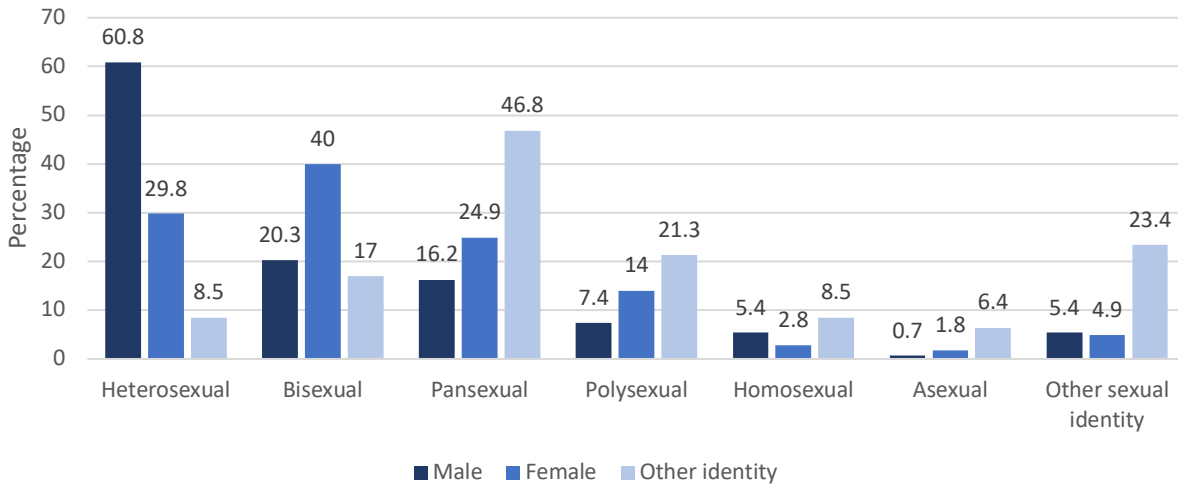
n=463
multiple response data

Examined by gender identity, respondents identifying as male were far more likely to describe themselves as heterosexual (60.8%) than respondents identifying as female (29.8%) or as another gender (8.5%), while respondents identifying as female were far more likely to describe themselves as bisexual (40%) than respondents identifying as male (20.3%) or as another gender (17%); see Figure 3.3.4. Respondents identifying as neither male nor female, however, were much more likely to identify themselves as pansexual (46.8%) than respondents identifying as male or female (16.2% and 24.9%, respectively), as polysexual (21.3%, compared to 7.4% of males and 14% of females), as homosexual (8.5%, compared to 5.4% and 2.8%) and as asexual (6.4%, compared to 0.7% and 1.8%).

Examined by educational attainment, respondents who had obtained a university degree or higher level of education were more likely to describe themselves as heterosexual, bisexual, homosexual or asexual (41.3%, 31.9%, 4.7% and 2.3%, respectively) than respondents with lesser levels of educational attainment (34.1%, 31.5%, 3.7% and 1.5%), while respondents with lesser levels of educational attainment were more likely to describe their sexuality as pansexual (26.6% compared to 21.6%),

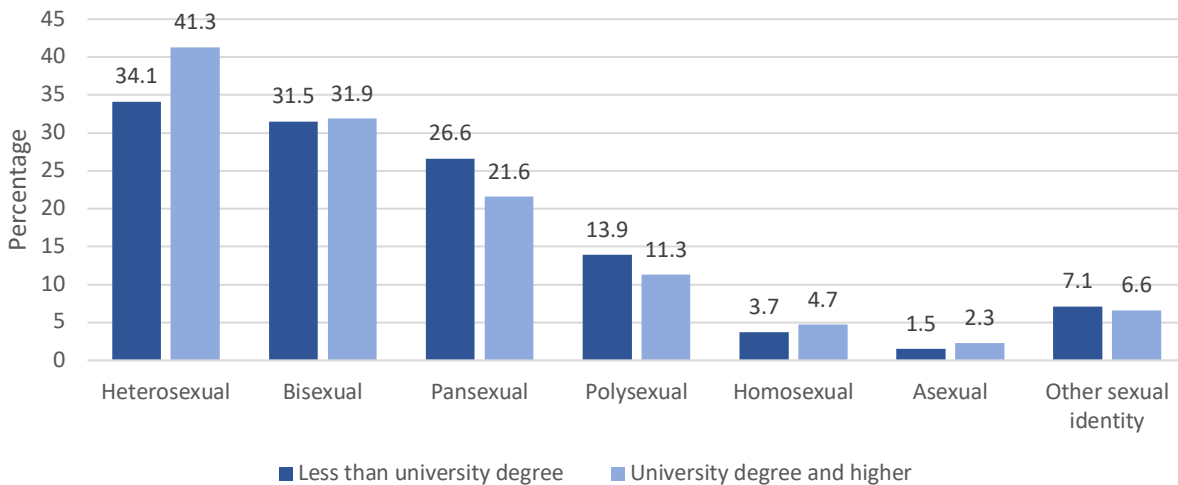
polysexual (13.9% compared to 11.3%) or in other terms (7.1% compared to 6.6%); see Figure 3.3.5.

Figure 3.3.4
Proportionate distribution of respondents' descriptions of their sexuality, by gender identity



N=480
multiple response data

Figure 3.3.5
Proportionate distribution of respondents' descriptions of their sexuality, by educational attainment



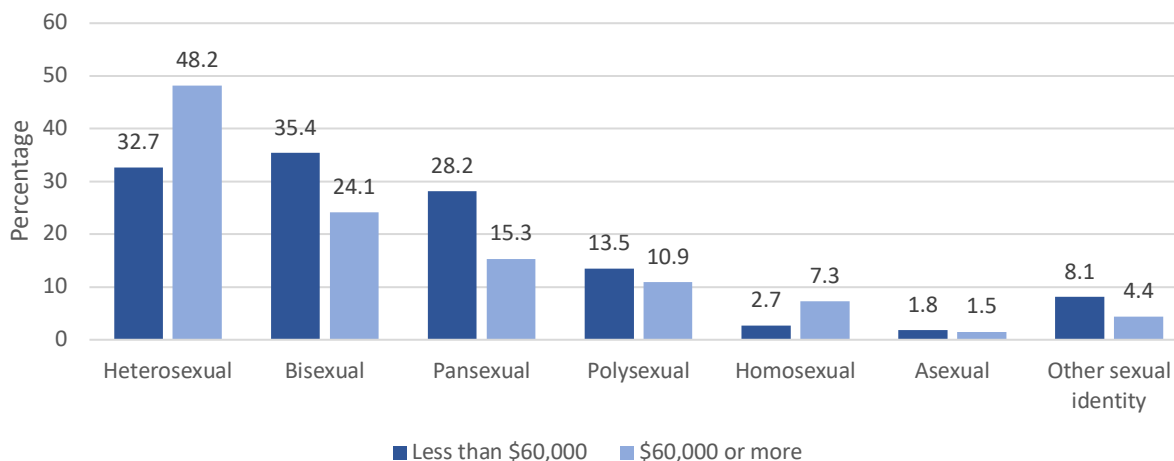
N=480
multiple response data

A somewhat similar pattern emerged when the data were analyzed by respondents' incomes. Respondents who had incomes of \$60,000 or more per year were more likely

to describe themselves as heterosexual or homosexual (48.2% and 7.3%, respectively) than respondents with incomes less than \$60,000 per year (32.7% and 2.7%), while respondents with incomes less than \$60,000 per year were more likely to describe their sexuality as bisexual (35.4% compared to 24.1%), pansexual (28.2% compared to 15.3%), polysexual (13.5% compared to 10.9%), asexual (1.8% compared to 1.5%) or in other terms (8.1% compared to 4.4%); see Figure 3.3.6.

Figure 3.3.6

Proportionate distribution of respondents' descriptions of their sexuality, by personal income



N=480
 missing cases, income=10
 multiple response data

3.1.4 Religious affiliation

Most respondents said that they were atheists or had no religion (n=167, 35.4%), or described their religious affiliation as agnostic (n=137, 29%), Christian (n=61, 12.9%), including Protestant and Roman Catholic, pagan (n=27, 5.7%), “spiritual” (n=17, 3.6%) or Buddhist (n=12, 2.5%); see Table 3.1. A significant number of other respondents (n=51, 10.8%) described their religious affiliation in other terms, including *Aboriginal spiritualist*, *animist*, *Unitarian Universalist* and *Wiccan*.

Table 3.1

Respondents' religious affiliation

Religious affiliation	n	%
Aboriginal spiritualism* / First Nations spirituality*	6	1.3
Agnostic	137	29
Animist*	2	0.4

Religious affiliation	n	%
Asatru*	2	0.4
Atheist / no belief* / non-religious*	167	35.4
Buddhist	12	2.5
Christian, including Protestant and Roman Catholic	61	12.9
Hindu	2	0.4
Jedi*	2	0.4
Jewish	6	1.3
Muslim	1	0.2
Pagan* / heathen* / Celtic pagan*	27	5.7
Polytheist* / pantheist*	3	0.6
Spiritual*	17	3.6
Unitarian Universalist*	6	1.3
Wicca*	10	2.1

N=480

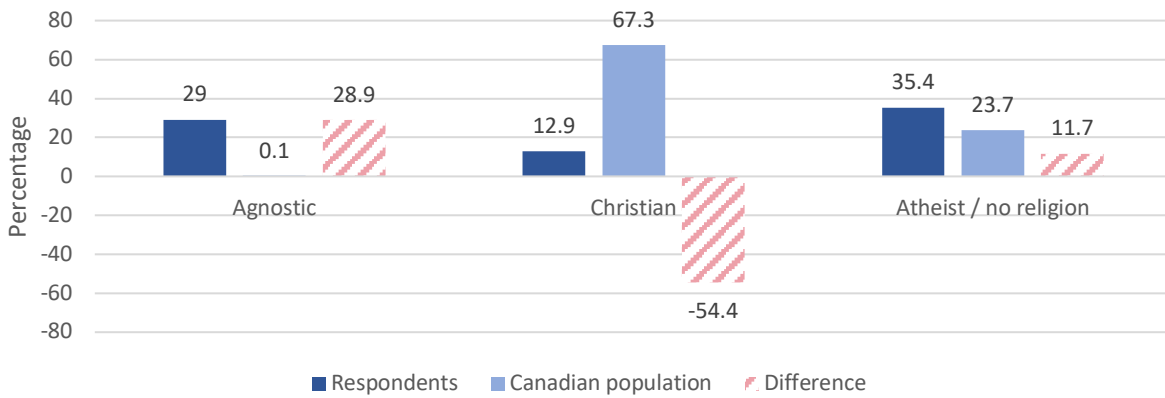
missing cases=8

* provided by respondents as write-in response

The religious affiliation of respondents to the Institute’s study is very different than that of the general Canadian population in 2011, the most recent Census year for which data on religious affiliation was available at the time of writing. In that year, the dominant religious affiliation was Christianity, identified by 67.3% of Canadians as their faith, compared to 12.9% of respondents; see Figure 3.4.1. Slightly more than 0.1% of the general population identified as agnostic, while 23.7% said that they had no religion or were atheist.

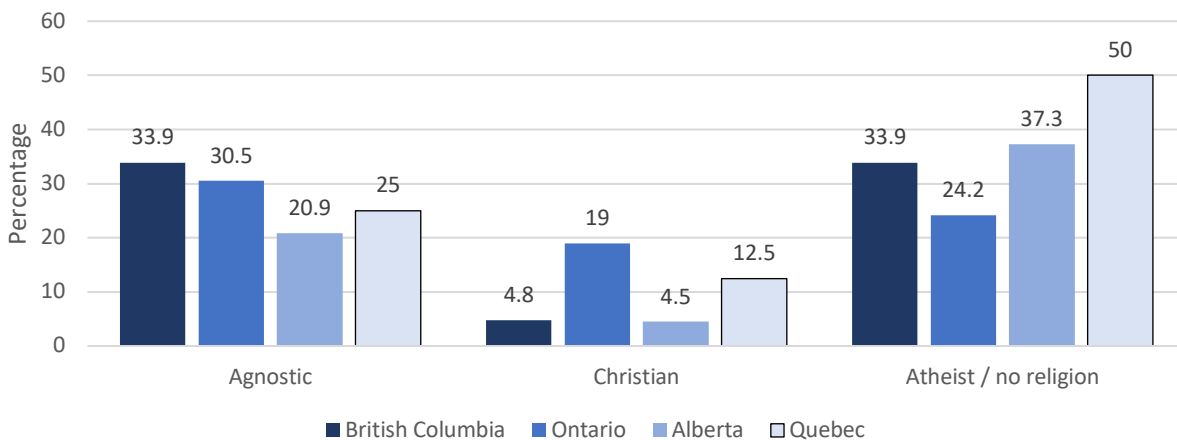
Of the four provinces with the largest number of respondents, half of respondents from Quebec described themselves as atheists (50%), a higher proportion than respondents living in Alberta, British Columbia and Ontario, and a higher proportion than any religious affiliation claimed by respondents living in these provinces; the province with the next highest proportion of atheist respondents was Alberta (37.3%); see Figure 3.4.2. Respondents from British Columbia were most likely to describe themselves as agnostic or atheist (33.9% each), while respondents from Ontario were more likely to describe themselves as agnostic (30.5%) than atheist (24.2%), but were more likely to describe themselves as Christian (19%) than respondents from the other three provinces (British Columbia 4.8%, Alberta 4.5% and Quebec 12.5%).

Figure 3.4.1
 Proportionate distribution of the
 three most common religious affiliations among respondents
 and the Canadian population in 2011



N=480
 missing cases=8
 data source: Statistics Canada, 2011 National Household Survey, cat. no. 99-010-X2011032

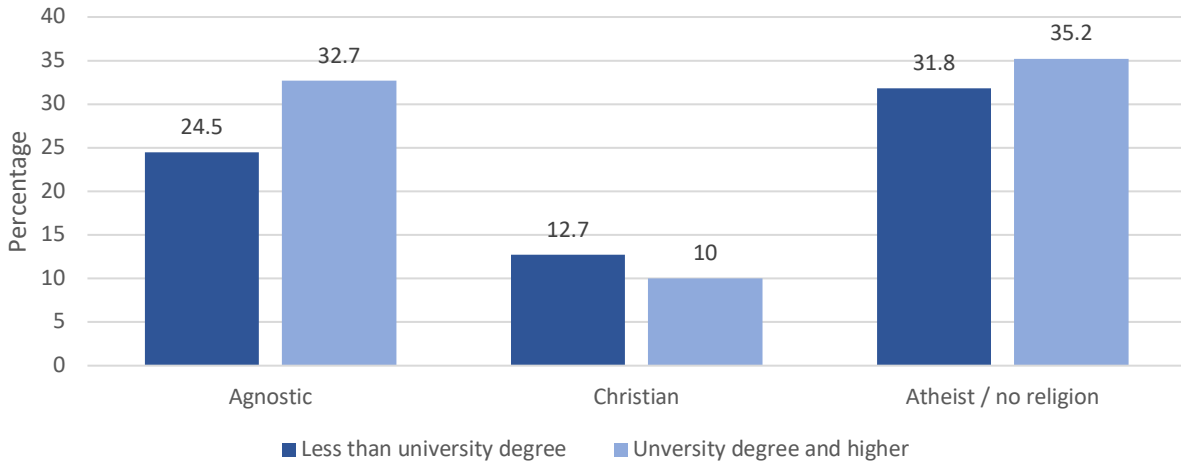
Figure 3.4.2
 Proportionate distribution of the three most common religious
 affiliations among respondents in four provinces



N=480
 missing cases=8

Examined by highest level of educational attainment, respondents who had obtained a university degree or higher level of education were more likely to describe themselves as atheist or agnostic (35.2% and 32.7%, respectively) than respondents with lesser levels of educational attainment (31.8% and 24.5%), while respondents with lesser levels of educational attainment were more likely to describe their religious affiliation as Christian; see Figure 3.4.3.

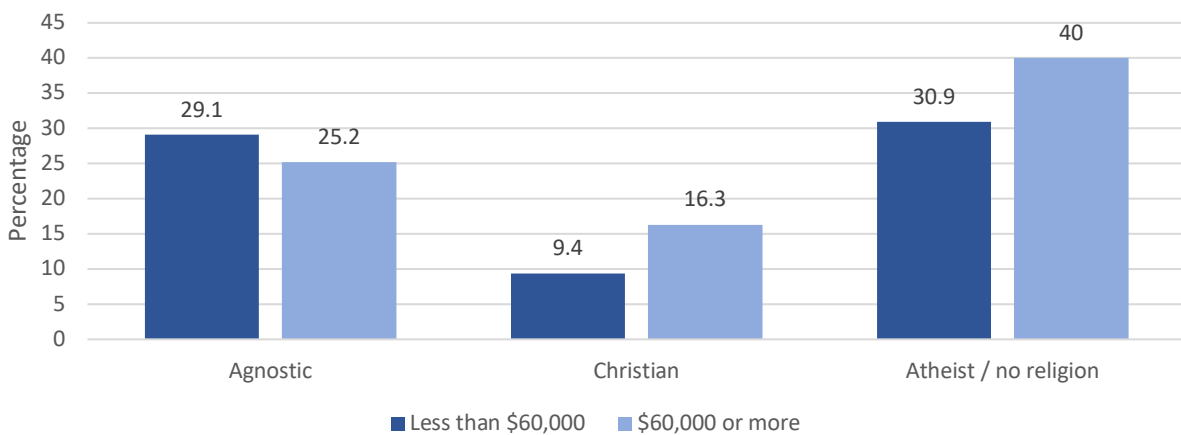
Figure 3.4.3
 Proportionate distribution of three most common religious affiliations among respondents, by educational attainment



N=480
 missing cases=8

Examined by income, however, respondents who had annual incomes of \$60,000 or more were more likely to describe themselves as atheist or Christian (40% and 16.3%, respectively) than respondents with incomes of less than \$60,000 per year (30.9% and 9.4%), while respondents with incomes of less than \$60,000 were somewhat more likely to describe their religious affiliation as agnostic (29.1% compared to 25.2%); see Figure 3.4.4.

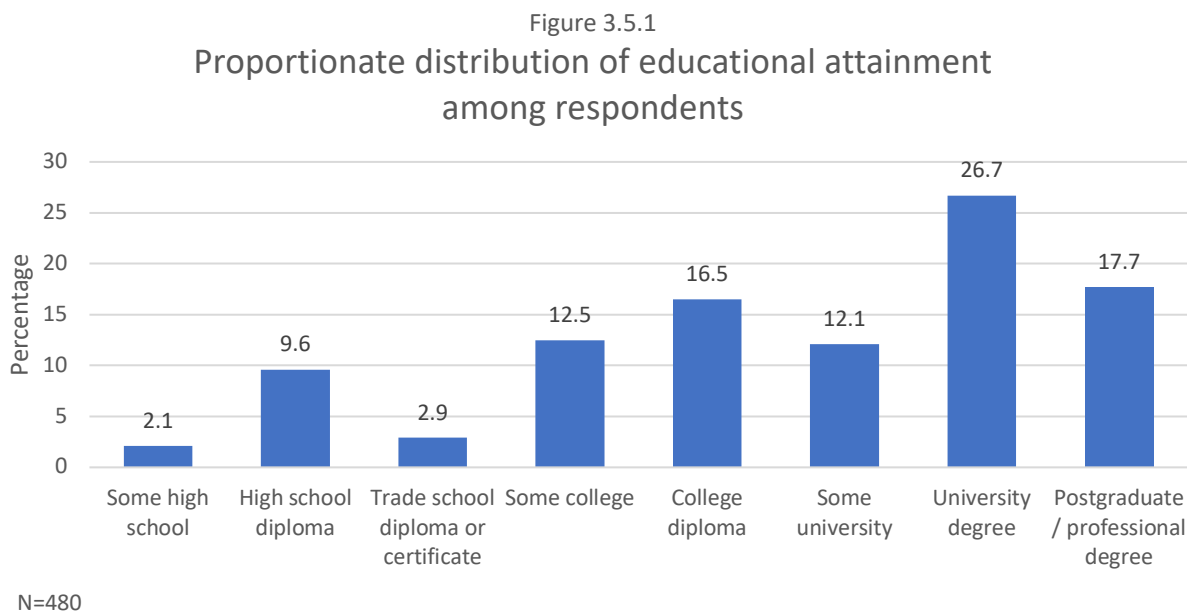
Figure 3.4.4
 Proportionate distribution of three most common religious affiliations among respondents, by personal income



N=480
 missing cases=18

3.1.5 Educational attainment

Respondents reported having high levels of education attainment, with 16.5% having a college diploma (n=79), 26.7% having an undergraduate university degree (n=128) and 17.7% having postgraduate or professional degrees (n=85). Only 11.7% of respondents (n=56) had a high school diploma or less; see Figure 3.5.1.



Examined by gender identity, respondents identifying as male and female shared largely similar levels of education attainment, however respondents with other gender identities were less likely to have attained a university degree or higher; see Table 3.2.

Table 3.2
Proportionate distribution of educational attainment among respondents, by gender identity

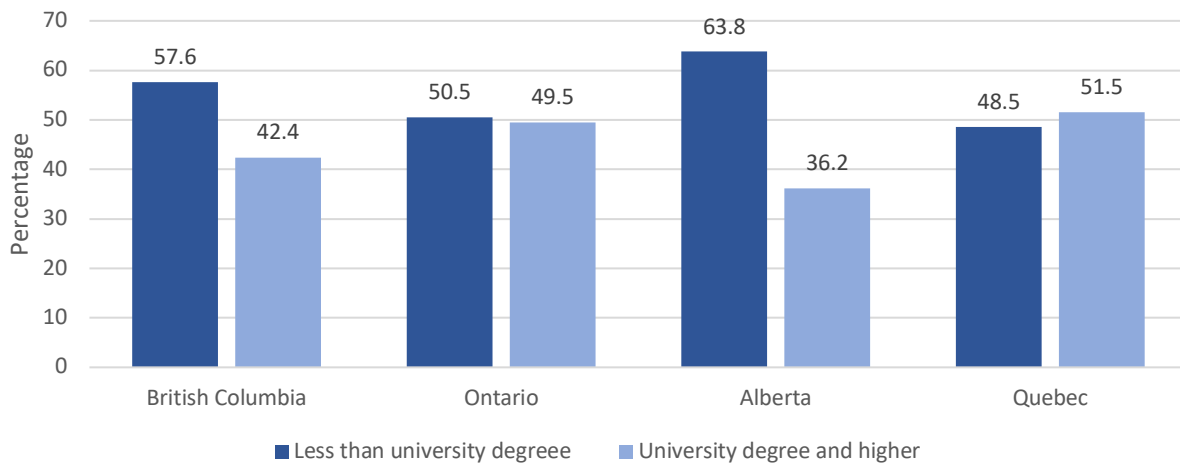
Gender identity	Less than university degree		University degree and higher	
	n	%	n	%
Male	80	54.1	68	45.9
Female	158	55.4	127	44.6
Other identity	29	61.7	18	38.3

N=480

Among respondents living in the four provinces with the highest number of responses to the survey, respondents in Quebec and Ontario were more likely to have attained a university degree or higher (51.5% and 49.5%, respectively) than respondents living in British Columbia and Alberta (42.4% and 36.2%); see Figure 3.5.2. Compared to the general Canadian population, however, respondents were much less likely to have

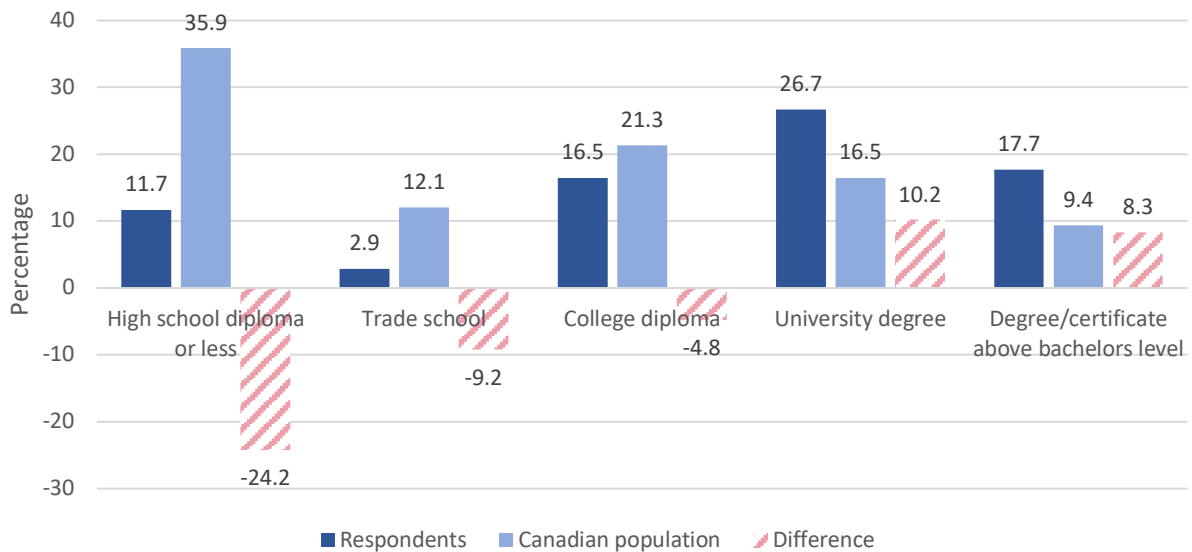
achieved only a high school diploma or less and were more likely to have obtained a university degree or certificate above bachelor level; see Figure 3.5.3. In 2011, 35.9% of the general population had a high school diploma or less, 21.3% had a college diploma, 16.5% had an undergraduate university degree and 9.4% had a certificate or degree above bachelor level.

Figure 3.5.2
Proportion of highest educational attainment among respondents in four provinces



n=326

Figure 3.5.3
Proportion of highest educational attainment among respondents and Canadian population in 2011



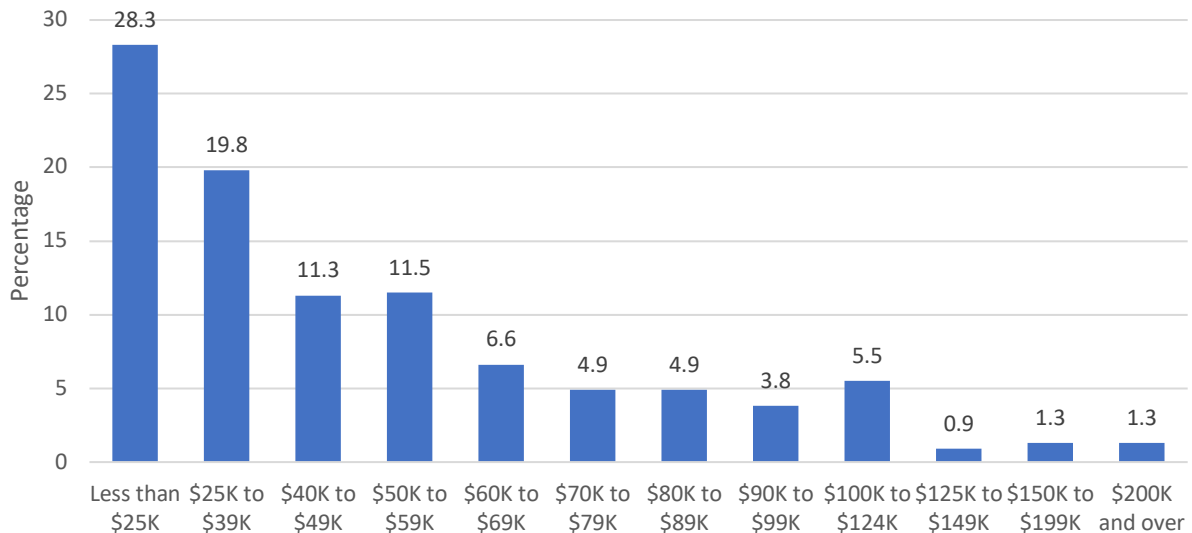
N=480

data source: Statistics Canada, National Household Survey, 2011, *Number and proportion of the population aged 25 to 64 by highest level of educational attainment, Canada, 2011*

3.1.6 Personal income

Respondents reported generally having higher levels of personal income compared to the general Canadian population in 2015, with fewer respondents earning less than \$25,000 per year (28.3% of respondents, compared to 38.6% of Canadians; $\Delta=-10.3\%$) and more earning between \$25,000 and \$49,999 per year (31.1%, compared to 28.7%; $\Delta=2.4\%$), more earning between \$50,000 and \$99,999 per year (31.7%, compared to 24.3%; $\Delta=7.4\%$) and more earning between \$100,000 and \$149,999 per year (6.4%, compared to 5.4%; $\Delta=1\%$); see Figures 3.6.1 and 3.6.2.³⁴

Figure 3.6.1
Proportionate distribution of respondents' individual incomes

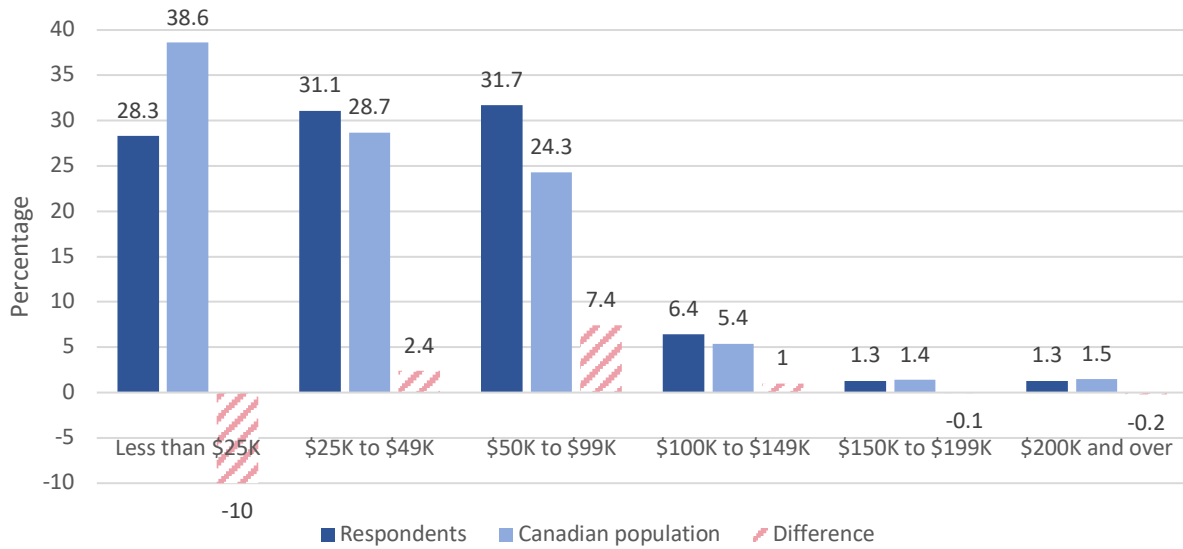


N=480
missing cases=10

Examined by age, respondents who were aged 35 to 54 tended to have higher incomes than younger respondents; see Figure 3.6.3. Substantially more respondents younger than 35 had incomes less than \$50,000 per year than older respondents (71.4% of younger respondents, compared to 45% of older respondents), while more respondents 35 to 54 years old than younger respondents had incomes between \$50,000 and \$99,999 (41.2% of older respondents, compared to 23.9% of younger respondents) and incomes of \$100,000 or more (13.6%, compared to 4.5%).

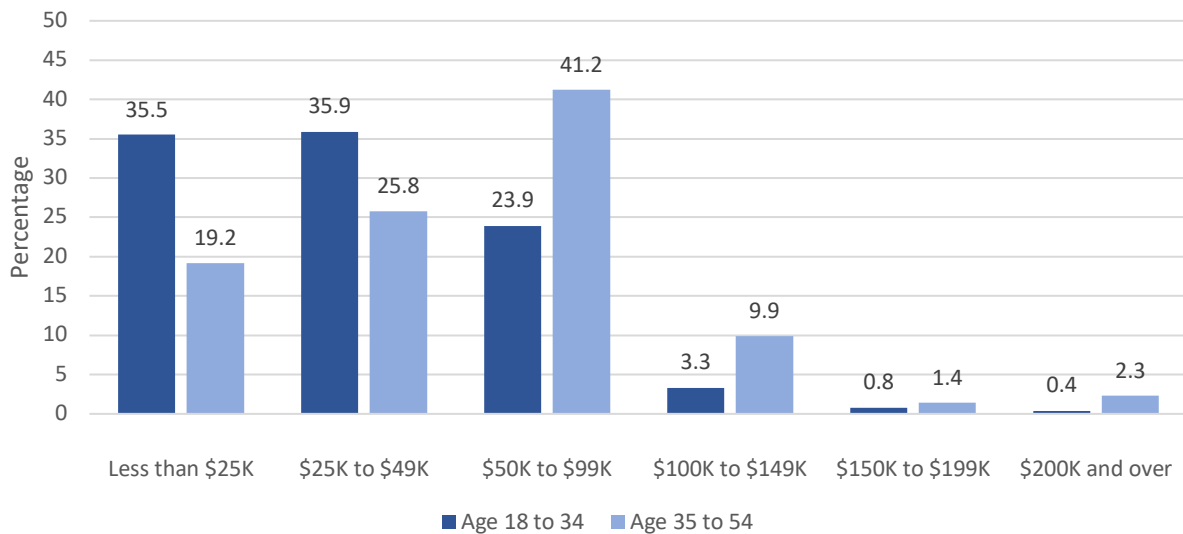
³⁴ See also the discussion of respondents' household incomes at §3.2.4 below.

Figure 3.6.2
 Proportionate distribution of income of respondents and
 income-earning Canadians in 2015



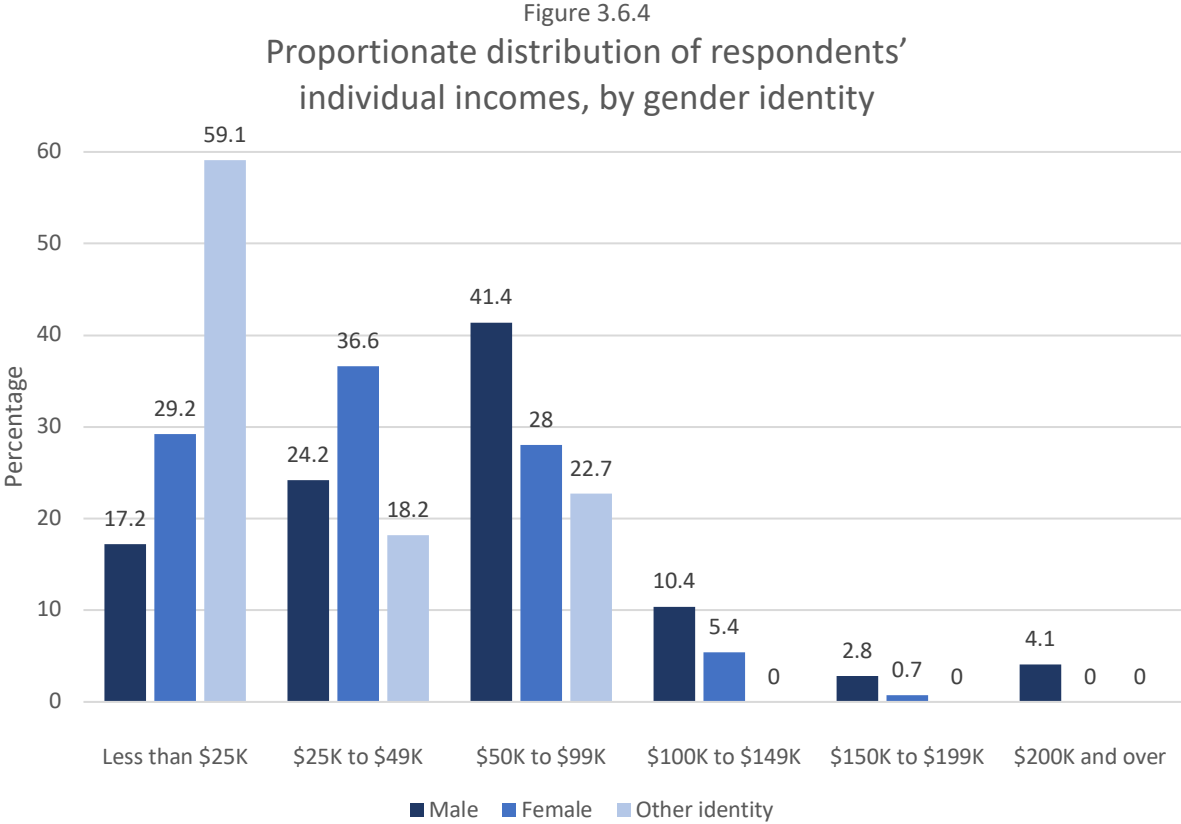
N=480
 missing cases=10
 data source: Statistics Canada, CANSIM Table 111-0008, *Characteristics of individuals, tax filers and dependents with income by total income, sex and age groups, annual*

Figure 3.6.3
 Proportionate distribution of respondents'
 individual incomes, by age



N=480
 missing cases=8

Examined by gender identity, respondents identifying as male were much more likely to have incomes above \$50,000 per year (58.7%) than respondents identifying as female (34.1%) or as another other gender identity (22.7%), echoing the gendered patterns of income distribution prevailing among the general Canadian population,³⁵ however respondents with another gender identity were more than twice as likely to have incomes below \$25,000 per year (59.1%) than respondents identifying as female (29.2%) and more than three times as likely than respondents identifying as male (17.2%); see Figure 3.6.4.

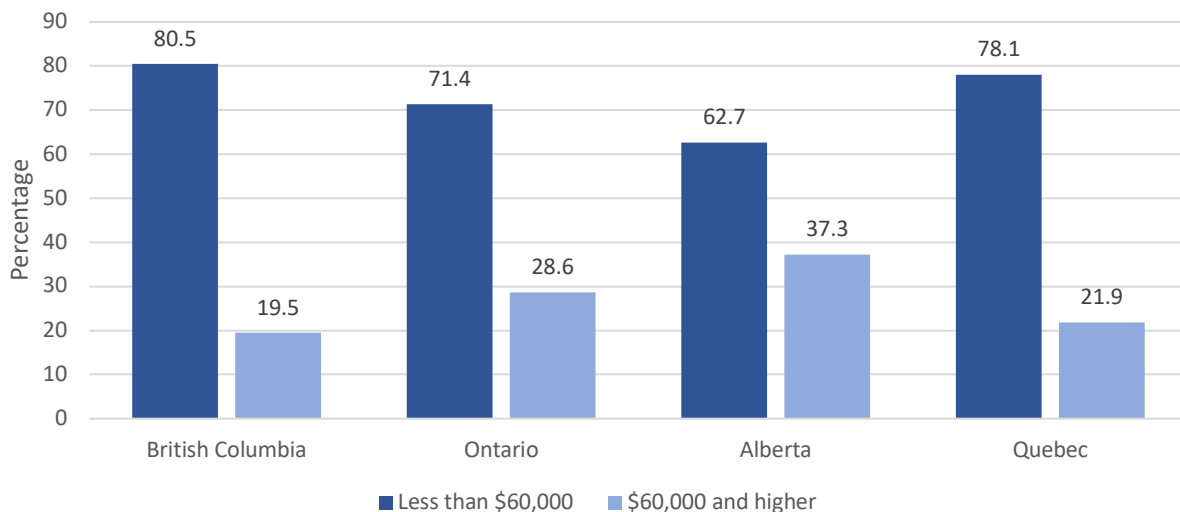


N=480
missing cases=10

Among respondents living in the four provinces with the highest number of responses to the survey, respondents in Alberta were most likely to have incomes of \$60,000 per year or higher (37.3%), and respondents living in British Columbia were most likely to have annual incomes of less than \$60,000 (80.5%), followed closely by respondents living in Quebec (78.1%); see Figure 3.6.5.

³⁵ See Statistics Canada, 2011 National Household Survey, Selected demographic, sociocultural and labour characteristics, cat. no. 99-014-X2011035.

Figure 3.6.5
Proportionate distribution of respondents' individual incomes in four provinces



n=326
missing cases=6

3.2 Characteristics of relationships and households

This section describes the characteristics of respondents' relationships and households, including: respondents' present and past involvement in polyamorous relationships; household make-up, including the presence of children; household income; and, steps taken to formalize the rights and responsibilities of members of respondents' relationships. As a result of limitations in the survey instrument, discussed in the next chapter, the data collected are presented without detailed analysis.³⁶

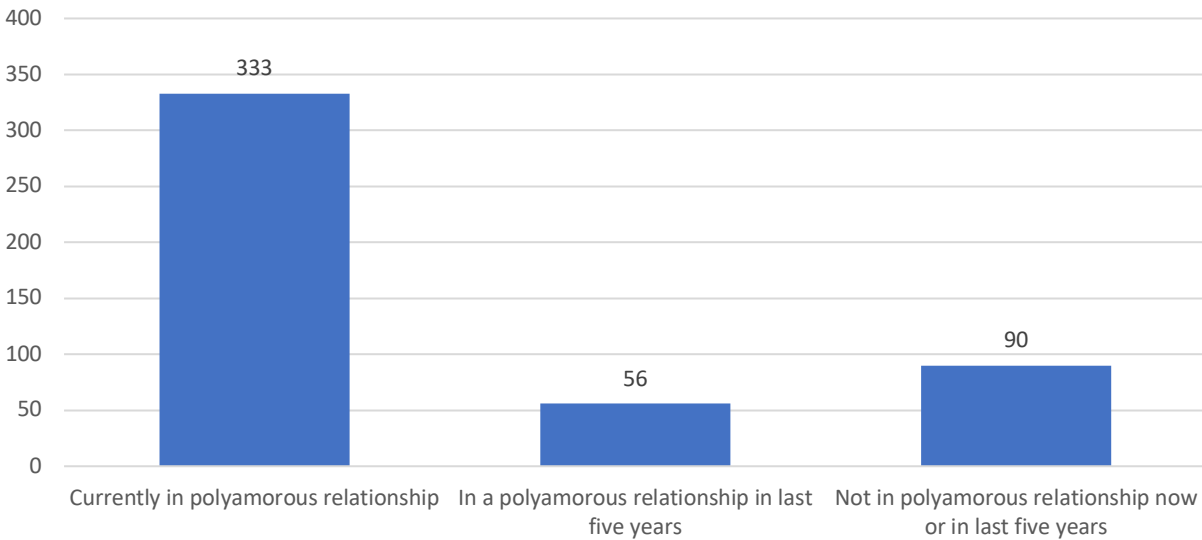
3.2.1 Relationship status

Most respondents said that they were in a polyamorous relationship at the time they completed the survey (n=333, 69.5%). Of the remaining respondents, 11.7% (n=56) said that they had been in a polyamorous relationship within the last five years, leaving only 18.8% of all respondents (n=90) who were neither in a polyamorous relationship nor had been in such a relationship in the previous five years; see Figure 3.7.1.³⁷

³⁶ See §4.1 below.

³⁷ One respondent declined to answer this question.

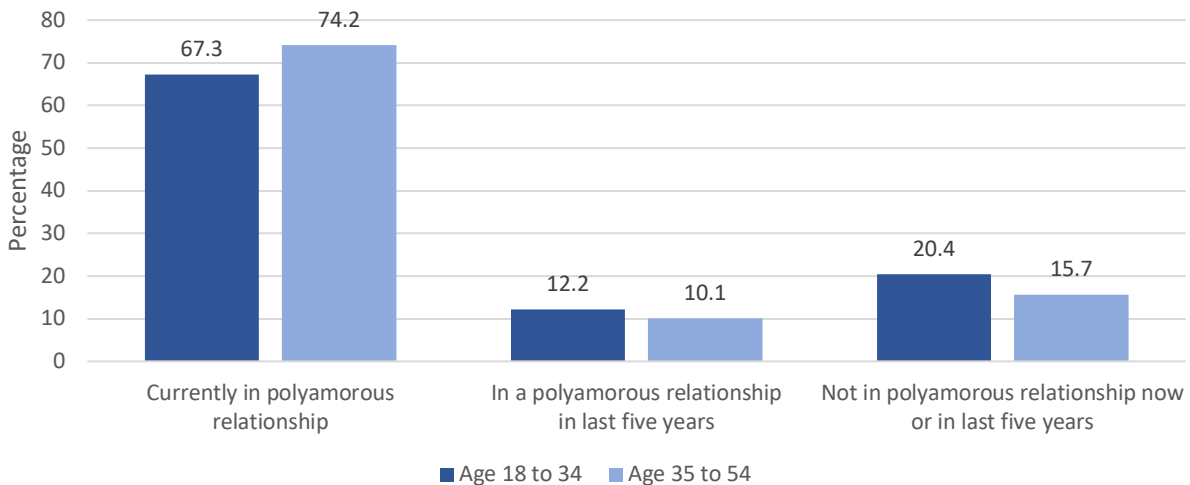
Figure 3.7.1
 Respondents' relationship status at time of survey



N=480
 missing cases=1

Examined by age, respondents who were 35 to 54 years old were more likely to say that they were in a polyamorous relationship than younger respondents (74.2%, compared to 67.3%), and of those who said they were not in a polyamorous relationship, fewer had not been in such a relationship in the previous five years than younger respondents (15.7%, compared to 20.4%); see Figure 3.7.2.

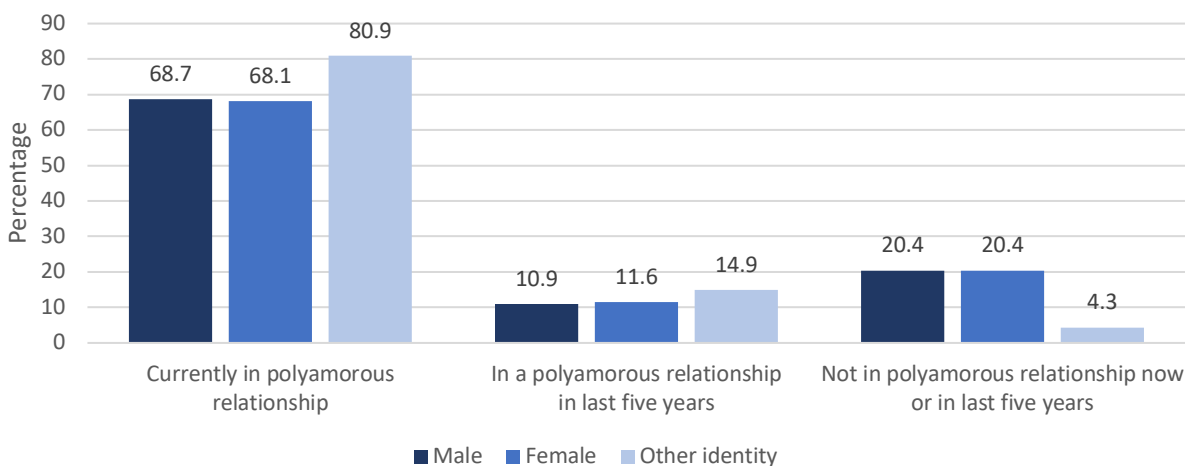
Figure 3.7.2
 Proportionate distribution of respondents' relationship status at time of survey, by age



N=480
 missing cases=18

Examined by gender identity, respondents who identify as male and female were almost equally likely to say that they were in a polyamorous relationship at the time of the survey (68.7% and 68.1%, respectively) and that they had been in such a relationship within the last five years (10.9% and 11.6%). However, respondents identifying as neither male nor female were more likely to say that they were in a polyamorous relationship (80.9%) or had been in one within the last five years (14.9%); see Figure 3.7.3.

Figure 3.7.3
Proportionate distribution of respondents' relationship status at time of survey, by gender identity

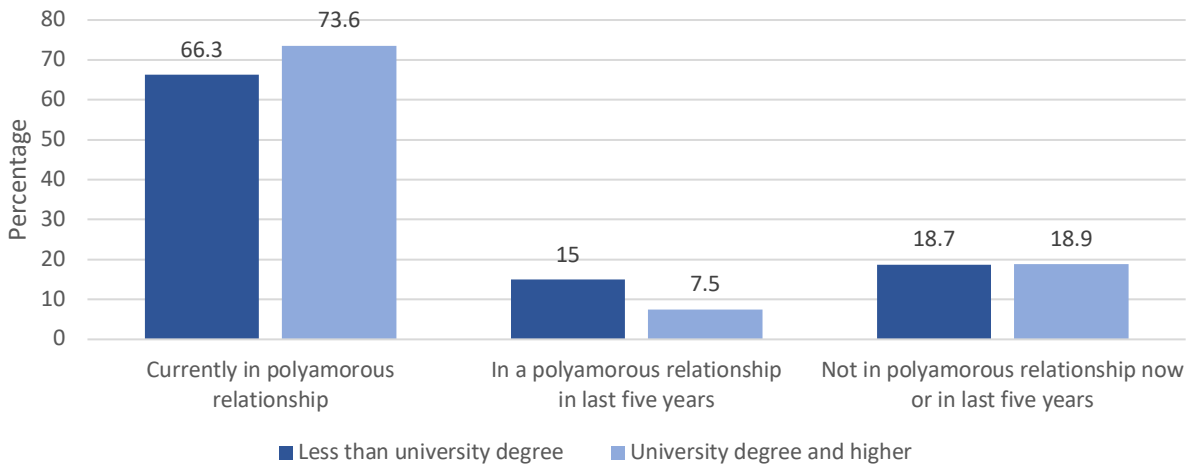


N=480
missing cases=1

Respondents who had obtained a university degree or higher level of education were more likely to say that they were in a polyamorous relationship at the time they completed the survey (73.6%) than respondents with lesser levels of educational attainment (66.3%), but were less likely to say that they had been in a polyamorous relationship in the last five years (7.5% compared to 15%); see Figure 3.7.4.

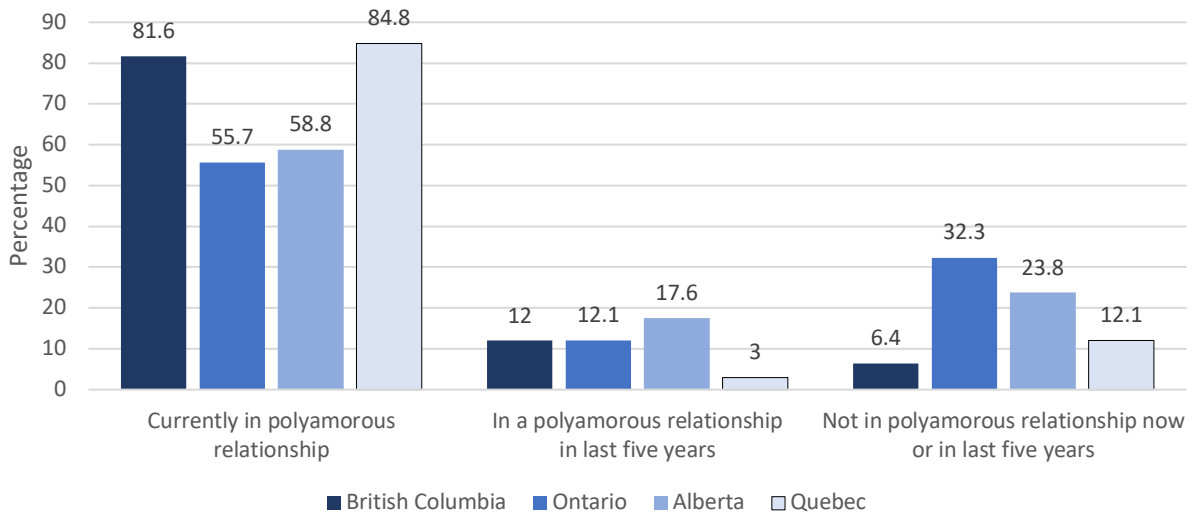
Examined by the four provinces with the greatest numbers of respondents, respondents living in Quebec and British Columbia were more likely to say that they were in a polyamorous relationship at the time they completed the survey (84.8% and 81.6%, respectively) than respondents living in either Alberta or Ontario (58.8% and 55.7%), and respondents living in Alberta and Ontario were more likely to say that there were not in a polyamorous relationship at the time of completing the survey nor had been in such a relationship within the past five years (23.8% and 32.3%, respectively) than respondents living in Quebec or British Columbia (12.1% and 6.4%); see Figure 3.7.5.

Figure 3.7.4
 Proportionate distribution of respondents' relationship status at time of survey, by educational attainment



N=480
 missing cases=1

Figure 3.7.5
 Proportionate distribution of respondents' relationship status at time of survey, among respondents in four provinces

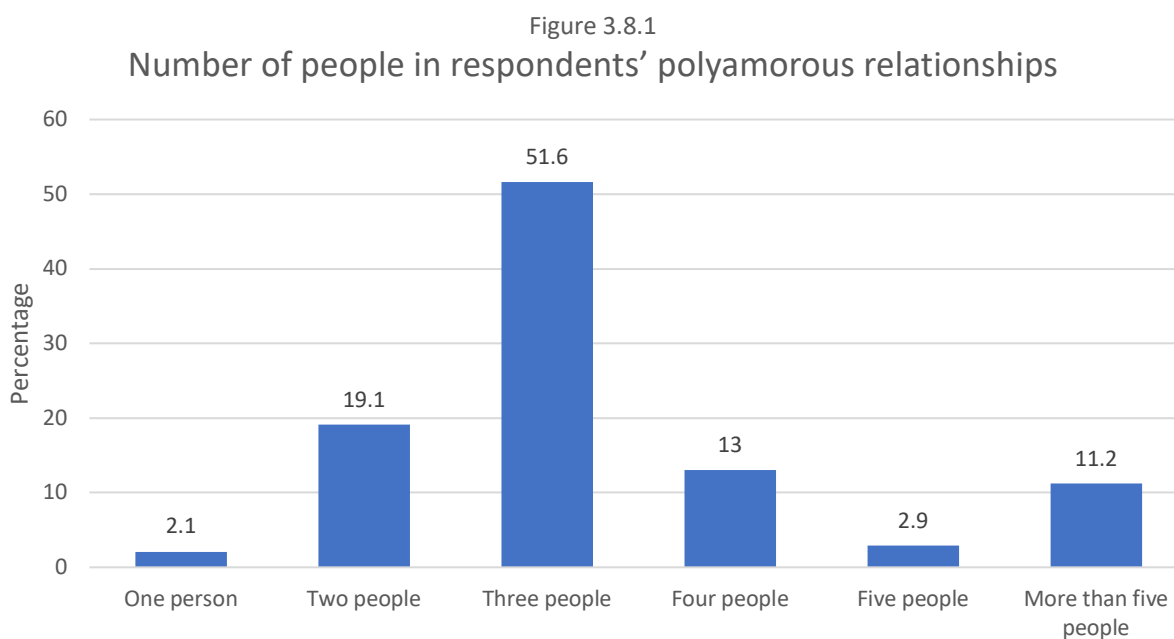


n=326
 missing cases=1

3.2.2 Relationship makeup and living arrangements

Respondents who were or had been in a polyamorous relationship in the last five years were asked *How many people are in your polyamorous relationship?* and were given the option of choosing *one, two, three, four, five or more than five* people. Most respondents

said that there were three people in their relationship (n=194, 51.6%). The next most common responses were that there were two people in their relationship (n=72, 19.1%), four people (n=49, 13%) and more than five people (n=42, 11.2%); see Figure 3.8.1.

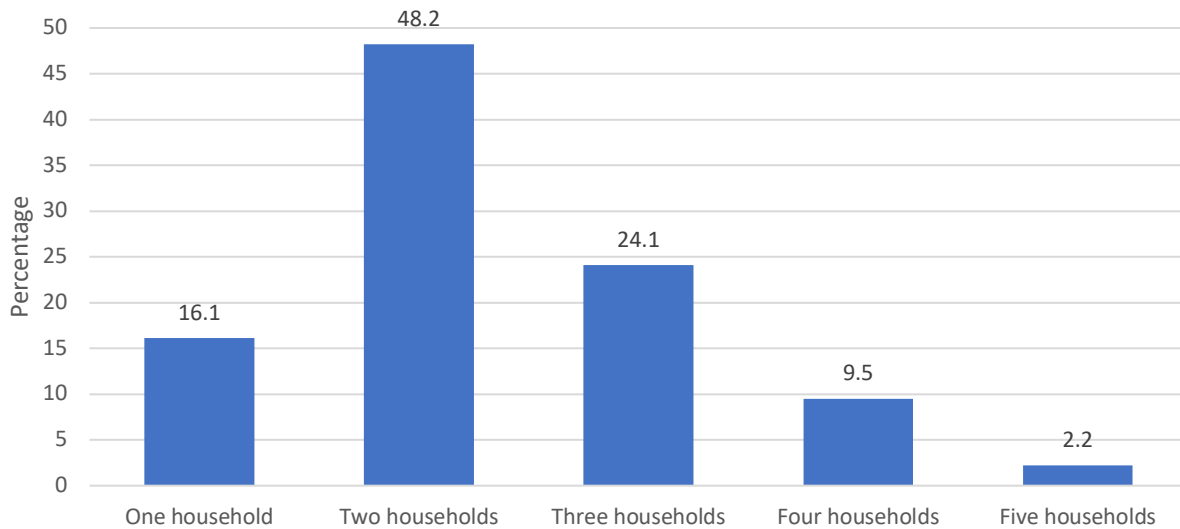


n=389
missing cases=13

Respondents who were or had recently been in a polyamorous relationship were asked *Do all members of your relationship live in the same household?* More respondents said that the members of their relationship do not live in the same household (n=305, 79%) than those who said that the members of their relationship all live in the same house (n=81, 21%). Respondents who said that the members of their relationship do not live in the same household were asked *How many households do your partners live in?* and given the option of choosing *one, two, three, four, five* or *more than five* households. Most respondents said that the members of their relationship live in two households (n=132, 48.2%), followed by three households (n=66, 24.1%); see Figure 3.8.2. No respondents said that the members of their relationship live in more than five households.

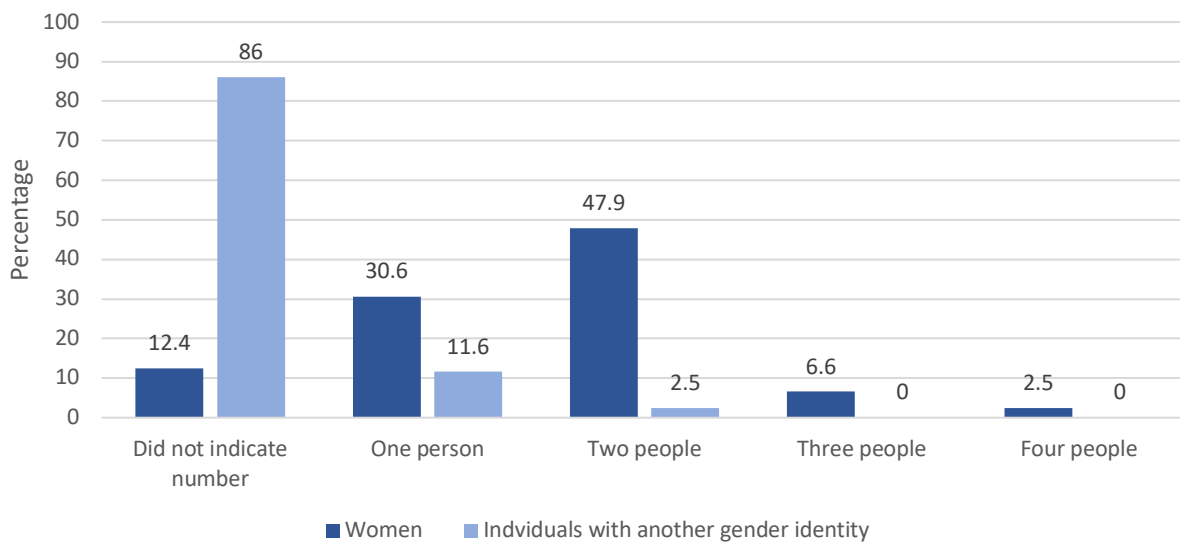
These respondents were also asked *How many people in your relationship/household are male, female or another gender?* and given the option of choosing *one, two, three, four, five* or *more than five* for each gender alternative. Respondents did not have the option of choosing “none” but could leave the number of men, women or individuals with another gender identity unanswered. Most relationships involving one man (n=121) also involved two women (n=58, 47.9%) or one woman (n=37, 30.6%); see Figure 3.8.3.

Figure 3.8.2
 Number of households occupied by the members of respondents' polyamorous relationships



n=305
 missing cases=31

Figure 3.8.3
 In respondents' relationships involving *one man*, number of women and individuals with another gender identity



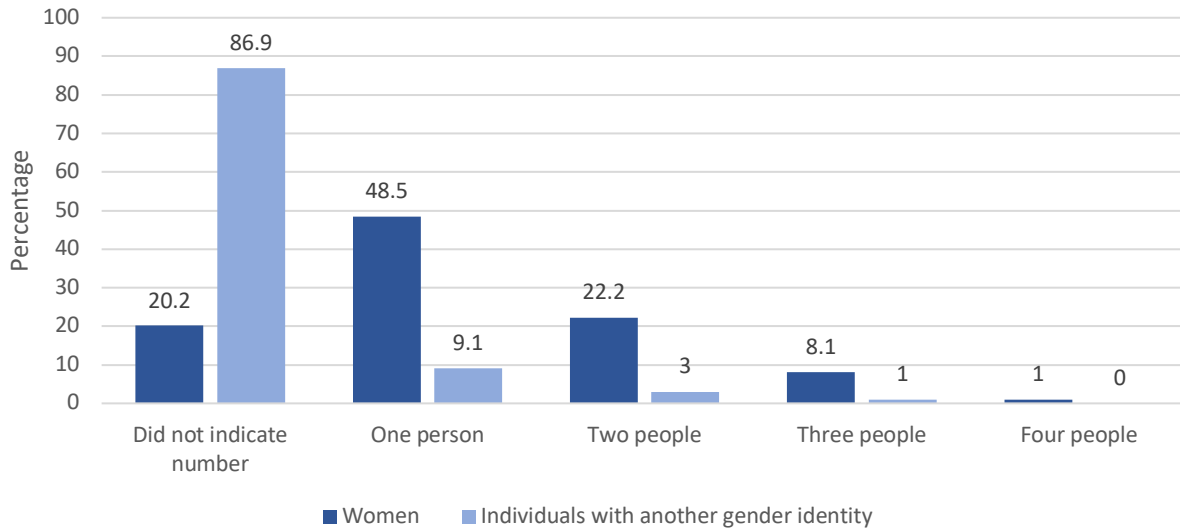
n=121

Most relationships involving two men (n=99) also involved one woman (n=48, 48.5%) or two women (n=22, 22.2%); see Figure 3.8.4. Most relationships involving three men (n=30) also involved three women (n=8, 26.7%), one woman (n=7, 23.3%) or no other individuals; see Figure 3.8.5. Most relationships involving four men

(n=8) also involved three women (n=3, 37.5%) or no other individuals; see Figure 3.8.6.

Figure 3.8.4

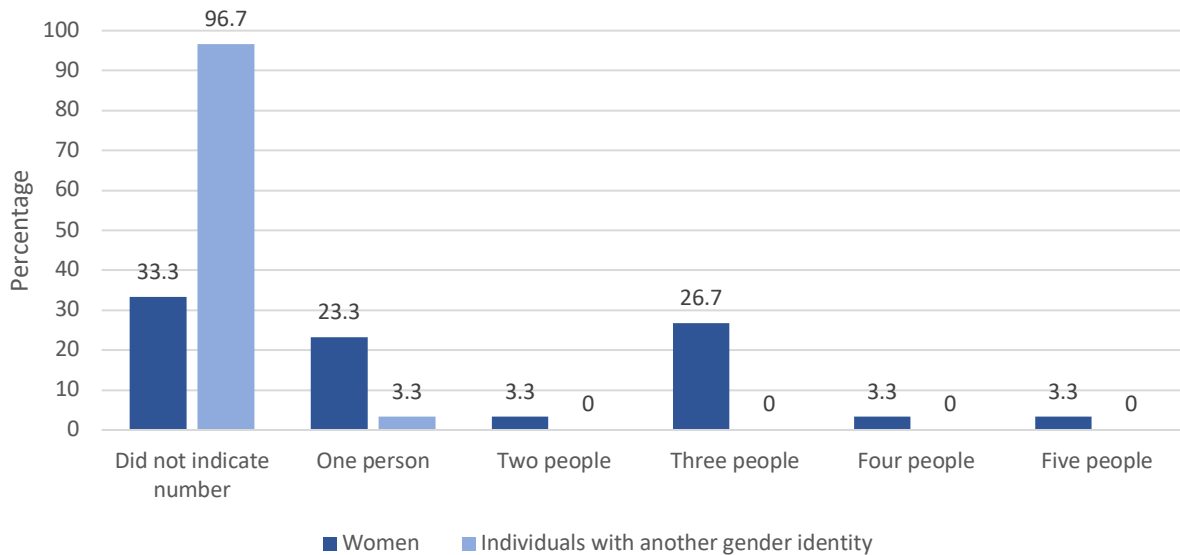
In respondents' relationships involving *two men*, number of women and individuals with another gender identity



n=99

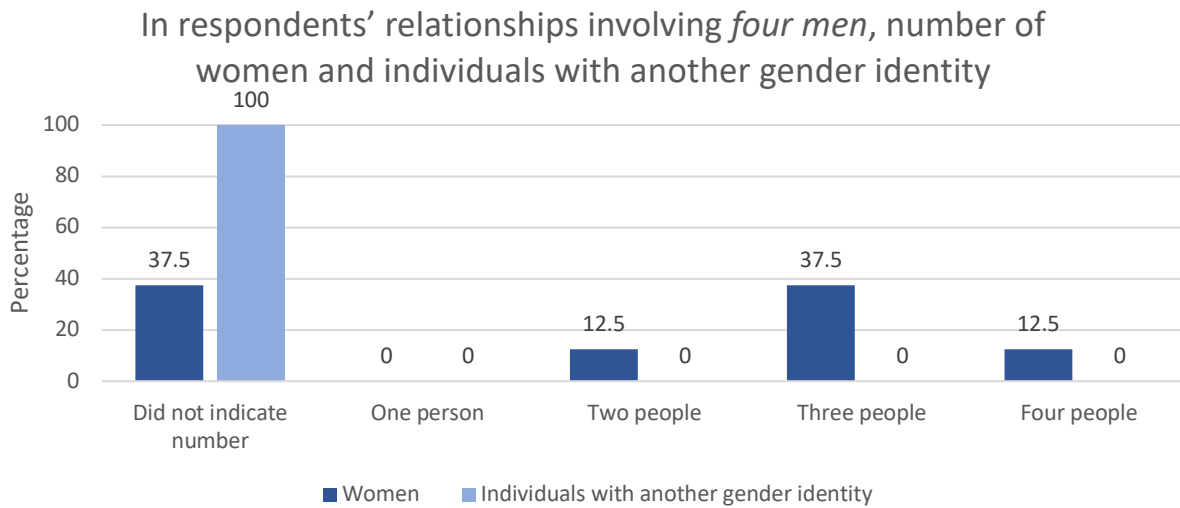
Figure 3.8.5

In respondents' relationships involving *three men*, number of women and individuals with another gender identity



n=30

Figure 3.8.6



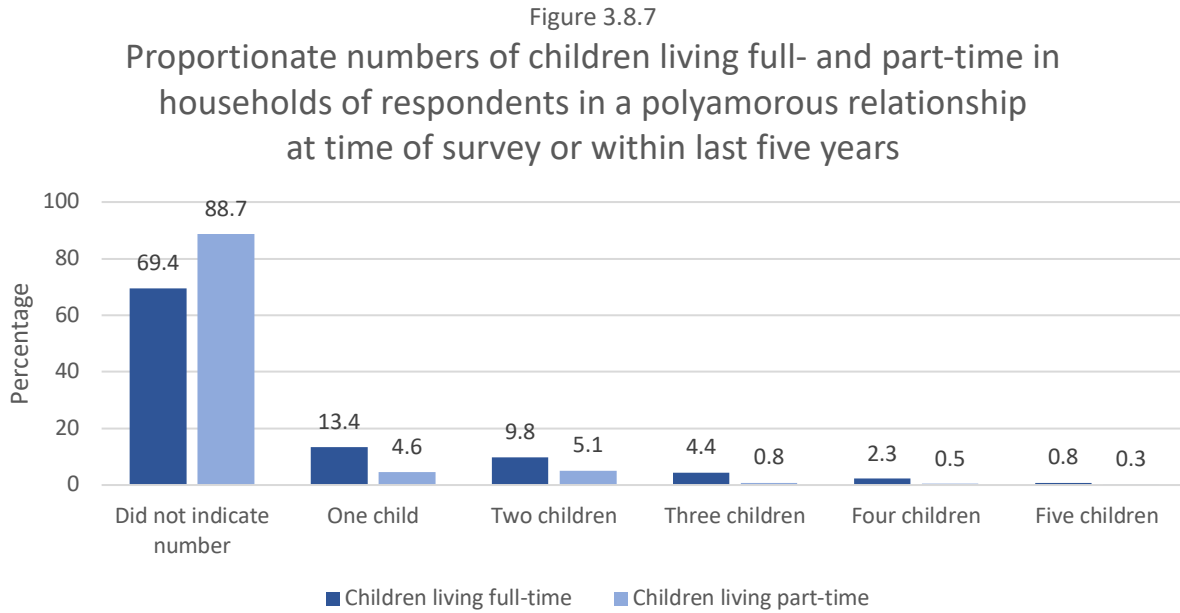
n=8

Respondents who said that they were in a polyamorous relationship at the time of the survey, or had been in the previous five years, were asked *How many children under the age of 19 live full-time in your household under the care of one or more parents or guardians?* and given the option of choosing *one* through *ten* children. Respondents did not have the option of choosing “none” but could leave the number of children blank. Slightly less than a third of these respondents (n=119, 30.6%) said that they had at least one child living in their household full-time. The most common number of children residing full-time in respondents’ households was one child (n=52, 13.4%), followed by two children (n=38, 9.8%) and three children (n=17, 4.4%); see Figure 3.8.7. No respondents said that more than five children live in their household full-time.

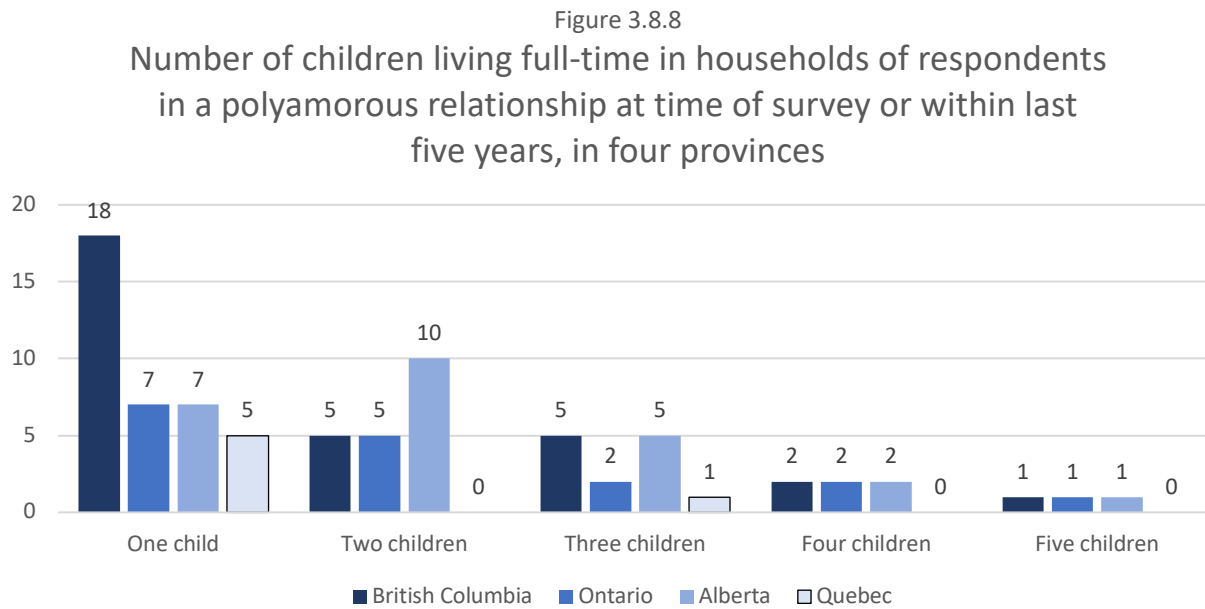
These respondents were also asked *How many children under the age of 19 live part-time in your household in the care of one or more parents or guardians?* and given the option of choosing *one* through *ten* children. Respondents did not have the option of choosing “none” but could leave the number of children blank. More than a tenth of these respondents (n=44, 11.3%) said that they had at least one child living in their household part-time. The most common number of children residing part-time in respondents’ households was two children (n=20, 5.1%), followed by one child (n=18, 4.6%); also see Figure 3.8.7. No respondents said that more than five children live in their household part-time.

Examined by the four provinces with the greatest numbers of respondents, and including only those respondents who were or had recently been in a polyamorous relationship, respondents living in Alberta and British Columbia were more likely to

say that they had children full-time in their households (48.1% and 26.5%, respectively) than respondents living in Ontario and Quebec (25.4% and 20.7%) and had a greater total number of children living with them (55 and 56 children, compared to 36 and 8 children); see Figure 3.8.8.



n=389



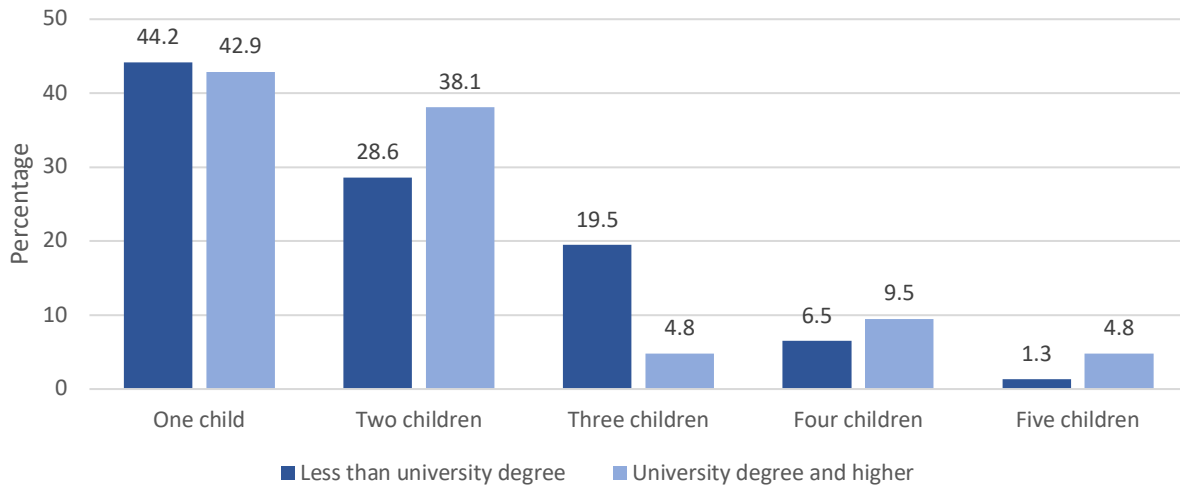
n=265

Examined by educational attainment, a greater proportion of respondents who had attained less than a university degree reported having one or three children living full-time in their households than respondents with higher levels of educational attainment

(44.2% and 19.5%, respectively, compared to 42.9% and 4.8%), while a greater proportion of respondents with higher levels of educational attainment reported having two, four or five children living in their households (38.1%, 9.5% and 4.8%, compared to 28.6%, 6.5% and 1.3%); see Figure 3.8.9. However, more children lived full-time in the households of respondents who had attained less than a university degree (148 children) than in other respondents' households (82 children); see Figure 3.8.10.

Figure 3.8.9

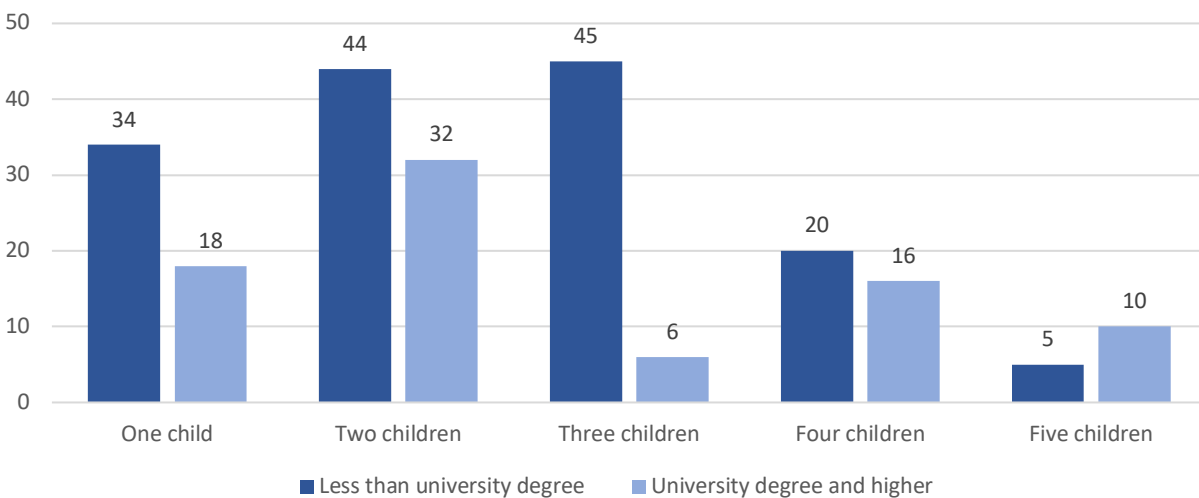
Proportionate numbers of children living full-time in respondents' households, by educational attainment



n=119

Figure 3.8.10

Number of children living full-time in respondents' households, by educational attainment

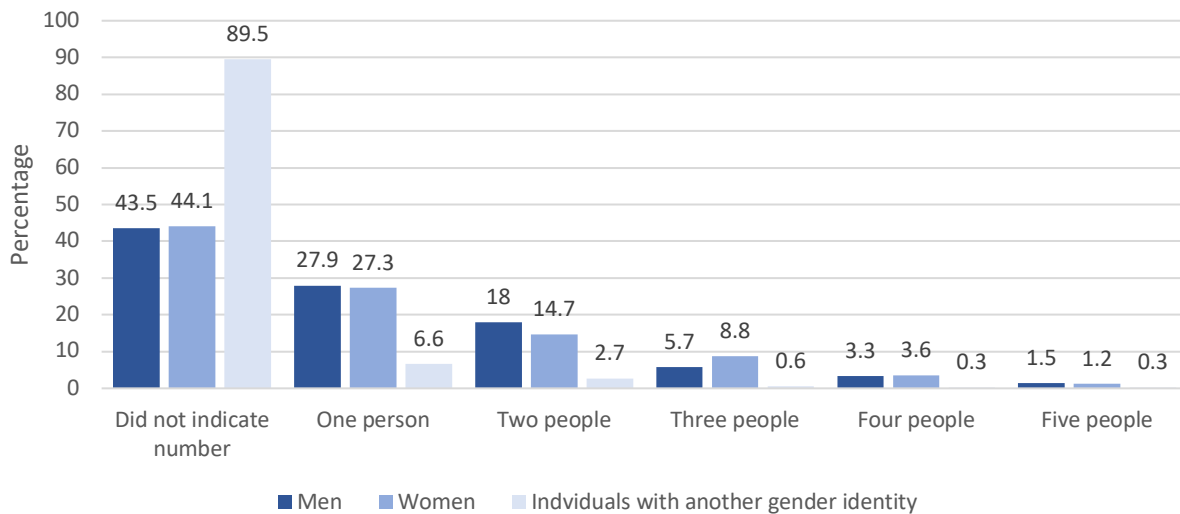


n=119

3.2.3 Relationship changes

Respondents who said they were in a polyamorous relationship at the time they completed the survey were asked *In the last five years, how many new people joined your relationship?* and given the option of choosing *one, two, three, four, five or more than five* for each gender alternative. These respondents did not have the option of choosing “none” but could leave the number of individuals identifying as men, women or another gender identity unanswered. Most respondents said that men had joined their relationship in the past five years (n=188), followed by women (n=186) and people with a different gender identity (n=35); see Figure 3.9.1. No respondents said that more than five people of any gender identity had joined their relationship in the last five years.

Figure 3.9.1
Proportion of men, women and individuals with other gender identities joining respondents’ relationships in last five years

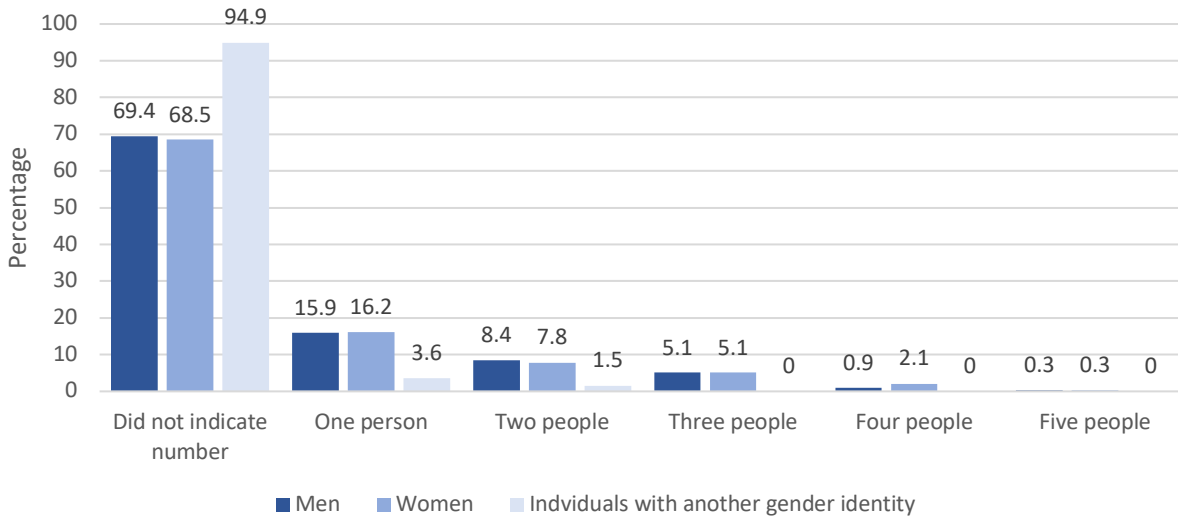


n=333

Respondents who were in a polyamorous relationship at the time they completed the survey were also asked *In the last five years, how many people left your relationship?* and given the option of choosing *one, two, three, four, five or more than five* for each gender alternative. Again, respondents did not have the option of choosing “none” but could leave the number of men, women or individuals with another gender identity blank. Most respondents said that women had left their relationship in the past five years (n=105), followed by men (n=102) and people with a different gender identity (n=17); see Figure 3.9.2. No respondents said that more than five people of any gender identity had left their relationship in the last five years.

Figure 3.9.2

Proportion of men, women and individuals with other gender identities leaving respondents' relationships in last five years



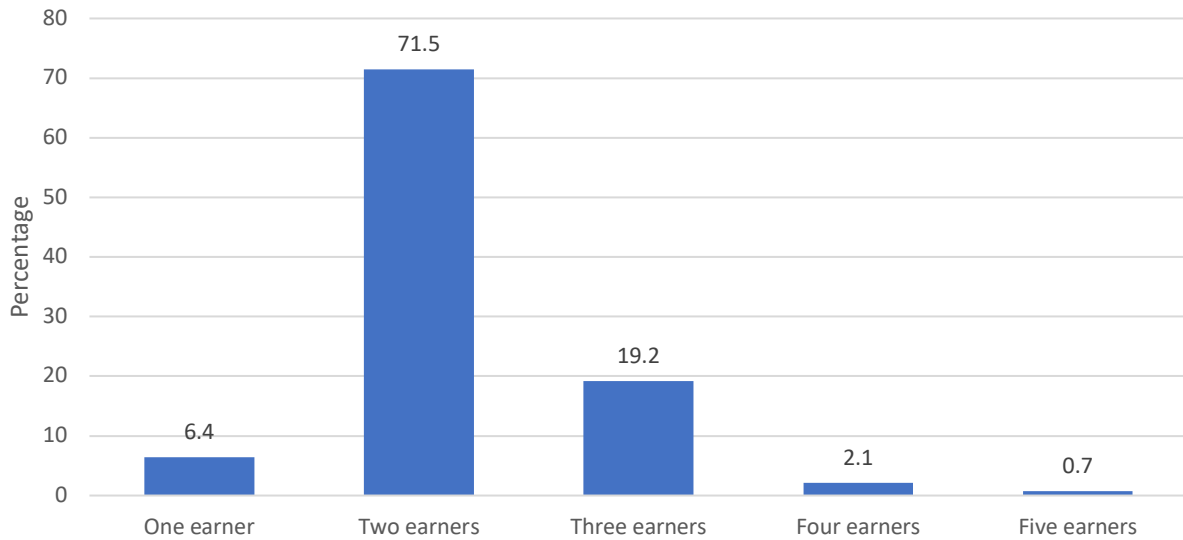
n=333

3.2.4 Household income

The majority of respondents said that they were not the sole income earner in their household (n=315, 66%). These respondents most frequently said that there were two income earners in their household (n=201, 71.5%), followed by three income earners (n=55, 19.2%); see Figure 3.10.1. The frequency of households with two and three earners was similar among respondents residing in each of the four provinces with the largest number of respondents to the survey, with respondents living in Ontario reporting the highest proportion of two earners in a household (n=42, 75%), respondents in British Columbia reporting the highest proportion of three earners (n=17, 21.5%), and respondents in Alberta reporting the highest proportion of four earners (n=2, 4.4%); see Figure 3.10.2.

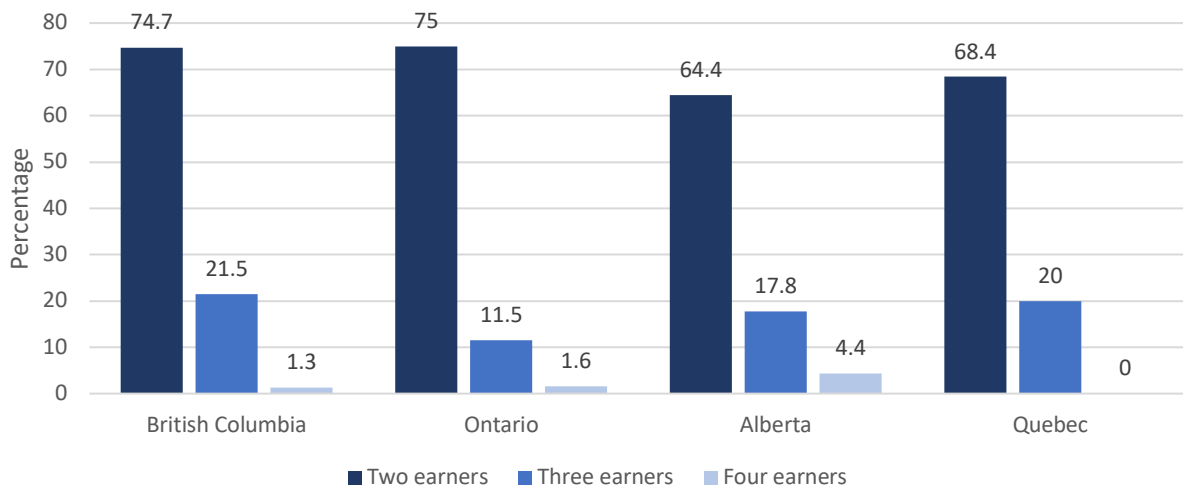
Most respondents said that their family incomes were between \$100,000 and \$124,999 (n=51, 16.7%), followed by incomes between \$90,000 and \$99,999 (n=32, 10.5%), incomes of \$80,000 to \$89,999 (n=31, 10.2%) and incomes of \$150,000 to \$199,999 (n=28, 9.2%); 175 respondents did not provide a response to this question. Respondents' family incomes were significantly higher than their individual incomes, likely as a result of the common presence of additional income-earners in each household; see Figure 3.10.3.

Figure 3.10.1
 Proportion of earners in respondents' households



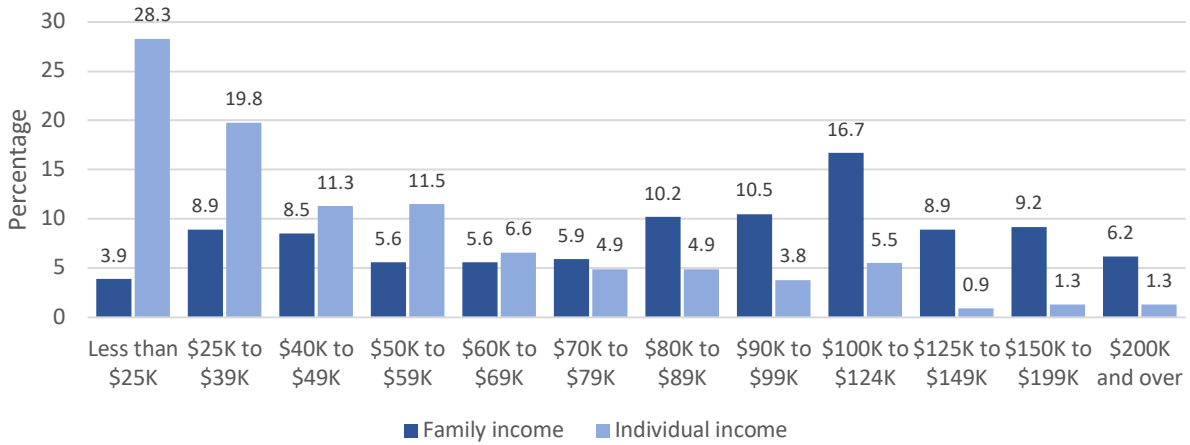
n=315
 missing cases=34

Figure 3.10.2
 Proportion of earners in respondents' households with more than one income earner in four provinces



n=211
 missing cases=12

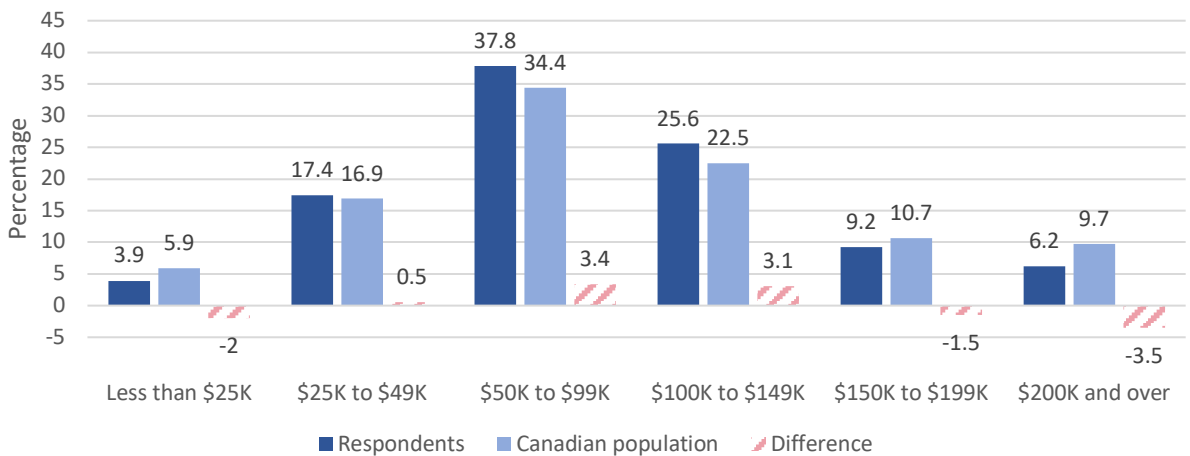
Figure 3.10.3
Proportionate distribution of respondents' family and individual incomes



N=480
missing cases, family income=175; missing cases, individual income=10

Respondents' family incomes were generally higher than those of the general Canadian population in 2015, with fewer respondents earning less than \$25,000 per year (3.9% of respondents' families, compared to 5.9% of Canadian families; $\Delta=-2\%$) and more earning between \$50,000 and \$99,999 per year (37.8%, compared to 34.4%; $\Delta=3.4\%$) and between \$100,000 and \$149,999 per year (25.6%, compared to 22.5%; $\Delta=3.1\%$); see Figure 3.10.4.

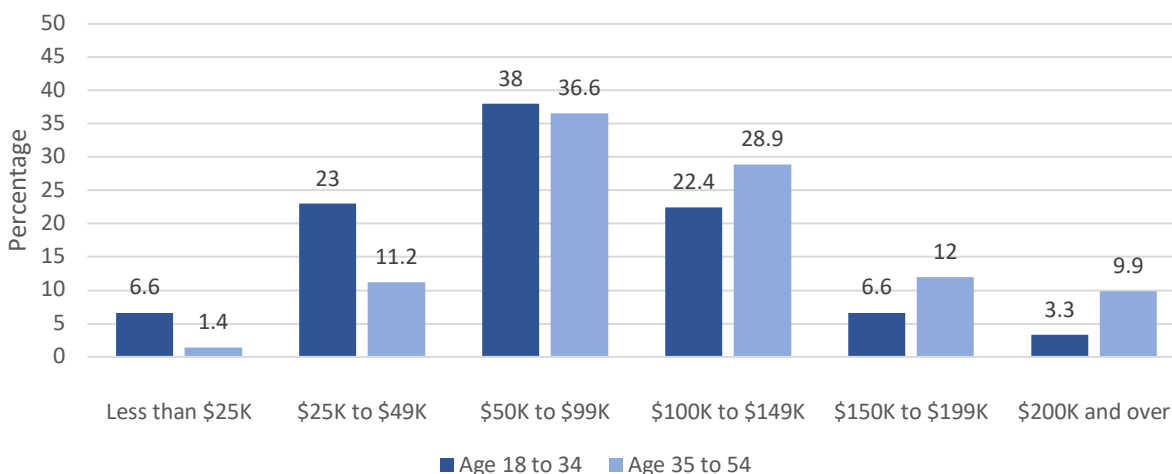
Figure 3.10.4
Proportionate distribution of family incomes of respondents and Canadian population in 2015



N=480
missing cases=175
data source: Statistics Canada, CANSIM Table 111-0012, Family income, by family type (couple families)

Examined by age, more respondents who were 18 to 34 years old reported having family incomes of less than \$100,000 per year than older respondents (67.6% of younger respondents, compared to 49.2% of older respondents), while more respondents who were aged 35 to 54 reported having family incomes of \$100,000 or more per year (50.8% of older respondents, compared to 32.2% of younger respondents); see Figure 3.10.5.

Figure 3.10.5
Proportionate distribution of respondents' family incomes, by age



N=480
missing cases=169

3.2.5 Formalization of rights and responsibilities

Respondents who said they were in a polyamorous relationship at the time they completed the survey or had been within the previous five years (n=389) were asked *What, if any, legal steps have you taken to formalize the rights and responsibilities of the members of their households?* and provided the following options: *power of attorney for legal matters; power of attorney for medical matters; guardianship appointment; a living together or cohabitation agreement; school authorization; emergency authorization; and, travel authorization.* Respondents could also describe any other legal steps they had taken using a write-in box labeled *Other*. Respondents did not have the option of choosing “none” but could leave the question unanswered.

More than one-half of these respondents left this question blank or entered *none, not applicable* or terms to a similar effect in the write-in box (n=213, 54.8%). Of those respondents answering the question, most said that they had executed an emergency authorization (n=101, 26%) or a cohabitation agreement (n=61; 15.7%); see Table 3.3. The

other legal steps written-in by more than one respondent were *purchasing insurance* (n=5; 1.3%), *marriage* (n=4; 1%) and *making a will* (n=4; 1%).

Table 3.3
Legal steps taken by respondents in a polyamorous relationship at time of survey or within last five years to formalize the rights and responsibilities of members of their relationships

Legal step	n	%
Emergency authorization	101	26.0
Cohabitation agreement	61	15.7
School authorization	41	10.5
Power of attorney (medical)	40	10.3
Power of attorney (legal)	36	9.3
Travel authorization	30	7.7
Guardianship appointment	18	4.6
Insurance*	5	1.3
Marriage*	4	1.0
Will*	4	1.0
Other	6	1.3

n=389

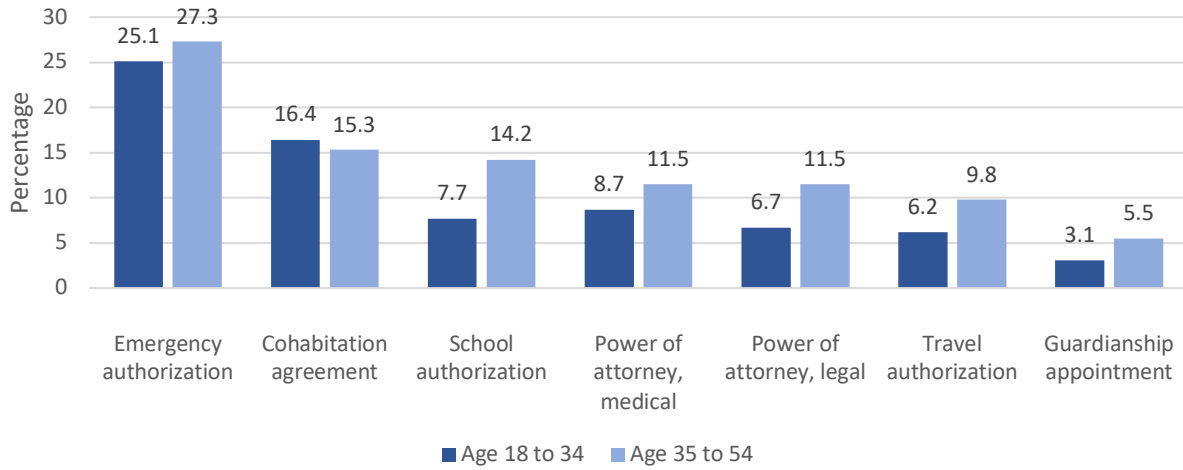
multiple response data

* provided by respondents as write-in response

Looking at the data by age, respondents who were or had recently been in a polyamorous relationship and who were 35 to 54 years old, were generally more likely to have taken any legal step to formalize the rights and responsibilities of the members of their households than younger respondents; see Figure 3.11.1. However, respondents who were 18 to 34 years old were more likely to have executed a cohabitation agreement than older respondents (16.4%, compared to 15.3%).

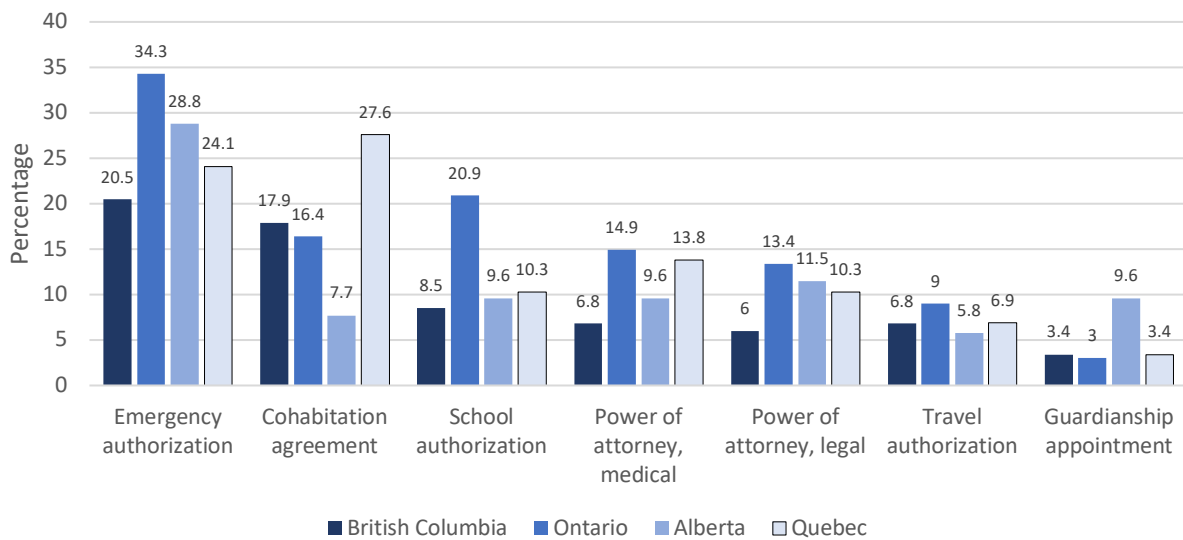
Of the four provinces with the greatest numbers of respondents, respondents living in Quebec who were or had recently been in a polyamorous relationship were most likely to have executed a cohabitation agreement (27.6%), while Ontario respondents were most likely to have executed emergency and school authorizations (34.3% and 20.9%); see Figure 3.11.2. Respondents living in Ontario and Quebec were overall more likely to have taken a legal step to formalize the rights and responsibilities of the members of their households than respondents living in British Columbia and Alberta.

Figure 3.11.1
 Proportionate distribution of legal steps taken by respondents in a polyamorous relationship at time of survey or within last five years to formalize the rights and responsibilities of relationship members, by age



n=389
 missing cases, age=11
 multiple response data

Figure 3.11.2
 Distribution of legal steps taken taken by respondents in a polyamorous relationship at time of survey or within last five years to formalize the rights and responsibilities of relationship members in four provinces

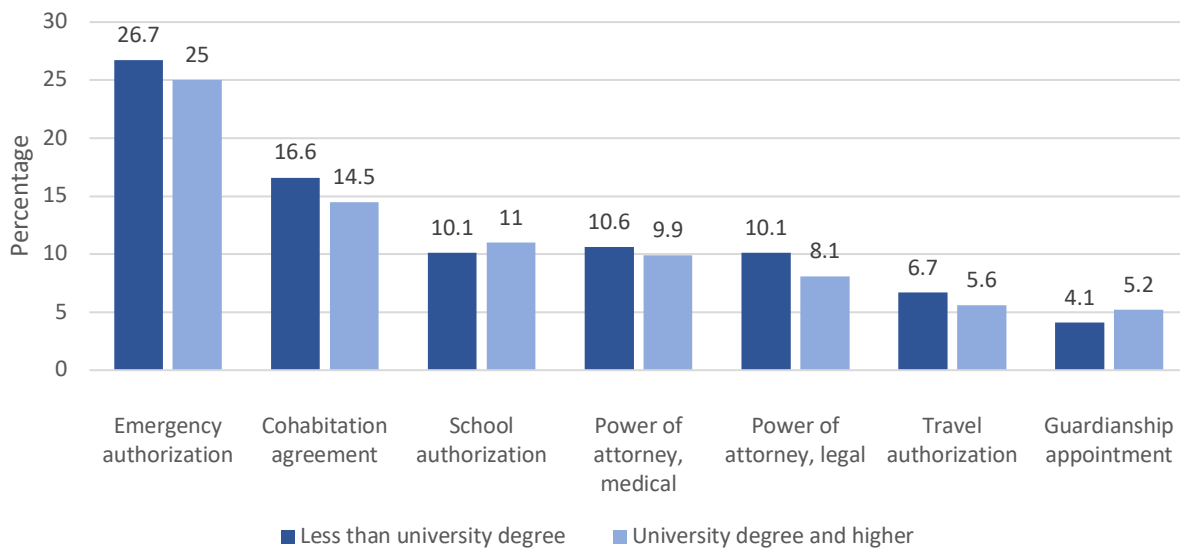


n=265
 multiple response data

The differences between respondents who were or had recently been in a polyamorous relationship and who reported levels of educational attainment below a university degree and those reporting higher levels of attainment was slight, see Figure 3.11.3. Respondents who had achieved a university degree or higher were marginally less likely than other respondents to have taken any step to formalize the rights and responsibilities of the members of their relationship, except for the execution of school authorizations (11% compared to 10.1%) and guardianship agreements (5.2% compared to 4.1%).

Figure 3.11.3

Distribution of legal steps taken by respondents in a polyamorous relationship at time of survey or within last five years to formalize the rights and responsibilities of relationship members, by educational attainment



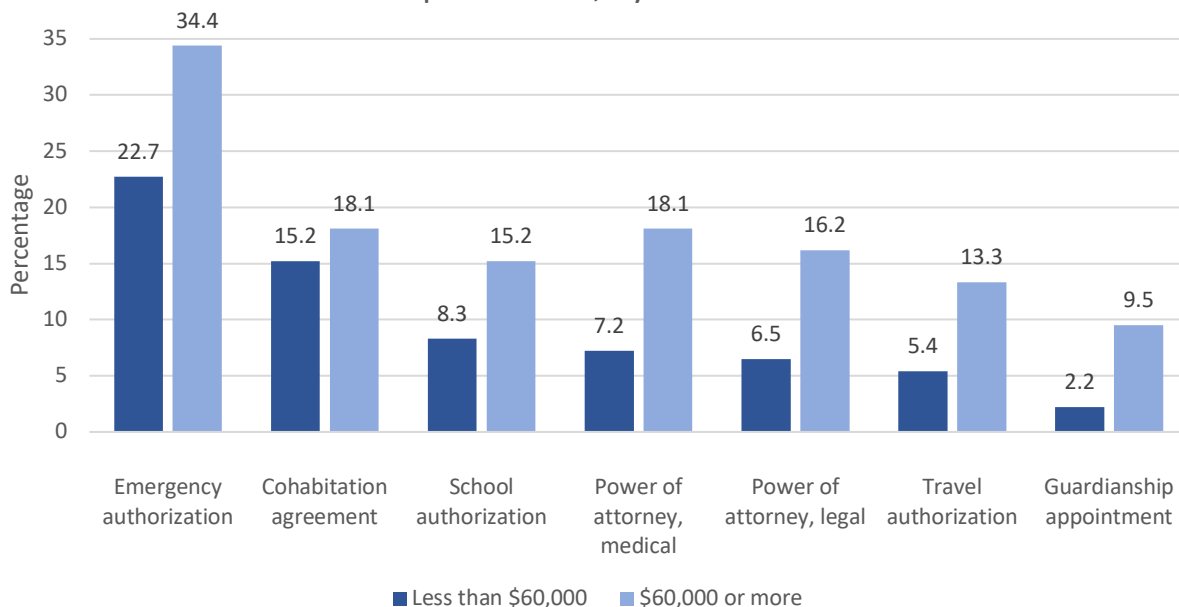
n=389
multiple response data

However, when measured against individual income, respondents who were or had recently been in a polyamorous relationship with incomes of \$60,000 or more per year were substantially more likely to have taken steps to formalize the rights and responsibilities of the members of their relationship than respondents with lower incomes, perhaps reflecting the attendant cost of such steps; see Figure 3.11.4. Respondents with incomes at or above \$60,000 per year were more than twice as likely to have executed medical powers of attorney, legal powers of attorney and travel authorizations (18.1%, 16.2% and 13.3%, respectively) than respondents with incomes below \$60,000 (7.2%, 6.5% and 5.4%); the execution of an emergency authorization was

the legal step most likely to have been taken by those earning less than \$60,000 and those earning that much or more per year (22.7% and 34.4%).

Figure 3.11.4

Distribution of legal steps taken by respondents in a polyamorous relationship at time of survey or within last five years to formalize the rights and responsibilities of relationship members, by individual income



n=389
 missing cases, income=7
 multiple response data

3.3 Perceptions of and attitudes toward polyamory

This section describes respondents' attitudes, and their perceptions of the attitudes of the general Canadian population, toward polyamory and polyamorous relationships. As a result of limitations in the survey instrument, discussed in the next chapter, some of the data collected are presented without detailed analysis.

3.3.1 Terminology

Respondents who said they were in a polyamorous relationship at the time they completed the survey or had been within the previous five years (n=389) were asked *What term do you use to describe your relationship?* and provided the following options: *polyamorous; polygamous; polyandrous; polygynous; consensual non-monogamous; and, radical relationship.* Respondents could identify other terms they use to describe their

relationships using a write-in box labeled *Other*. Respondents did not have the option of choosing “none” but could leave the question unanswered.

The majority of these respondents said that they described their relationship as *polyamorous* (n=283, 72.7%) or *consensually non-monogamous* (n=60, 15.4%); see Table 3.4. Although no other term was used by more than ten respondents, a number of respondents (n=35; 9%) described their relationships using terms other than the options provided, including those identified in the table below as well as *family*, *closed poly*, *polycule*, *co-journeying*, *queerplatonic*, *nontraditional* and *polyamorous cuckold*. Three respondents (0.8%) said that they don’t use a specific term to describe their relationships, while four respondents (1%) used more than one term to describe their relationships.

Table 3.4
Terms used by more than one respondent
to describe their relationship

Term	n	%
Polyamorous	283	72.7
Consensual non-monogamous	60	15.4
Relationship anarchy*	10	2.6
Open relationship* / open marriage* / open*	7	1.8
Polygamous	4	1.0
Polyandrous	3	0.8
Radical relationship	3	0.8
Monogamous*	3	0.8
Solopoly* / solopolyamorous*	3	0.8
Other	10	2.6

n=389

* provided by respondents as write-in response

3.3.2 Values

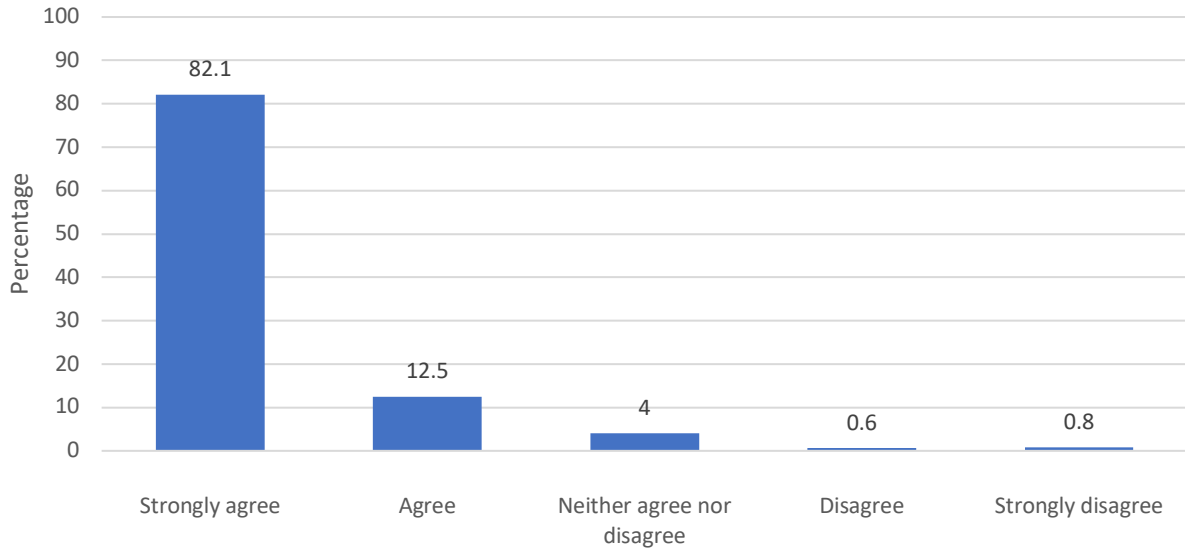
Respondents were asked about the extent to which they agreed with a number of statements about polyamorous relationships drawn from our preliminary research, including statements about equality between and among people participating in such relationships, participants’ responsibility to be honest with each other and participants’ entitlement to have a say in changes to the make-up of the relationships they are involved in.

Almost all respondents *strongly agreed* or *agreed* with the statement *Everyone in a polyamorous relationship should be treated equally regardless of gender or gender identity* (94.6%), while only 1.4% said that they *disagreed* or *strongly disagreed* with the statement; see Figure 3.12.1. A number of interesting results emerge when respondents' views are analyzed against certain demographic data. Although a strong plurality of all respondents expressed agreement with this statement, regardless of background or identity characteristics, those least likely to express strong agreement were:

- a) respondents with incomes of \$60,000 or more per year (77.4% *strongly agree* and 14.6% *agree*), compared to those with lesser incomes (83.8% *strongly agree* and 12% *agree*), see Figure 3.12.2;
- b) respondents who had achieved a university degree or higher (77.5% *strongly agree* and 15% *agree*), compared to those with lesser levels of education attainment (85.8% *strongly agree* and 10.5% *agree*), see Figure 3.12.3;
- c) respondents who identify as male (81.1% *strongly agree* and 14.2% *agree*) or female (81.1% *strongly agree* and 12.3% *agree*), compared to those who identify as another gender (91.5% *strongly agree* and 8.5% *agree*), see Figure 3.12.4;
- d) respondents who described their sexuality as heterosexual (77.1% *strongly agree* and 16.2% *agree*), compared to those who said they were bisexual (80.9% *strongly agree* and 13.2% *agree*), pansexual (90.6% *strongly agree* and 7.7% *agree*), polysexual (82% *strongly agree* and 14.8% *agree*) or homosexual (95% *strongly agree* and none *agree*), see Figure 3.12.5; and,
- e) respondents who were not in a polyamorous relationship at the time they completed the survey nor had been in such a relationship in the past five years (74.4% *strongly agree* and 16.2% *agree*), compared to those who were in polyamorous relationship at the time of the survey (83.2% *strongly agree* and 11.7% *agree*) and those who were not in such a relationship at the time of the survey but had been in one within the last five years (87.5% *strongly agree* and 10.7% *agree*), see Figure 3.12.6.

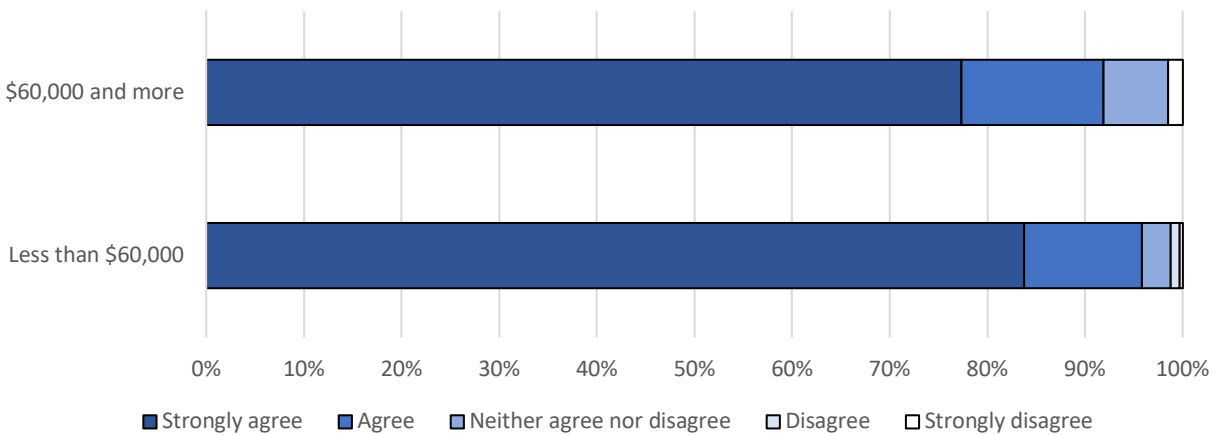
The respondents least likely to express strong agreement with the statement that *Everyone in a polyamorous relationship should be treated equally regardless of gender or gender identity* were also generally more likely to say that they *neither agree nor disagree* with the statement.

Figure 3.12.1
 Respondents' agreement that *people in polyamorous relationships should be treated equally regardless of gender*



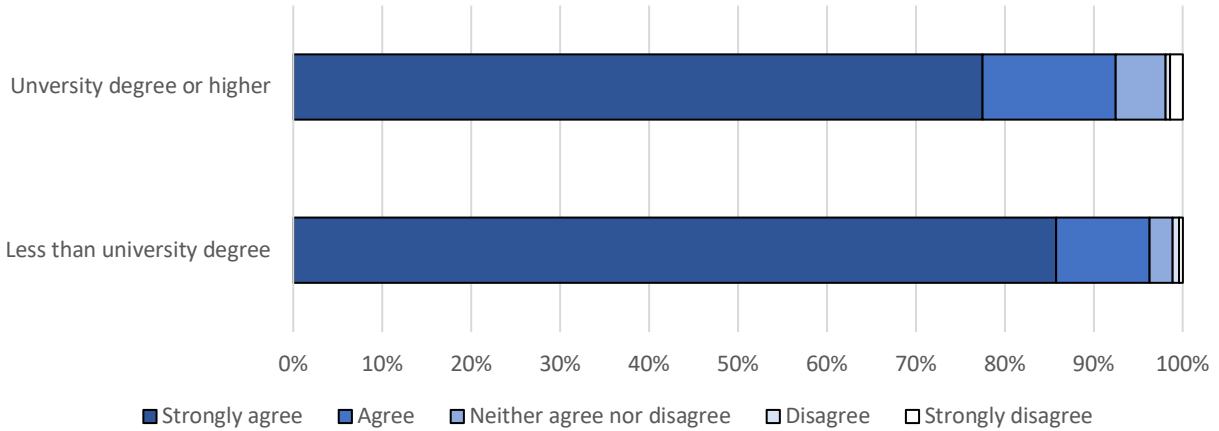
N=480

Figure 3.12.2
 Respondents' agreement that *people in polyamorous relationships should be treated equally regardless of gender*, by income



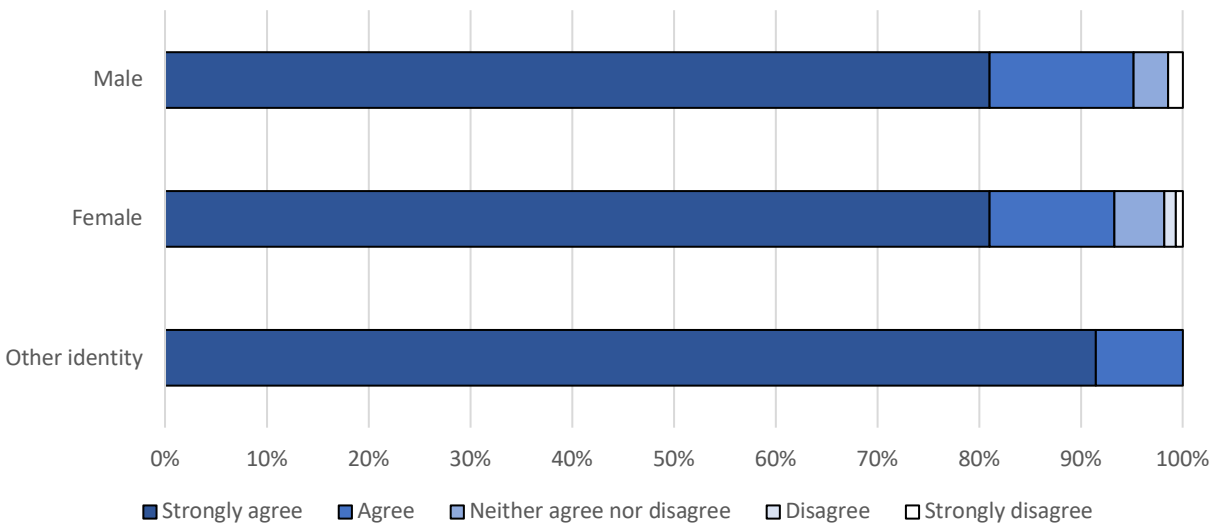
N=480
 missing cases=10

Figure 3.12.3
 Respondents' agreement that *people in polyamorous relationships should be treated equally regardless of gender*,
 by educational attainment



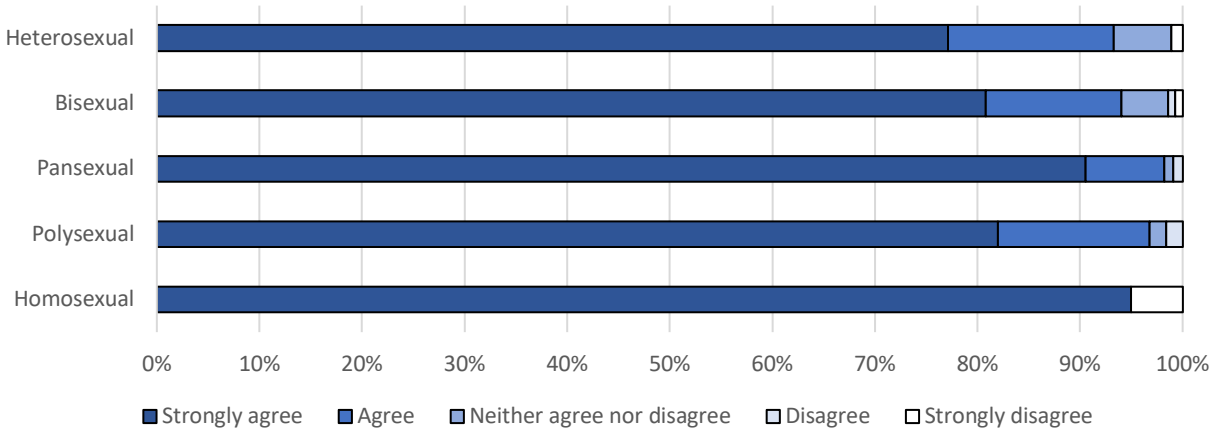
N=480

Figure 3.12.4
 Respondents' agreement that *people in polyamorous relationships should be treated equally regardless of gender*,
 by gender identity



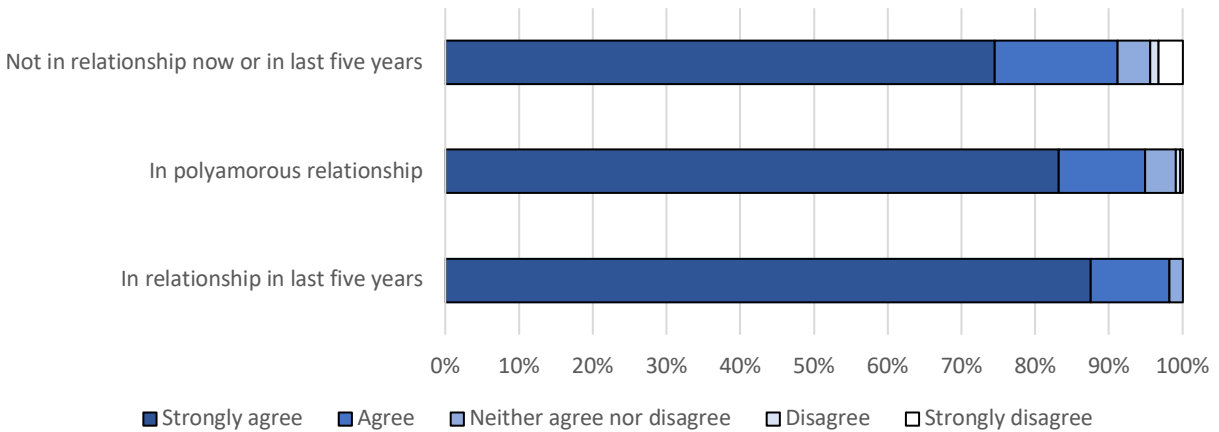
N=480

Figure 3.12.5
 Respondents' agreement that *people in polyamorous relationships should be treated equally regardless of gender, by sexuality*



n=480
 multiple response data

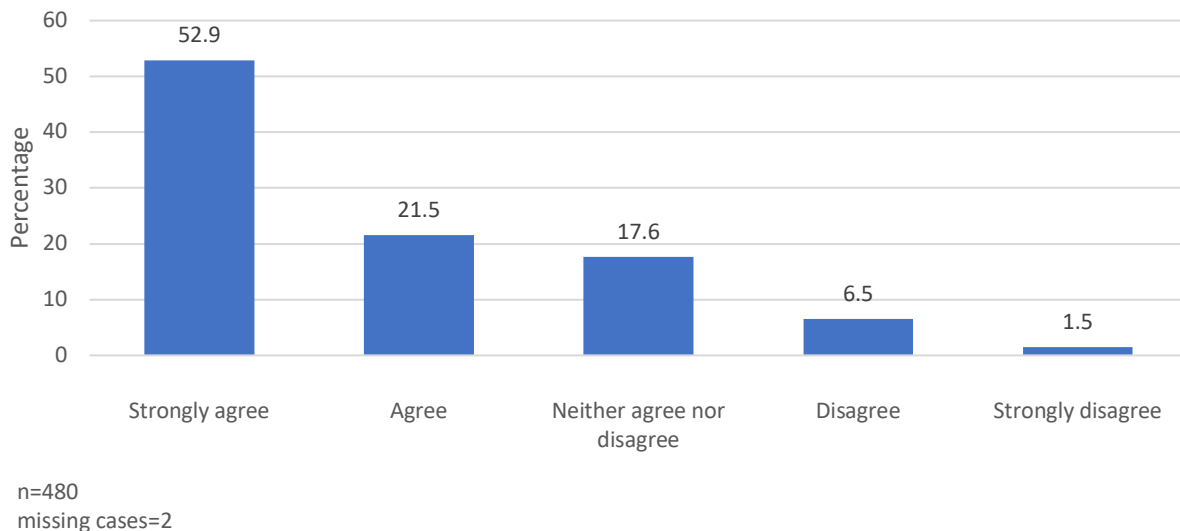
Figure 3.12.6
 Respondents' agreement that *people in polyamorous relationships should be treated equally regardless of gender, by relationship status*



N=480
 missing cases=1

Weaker but still substantial agreement was expressed for the statement *Everyone in a polyamorous relationship should be treated equally regardless of parental or guardianship status*, with which 74.4% of respondents *strongly agreed* (52.9%) or *agreed* (21.5%); see Figure 3.12.7. A significant number of respondents (17.6%) said that they *neither agree nor disagree* with the statement, and 8% *disagreed* or *strongly disagreed* with the statement.

Figure 3.12.7
 Respondents' agreement that *people in polyamorous relationships should be treated equally regardless of parental status*



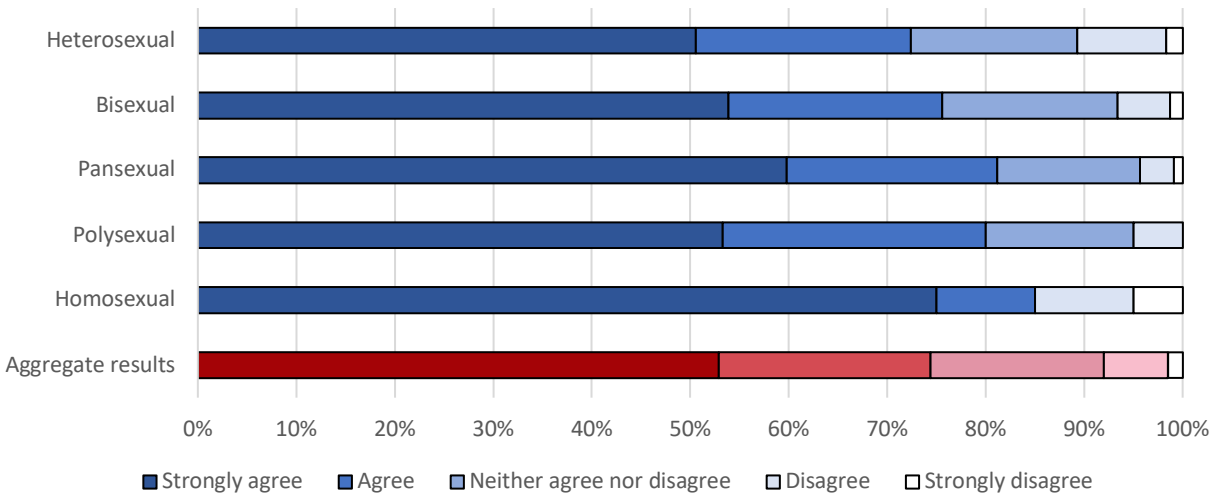
Respondents' views on this statement were surprisingly homogenous when analyzed against the demographic data on income level, educational attainment and gender identity, with variations of no more than $\pm 5.5\%$ from the aggregate results shown in Figure 3.12.7, and often much less, for each response.

Examined by sexuality, however, the responses of those identifying as heterosexual and bisexual cleaved even more closely to the aggregate results, deviating from each response by $\pm 2.5\%$ or less, while the results of those identifying as pansexual, polysexual and homosexual displayed more variation; see Figure 3.12.8. Respondents describing themselves as pansexual were more likely to say that they *strongly agree* with the statement *Everyone in a polyamorous relationship should be treated equally regardless of parental or guardianship status* than the aggregate results (59.8%, compared to 52.9%), while polysexual respondents were more likely to *agree* (26.7%, compared to 21.5%) and homosexual respondents were more likely to *strongly agree* (75%, compared to 52.9%), less likely to *agree* (10%, compared to 21.5%) and more likely to *disagree* (10%, compared to 6.5%).

Examined by relationship status, the responses of those saying they were in a polyamorous relationship at the time of the survey or were not in a polyamorous relationship at that time, nor had been in one in the last five years, also bore a close resemblance to the aggregate results, with variations of no more than $\pm 3.3\%$ for each

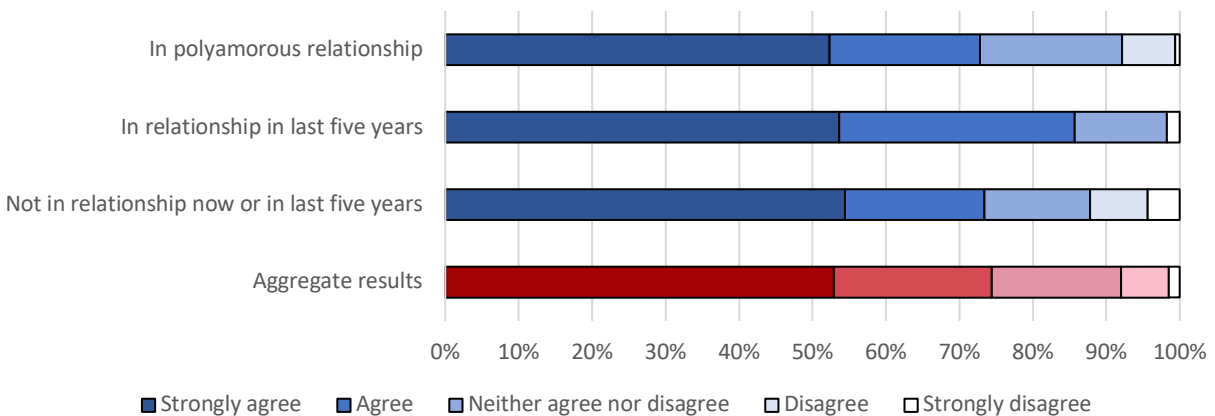
response; see Figure 3.12.9. However, respondents who were not in a polyamorous relationship but had been in one within the last five years were much more likely to agree (32.1%, compared to 21.5%), less likely to *neither agree nor disagree* (12.5%, compared to 17.6%) and less likely to *disagree* (no respondents, compared to 6.5%).

Figure 3.12.8
 Respondents' agreement that *people in polyamorous relationships should be treated equally regardless of parental status*, by sexuality



N=480
 missing cases=2
 multiple response data

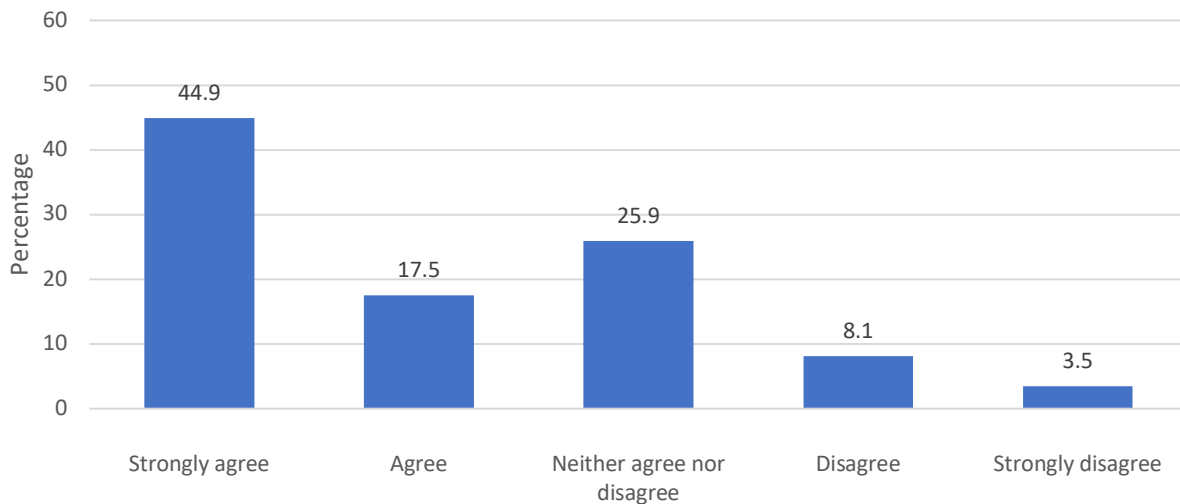
Figure 3.12.9
 Respondents' agreement that *people in polyamorous relationships should be treated equally regardless of parental status*, by relationship status



N=480
 missing cases=2

Still weaker agreement was expressed for the statement *Everyone in a polyamorous relationship has equal parenting responsibilities regardless of gender or gender identity*, with which 62.4% of respondents *strongly agreed* (44.9%) or *agreed* (17.5%); see Figure 3.12.10. Slightly more than one-quarter of respondents (25.9%) *neither agreed nor disagreed* with the statement, and 11.6% *disagreed* or *strongly disagreed* with the statement.

Figure 3.12.10
 Respondents' agreement that *people in polyamorous relationships have equal parenting responsibilities regardless of gender or gender identity*



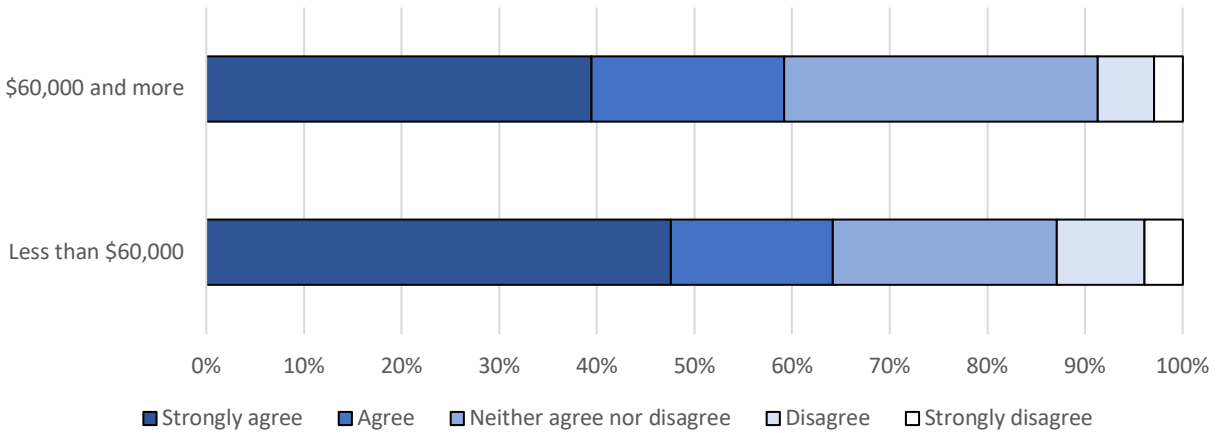
N=480
 missing cases=1

Respondents earning more than \$60,000 per year were much less likely to *strongly agree* that *Everyone in a polyamorous relationship has equal parenting responsibilities regardless of gender or gender identity* than respondents with lesser annual incomes (39.4% compared to 47.6%), as were respondents identifying as male or another gender compared to respondents identifying as women (39.9% and 40.4%, compared to 48.1%); see Figures 3.12.11 and 3.12.12.

Examined by sexuality, while the views of heterosexual and bisexual respondents hewed closely to the aggregate results in general, respondents describing themselves as pansexual, polysexual or homosexual were much more likely to *strongly agree* with the statement (53.8%, 51.7% and 60%) than heterosexual and bisexual respondents (42.5% and 41.4%); see Figure 3.12.13.

Figure 3.12.11

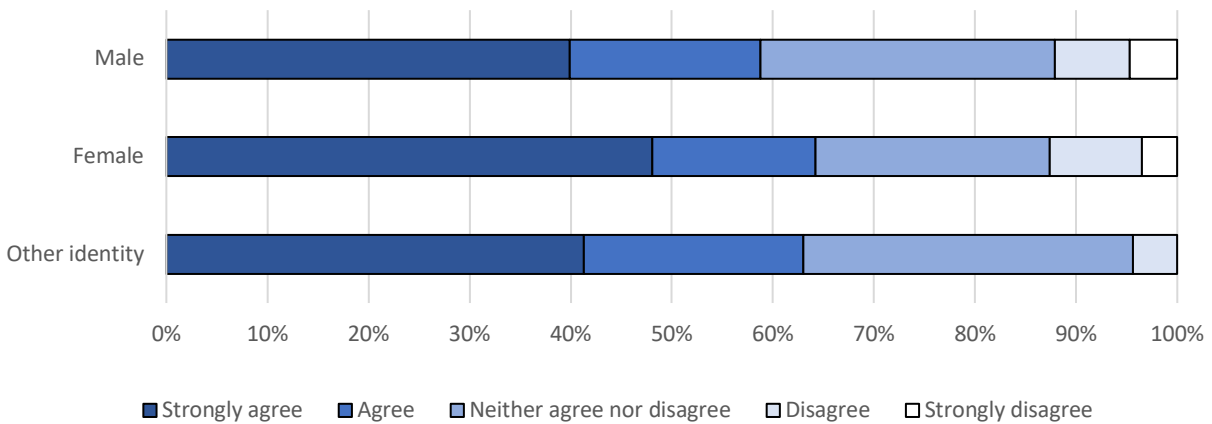
Respondents' agreement that *people in polyamorous relationships have equal parenting responsibilities regardless of gender or gender identity*, by income



N=480
missing cases=11

Figure 3.12.12

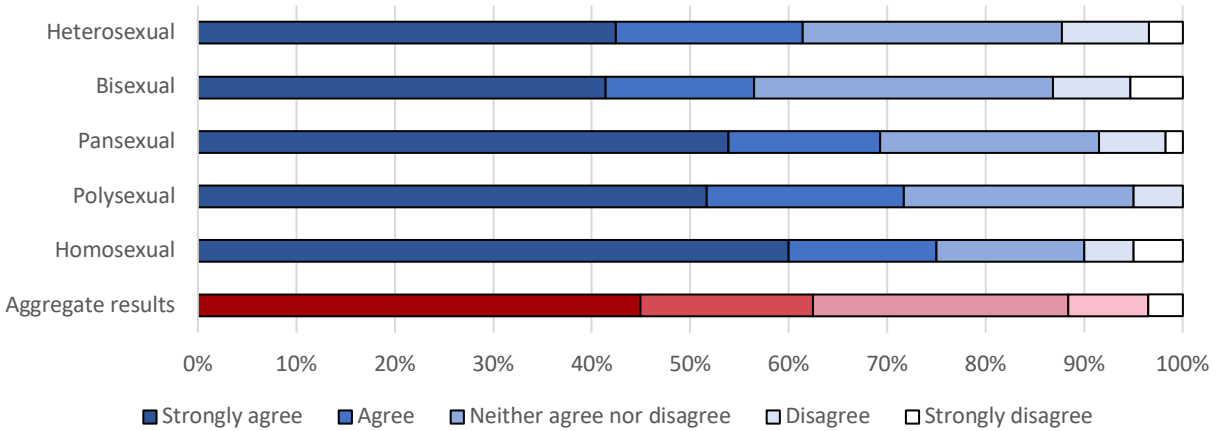
Respondents' agreement that *people in polyamorous relationships have equal parenting responsibilities regardless of gender or gender identity*, by gender identity



N=480
missing cases=1

Figure 3.12.13

Respondents' agreement that *people in polyamorous relationships have equal parenting responsibilities regardless of gender or gender identity*, by sexuality

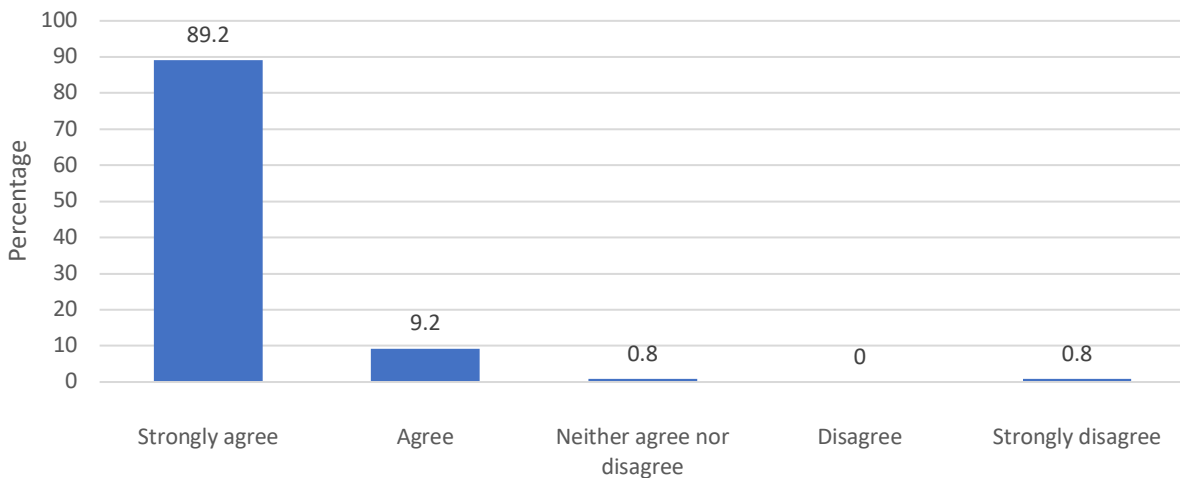


N=480
 missing cases=1
 multiple response data

Almost all respondents *strongly agreed* or *agreed* with the statement *Everyone in a polyamorous relationship has the responsibility to be honest and forthright with one another* (98.4%), while no respondents said that they *disagreed* with the statement and only 0.8% said that they *strongly disagreed* with the statement; see Figure 3.12.14.

Figure 3.12.14

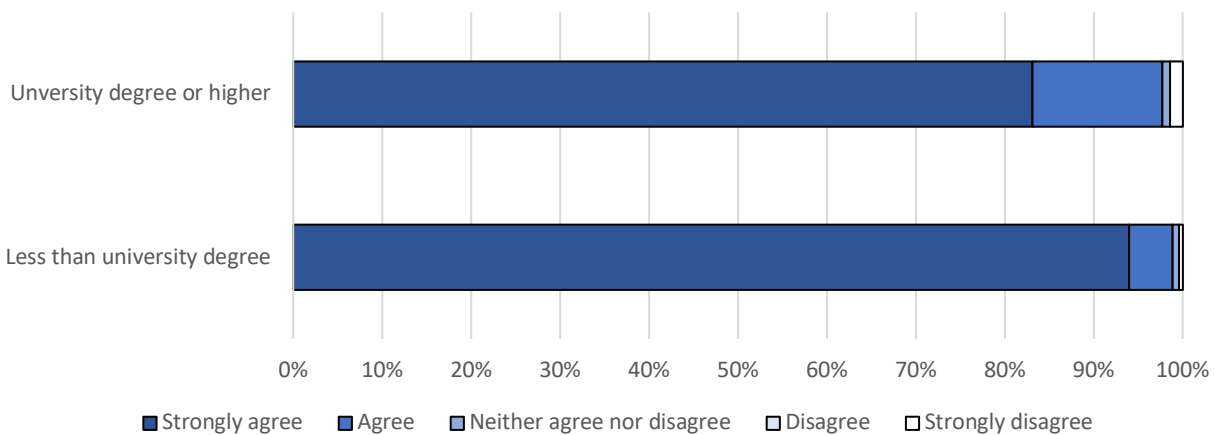
Respondents' agreement that *people in polyamorous relationships have the responsibility to be honest with one another*



N=480

The most substantial differences among respondents were evident when respondents' views on this statement were examined by educational attainment and sexuality. Respondents who had achieved a university degree or higher were more likely to *agree* and less likely to *strongly agree* (14.6% and 83.1%, respectively) than users with lesser levels of educational attainment (4.9% and 94%); see Figure 3.12.15.

Figure 3.12.15
 Respondents' agreement that *people in polyamorous relationships have the responsibility to be honest with one another*, by educational attainment

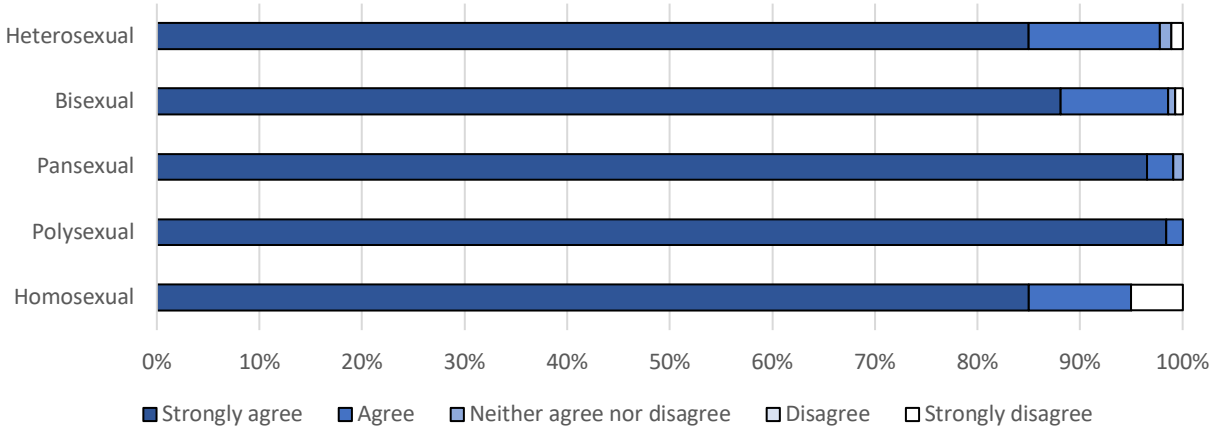


N=480

Respondents who were pansexual and polysexual were much more likely to *strongly agree* with the statement *Everyone in a polyamorous relationship has the responsibility to be honest and forthright with one another* (96.6% and 98.4%, respectively) than users who described themselves as heterosexual, bisexual or homosexual (84.9%, 88.2% and 85%), and no users who were pansexual or polysexual said that they *disagree* or *strongly disagree* with the statement; see Figure 3.12.16.

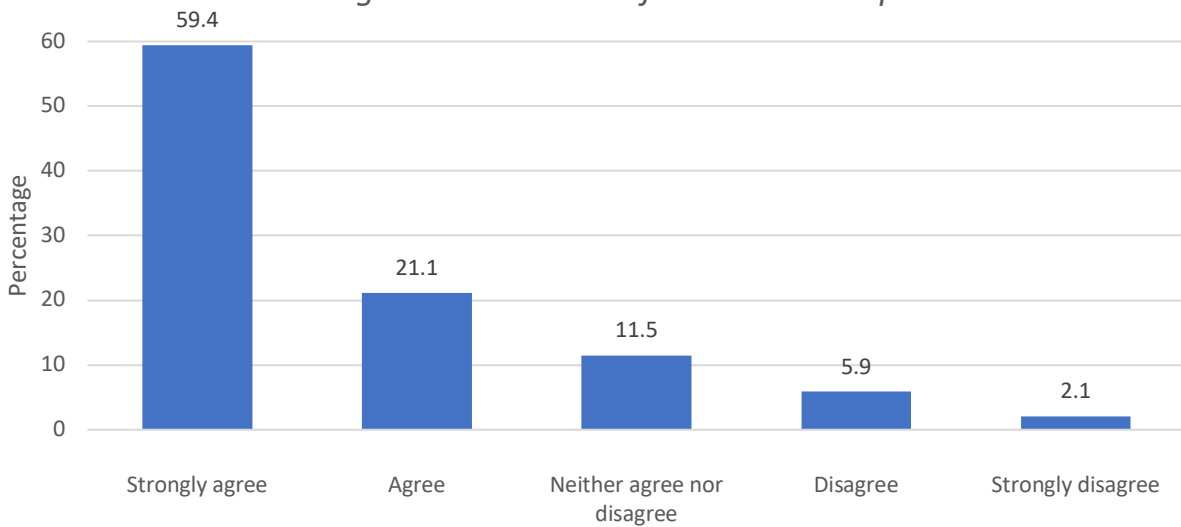
When asked about the extent to which they agreed with the statement *Everyone in a polyamorous relationship should have an equal say about changes in the nature of the relationship*, 80.5% of respondents said that they *strongly agreed* or *agreed*, while 8% *disagreed* or *strongly disagreed* and 11.5% said that they *neither agreed nor disagreed*; see Figure 3.12.17. Agreement with the statement *Everyone in a polyamorous relationship should have an equal say about introducing new people to the relationship* was much weaker, with 70.3% of respondents saying that they *strongly agreed* or *agreed*, 12.1% saying that they *disagreed* or *strongly disagreed* and 17.6% saying that they *neither agreed nor disagreed*; see Figure 3.12.18.

Figure 3.12.16
 Respondents' agreement that *people in polyamorous relationships have the responsibility to be honest with one another, by sexuality*



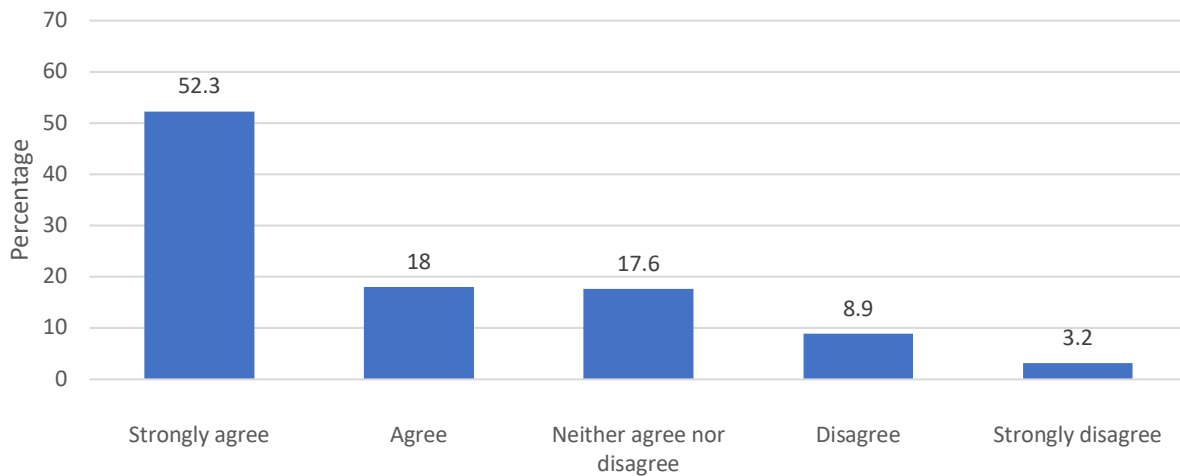
N=480
 multiple response data

Figure 3.12.17
 Respondents' agreement that *people in polyamorous relationships should have an equal say about changes to the nature of the relationship*



N=480
 missing cases=2

Figure 3.12.18
 Respondents' agreement that *people in polyamorous relationships should have an equal say about introducing new people to the relationship*



N=480
 missing cases=8

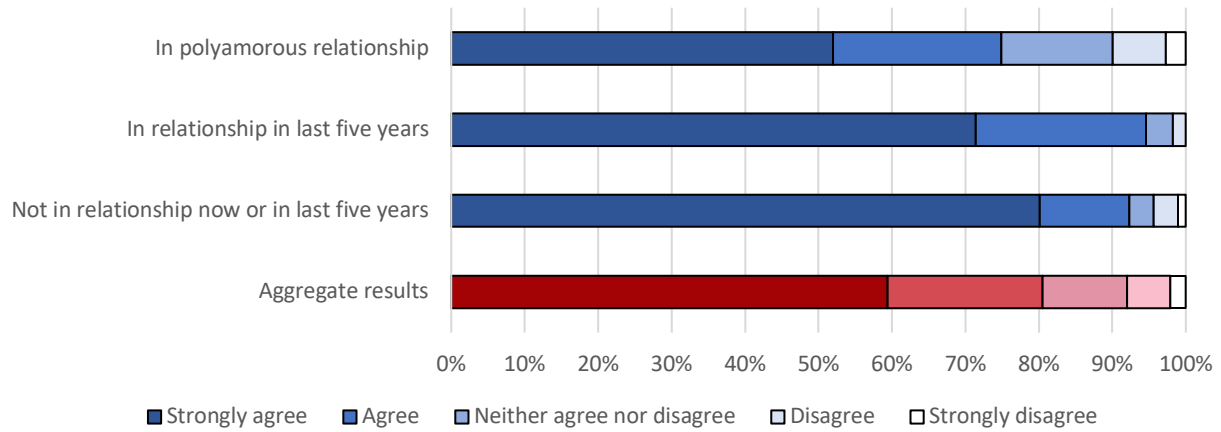
There were few substantial differences among respondents' views of the statement *Everyone in a polyamorous relationship should have an equal say about changes in the nature of the relationship* when examined by respondents' sexuality or income. However, a number of interesting variations were evident when examined by other demographic characteristics:

- a) respondents who were in a polyamorous relationship at the time of the survey were less likely to *strongly agree* with the statement (52%) than the aggregate (59.4%), and were far less likely than respondents who were not in a polyamorous relationship at the time of the survey but had been in the past five years (71.4%) and respondents who were not in a polyamorous relationship nor had been in such a relationship in the last five years (80%), see Figure 3.12.19;
- b) respondents who had achieved a university degree or higher were also less likely to *strongly agree* with the statement than respondents with lower levels of education attainment, (50.2% compared to 66.8%, $\Delta=16.6\%$), see Figure 3.12.20; and,

c) respondents identifying as male (53.4%) or another gender (55.3%), were less likely to *strongly agree* than respondents identifying as female (63.3%), see Figure 3.12.21.

Figure 3.12.19

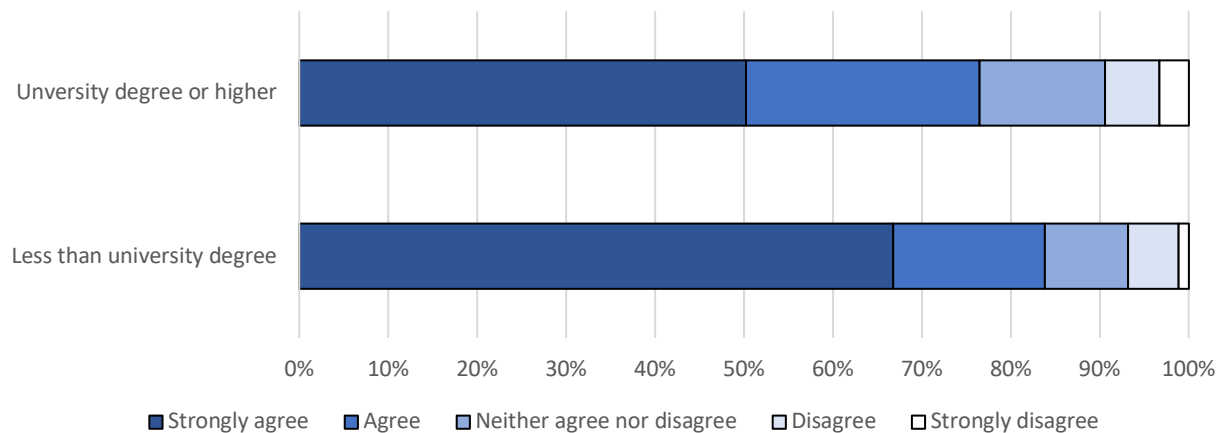
Respondents' agreement that *people in polyamorous relationships should have an equal say about changes to the nature of the relationship*, by relationship status



N=480
missing cases=2

Figure 3.12.20

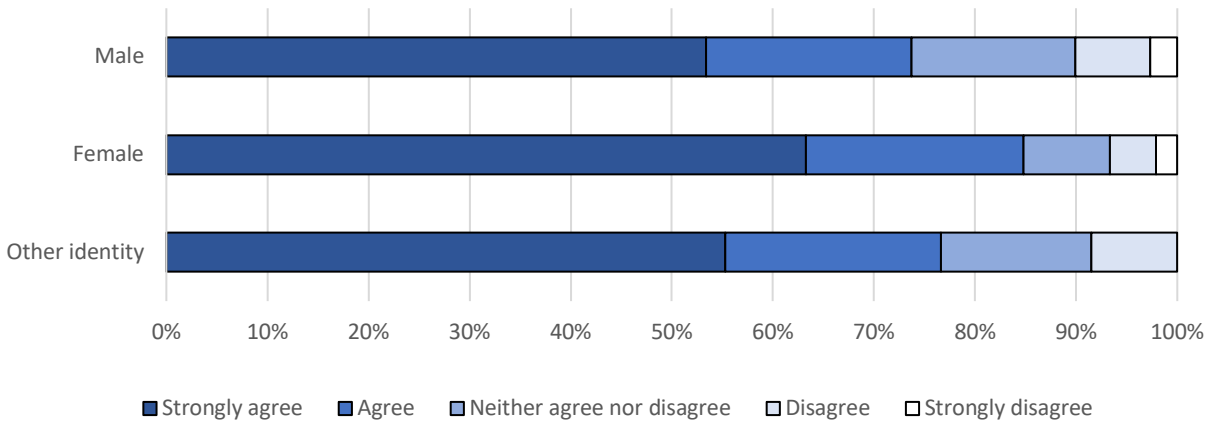
Respondents' agreement that *people in polyamorous relationships should have an equal say about changes to the nature of the relationship*, by educational attainment



n=480
missing cases=2

Figure 3.12.21

Respondents' agreement that *people in polyamorous relationships should have an equal say about changes to the nature of the relationship*, by gender identity

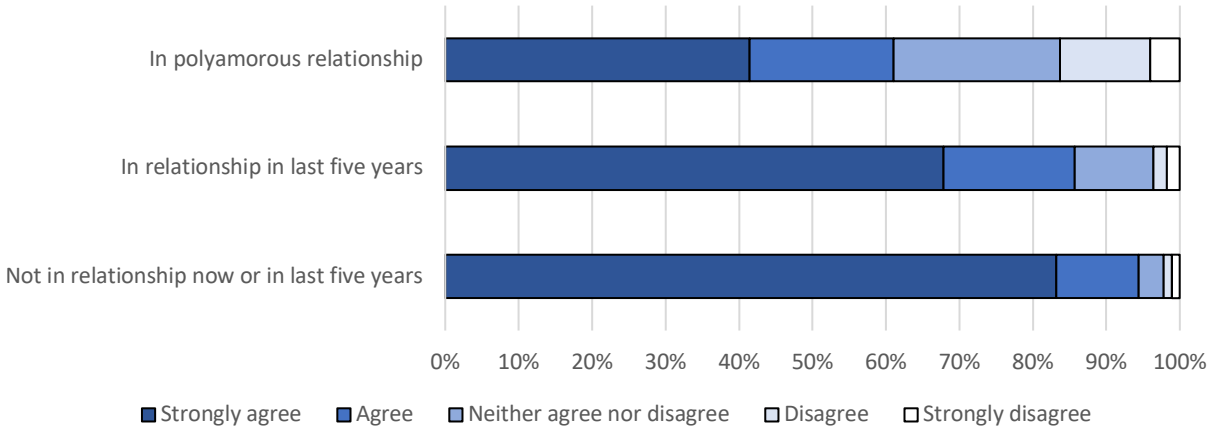


N=480
missing cases=2

Similar results were obtained when respondents' agreement with the statement that *Everyone in a polyamorous relationship should have an equal say about introducing new people to the relationship* was examined by certain demographic variables. Substantial variations were generally not evident when the data were examined by respondents' sexuality or income; such variations were apparent when examined by relationships status, educational attainment and gender:

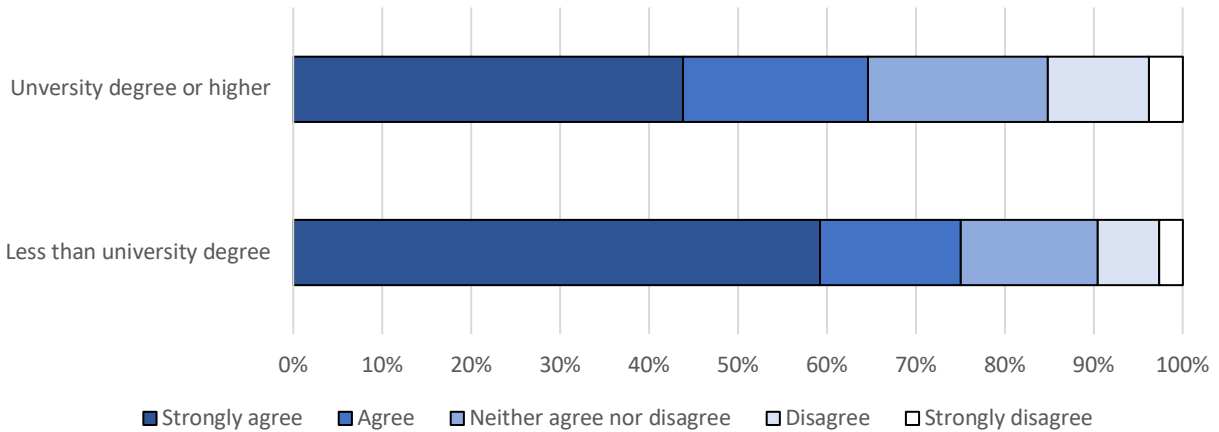
- a) respondents who were in a polyamorous relationship at the time of the survey were much less likely to *strongly agree* with the statement (41.4%) than respondents who were not in a polyamorous relationship at the time of the survey but had been in the past five years (67.9%) and respondents who were not in a polyamorous relationship nor had been in such a relationship in the last five years (83.1%), see Figure 3.12.22;
- b) respondents who had achieved a university degree or higher were also less likely to *strongly agree* with the statement than respondents with lower levels of educational attainment, (43.9% compared to 59.2%), see Figure 3.12.23; and,
- c) respondents identifying as male (50.3%) or another gender (45.7%), were less likely to *strongly agree* than respondents identifying as female (54.4%), see Figure 3.12.24.

Figure 3.12.22
 Respondents' agreement that *people in polyamorous relationships should have an equal say about introducing new people to the relationship*, by relationship status



N=480
 missing cases=9

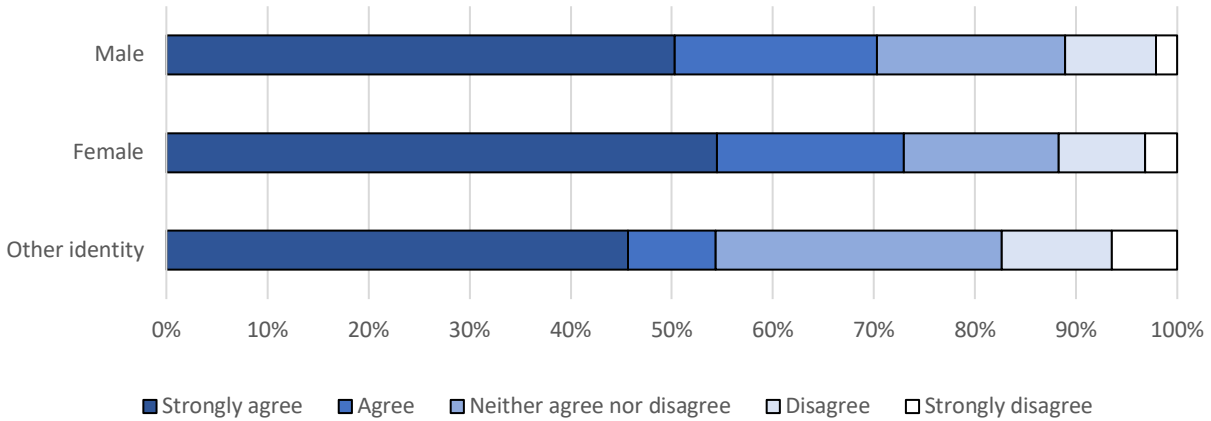
Figure 3.12.23
 Respondents' agreement that *people in polyamorous relationships should have an equal say about introducing new people to the relationship*, by educational attainment



N=480
 missing cases=8

Figure 3.12.24

Respondents' agreement that *people in polyamorous relationships should have an equal say about introducing new people to the relationship, by gender identity*

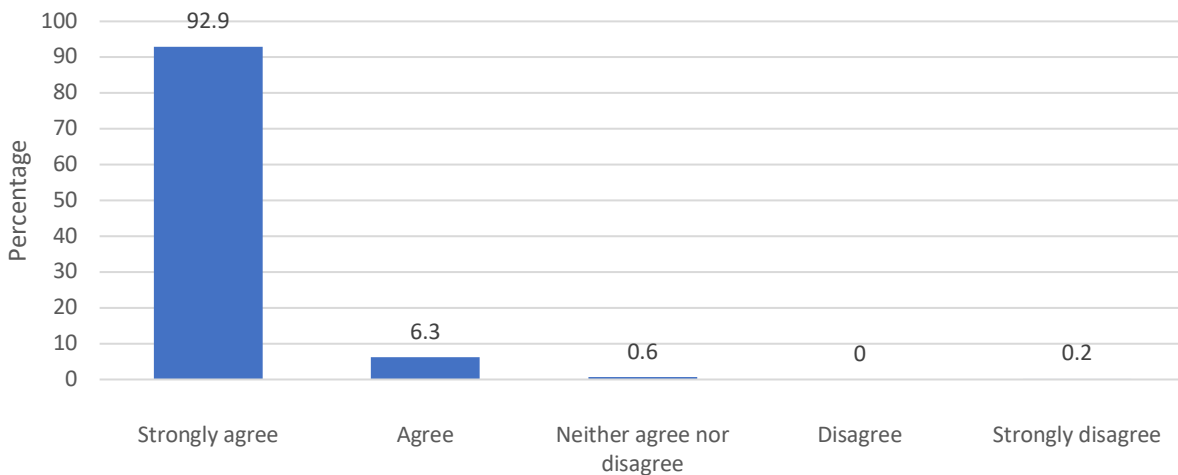


N=480
missing cases=8

Very strong support, with only marginal variation across demographic characteristics, was expressed for the statement *Everyone in in a polyamorous relationship has the right to leave the relationship if and when they choose*, with 99.2% of respondents *strongly agreeing* or *agreeing* with the statement and only 0.2% *strongly disagreeing* with the statement; see Figure 3.12.25.

Figure 3.12.25

Respondents' agreement that *people in polyamorous relationships have the right to leave the relationship when they choose*

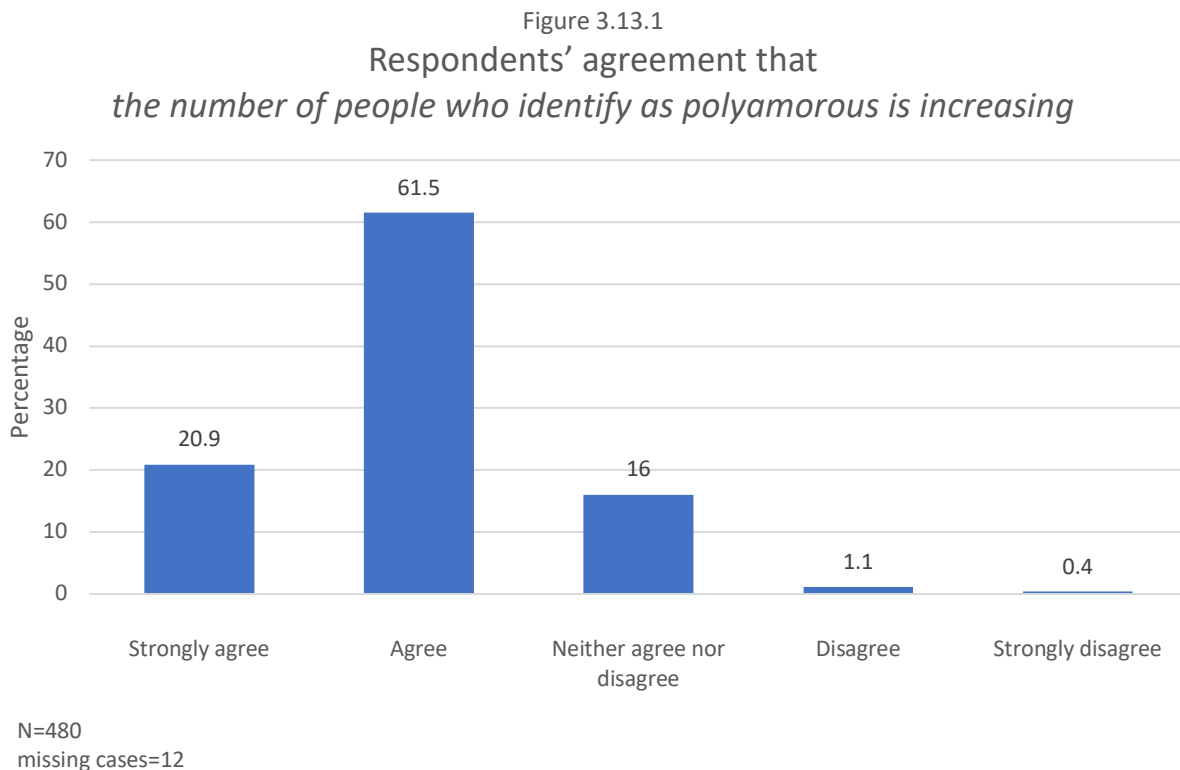


N=480

3.3.3 Views on the state of polyamory in Canada

Respondents were asked about the extent to which they agreed with two statements about the prevalence of polyamorous relationships. A strong majority *strongly agreed* or *agreed* with the statement *The number of people who identify as polyamorous is increasing* (82.4%), and a slightly smaller number of respondents *strongly agreed* or *agreed* with the statement *The number of people who are openly involved in polyamorous relationships is increasing* (80.9%); see Figures 3.13.1 and 3.13.5.

The large number of respondents agreeing – rather than strongly agreeing – with these statements, coupled with the sizeable number of respondents who said that they *neither agree nor disagree* with each of these statements (16% and 16.9%, respectively), suggests a degree of ambivalence or uncertainty not found in respondents’ views on value statements such as those concerning equality among the members of polyamorous relationships and the right to leave a relationship.

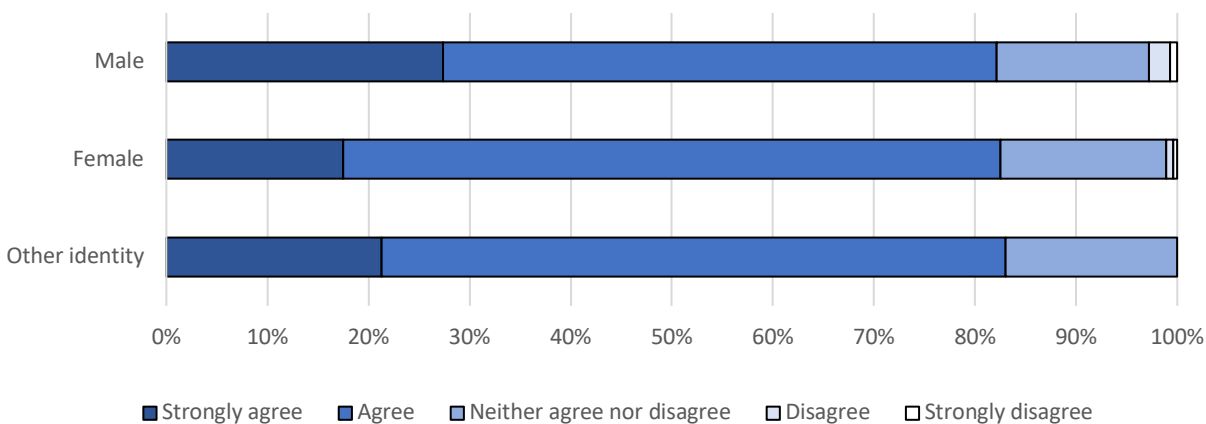


Interesting variations in respondents’ views on the statement *The number of people who identify as polyamorous is increasing* emerged when the data were analyzed by gender identity, sexuality and relationship status. Respondents identifying as male were more likely to *strongly agree* with the statement (27.4%) than respondents with another gender identity (21.3%) or respondents identifying as female (17.5%), and respondents

identifying as female were more likely to merely *agree* with the statement (65.1%) than either other group (male, 54.8%; other gender identity, 61.7%); see Figure 3.13.2.

Figure 3.13.2

Respondents' agreement that *the number of people who identify as polyamorous is increasing*, by gender identity



N=480
missing cases=12

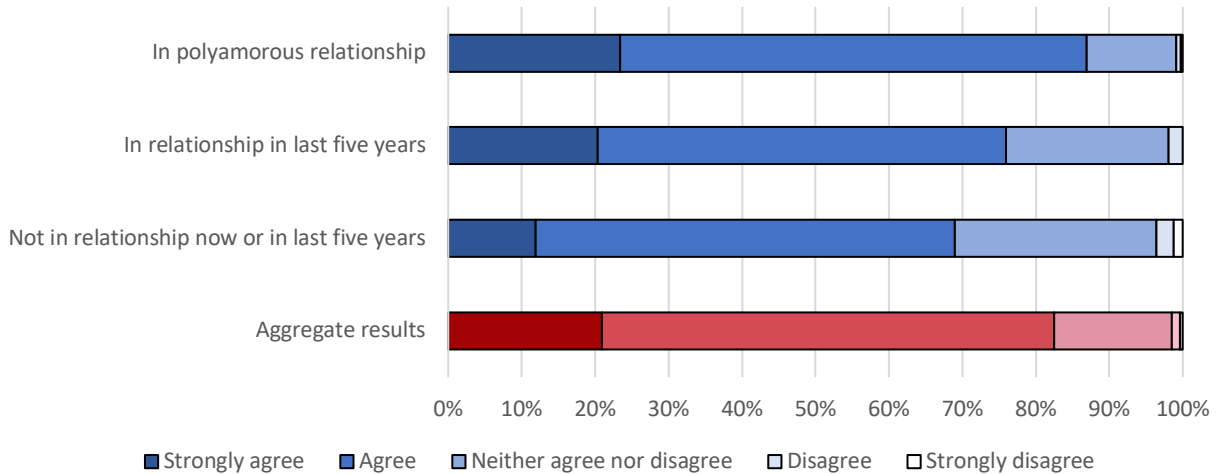
Examined by relationship status, respondents who were in a polyamorous relationship at the time of the survey were more likely to *strongly agree* (23.4%) or *agree* (63.5%) with the statement than respondents who were not in such a relationship at the time of the survey but had been in the previous five years (20.4% and 55.6%, respectively), respondents who were not in such a relationship at the time of the survey nor had been in the previous five years (11.9% and 57.1%) and respondents as a whole (20.9% and 61.5%); see Figure 3.13.3. Respondents who were not in a polyamorous relationship at the time of the survey, nor had been in the previous five years, were much more likely to *neither agree nor disagree* with the statement (27.4%) than respondents in general (16%) as well as respondents who were in such relationship at the time of the survey (12.2%) and respondents who were not in such a relationship at the time of the survey but had been in the previous five years (22.2%).

Examined by sexuality, pansexual respondents were most likely to *strongly agree* or *agree* with the statement *The number of people who identify as polyamorous is increasing* (92.2%), followed by bisexual respondents (89.3%) and polysexual respondents (80.4%); see Figure 3.13.4. The respondents least likely to *strongly agree* or *agree* were respondents identifying as homosexual (50%) and heterosexual (76.8%). The respondents most likely to *neither agree nor disagree* with the statement were homosexual

(45%), heterosexual (20.8%) and polysexual (14.8%). The respondents least likely to a *neither agree nor disagree* were pansexual (6.1%) and bisexual (10.7%).

Figure 3.13.3

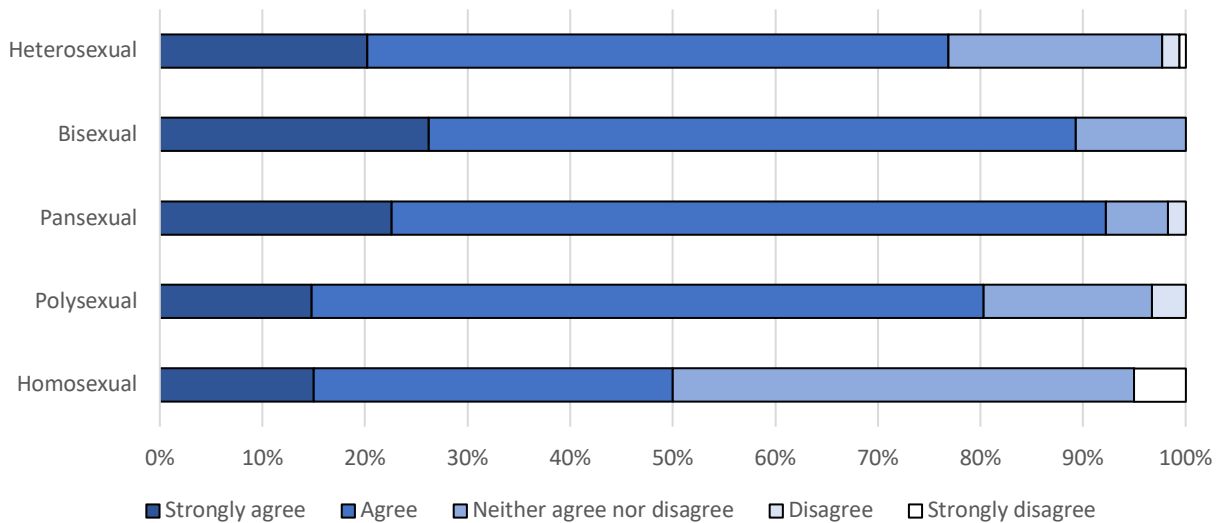
Respondents' agreement that *the number of people who identify as polyamorous is increasing*, by relationship status



N=480
missing cases=13

Figure 3.13.4

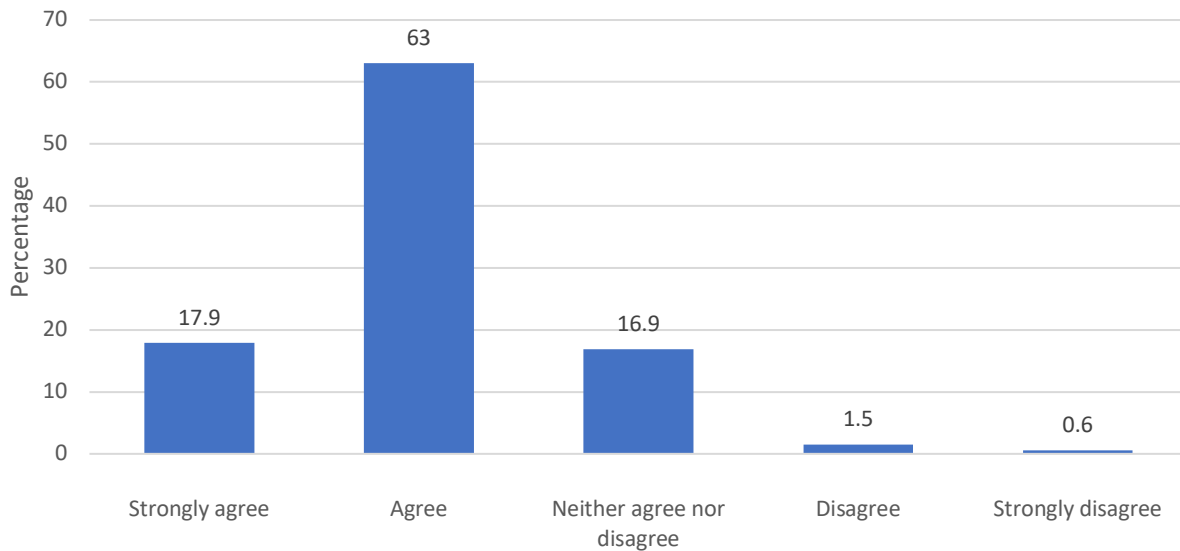
Respondents' agreement that *the number of people who identify as polyamorous is increasing*, by sexuality



N=480
missing cases=12
multiple response data

Figure 3.13.5

Respondents' agreement that *the number of people openly involved in polyamorous relationships is increasing*



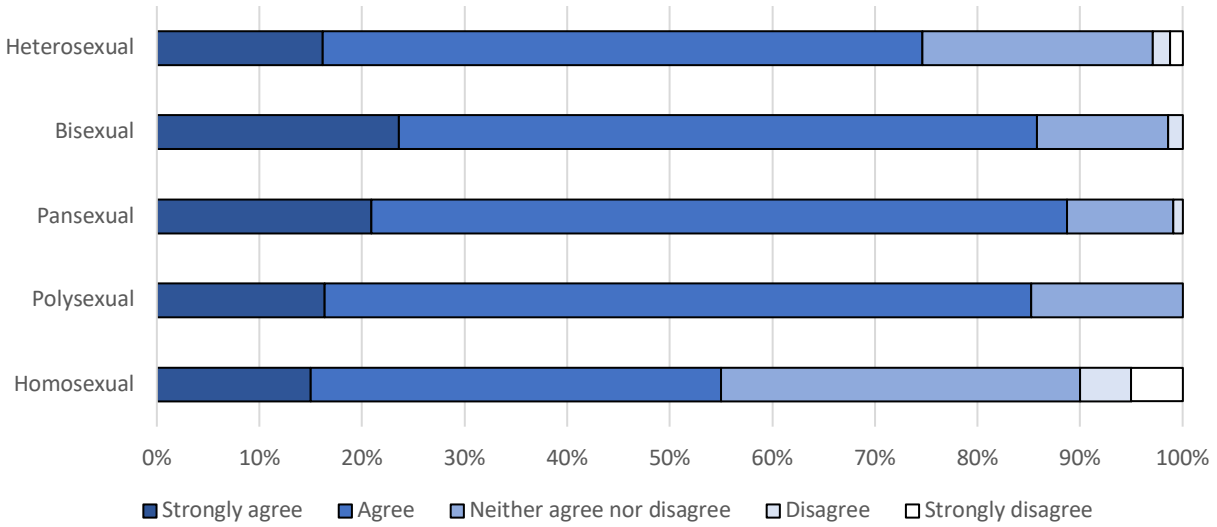
N=480
missing cases=12

The same pattern was evident when respondents' agreement with the statement *The number of people who are openly involved in polyamorous relationships is increasing* was examined by sexuality. Pansexual respondents were most likely to *strongly agree* or *agree* with the statement (88.7%), followed by bisexual respondents (85.8%) and polysexual respondents (85.3%); see Figure 3.13.6. The respondents least likely to *strongly agree* or *agree* were respondents identifying as homosexual (55%) and heterosexual (74.6%). The respondents most likely to *neither agree nor disagree* with the statement were homosexual (35%), heterosexual (22.5%) and polysexual (14.8%). The respondents least likely to *neither agree nor disagree* were pansexual (10.4%) and bisexual (12.8%)

Respondents identifying as male were more likely to *strongly agree* with the statement (25.3%) than respondents with another gender identity (19.1%) or respondents identifying as female (13.8%), and respondents identifying as female were more likely to merely *agree* with the statement (66.2%) than either other group (male, 56.8%; other gender identity, 63.8%); see Figure 3.13.7.

Figure 3.13.6

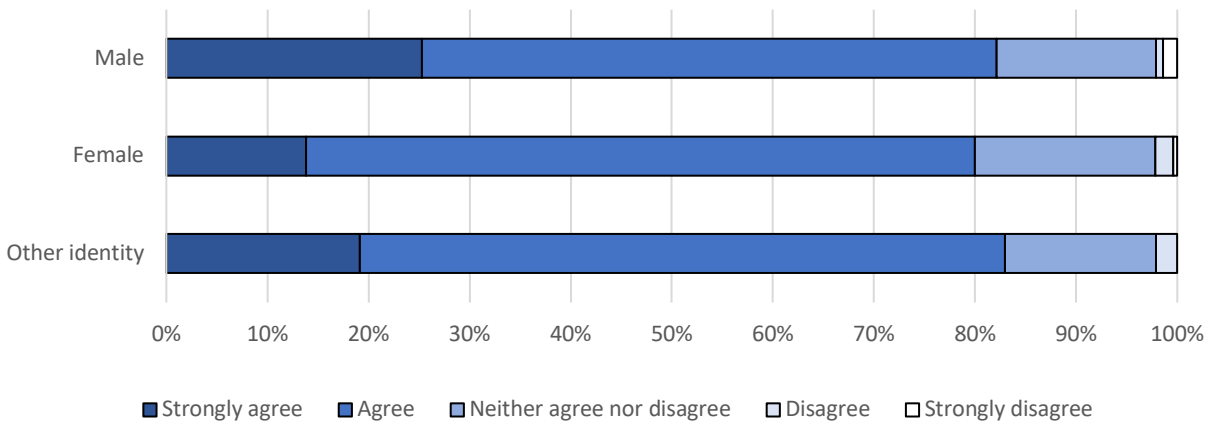
Respondents' agreement that *the number of people openly involved in polyamorous relationships is increasing*, by sexuality



N=480
 missing cases=12
 multiple response data

Figure 3.13.7

Respondents' agreement that *the number of people openly involved in polyamorous relationships is increasing*, by gender identity



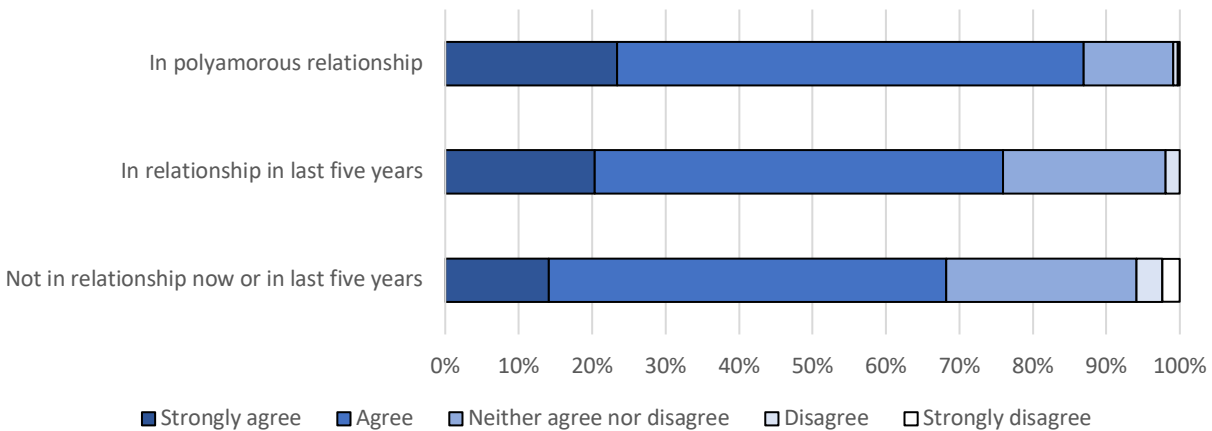
N=480
 missing cases=12

Examined by relationship status, respondents who were in a polyamorous relationship at the time of the survey were much more likely to *strongly agree* or *agree* (86.3%) with the statement *The number of people who are openly involved in polyamorous relationships is*

increasing than respondents who were not in such a relationship at the time of the survey but had been in the previous five years (76%) and respondents who were not in such a relationship at the time of the survey nor had been in the previous five years (68.2%); see Figure 3.13.8. Respondents who were not in a polyamorous relationship at the time of the survey but had been in the previous five years were more likely to *neither agree nor disagree* with the statement (29.6%) than respondents who were not in a such relationship nor had been in the previous five years (25.9%) and respondents who were in such relationship at the time of the survey (12.5%).

Figure 3.13.8

Respondents' agreement that *the number of people openly involved in polyamorous relationships is increasing*, by relationship status



N=480
missing cases=13

No substantial differences from the aggregate views of respondents on either statement were noted when the data were examined by income and educational attainment.

3.3.4 Views on public perceptions of polyamory

Almost three-quarters of respondents said that their religion supports polyamorous relationships (n=348, 72.5%), while one-fifth said it does not (n=100, 20.8%); only 6.7% (n=32) declined to answer the question. The very small number of respondents affiliated with the mainstream religions identified in the survey were most likely to say that Hinduism supports polyamorous relationships, (n=2, 100%), followed by Buddhism (n=10, 83.3%) and Christianity (n=5, 9.4%); see Table 3.5.

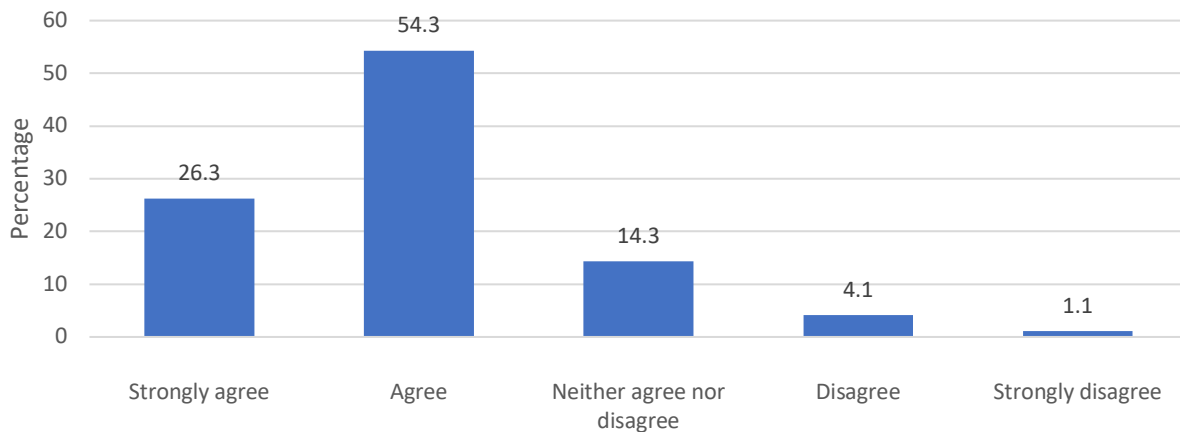
Table 3.5
Whether respondents' religious affiliation supports polyamorous relationships

Religious affiliation	Yes		No	
	n	%	n	%
Agnostic	107	87.7	15	12.3
Atheist	127	88.2	17	11.8
Buddhist	10	83.3	2	16.7
Christian, including Protestant and Roman Catholic	5	9.4	48	90.6
Hindu	2	100		
Jewish			6	100
Muslim			1	100
Other affiliation	94	89.5	11	10.5
Aggregate total (n=445)	345	77.5	100	22.5

N=480
missing cases=35

Despite the high level of religious support for polyamorous relationships reported by most respondents, many expressed a certain amount of skepticism about how polyamorous relationships are viewed by the general public. More than three-quarters of respondents *strongly agreed* (n=123, 26.3%) or *agreed* (n=254, 54.3%) with the statement *People see polyamorous relationships as a kink or fetish*, while only one-sixth *strongly agreed* (n=14, 3%) or *agreed* (n=64, 13.7%) with the statement *People see polyamorous relationships as a legitimate form of family*; see Figures 3.14.1 and 3.14.5.

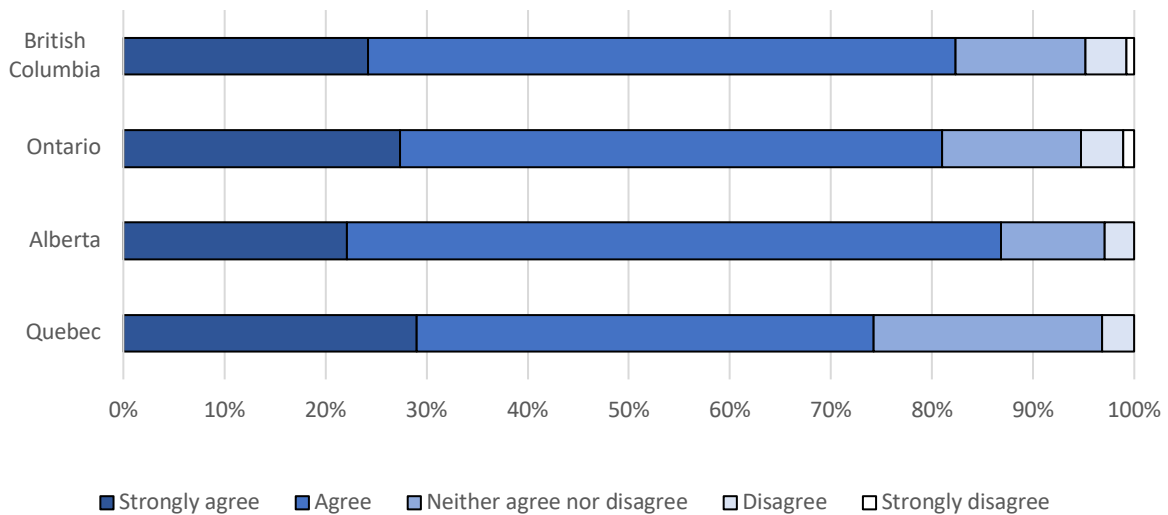
Figure 3.14.1
Respondents' agreement that *people see polyamorous relationships as a kink or fetish*



N=480
missing cases=12

Perhaps reflecting the reputation of certain provinces as being more conservative or liberal than others, of the four provinces with the greatest number of respondents, respondents residing in Alberta were more likely to *strongly agree* or *agree* with the statement *People see polyamorous relationships as a kink or fetish* (86.8%) than respondents from British Columbia (82.3%), Ontario (81.1%) or Quebec (74.2%); see Figure 3.14.2. Only two respondents from Alberta said that they *disagree* with the statement, and none said that they *strongly disagree*.

Figure 3.14.2
 Respondents' agreement that *people see polyamorous relationships as a kink or fetish* in four provinces



n=326
 missing cases=8

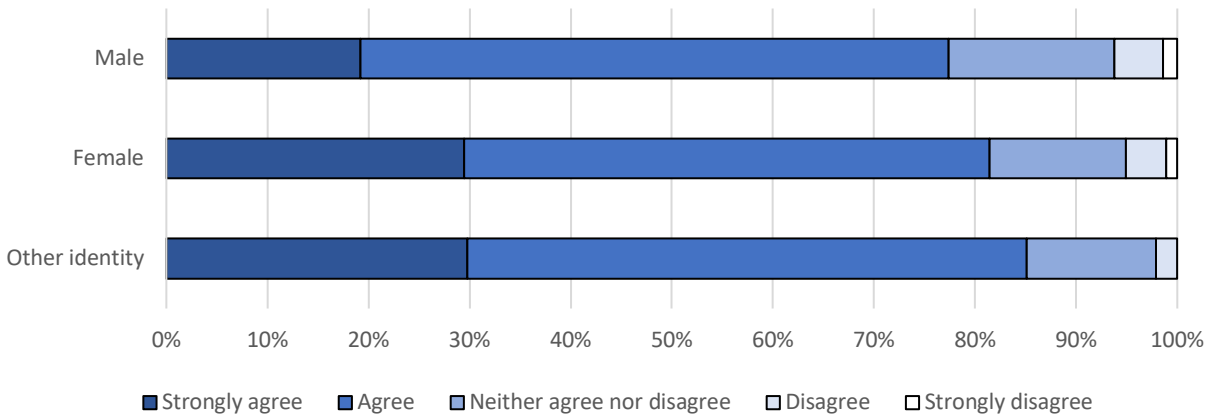
No substantial differences from the aggregate views of respondents on the statement *People see polyamorous relationships as a kink or fetish* emerged when the data were analyzed by income. While the views of respondents who identified as bisexual, pansexual and polysexual varied from the views of respondents as a whole by no more than $\pm 1.2\%$ for each potential response, heterosexual respondents were less likely to *strongly agree* than respondents in general (20.8% compared to 26.3%) and more likely to *neither agree nor disagree* (17.9% compared to 14.3%), while homosexual respondents were more likely to *strongly agree* (40%) and to *neither agree nor disagree* (20%).

Examined by gender identify, respondents identifying as male were less likely to *strongly agree* or *agree* with the statement (77.4%) than respondents identifying as female (81.5%) or as another gender identity (85.1%); see Figure 3.14.3. Respondents with a

university degree or higher were also less likely to *strongly agree* or *agree* with the statement (76.5%) than respondents with lower levels of education attainment (83.7%); see Figure 3.14.4.

Figure 3.14.3

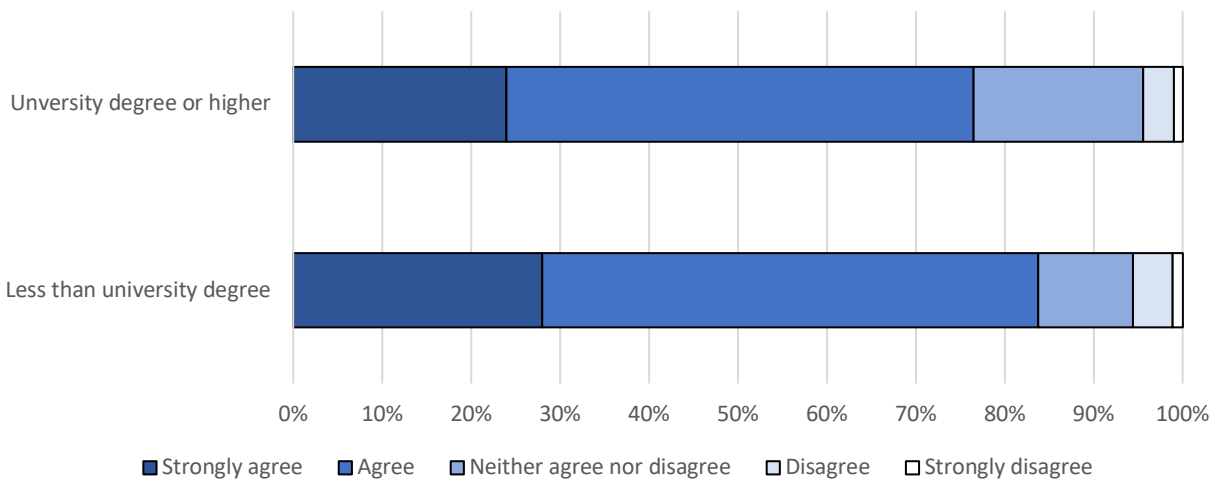
Respondents' agreement that *people see polyamorous relationships as a kink or fetish*, by gender identity



N=480
missing cases=12

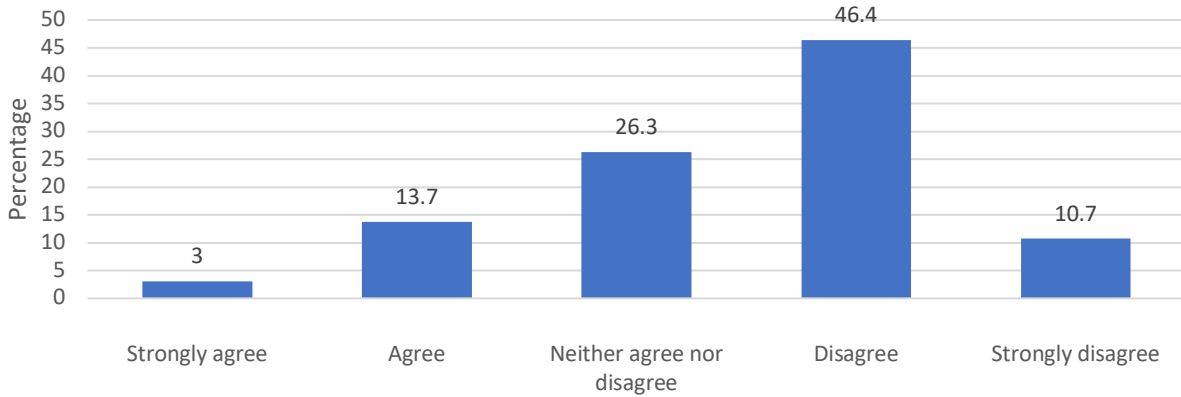
Figure 3.14.4

Respondents' agreement that *people see polyamorous relationships as a kink or fetish*, by educational attainment



N=480
missing cases=12

Figure 3.14.5
 Respondents' agreement that *people see polyamorous relationships as a legitimate form of family*

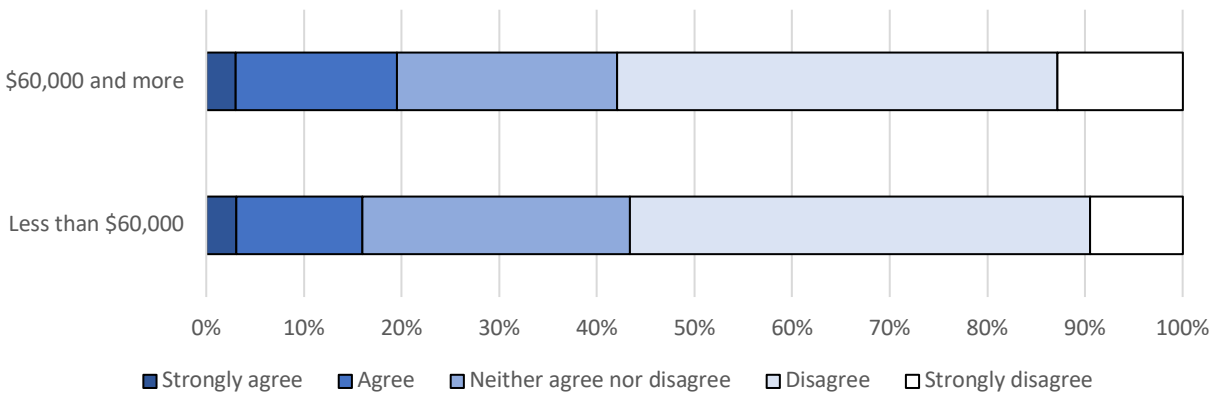


N=480
 missing cases=12

Few substantial differences from the aggregate views of respondents on the statement *People see polyamorous relationships as a legitimate form of family* emerged when the data were analyzed by educational attainment and sexuality. Important differences were observed with respect to respondents' income, gender and relationship status.

Respondents with incomes of \$60,000 or more per year were more likely to *strongly agree* or *agree* with the statement (19.5%), and less likely to *neither agree nor disagree* (22.6%), than respondents with lower incomes (16% and 27.4%, respectively); see Figure 3.14.6.

Figure 3.14.6
 Respondents' agreement that *people see polyamorous relationships as a legitimate form of family, by income*



N=480
 missing cases=12

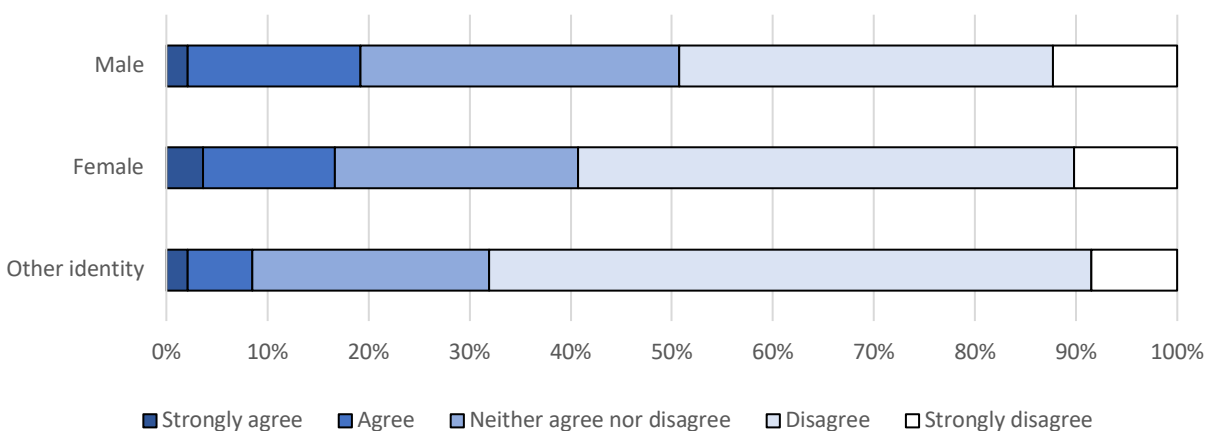
Respondents identifying as male were much less likely to *disagree* or *strongly disagree* with the statement (49.3%) than respondents identifying as female (59.3%) and respondents with another gender identity (68.1%); see Figure 3.14.7.

Examined by relationship status, respondents who were not in a polyamorous relationship at the time of the survey nor had been in one in the previous five years were more likely to *strongly agree* or *agree* (20.3%) and less likely to *disagree* or *strongly disagree* (58.3%) with the statement *People see polyamorous relationships as a legitimate form of family* than respondents who were not in such a relationship at the time of the survey but had been in the previous five years (18.5% and 59.2%, respectively) and respondents who were in a polyamorous relationship at the time of the survey (15.5% and 56.5%); see Figure 3.14.8.

Despite the broad consensus among respondents that the general public perceives polyamorous relationships as a kink or fetish and does not see such relationships as a legitimate form of family, almost three-quarters of respondents *strongly agreed* (n=54, 11.5%) or *agreed* (n=286, 61.1%) with the statement *Public acceptance of polyamorous relationships is increasing*; see Figure 3.14.9. Respondents identifying as pansexual (80.9%), bisexual (78.4%) and polysexual (75.5%) were more likely than respondents as a whole (72.6%) to *strongly agree* or *agree* with the statement, as were respondents who were in a polyamorous relationship at the time of the survey (78.9%), respondents with annual incomes below \$60,000 (74.8%) and respondents with a university degree or higher level of education (75.6%).

Figure 3.14.7

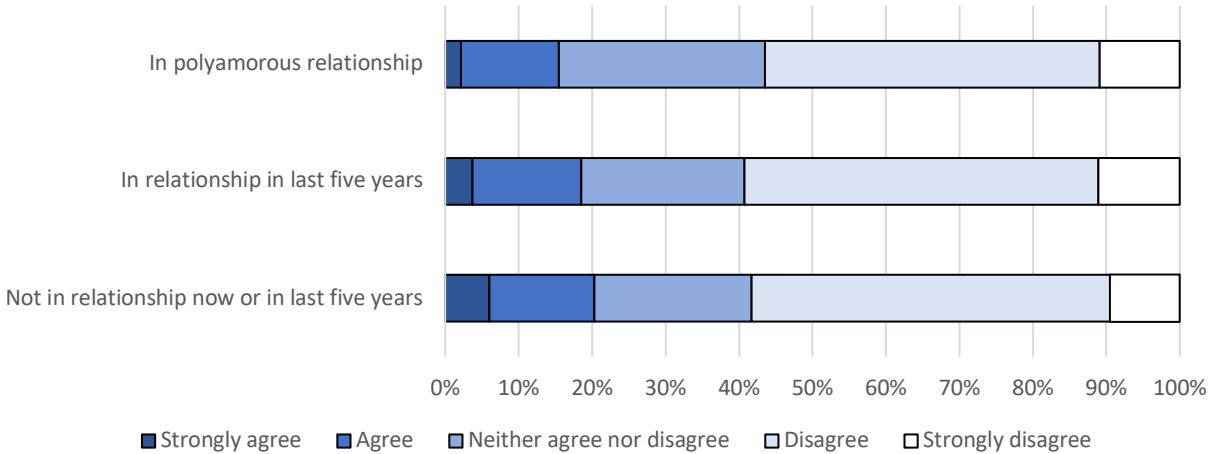
Respondents' agreement that *people see polyamorous relationships as a legitimate form of family*, by gender identity



N=480
missing cases=12

Figure 3.14.8

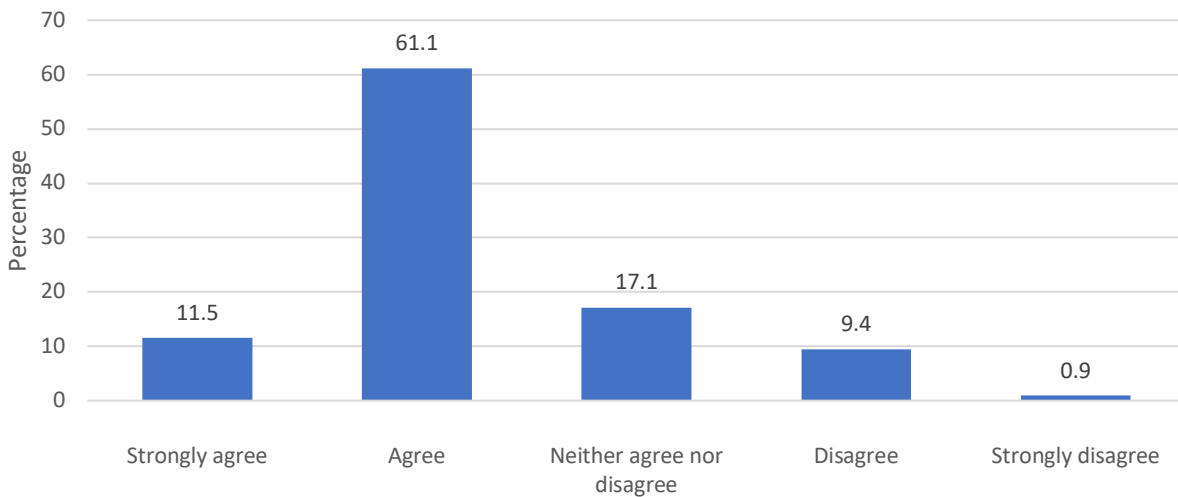
Respondents' agreement that *people see polyamorous relationships as a legitimate form of family*, by relationship status



N=480
missing cases=13

Figure 3.14.9

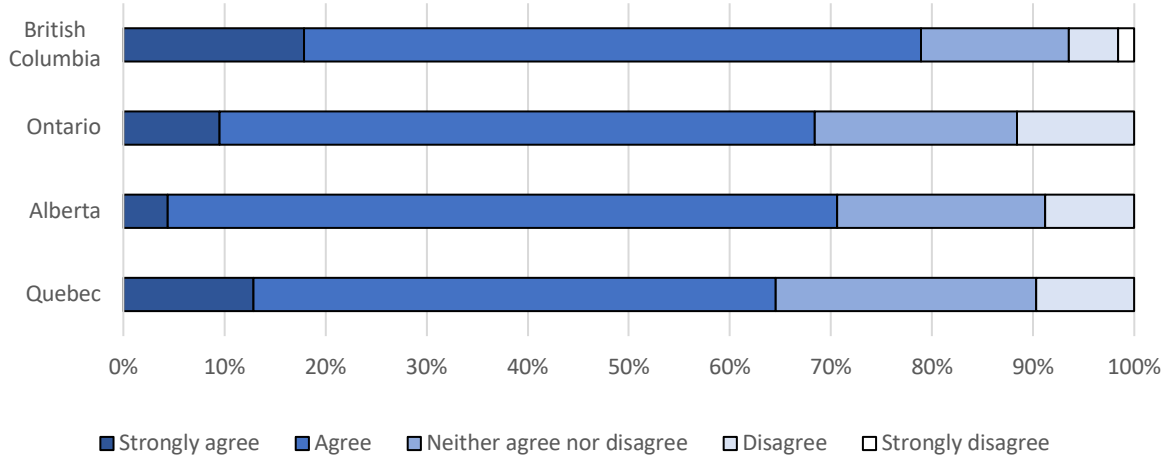
Respondents' agreement that *public acceptance of polyamorous relationships is increasing*



N=480
missing cases=12

Of the four provinces with the greatest number of respondents, respondents residing in British Columbia were most likely to *strongly agree* or *agree* with the statement *Public acceptance of polyamorous relationships is increasing* (78.9%), followed by respondents living in Alberta (70.6%), Ontario (68.4%) and Quebec (64.5%); see Figure 3.14.10.

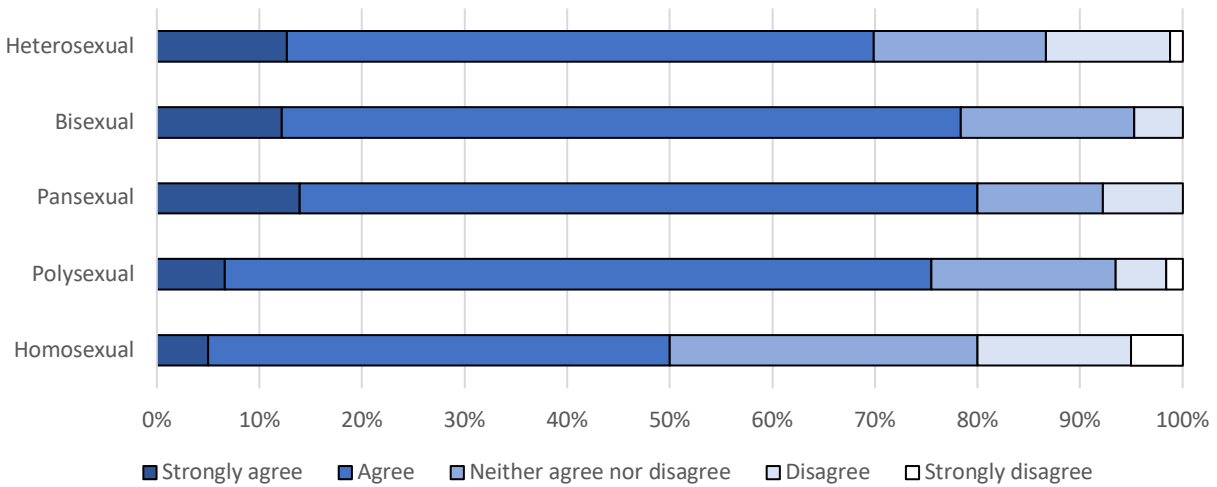
Figure 3.14.10
 Respondents' agreement that *public acceptance of polyamorous relationships is increasing* in four provinces



n=326
 missing cases=12

Examined by sexuality, respondents who described themselves as pansexual were most likely to *strongly agree* or *agree* with the statement *Public acceptance of polyamorous relationships is increasing* (80.9%), while homosexual and heterosexual respondents were the least likely (50% and 69.9%, respectively); see Figure 3.14.11.

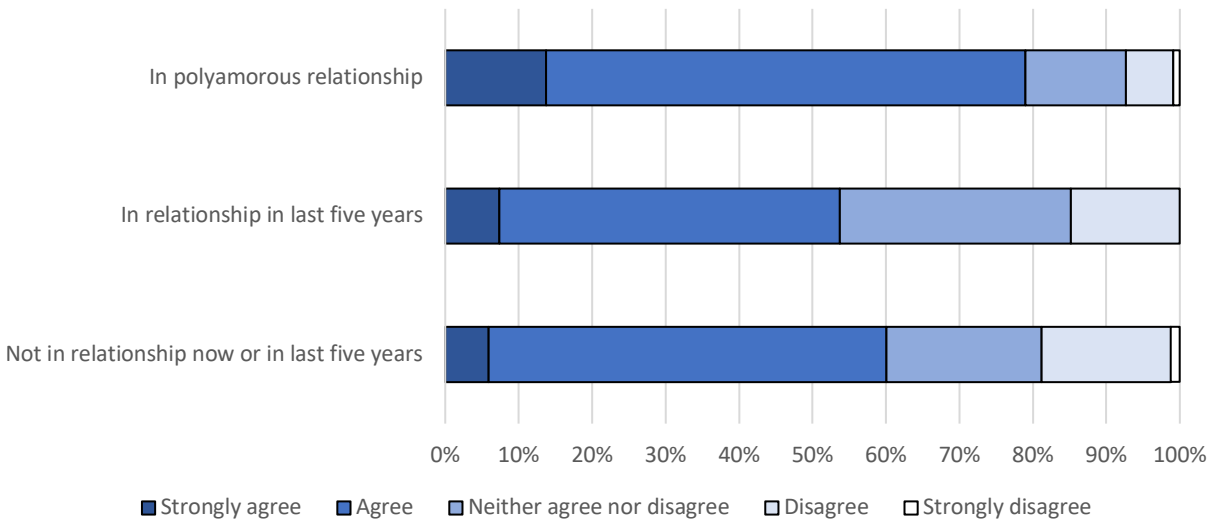
Figure 3.14.11
 Respondents' agreement that *public acceptance of polyamorous relationships is increasing*, by sexuality



N=480
 missing cases=12
 multiple response data

Respondents who were in a polyamorous relationship at the time of the survey were much more likely to *strongly agree* or *agree* with the statement (78.9%) than respondents who were not in such a relationship and had not been in such a relationship in the last five years (60%) and respondents who were not in such a relationship but had been within the previous five years (53.7%) and; see Figure 3.14.12.

Figure 3.14.12
 Respondents' agreement that *public acceptance of polyamorous relationships is increasing*, by relationship status

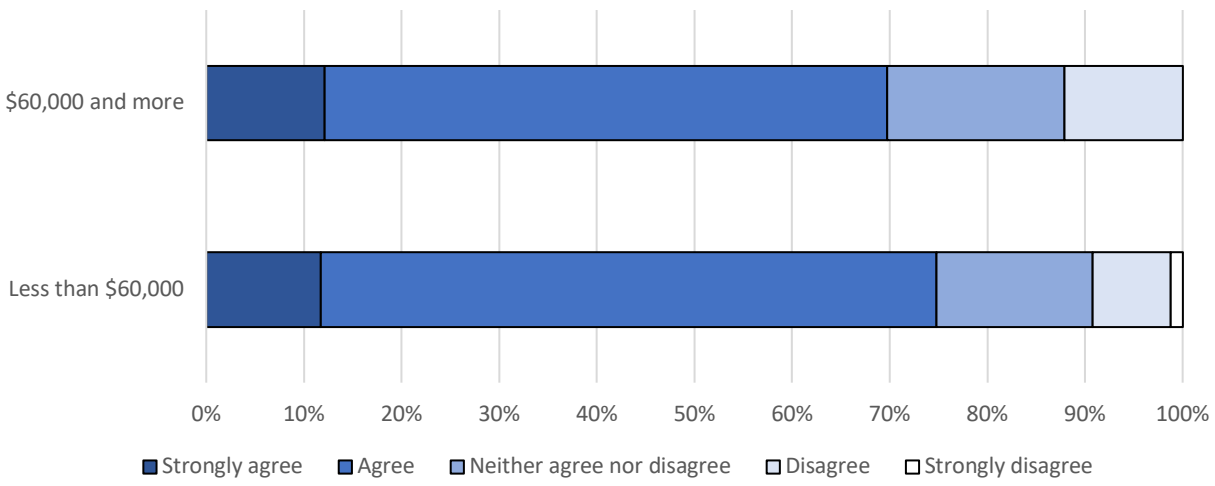


N=480
 missing cases=12

Examined by income, respondents with annual incomes below \$60,000 were more likely to *strongly agree* or *agree* with the statement *Public acceptance of polyamorous relationships is increasing* (74.8%) than respondents with incomes of \$60,000 or more (69.2%); see Figure 3.14.13. No respondents with incomes of \$60,000 or more *strongly disagreed* with the statement.

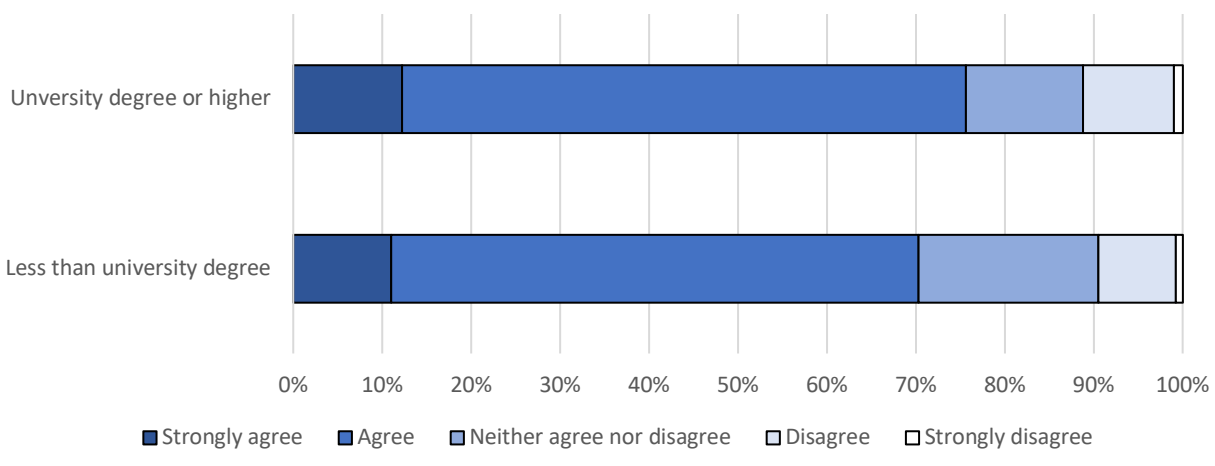
Reviewed by educational attainment, respondents with a university degree or higher were more likely to *strongly agree* or *agree* with the statement (75.6%) than respondents with lesser levels of education (70.3%); see Figure 3.14.14.

Figure 3.14.13
 Respondents' agreement that *public acceptance of polyamorous relationships is increasing*, by income



N=480
 missing cases=22

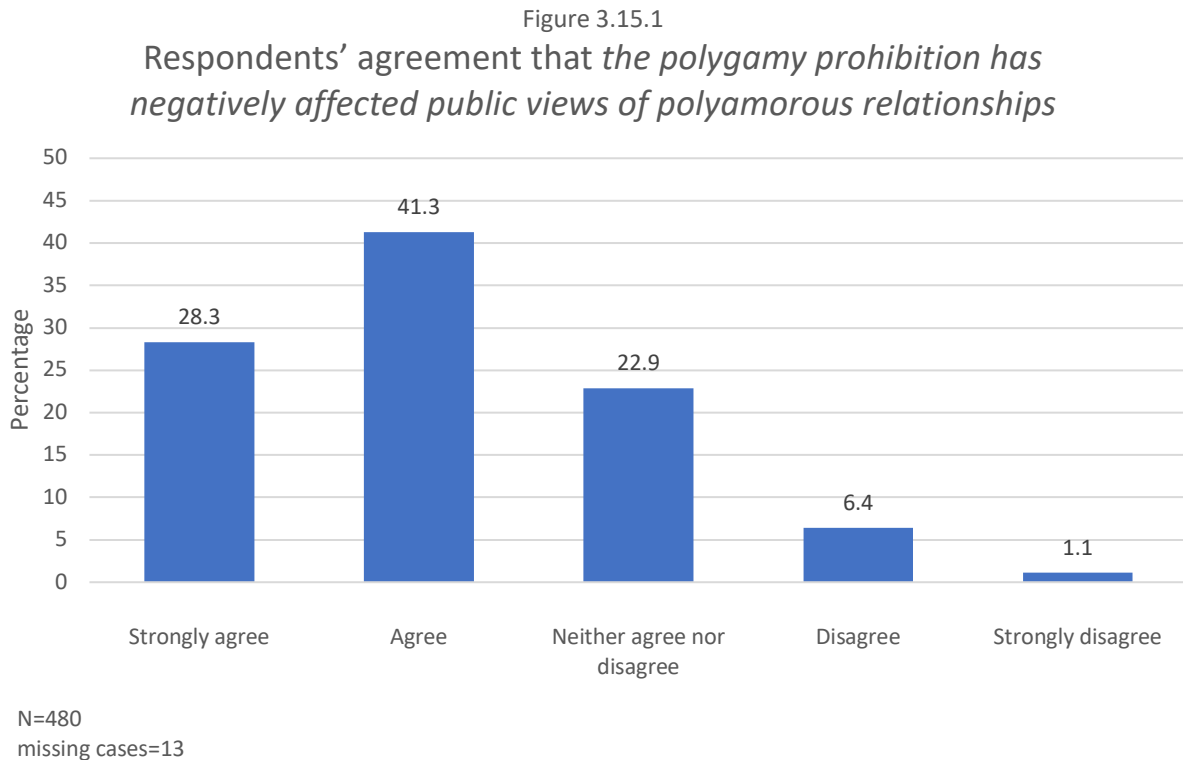
Figure 3.14.14
 Respondents' agreement that *public acceptance of polyamorous relationships is increasing*, by educational attainment



N=480
 missing cases=12

3.3.5 Impact of the criminalization of polygamy

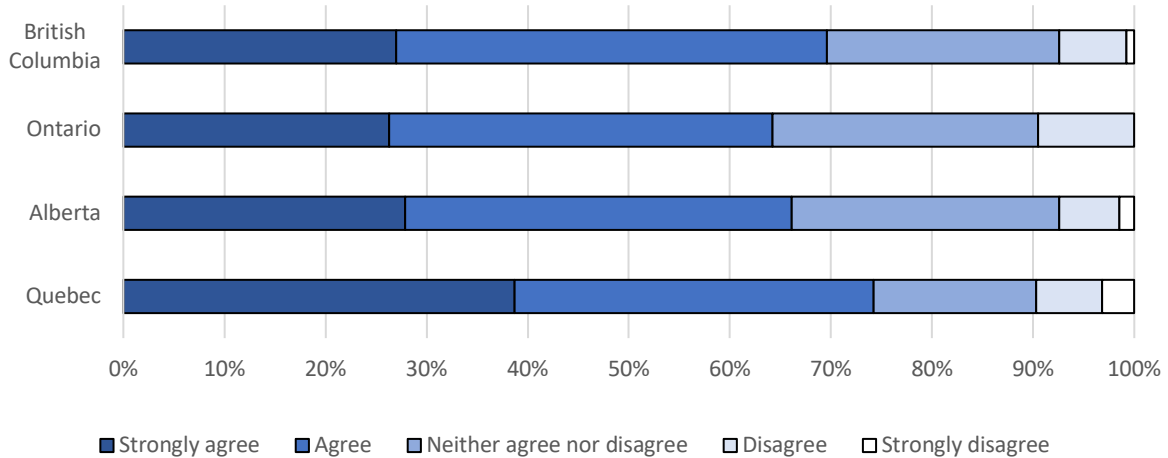
Respondents were also asked about the effect of the criminal prohibition against polygamy on public perceptions of polyamory and on their own relationships. Almost 70% of respondents *strongly agreed* (n=132, 28.3%) or *agreed* (n=193, 41.3%) that *Canada's antipolygamy law has negatively affected the public perception of polyamorous relationships*; see Figure 3.15.1.



Of the four provinces with the greatest number of respondents, respondents residing in Quebec were most likely to *strongly agree* or *agree* with this statement (74.2%), followed by respondents living in British Columbia (69.7%), Alberta (66.2%) and Ontario (64.2%); see Figure 3.15.2.

Little variation from the aggregate results were observed when the data were reviewed by relationship status or income. When examined by other demographic characteristics, respondents identifying as male, respondents with higher levels of educational attainment and respondents describing themselves as bisexual and heterosexual were less likely to support the statement *Canada's antipolygamy law has negatively affected the public perception of polyamorous relationships* than other respondents.

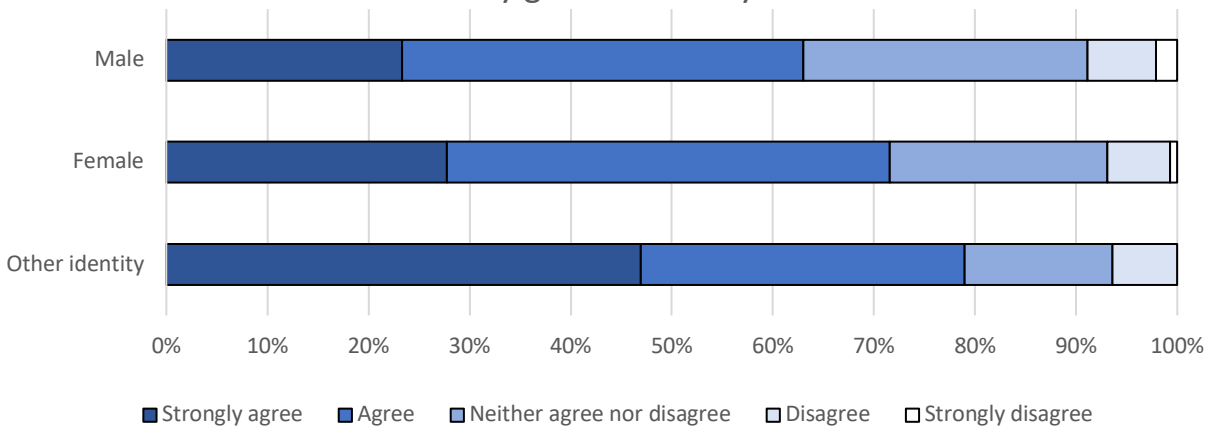
Figure 3.15.2
 Respondents' agreement that *the polygamy prohibition has negatively affected public views of polyamorous relationships* in four provinces



n=326
 missing cases=13

Examined by gender, respondents identifying as a gender other than male or female were significantly more likely to either *strongly agree* or *agree* with the statement (78.7%) than respondents identifying as female (71.5%) or as male (63%); see Figure 3.15.3. Respondents with another gender identify were much more likely to *strongly agree* (46.8%) than respondents identifying as female (27.7%) or as male (23.3%).

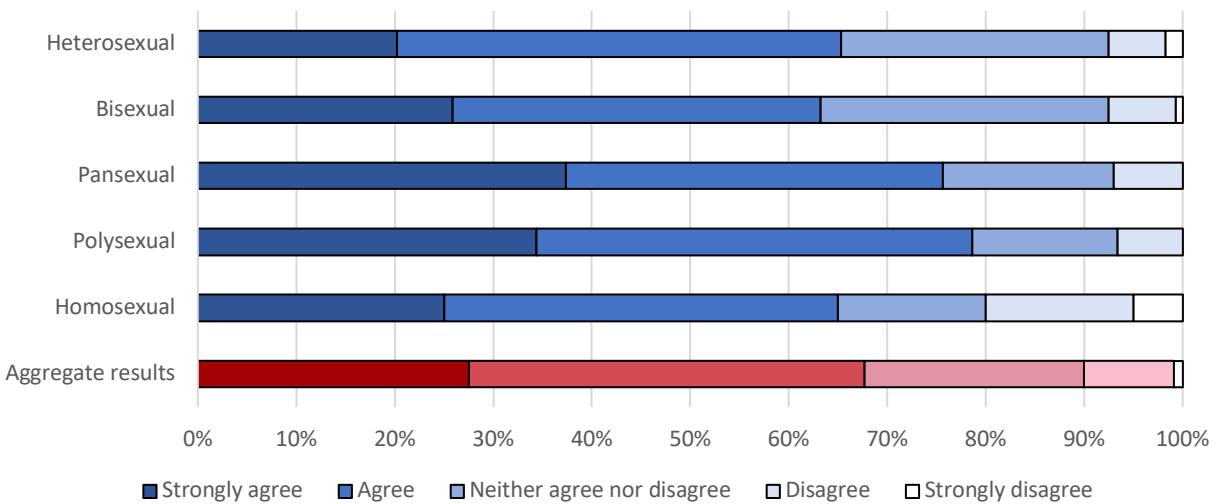
Figure 3.15.3
 Respondents' agreement that *the polygamy prohibition has negatively affected public views of polyamorous relationships*, by gender identity



N=480
 missing cases=13

Reviewed by sexuality, respondents who described themselves as bisexual (63.3%), homosexual (65%) or heterosexual (65.3%) were less likely to say that they *strongly agree* or *agree* with the statement *Canada's antipolygamy law has negatively affected the public perception of polyamorous relationships* than respondents with other sexual identities (polysexual, 78.7%; pansexual, 75.7%) and respondents as a whole (69.6%); see Figure 3.15.4.

Figure 3.15.4
 Respondents' agreement that *the polygamy prohibition has negatively affected public views of polyamorous relationships*, by sexuality



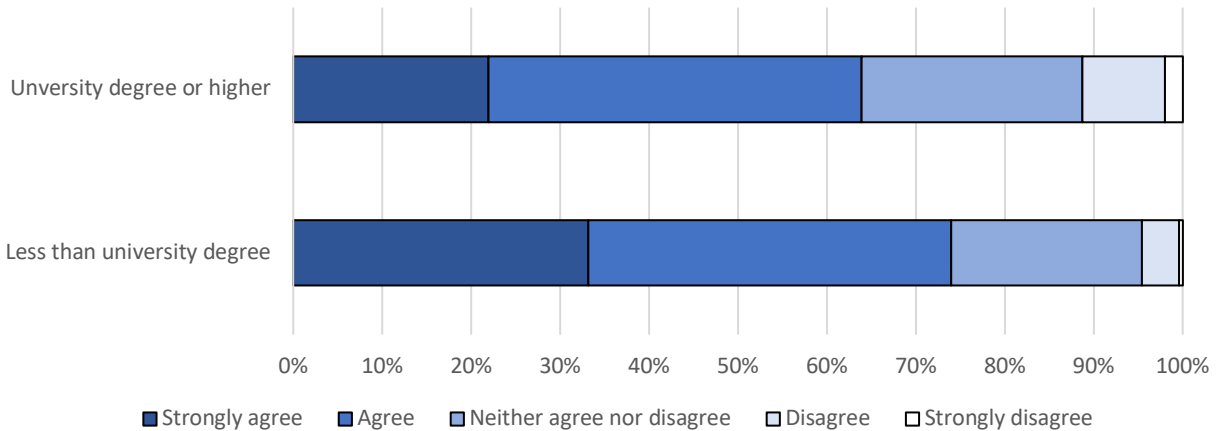
N=480
 missing cases=13
 multiple response data

Respondents with a university degree or higher were less likely to *strongly agree* and more likely to *disagree* with the statement (22% and 9.3%, respectively) than respondents with lesser levels of educational attainment (33.2% and 4.2%); see Figure 3.15.5.

However, the criminalization of polygamy had only a moderate overall impact on respondents' willingness to pursue or be openly involved in polyamorous relationships. Almost three-quarters of respondents *disagreed* or *strongly disagreed* that the prohibition against polygamy had prevented them from pursuing polyamorous relationships (n=340, 73.4%) or discouraged them from pursuing such relationships (n=323, 69.5%); see Figure 3.15.6. About two-thirds of respondents *disagreed* or *strongly disagreed* that the prohibition had prevented them from being openly involved in polyamorous relationships (n=283, 60.7%) or discouraged them from being openly involved in such relationships (n=259, 55.7%); see Figure 3.15.16.

Figure 3.15.5

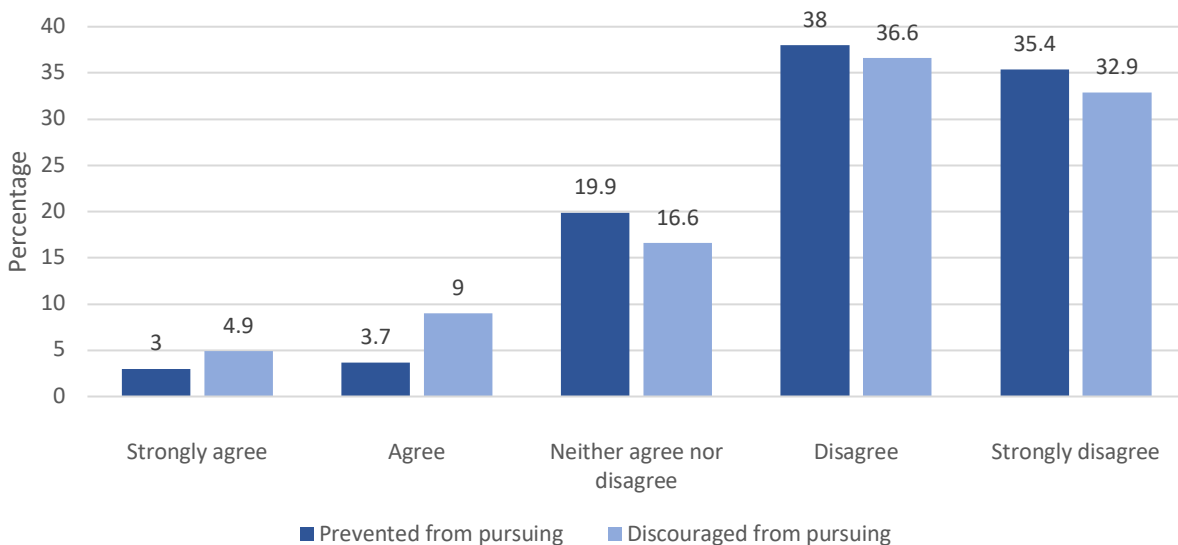
Respondents' agreement that *the polygamy prohibition has negatively affected public views of polyamorous relationships*, by educational attainment



N=480
missing cases=13

Figure 3.15.6

Respondents' agreement that *the polygamy prohibition has prevented or discouraged them from pursuing polyamorous relationships*



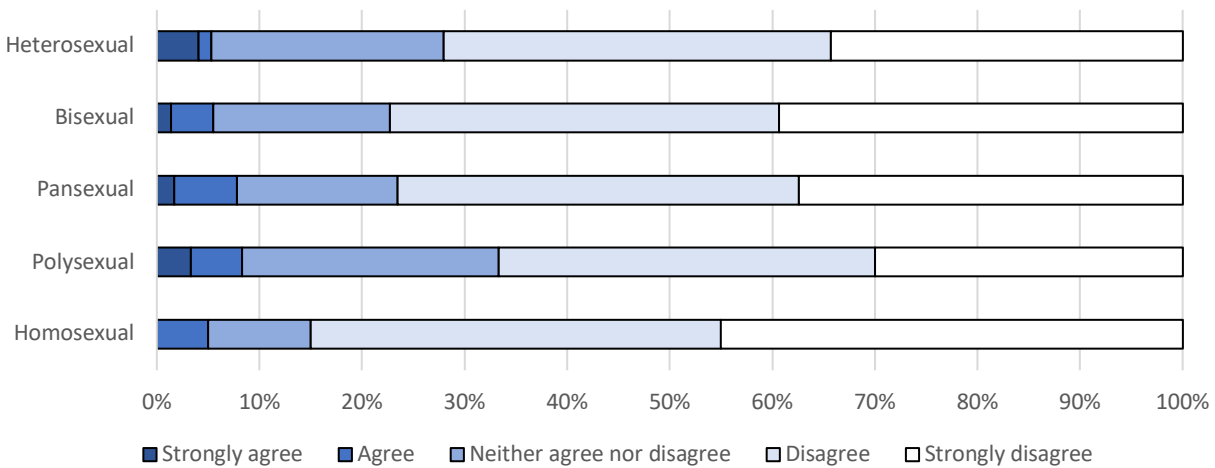
N=480
missing cases, prevented from pursuing=17; missing cases, discouraged from pursuing=15

Reviewed against the demographic variables, the respondents most likely to *strongly agree* or *agree* that *Canada's antipolygamy law has prevented me from pursuing polyamorous relationships* are polysexual respondents (8.3%) and the respondents mostly like to

disagree or *strongly disagree* with the statement were homosexual respondents (85%) and respondents who had achieved a university degree or higher in their schooling (81.8%).

Examined by sexuality, respondents identifying as homosexual (85%), bisexual (77.2%) and pansexual (76.5%) were most likely to *disagree* or *strongly disagree* that the criminalization of polygamy had prevented them from pursuing polyamorous relationships; see Figure 3.15.7. Respondents identifying as heterosexual and polysexual were the least likely to *disagree* or *strongly disagree* with this statement (72.1% and 66.7%, respectively).

Figure 3.15.7
 Respondents' agreement that *the polygamy prohibition has prevented them from pursuing polyamorous relationships*, by sexuality



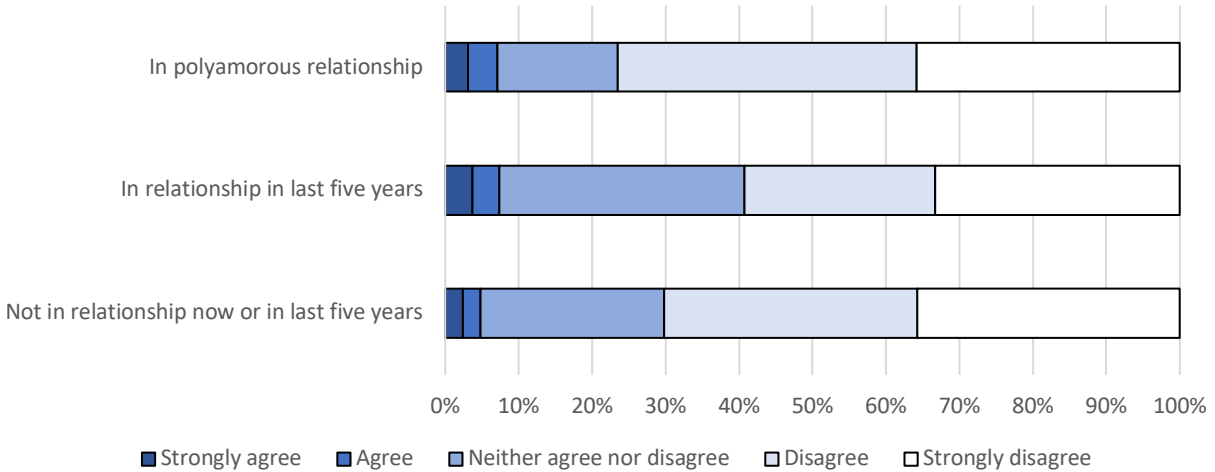
N=480
 missing cases=17
 multiple response data

Respondents in polyamorous relationships at the time of the survey were more likely to *disagree* or *strongly disagree* with the statement (76.5%) than respondents who were not in such a relationship nor had been in the previous five years (70.2%), and were much more likely to *disagree* or *strongly disagree* than respondents who were not in such a relationship but had been within the previous five years (59.2%); see Figure 3.15.8.

Examined by educational attainment, respondents with a university degree or higher were much more likely to *disagree* or *strongly disagree* with the statement (81.8%) than respondents with lesser levels of educational attainment (66.9%), and were less likely to *neither agree nor disagree* with the statement (15.8% compared to 23.1%); see Figure 3.15.9.

Figure 3.15.8

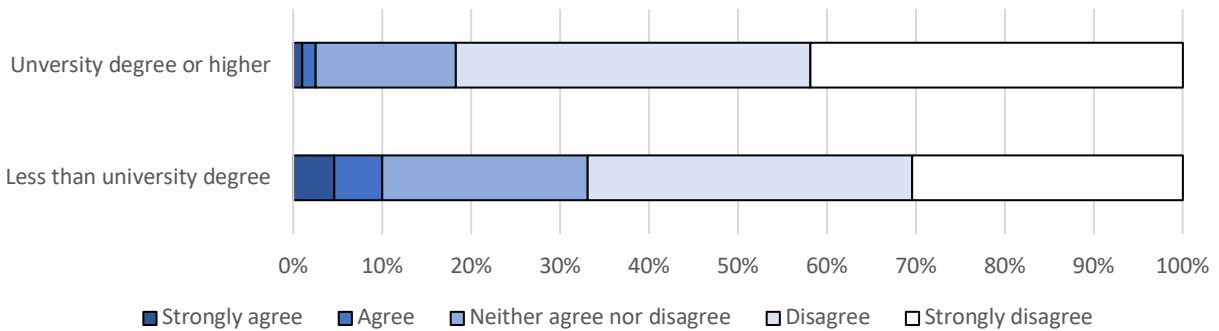
Respondents' agreement that *the polygamy prohibition has prevented them from pursuing polyamorous relationships*, by relationship status



N=480
missing cases=17

Figure 3.15.9

Respondents' agreement that *the polygamy prohibition has prevented them from pursuing polyamorous relationships*, by educational attainment

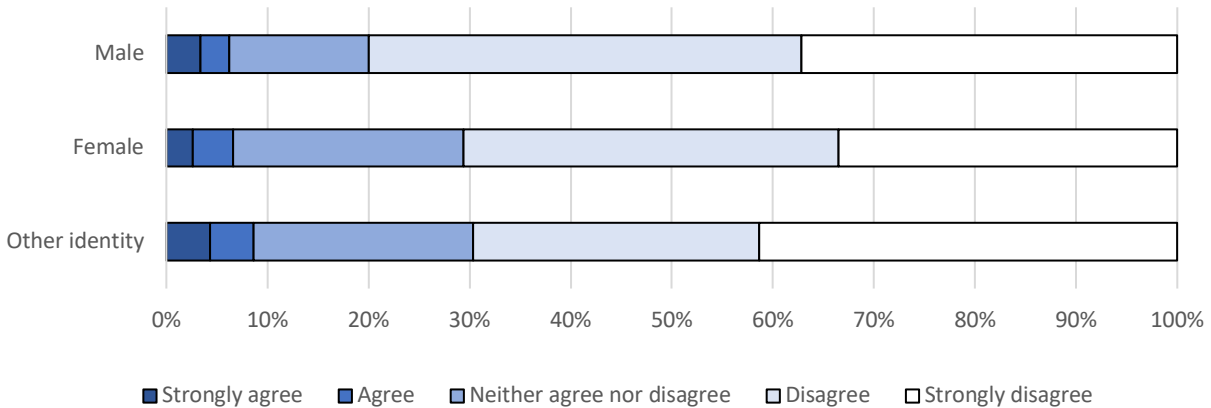


N=480
missing cases=17

Examined by gender identity, respondents identifying as male were much more likely to *disagree* or *strongly disagree* that *Canada's antipolygamy law has prevented me from pursuing polyamorous relationships* (80%) than respondents identifying as female (70.6%) or as another gender (69.6%); see Figure 3.15.10.

Figure 3.15.10

Respondents' agreement that *the polygamy prohibition has prevented them from pursuing polyamorous relationships*, by gender identity



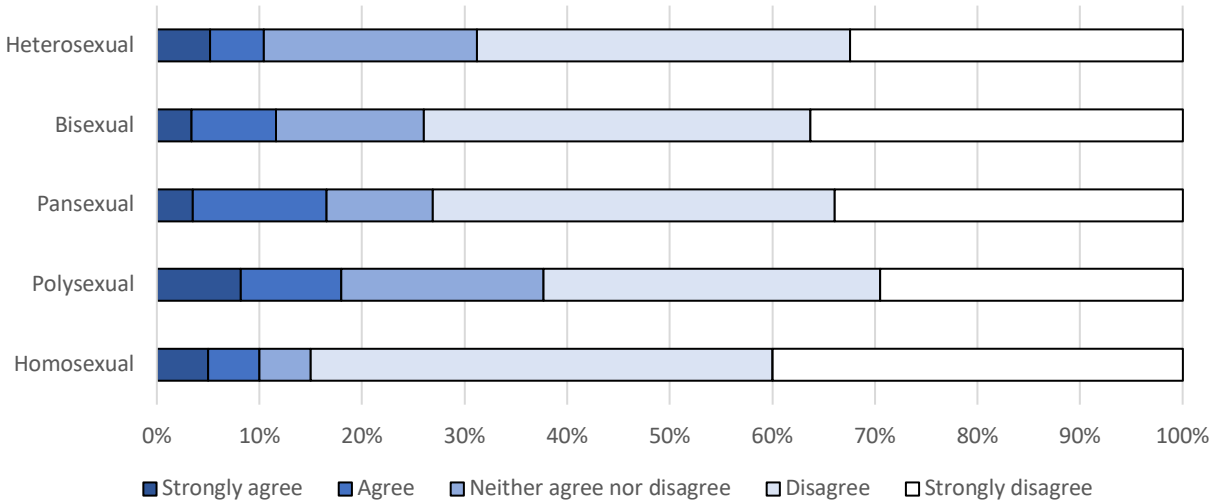
N=480
missing cases=17

Respondents' views on the somewhat milder statement *Canada's antipolygamy law has discouraged me from pursuing polyamorous relationships* were more varied when analyzed by different demographic characteristics. The respondents most likely to *disagree* or *strongly disagree* with the statement were respondents identifying as homosexual (85%), respondents with a university degree or a higher level of education (77.9%), respondents who identify as male (75.4%) and respondents with annual incomes of \$60,000 or more (74.5%). In general, more respondents were inclined to agree, and fewer to disagree with this statement, than with the statement *Canada's antipolygamy law has prevented me from pursuing polyamorous relationships*.

Examined by sexuality, the respondents most likely to *disagree* or *strongly disagree* that the criminalization of polygamy has discouraged them from pursuing polyamorous relationships are respondents who described themselves as homosexual (85%), followed by bisexual respondents (74%) and pansexual respondents (73%); see Figure 3.15.11. Respondents identifying as polysexual and heterosexual were least likely to *disagree* or *strongly disagree* (62.3% and 68.8%, respectively).

Figure 3.15.11

Respondents' agreement that *the polygamy prohibition has discouraged them from pursuing polyamorous relationships*, by sexuality



N=480
 missing cases=15
 multiple response data

Respondents who attained a university degree or higher were much more likely to *disagree* or *strongly disagree* with the statement (77.9%) than respondents with lesser levels of educational attainment (62.8%), see Figure 3.15.12, as were respondents with incomes of \$60,000 or more per year, compared to respondents with lower annual incomes (67.7%); see Figure 3.15.13.

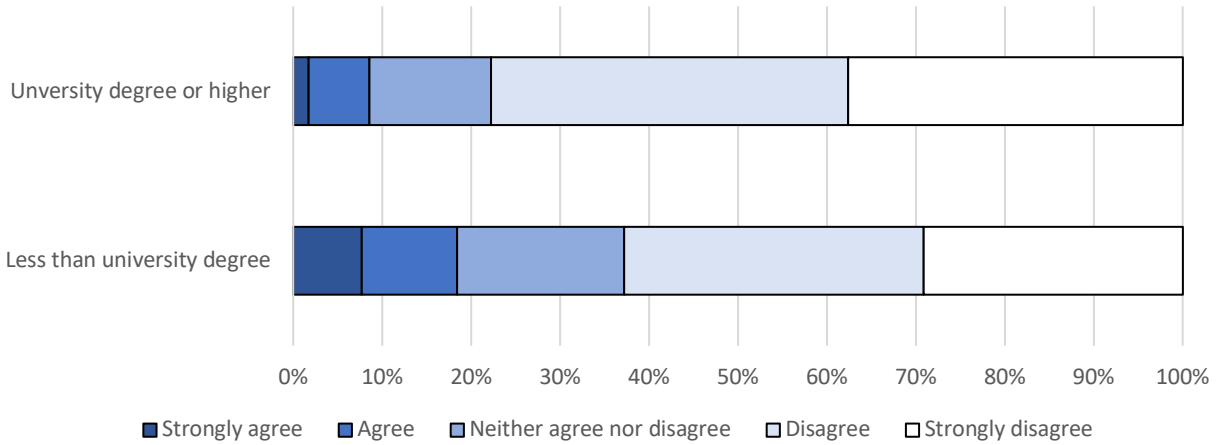
Respondents identifying as male were more likely to *disagree* or *strongly disagree* with the statement *Canada's antipolygamy law has discouraged me from pursuing polyamorous relationships* (74.3%) than respondents identifying as female (66.9%) or as neither male nor female (66%); see Figure 3.15.14. However, more than twice as many respondents with another gender identity said that they *agree* with the statement (19.1%) than respondents identifying as male (8.2%) or female (7.7%).

Examined by relationship status, respondents' views on this statement were similar to their views about whether the criminalization of polygamy had prevented them from pursuing polyamorous relationships. Respondents in polyamorous relationships at the time of the survey were more likely to *disagree* or *strongly disagree* with the statement (73.9%) than respondents who were not in such a relationship nor had been in the previous five years (64.7%), and much more likely to *disagree* or *strongly disagree* than

respondents who were not in such a relationship but had been within the previous five years (50%); see Figure 3.15.15.

Figure 3.15.12

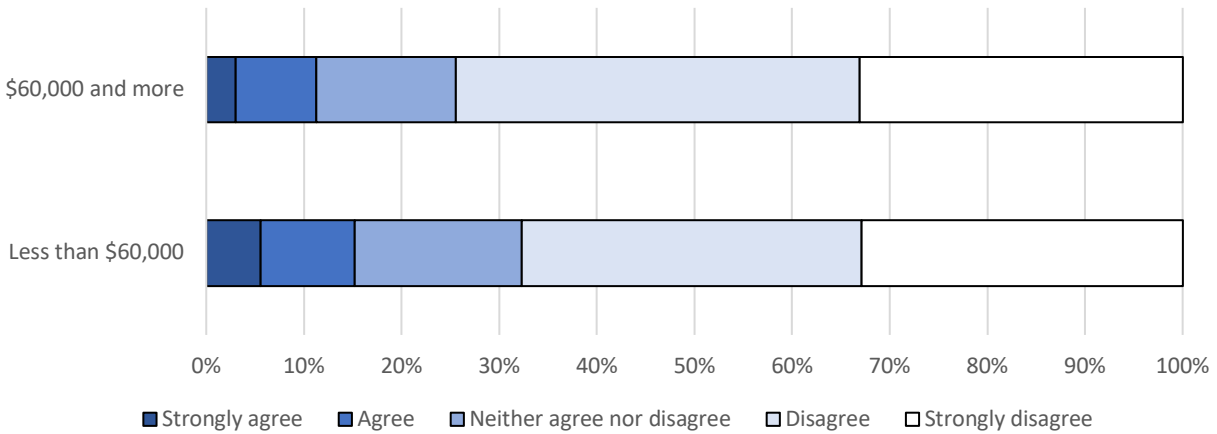
Respondents' agreement that *the polygamy prohibition has discouraged them from pursuing polyamorous relationships*, by educational attainment



N=480
missing cases=15

Figure 3.15.13

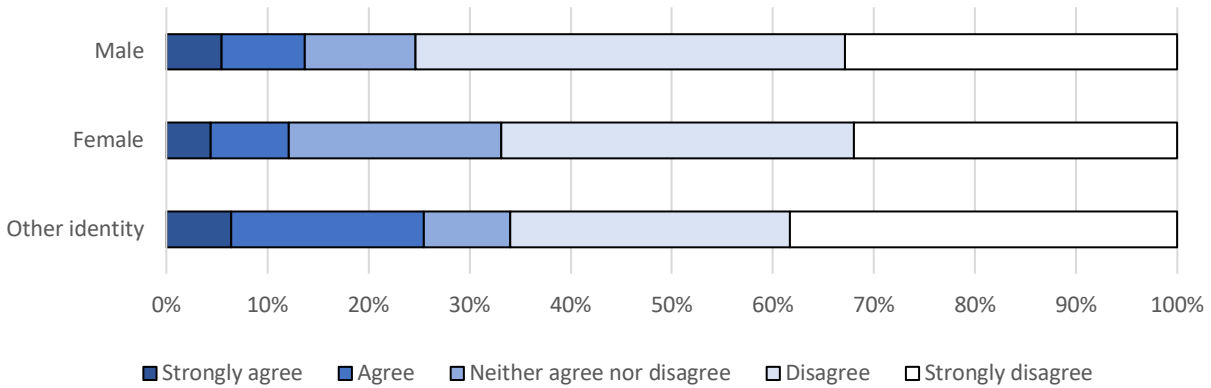
Respondents' agreement that *the polygamy prohibition has discouraged them from pursuing polyamorous relationships*, by income



N=480
missing cases=15

Figure 3.15.14

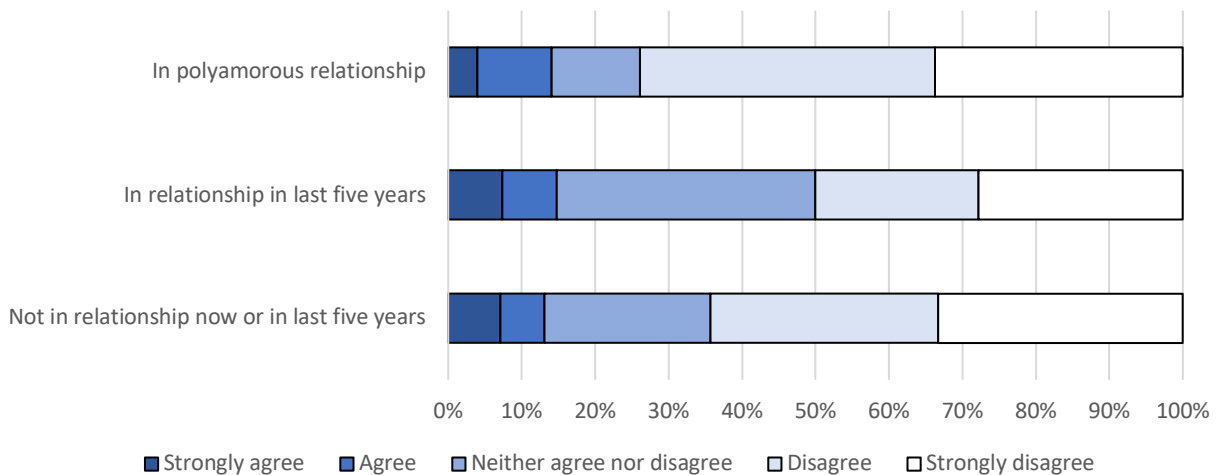
Respondents' agreement that *the polygamy prohibition has discouraged them from pursuing polyamorous relationships*, by gender identity



N=480
missing cases=15

Figure 3.15.15

Respondents' agreement that *the polygamy prohibition has discouraged them from pursuing polyamorous relationships*, by relationship status



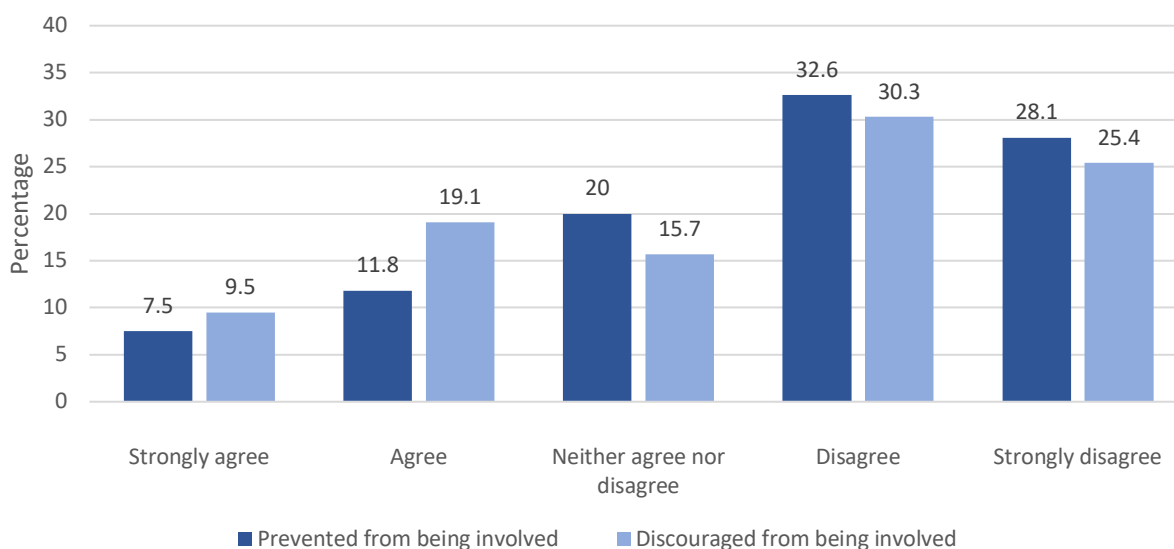
N=480
missing cases=16

Turning to respondents' agreement and disagreement with the statement that *Canada's antipolygamy law has prevented me from being openly involved in polyamorous relationships*, the respondents most likely to *disagree* or *strongly disagree* with the statement are those describing themselves as homosexual (80%), followed by respondents who had a

university degree or higher level of education (70.3%), respondents not in a polyamorous relationship at the time of the survey nor in the preceding five years (64.7%) and respondents identifying as male (65.1%).

Figure 3.15.16

Respondents' agreement that *the polygamy prohibition has prevented or discouraged them from being openly involved in polyamorous relationships*



N=480

missing cases, prevented from being involved=14; missing cases, discouraged from being involved=15

In both cases, the proportion of respondents who *strongly agreed* or *agreed* that they had been prevented from pursuing or being openly involved in polyamorous relationships by the criminal prohibition (6.7% and 19.3%, respectively) was lower than the proportion who said they had merely been discouraged from pursuing or being openly involved in such relationships (13.9% and 28.6%); see Figures 3.15.6 and 3.15.16 above. However, it is clear that the prohibition has had somewhat of a closeting effect, as the proportion of respondents who agreed that the prohibition had prevented or discouraged them from being openly involved in polyamorous relationships was considerably higher, and the proportion who disagreed considerably lower, than among respondents to the statement on the effect of the prohibition on pursuing polyamorous relationships; see Table 3.6.

Examined by sexuality, the respondents most likely to *disagree* or *strongly disagree* that the criminalization of polygamy has prevented them from being openly involved in polyamorous relationships are respondents who described themselves as homosexual (80%), followed by bisexual respondents (62.4%) and heterosexual respondents (61.9%);

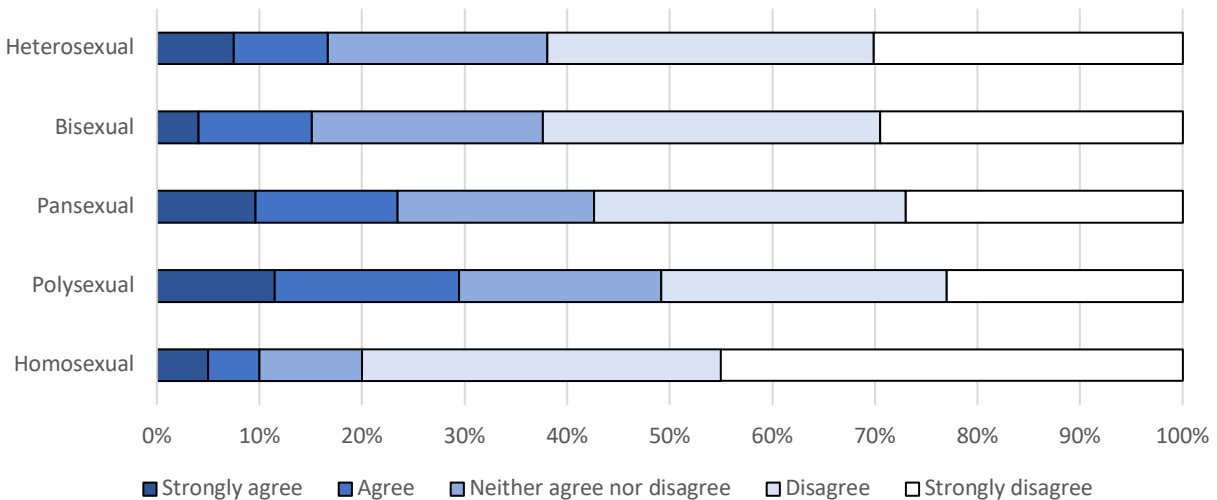
see Figure 3.15.17. Respondents identifying as polysexual and pansexual were least likely to *disagree* or *strongly disagree* (50.9% and 57.4%, respectively).

Table 3.6
 Respondents' agreement that *the polygamy prohibition has prevented or discouraged them from pursuing or being openly involved in polyamorous relationships*

Extent of agreement with statement	Impact on pursuing relationships		Impact on being openly involved in relationships	
	Discourage	Prevent	Discourage	Prevent
Aggregate agree	13.9	6.7	28.6	19.3
Strongly agree	4.9	3.0	9.5	7.5
Agree	9.0	3.7	19.1	11.8
Neither agree nor disagree	16.6	19.9	15.7	20.0
Aggregate disagree	69.5	73.4	55.7	60.7
Disagree	36.6	38.0	30.3	32.6
Strongly disagree	32.9	35.4	25.4	28.1

N=480
 missing cases, discouraged from pursuing=15; missing cases, prevented from pursuing=17
 missing cases, discouraged from being involved=15; missing cases, prevented from being involved=14

Figure 3.15.17
 Respondents' agreement that *the polygamy prohibition has prevented them from being openly involved in polyamorous relationships, by sexuality*

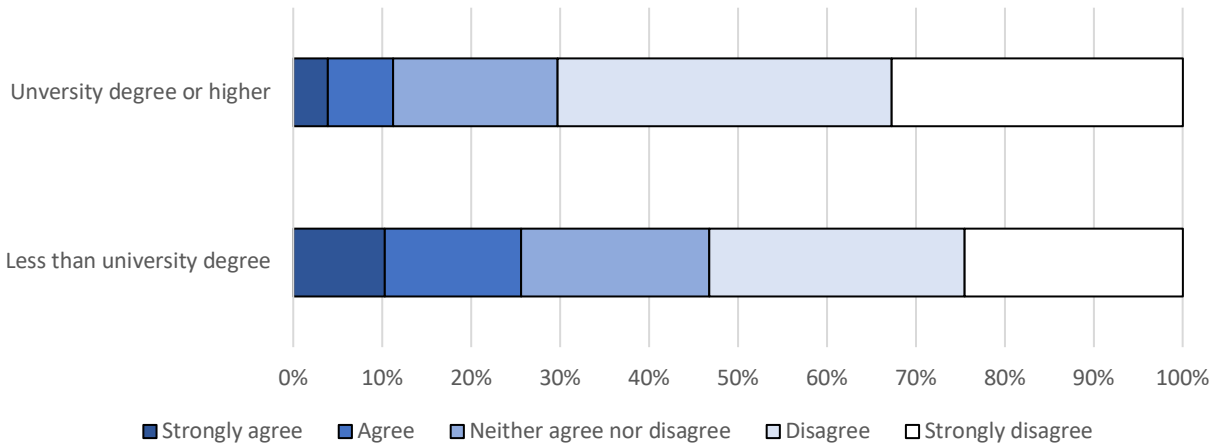


N=480
 missing cases=14
 multiple response data

Respondents with a university degree or higher level of education were much more likely to *disagree* or *strongly disagree* with the statement (70.3%) than respondents with lower levels of educational attainment (53.2%); see Figure 3.15.18.

Figure 3.15.18

Respondents' agreement that *the polygamy prohibition has prevented them from being openly involved in polyamorous relationships*, by educational attainment



N=480
missing cases=14

Respondents not in a polyamorous relationship at the time of the survey, nor within the previous five years, were most likely to *disagree* or *strongly disagree* with this statement (64.7%), followed by respondents who were in such a relationship when they completed the survey (61.9%) and respondents who were not in a polyamorous relationship but had been in such a relationship in the last five years (46.3%); see Figure 3.15.19.

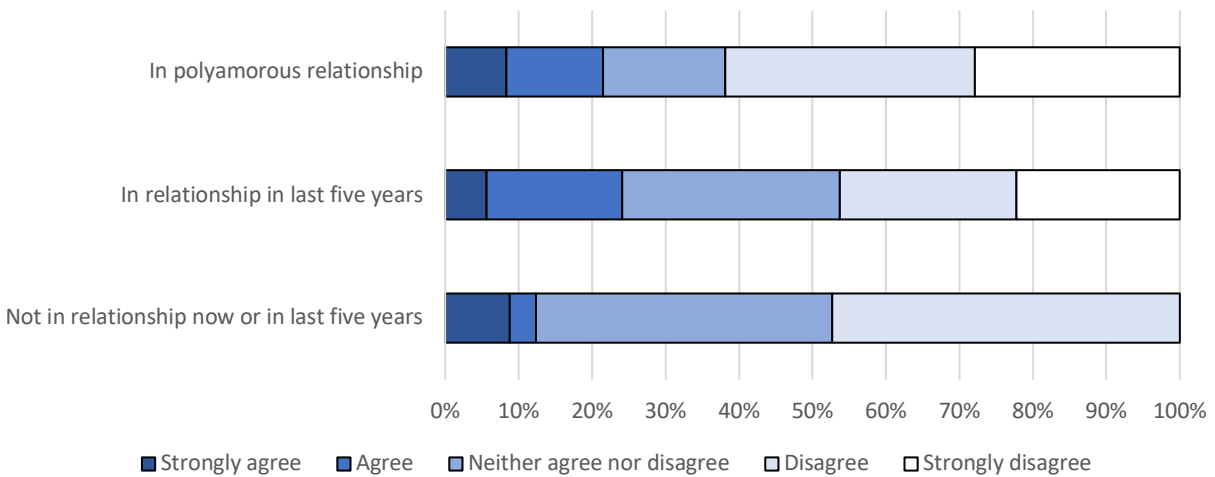
Examined by gender identity, respondents identifying as male were most likely to *disagree* or *strongly disagree* with the statement (65.1%), followed by respondents identifying as female (58.9%) and respondents with another gender identity (57.4%); see Figure 3.15.20.

Looking at respondents' agreement with the final attitudinal statement in the survey, *Canada's antipolygamy law has discouraged me from pursuing polyamorous relationships*, the respondents most likely to *strongly agree* or *agree* were those who said they were polysexual (38.3%), followed by respondents who were not in a polyamorous relationship at the time of the survey but had been within the previous five years (33.3%) and respondents whose highest level of educational attainment was less than a university degree (32.6%). The respondents most likely to *disagree* or *strongly disagree*

with the statement were respondents who said they were homosexual (75%), respondents who had achieved a university degree or higher level of education (63.7%), respondents who identified as male (62%) and respondents who were not in a polyamorous relationship at the time of the survey nor had been within the previous five years (62.4%).

Figure 3.15.19

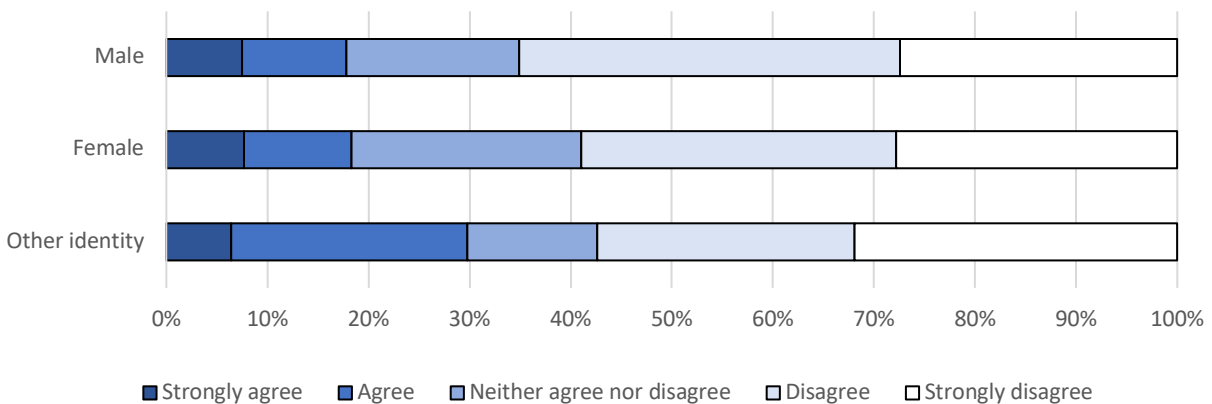
Respondents' agreement that *the polygamy prohibition has prevented them from being openly involved in polyamorous relationships*, by relationship status



N=480
missing cases=14

Figure 3.15.20

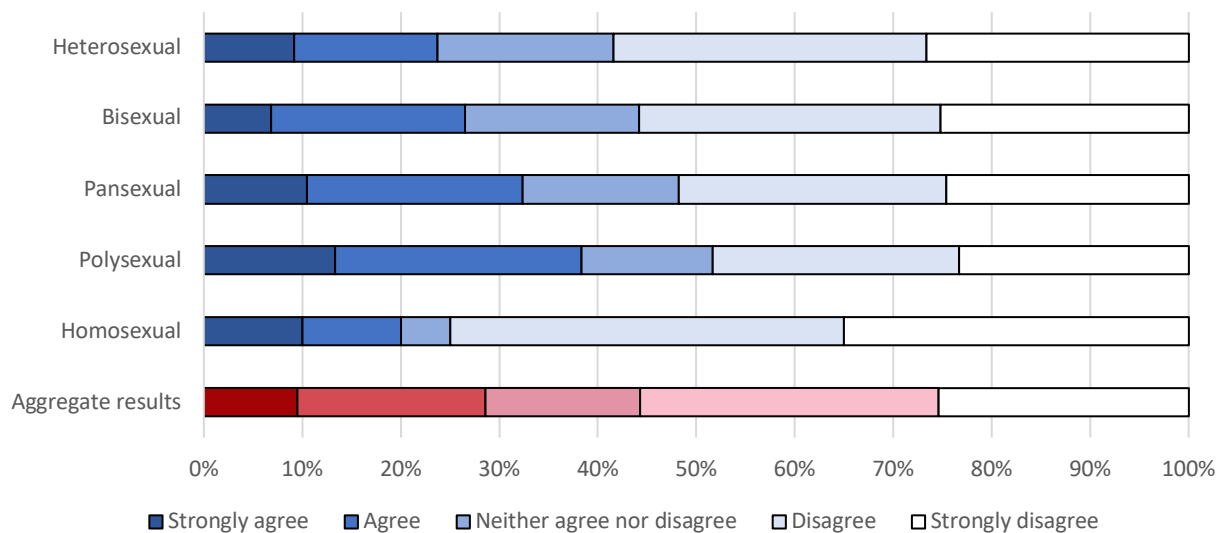
Respondents' agreement that *the polygamy prohibition has prevented them from being openly involved in polyamorous relationships*, by gender identity



N=480
missing cases=14

Examined by sexuality, the views of respondents describing themselves as heterosexual, bisexual or pansexual demonstrated the least variation from the aggregate views of all respondents on the statement, deviating from those responses by no more than $\pm 5\%$, while the views of polysexual and homosexual respondents were more diverse; see Figure 3.15.21. The respondents most likely to *strongly agree* or *agree* with the statement were those who said they were polysexual (38.3%), pansexual (32.5%) and bisexual (26.5%); those most likely to *disagree* or *strongly disagree* were those who said they were homosexual (75%), heterosexual (58.4%) and bisexual (55.7%).

Figure 3.15.21
 Respondents' agreement that *the polygamy prohibition has discouraged them from being openly involved in polyamorous relationships*, by sexuality



N=480
 missing cases=15
 multiple response data

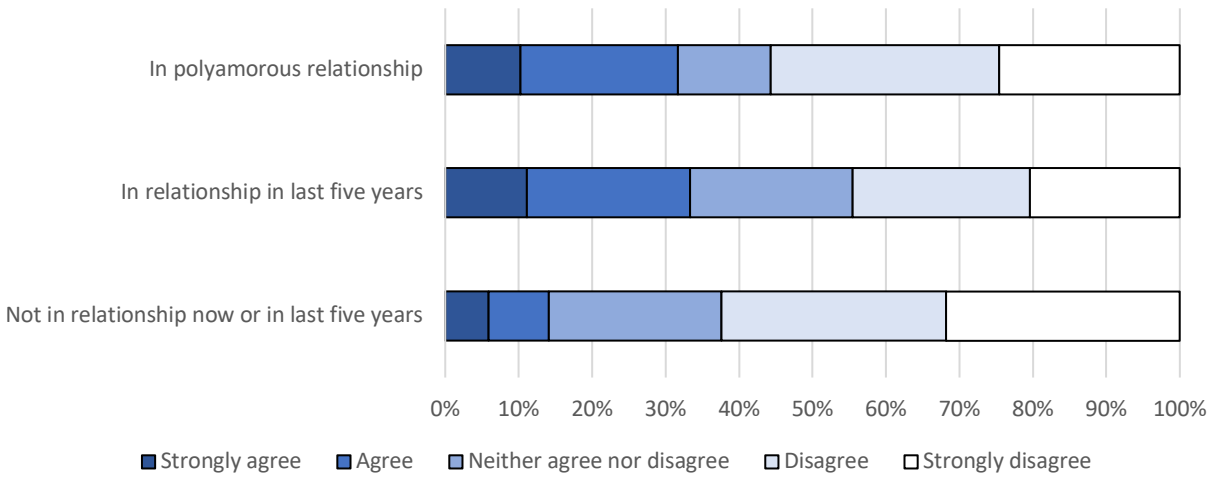
Respondents who were not in a polyamorous relationship at the time of the survey, but had been in one in the previous five years, were most likely to *strongly agree* or *agree* that the criminalization of polygamy had discouraged them from being openly in polyamorous relationships (33.3%), followed by respondents who were in a polyamorous relationship at the time of the survey (31.7%) and those were not in such a relationship at the time of the survey nor had been in such a relationship in the previous five years (14.1%); see Figure 3.15.22.

Examined by educational attainment, respondents with a university degree or a more advanced education were much more likely to *disagree* or *strongly disagree* with the

statement (63.7%) than respondents with lesser levels of educational attainment (49.4%); see Figure 3.15.23.

Figure 3.15.22

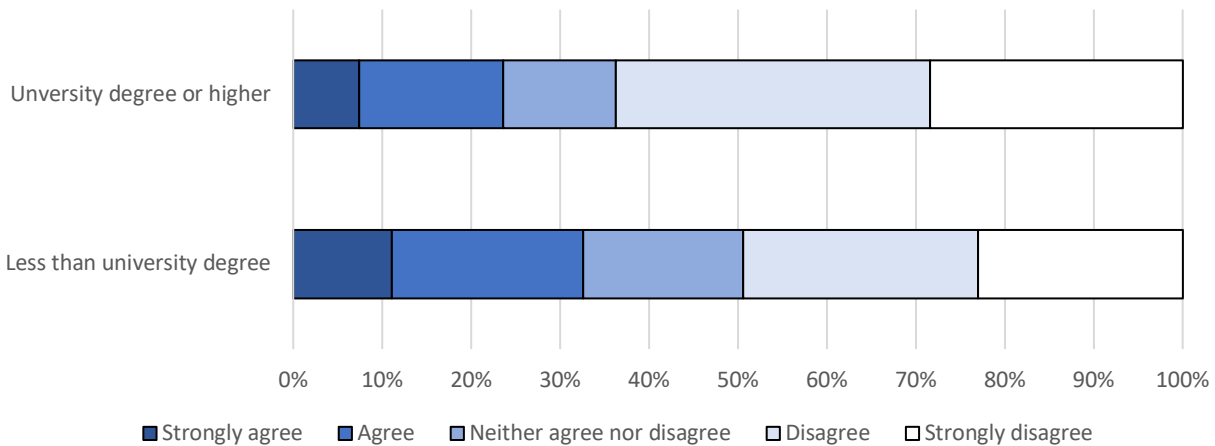
Respondents' agreement that *the polygamy prohibition has discouraged them from being openly involved in polyamorous relationships*, by relationship status



N=480
missing cases=15

Figure 3.15.23

Respondents' agreement that *the polygamy prohibition has discouraged them from being openly involved in polyamorous relationships*, by educational attainment

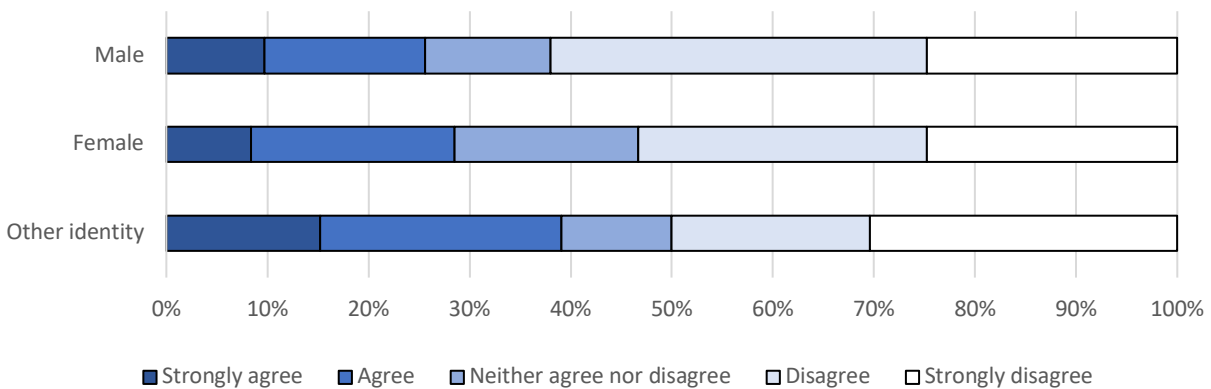


N=480
missing cases=15

Examined by gender identity, respondents identifying as male were more likely to *disagree* or *strongly disagree* with the statement (62%) than respondents identifying as female (53.3%) or as another gender (50%), and were correspondingly less likely to *strongly agree* or *agree* with the statement (25.5%, compared to 28.5% of respondents identifying as women and 39.1% of respondents identifying as another gender); see Figure 3.15.24. Respondents identifying as female were much more likely to *neither agree nor disagree* with the statement (18.2%) than respondents identifying as male (12.4%) or as another gender (10.9%).

Figure 3.15.24

Respondents' agreement that *the polygamy prohibition has discouraged them from being openly involved in polyamorous relationships*, by gender identity



N=480
missing cases=15

4.0 SUMMARY, DISCUSSION AND RECOMMENDATIONS

This chapter provides an analysis and discussion of the findings from the Survey on Polyamorous Relationships and Perceptions of Polyamory in Canada, and makes a number of recommendations applicable to the law in Alberta and in Canada.

This chapter also discusses some of the problems encountered in preparing the survey and makes recommendations for law reform and for further research on the views, attitudes and realities of this growing segment of the Canadian population. These challenges will be reviewed first as they impact the reliability and utility of the results obtained from some of the data.

4.1 Weaknesses in the survey

The Survey on Polyamorous Relationships and Perceptions of Polyamory in Canada was loosely based on a survey the Canadian Polyamory Advocacy Association conducted of its members in 2010 and was additionally informed by the author's previous experience with individuals in polyamorous relationships, preparatory research undertaken by Institute staff, and discussion with an individual involved in the CPAA's leadership. Despite the efforts taken to ensure the relevance of the questions posed to respondents, we failed to completely appreciate the diversity of polyamorous relationships in the preparatory phase of this study, a circumstance reflected in the text of the survey.

The drafting of a number of the survey questions was based on the faulty assumption that long-term polyamorous relationships were essentially the same as long-term dyadic family relationships, with an expanded membership, to be sure, but with roughly similar expectations of fidelity, commitment and endurance. Although long-term cohabiting polyamorous relationships exist, including many with children, the assumption that such relationships were representative of most or even many polyamorous relationships was flawed. A number of respondents to the survey pointed out that terms such as *household* and *relationship*, expressed in the singular, did not reflect the complicated, often highly variable nature of their connections with others:

This question and the rest of the page are poorly worded however since it presumes that there is only one relationship involved rather than intersecting

multiple relationships. I am personally involved with at least 3 serious partners right now, each of which have their own independent relationships as well. It's weird that you're calling it a/my relationship (singular). Next question is weird too. I have many relationships.

This is making a lot of assumptions about polyamory and its configurations. Many if not most polyamorous relationships are not full-time living arrangements among all members. I ... do not live with any of my partners, despite the long-term nature of all of my relationships.

Other respondents helpfully contacted the Institute directly to express their concerns, and we are grateful for their input. One respondent even took the time to provide us with a hand-drawn diagram of his relationships, illustrating the committed relationships he maintained with a primary group of people and the varying nature of the secondary relationships each of those individuals and the respondent maintained with others.

Although this problem with the survey was discovered within the first several weeks of the data collection period, given the notorious challenges involved in acquiring a large pool of respondents prepared to complete a lengthy survey, let alone a second survey of similar breadth and depth, the data gathered to that point were considered too valuable to discard. To address this problem, the study was reconceptualized as being the first part of a two-stage effort which would include the development and administration of another survey, in consultation with the polyamory community, after a period of time.

As a result, the following survey questions, and potentially others, failed to capture the reality of many respondents' relationships, and the data obtained from them should be interpreted with caution and are not analyzed in this report in any great detail:

- a) questions asked of all respondents

Are you the only income earner in your household?

How many income earners are in your household? (asked of respondents who said they are not the only income earner in their household)

What is your household income?

- b) questions asked of respondents who said that they are currently in a polyamorous relationship

*How many people in your relationship/household are male, female or another gender?
Are any of the adults in your relationship/household legally married to each other?*

How many children under the age of 19 live full-time in your household under the care of one more parents or guardians?

How many children under the age of 19 live part-time in your household under the care of one more parents or guardians?

In the last five years, how many new people joined your relationship?

In the last five years, how many people left your relationship?

What, if any, legal steps have you taken to formalize the rights and responsibilities of the members of your household?

- c) questions asked of all respondents to measure the extent of their agreement with certain attitudinal statements

People in polyamorous relationships should have an equal say in introducing new people to the relationship.

People in polyamorous relationships should have an equal say about changes to the nature of the relationship.

We recognize that the wording of the Survey on Polyamorous Relationships and Perceptions of Polyamory in Canada reflects presumptions about the homogeneity of the polyamorous individuals which limited our ability to measure the nature and variety of respondents' relationships, and left a number of respondents feeling excluded from the survey and "othered."

Another question also proved to be problematic, *How many people are in your polyamorous relationship?*, asked of people who were in a polyamorous relationship at the time they completed the survey, or had been in such a relationship in the previous five years. This question should have been phrased to clearly either include or exclude the individual respondent. Given the number of respondents who said that one (n=8) or

two people (n=74) were in their relationship, the data obtained from the question should be interpreted with caution and are not analyzed in this report in any detail.

4.2 Summary

A total of 596 electronic surveys were initiated during the seven-week data collection period, running from 20 June to 8 August 2016. Of these surveys, 116 respondents provided no information beyond basic demographic information and their responses were removed, yielding a total of 480 valid surveys that are analyzed in this report. As a result of the methods used to recruit participants, the total number of individuals receiving notice of the Survey on Polyamorous Relationships and Perceptions of Polyamory in Canada is unknown, and the response rate accordingly cannot be calculated.

4.2.1 Relationship status

- More than four-fifths of respondents said that they were either in a polyamorous relationship at the time they completed the survey (69.5%) or had been in such a relationship within the five years preceding the survey (11.7%), leaving 18.8% of respondents who said that they were not in a polyamorous relationship at the time of the survey, nor had been so in the past five years.
- Respondents who are, or had recently been, in a polyamorous relationship were most likely to say that there are three people in their relationship (51.6%). Smaller numbers of respondents said that there are two people in their relationship (19.1%), four people (13%) or more than five people (11.2%).
- More than two-fifths of respondents who are, or had recently been, in a polyamorous relationship (41.9%) said that there are children living in their households either full- or part-time. The most common number of children living full-time in respondents' households is one (43.7%), followed by two children (31.9%) and three children (14.3%); the most common number of children living part-time in respondents' households is two (45.5%), followed by one child (40.9%) and three children (6.8%).
- Respondents living in Quebec and British Columbia were more likely to be in a polyamorous relationship at the time of the survey (84.8% and 81.6%) than respondents living in Alberta (58.8%) or Ontario (55.7%).

- Almost four-fifths of respondents said that the members of their relationship do not live in the same household (79%).
- Of the respondents who said that the members of their relationship do not live in the same household, almost half said that they lived in two households (48.2%), almost one-quarter said that that they live in three households (24.1%) and 11.7% said that they live in four or five households.

4.2.2 Demographic and identity characteristics

- The greatest number of respondents live in British Columbia (35.1%), followed by Ontario (27.8%), Alberta (19.4%) and Quebec (9.3%). A small number of respondents (1.7%) live outside of Canada.
- Most respondents were 25 to 34 years of age (42.3%). The other most common age groups among respondents were individuals aged 35 to 44 (31.5%) and individuals aged 45 to 54 (13.8%).
- Most respondents described their gender as female (59.4%) or male (30.8%), with the remainder (9.8%) describing their gender in other terms. The most common other gender identities mentioned by respondents included genderqueer (3.1%), gender fluid (3.1%) and transgender (1.3%).
- More than two-thirds of respondents described their sexuality as heterosexual (37.3%) or bisexual (31.7%). The most common other sexual orientations included pansexual (24.4%), polysexual (12.7%) and homosexual (4.2%).
- The vast majority of respondents described their ethnicity as Caucasian or European (90.2%). The most common other ethnic identities reported by respondents were Métis (1.7%), African-Canadian (0.8%), Chinese (0.8%) and First Nations (0.6%).
- Most respondents said that they were atheists or had no religion (35.4%), or described their religious affiliation as agnostic (29%). Smaller numbers of respondents described their affiliation as Christian (12.9%), pagan (5.7%), “spiritual” (3.6%) or Buddhist (2.5%). Slightly more than a tenth of respondents (10.8%) described their affiliation in other terms, including Aboriginal spiritualist, animist, Unitarian Universalist and Wiccan.

- Respondents reported high levels of educational attainment, with 26.7% having an undergraduate degree and 17.7% having a postgraduate or professional degree. Only 11.7% of respondents hold a high school diploma or had achieved a lesser level of attainment.
- Most respondents have annual incomes between \$25,000 and \$49,000 (31.1%) or between \$50,000 and \$99,999 (31.1%). A somewhat smaller number of respondents reported having an annual income of less than \$25,000 (28.3%), while 9% had incomes of \$100,000 per year or higher.

4.2.2.1 Gender

- Respondents identifying as neither male and female were much more likely to have been in a polyamorous relationship at the time they completed the survey (80.9%) than respondents identifying as female (68.1%) and respondents identifying as male (68.7%). Respondents identifying as neither male nor female who were not in a polyamorous relationship at the time of the survey were also more likely to have been in such a relationship within the preceding five years (14.9%) than respondents identifying as female (11.6%) and respondents identifying as male (10.9%).
- The disproportionate representation of individuals identifying as female among respondents was more acute among those younger than 35, with 63.8% identifying as female and 23.2% identifying as male. Respondents under 35 years of age were also more likely to describe their gender in terms other than male and female (13%) than older respondents (5.5%).
- More respondents earning less than \$60,000 per year identified as female (64.3%) or as another gender (11.4%) than respondents with incomes of \$60,000 or more per year. Of these respondents, 48.9% identified as female and only 4.4% identified as another gender.

4.2.2.2 Sexuality

- Respondents living in Alberta were more likely to describe their sexuality as heterosexual (46.4%) than respondents living in Quebec (39.4%), Ontario (36.4%) or British Columbia (32%).

- Respondents who were 35 to 54 years of age were somewhat more likely to identify as heterosexual (38.7%) than younger respondents (35%), and were less likely to describe their sexuality in any other terms (71.1%) than younger respondents (92.2%).
- Respondents who reported achieving a university degree or higher level of education were also more likely to describe themselves as heterosexual (41.3%) than respondents with lesser levels of educational attainment (31.5%). These respondents were somewhat more likely to describe their sexuality as homosexual and asexual (4.7% and 2.3%) than respondents with lesser levels of educational attainment (3.7% and 1.5%).
- Respondents with incomes of \$60,000 or more per year were more likely to describe themselves as heterosexual (48.2%) or homosexual (7.3%) than respondents with lower incomes (32.7% and 2.7%).
- Respondents living in British Columbia were more likely to describe their sexuality as bisexual and pansexual (37.6% and 29.6%) than respondents living in Alberta (31.9% and 14.5%), Ontario (31.3% and 26.3%) or Quebec (24.2% and 27.3%).
- Respondents identifying as female were far more likely to describe their sexuality as bisexual (40%) than respondents identifying as male (20.3%) or as another gender (17%).
- Respondents with incomes below \$60,000 per year were more likely to describe themselves as bisexual (35.4%) or pansexual (28.2%) than respondents with higher incomes (24.1% and 15.3%).
- Respondents identifying as neither male nor female were much more likely to describe themselves as pansexual or polysexual (46.8% and 21.2%) than respondents identifying as female (24.9% and 14%) or male (16.2% and 7.2%).
- Respondents with levels of educational attainment below a university degree were more likely to describe themselves as pansexual (26.6%) than those with a university degree or higher level of education (21.6%).

- Respondents living in Ontario were somewhat more likely to describe their sexuality as polysexual (13.1%) than respondents living in Quebec (12.1%), Alberta (10.1%) or British Columbia (8.8%).

4.2.2.3 Religious affiliation

- Respondents living in Quebec were more likely to describe themselves as atheists (50%) than respondents living in Alberta (37.3%), British Columbia (33.9%) or Ontario (24.2%).
- Respondents living in British Columbia were more likely to describe themselves as agnostic (33.9%) than respondents living in Ontario (30.5%), Quebec (25%) or Alberta (20.9%).
- Respondents who reported achieving a university degree or higher level of education were more likely to describe themselves as atheist or agnostic (35.2% and 32.7%) than respondents with lower levels of educational attainment (31.8% and 24.5%).
- Respondents with incomes of \$60,000 or more per year were more likely to describe themselves as atheist (40%) than respondents with lower incomes (30.9%), while respondents with lower incomes were more likely to describe themselves as agnostic (29.1%) than higher-earning respondents (25.2%).

4.2.2.4 Educational attainment

- Respondents who had obtained a university degree or higher level of education were more likely to say they were in a polyamorous relationship when they completed the survey (73.6%) than respondents with lesser levels of education attainment (66.3%), but were less likely to have been in such a relationship within the five years preceding the survey (7.5%) than respondents with lesser levels of education attainment (15%).
- Respondents identifying as male and female reported similar levels of educational attainment, with 45.9% of men and 44.6% of women having an undergraduate degree or higher level of education. Respondents identifying as neither male nor female were less likely than those with other identities to have an undergraduate degree or higher level of education (38.3%).

- Respondents living in Quebec and Ontario were more likely to have obtained a university degree or higher level of education (51.5% and 49.5%) than respondents living in British Columbia and Alberta (42.4% and 36.2%).

4.2.2.5 Personal income

- Respondents who were aged 35 to 54 tended to have higher incomes than respondents aged 18 to 34, with more older respondents earning between \$50,000 and \$99,999 per year (41.2%) and \$100,000 or more (13.6%) than younger respondents (23.9% and 4.5%). Younger respondents were correspondingly more likely to have incomes of less than \$50,000 (71.4%) than older respondents (45%).
- Respondents identifying as male are much more likely to have annual incomes of \$50,000 or more per year (58.7%) than respondents identifying as female (34.1%) or as another gender identity (22.7%). Respondents identifying as neither male nor female are also more likely to have incomes below \$25,000 (59.1%) than female respondents (29.2%) or male respondents (17.2%).
- Respondents living in Alberta are more likely to have annual incomes of \$60,000 or more (37.3%) than respondents living in Ontario (28.6%), Quebec (21.9%) or British Columbia (19.5%).

4.2.3 Characteristics of respondents compared to the Canadian population

- Compared to Statistics Canada's population estimates for 2016, respondents are disproportionately more likely to live in British Columbia than the general Canadian population ($\Delta=22\%$) and Alberta ($\Delta=7.7\%$), and are less likely to live in Ontario ($\Delta=-10.7\%$) and Quebec ($\Delta=-13.6\%$).
- Respondents are more likely to be aged 25 to 34 ($\Delta=28.4\%$) and aged 35 to 44 ($\Delta=18.3\%$) than the Canadian population, and are slightly less likely to be aged 45 to 54 than the general population ($\Delta=-0.3\%$).
- Respondents are much more likely to describe themselves as being of Caucasian or European ethnicity ($\Delta=17.3\%$), and are somewhat less likely to describe themselves as African-Canadian ($\Delta=-2.3\%$), Chinese ($\Delta=-2\%$) and First Nations ($\Delta=-2.2\%$), than the general population.

- The religious affiliations of respondents are markedly different from those of the general Canadian population. Only 12.9% of respondents described themselves as Christian, compared to 67.3% of the general population ($\Delta=-54.4\%$). Respondents were more likely to describe their religious affiliations as agnostic ($\Delta=28.9\%$) or as atheist or “no religion” ($\Delta=11.7\%$) than the general population.
- Respondents reported higher levels of educational attainment than the Canadian population, with slightly more respondents having an undergraduate degree ($\Delta=10.2\%$) and more having a higher level of education ($\Delta=8.3\%$). Respondents were much less likely than the general population to have achieved a high school diploma or lesser level of education ($\Delta=-24.2\%$).
- Respondents are more likely to have higher levels of income than the general population, with fewer earning less than \$25,000 per year ($\Delta=-10.3\%$), and more earning between \$25,000 and \$49,999 ($\Delta=2.4\%$) and between \$50,000 and \$99,999 per year ($\Delta=7.4\%$).

4.2.4 Formalization of rights and responsibilities

The following data are drawn from the information provided by respondents who were in a polyamorous relationship at the time of the survey or had been in such a relationship within the five years preceding the survey.

- The legal steps most likely to have been taken to formalize the rights and responsibilities of the members of respondents’ relationships were emergency authorizations (26%), cohabitation agreements (15.7%), school authorizations (10.5%), medical powers of attorney (10.3%) and legal powers of attorney (9.3%). However, more than half of respondents (54.8%) did not answer this question or entered “none,” “not applicable” or other terms to a similar effect in the write-in box.
- Respondents living in Ontario were more likely to have prepared an emergency authorization (34.3%) than respondents living in Alberta (28.8%), Quebec (24.1%) or British Columbia (20.5%).
- Respondents living in Quebec were more likely to have executed a cohabitation agreement (27.6%) than respondents living in British Columbia (17.9%), Ontario (16.4%) or Alberta (7.7%).

- Respondents living in Alberta were three times more likely to have made a guardianship appointment (9.6%) than respondents living in British Columbia (3.4%), Quebec (3.4%) or Ontario (3%).
- Respondents aged 35 to 54 were generally more likely to have taken a step to formalize the rights and responsibilities of the members of their relationships than younger respondents. However, younger respondents were slightly more likely to have executed a cohabitation agreement (16.4%) than older respondents (15.3%).
- Respondents with incomes of \$60,000 or more per year were much more likely to have taken a step to formalize the rights and responsibilities of the members of their relationships than respondents with lower incomes. More than a third of respondents with higher incomes had prepared an emergency authorization (34.4%), compared to 22.7% of respondents with lower incomes; 18.1% of higher-earning respondents had made a cohabitation agreement, compared to 15.2% of lower-earning respondents; and, 15.2% of higher-earning respondents had prepared a school authorization, compared to 8.3% of lower-earning respondents.

4.2.5 Views of and attitudes towards polyamorous relationships

- Respondents who were in a polyamorous relationship at the time of the survey or had been in such a relationship within the last five years were asked what term they used to describe their relationship. The majority of respondents described their relationships as “polyamorous” (72.7%) or “consensually non-monogamous” (15.4%). No other term to describe respondents’ relationships was used by more than 10 respondents; these terms included “relationship anarchy” (2.6%), “open relationship” and similar terms (1.8%) and “polygamous” (1%).

4.2.5.1 Equality

- Almost all respondents said that they strongly agreed or agreed with the statement *everyone in a polyamorous relationship should be treated equally regardless of gender or gender identity* (94.6%). Much smaller numbers of respondents neither disagreed nor agreed with the statement (4%) or disagreed or strongly disagreed with the statement (1.4%).

- Respondents with incomes of \$60,000 or more per year were less likely to strongly agree with the statement (77.4%) than respondents with lower levels of income (83.8%).
- Respondents who had achieved a university degree or higher level of education were also less likely to strongly agree with the statement (77.5%) than respondents with lower levels of education attainment (85.8%).
- Respondents identifying as male or female were equally likely to strongly agree with the statement (81.1%), but were less likely to strongly agree than individuals with another gender identity (91.5%).
- Respondents describing their sexuality as heterosexual (77.1%) and bisexual (80.9%) were less likely to strongly agree with the statement than respondents identifying as pansexual (90.6%) and homosexual (95%).
- Respondents who were not in a polyamorous relationship at the time of the survey nor had been in the previous five years were less likely to strongly agree with the statement (74.4%) than respondents who were in a polyamorous relationship at the time of the survey (83.2%) and respondents who were not in such a relationship at the time of the survey but had been in the past five years (87.5%).
- The majority of respondents said that they strongly agreed or agreed with the statement *everyone in a polyamorous relationship should be treated equally regardless of parental or guardianship status* (74.4%). Smaller numbers of respondents neither disagreed nor agreed with the statement (17.6%) or disagreed or strongly disagreed with the statement (8%).
- Respondents' views on this statement were largely similar when analyzed against the data on income level, educational attainment, gender identity and relationship status.
- Most respondents said that they strongly agreed or agreed with the statement *everyone in a polyamorous relationship has equal parenting responsibilities regardless of gender or gender identity* (62.4%). Smaller numbers of respondents neither disagreed nor agreed with the statement (25.9%) or disagreed or strongly disagreed with the statement (11.6%).

- Respondents with annual incomes of \$60,000 or more per year were less likely to strongly agree with this statement (39.4%) than respondents with lesser incomes (47.6%).
- Respondents describing their sexuality as pansexual (53.8%), polysexual (51.7%) and homosexual (60%) were much more likely to strongly agree with the statement than heterosexual (42.5%) and bisexual respondents (41.4%).

4.2.5.2 Honesty

- Almost all respondents said that they strongly agreed or agreed with the statement *everyone in a polyamorous relationship has the responsibility to be honest and forthright with one another* (98.4%). Very few respondents said that they neither agreed nor disagreed with the statement (0.8%), none said they disagreed and 0.8% said that they strongly disagreed.
- Respondents who had achieved a university degree or higher level of education were more likely to agree with this statement (14.6%) than respondents with lower levels of educational attainment (4.9%), and less likely to strongly agree with the statement (83.1%) than other respondents (94%).
- Respondents who described themselves as polysexual (98.4%) and pansexual (96.6%) were more likely to strongly agree with the statement than respondents who are bisexual (88.2%), homosexual (85%) or heterosexual (84.9%).

4.2.5.3 Freedom to leave relationship

- Very strong support, with little variation across demographic characteristics, was expressed for the statement *everyone in a polyamorous relationship has the right to leave the relationship if and when they choose*, with 92.9% of respondents expressing strong agreement with the statement, 6.3% expressing agreement, 0.6% saying they neither agreed nor disagreed, no respondents expressing disagreement and 0.2% of respondents saying that they strongly disagreed.

4.2.5.4 Frequency

- The majority of respondents strongly agreed or agreed with the statement *the number of people who identify as polyamorous is increasing* (82.4%). A smaller

proportion of respondents neither agreed nor disagreed with the statement (16%) and only 1.5% of respondents disagreed or strongly disagreed.

- Respondents identifying as male were more likely to strongly agree with this statement (27.4%) than respondents who identify as neither male nor female (21.3%) and respondents identifying as female (17.5%).
- Respondents who were in a polyamorous relationship at the time of the survey were also more likely to strongly agree with the statement (23.4%) than respondents who had been in such a relationship in the five years preceding the survey (20.4%) and respondents who were neither in a relationship at the time of the survey nor had been in the previous five years (11.9%).
- Respondents describing themselves as pansexual were most likely to strongly agree with the statement (92.2%) than respondents identifying as bisexual (89.3%), polysexual (80.4%), heterosexual (76.8%) or homosexual (50%).
- The majority of respondents also strongly agreed or agreed with the statement *the number of people who are openly involved in polyamorous relationships is increasing* (89.9%). A smaller proportion of respondents neither agreed nor disagreed with the statement (16.9%) and 2.1% of respondents disagreed or strongly disagreed.
- As with the statement on the number of people identifying as polygamous, respondents identifying as male were more likely to strongly agree that the number of people openly involved in polyamorous relationships is increasing (25.3%) than respondents who identify as neither male nor female (19.1%) and respondents identifying as female (13.8%).
- Respondents who were in a polyamorous relationship at the time of the survey were also more likely to strongly agree that the number of people openly involved in polyamorous relationships is increasing (23.4%) than respondents who had been in such a relationship in the five years preceding the survey (20.4%) and respondents who were neither in a relationship at the time of the survey nor had been in the previous five years (14.1%).
- Respondents describing themselves as bisexual were most likely to strongly agree with this statement (23.6%) than respondents identifying as pansexual (20.9%), polysexual (16.4%), heterosexual (16.2%) or homosexual (15%).

4.2.6 Perceptions of Canadian's views of polyamory

- The majority of respondents said that their religion supports polyamorous relationships (72.5%), while slightly more than one-fifth said that it does not (20.8%).
- The religious affiliations respondents said are most likely to support polyamorous relationships are Hinduism (100%, n=2), atheism (88.2%, n=127), agnosticism (87.7%, n=107) and Buddhism (83.3%, n=10).
- More than four-fifths of respondents strongly agreed or agreed with the statement *people see polyamorous relationships as a kink or a fetish* (80.6%). A much smaller number of respondents neither agreed nor disagreed with the statement (14.3%), and only 5.2% of respondents disagreed or strongly disagreed.
- Respondents living in Alberta were less likely to strongly agree with this statement (22.1%) than respondents living in British Columbia (24.2%), Ontario (27.4%) and Quebec (29%).
- Respondents identifying as male were much less likely to strongly agree with the statement (19.2%) than respondents identifying as female (29.5%) or as another gender (29.8%).
- Respondents who reported having achieved a university degree or higher level of education were also less likely to strongly agree with the statement (24%) than respondents with lower levels of education (28%).
- Only 16.7% of respondents strongly agreed or agreed with the statement *people see polyamorous relationships as a legitimate form of family*. A larger number of respondents neither agreed nor disagreed with the statement (26.3%), and almost two-thirds of respondents disagreed or strongly disagreed with the statement (57.1%).
- Respondents with incomes of \$60,000 or more per year were more likely to strongly agree or agree with this statement (19.5%) than lower-earning respondents (16%). They were also less likely to disagree or strongly disagree (22.6%) than respondents with lower incomes (27.4%).

- Respondents identifying as male were much less likely to disagree or strongly disagree with the statement (49.3%) than respondents identifying as female (59.3%) or as another gender (68.1%).
- Respondents who were not in a polyamorous relationship at the time of the survey and who had not been in such a relationship in the preceding five years were more likely to strongly agree or agree with the statement (20.3%) than respondents who had been in a polyamorous relationship in the five years before the survey (18.5%) and respondents who were in a polyamorous relationship at the time of the survey (15.5%).
- However, almost three-quarters of respondents strongly agreed or agreed with the statement *public acceptance of polyamorous relationships is increasing* (72.6%). Less than a fifth of respondents neither agreed nor disagreed with the statement (17.1%), and only 10.3% of respondents disagreed or strongly disagreed with the statement.
- Respondents identifying as pansexual (13.9%), heterosexual (12.7%) and bisexual (12.2%) were more likely to strongly agree with this statement than respondents who described their sexuality as polysexual (6.6%) or homosexual (5%).
- Respondents living in British Columbia were more likely to strongly agree with the statement (17.9%) than respondents living in Quebec (12.9%), Ontario (9.5%) or Alberta (4.4%).
- Respondents who were in a polyamorous relationship at the time of the survey were much more likely to strongly agree with the statement (13.7%) than respondents who had been in such a relationship in the last five years (7.4%) and respondents who were not in such a relationship at the time of the survey nor had been in the previous five years (5.9%).
- Respondents with incomes below \$60,000 per year were more likely to strongly agree or agree with the statement (74.8%) than higher-earning respondents (69.2%).
- Respondents with a university degree or higher level of education were more likely to strongly agree or agree with the statement (75.6%) than respondents with lower levels of education attainment (70.3%).

4.2.7 Impact of the criminalization of polygamy

- Almost 70% of respondents strongly agreed or agreed with the statement *Canada's antipolygamy law has negatively affected the public perception of polyamorous relationships*. Smaller numbers of respondents neither agreed nor disagreed with the statement (22.9%) and only 7.5% of respondents disagreed or strongly disagreed with the statement.
- Respondents living in Alberta (27.9%), British Columbia (27%) and Ontario (26.3%) were much less likely to strongly agree with this statement than respondents living in Quebec (38.7%)
- Respondents identifying as male (23.3%) or as female (27.7%) were much less likely to strongly agree with the statement than respondents with another gender identity (46.8%).
- Respondents describing themselves as heterosexual were less likely to strongly agree with the statement (20.2%) than respondents describing themselves as homosexual (25%), bisexual (25.9%), polysexual (34.4%) or pansexual (37.4%).
- Respondents with a university degree or higher level of education were also less likely to strongly agree with the statement (22%) than respondents with lower levels of education attainment (33.2%).

4.2.7.1 Impact on respondents' willingness to pursue polyamorous relationships

- Almost three-quarters of respondents disagreed or strongly disagreed with the statement *Canada's antipolygamy law has prevented me from pursuing polyamorous relationships* (73.4%). Almost one-fifth of respondents neither agreed nor disagreed with the statement (19.9%), and 6.7% of respondents strongly agreed or agreed with the statement.
- Respondents who described their sexuality as homosexual were most likely to strongly disagree with this statement (45%), followed by respondents who described themselves as bisexual (39.3%), pansexual (37.4%), heterosexual (34.3%) and polysexual (30%).

- Respondents with a university degree or higher level of education were more likely to strongly disagree with the statement (41.9%) than respondents with lower levels of educational attainment (30.4%).
- Respondents with gender identities other than male or female were more likely to strongly disagree with the statement (41.3%) than respondents identifying as male (37.2%) and respondents identifying as female (33.5%).
- Respondents who were in a polyamorous relationship at the time of the survey were somewhat more likely to strongly disagree with the statement (35.6%) than respondents who were not in such a relationship at the time of the survey nor had been in the previous five years (35.3%) and respondents who had been in such a relationship in the five years preceding the survey (33.3%).
- Almost 70% of respondents disagreed or strongly disagreed with the somewhat milder statement *Canada's antipolygamy law has discouraged me from pursuing polyamorous relationships*. Almost one-fifth of respondents neither agreed nor disagreed with the statement (16.6%) and 13.9% of respondents strongly agreed or agreed with the statement.
- Respondents who described their sexuality as homosexual were most likely to strongly disagree with this statement (40%), followed by respondents who described themselves as bisexual (36.3%), pansexual (33.9%), heterosexual (32.4%) or polysexual (29.5%).
- Respondents with a university degree or higher level of education were more likely to strongly disagree with the statement (37.7%) than respondents with lower levels of educational attainment (29.1%).
- Respondents with gender identities other than male or female were more likely to strongly disagree with the statement (38.3%) than respondents identifying as male (32.9%) and respondents identifying as female (32%).
- Respondents who were in a polyamorous relationship at the time of the survey were more likely to strongly disagree with the statement (33.7%) than respondents who were not in such a relationship at the time of the survey nor had been in the previous five years (33.3%) and respondents who had been in such a relationship in the five years preceding the survey (27.8%).

4.2.7.2 Impact on respondents' open involvement in polyamorous relationships

- Slightly more than three-fifths of respondents disagreed or strongly disagreed with the statement *Canada's antipolygamy law has prevented me from being openly involved in polyamorous relationships* (60.7%). One-fifth of respondents neither agreed nor disagreed with the statement and 19.3% of respondents strongly agreed or agreed with the statement.
- Respondents who described their sexuality as homosexual were most likely to strongly disagree with this statement (45%), followed by respondents who described themselves as heterosexual (30.1%), bisexual (29.5%), pansexual (27%) or polysexual (23%).
- Respondents with a university degree or higher level of education were more likely to strongly disagree with the statement (32.7%) than respondents with lower levels of educational attainment (24.5%).
- Respondents with gender identities other than male or female were more likely to strongly disagree with the statement (31.9%) than respondents identifying as female (27.8%) and respondents identifying as female (27.4%).
- Respondents who were not in a polyamorous relationship at the time of the survey nor had been in the previous five years were more likely to strongly disagree with the statement (32.6%) than respondents who were in such a relationship at the time of the survey (27.9%) and respondents who had been in such a relationship in the five years preceding the survey (22.2%).
- Almost three-fifths of respondents disagreed or strongly disagreed with the milder statement *Canada's antipolygamy law has discouraged me from being openly involved in polyamorous relationships* (55.7%). Less than one-fifth of respondents neither agreed nor disagreed with the statement (15.7%) and 28.6% of respondents strongly agreed or agreed with the statement.
- Respondents who described their sexuality as homosexual were most likely to strongly disagree with this statement (35%), followed by respondents who described themselves as heterosexual (26.6%), bisexual (25.2%), pansexual (23.3%) or polysexual (23.3%).

- Respondents with a university degree or higher level of education were more likely to strongly disagree with the statement (28.4%) than respondents with lower levels of educational attainment (23%).
- Respondents with gender identities other than male or female were more likely to strongly disagree with the statement (30.4%) than respondents identifying as male (24.8%) and respondents identifying as female (24.8%).
- Respondents who were not in a polyamorous relationship at the time of the survey nor had been in the previous five years were more likely to strongly disagree with the statement (31.8%) than respondents who were in such a relationship at the time of the survey (24.6%) and respondents who had been in such a relationship in the five years preceding the survey (20.4%).

4.3 Discussion

Respondents to the Survey on Polyamorous Relationships and Perceptions of Polyamory in Canada tend to be younger, better educated and have higher earnings than the general Canadian population. They are much more likely to be of Caucasian or European ancestry, are much more likely to describe themselves as agnostic or atheist and are more likely to live in British Columbia and Alberta than Canadians as a whole.

Most respondents identify as female, as has been found in research on American polyamorists (Balzarini *et al.*, 2017), especially among respondents younger than 35, and although respondents as a group are most likely to be heterosexual, most female respondents are bisexual. While respondents identifying as female were almost as likely to have achieved a university degree, a postgraduate degree or a professional degree as respondents identifying as male, they are much less likely to have incomes of \$60,000 or more per year.

More than four-fifths of respondents were in a polyamorous relationship at the time of the survey, or had been in such a relationship in the preceding five years. Their relationships are most likely to involve three adults, living in two or more households. Although there are reasons to be concerned about the reliability of the data, for the reasons stated above,³⁸ more than two-fifths of these respondents reported having at least one child living full- or part-time in their household in the care of a parent or

³⁸ See the discussion at §4.1.

guardian. Most respondents living with a child full-time were living with one child, while most respondents living part-time with a child were living with two children.

The majority of survey respondents described their relationships as “polyamorous,” although the use of the term throughout the survey may have predisposed some respondents toward the description. The term “consensually non-monogamous” was used by a smaller but still significant number of respondents. Although other respondents used different terms to describe their relationships, none were used by more than 10 respondents.

Although the average respondent to the survey is white, young, agnostic and well-educated, has a good income and identifies as female, the population of respondents is relatively diverse with respect to:

- a) gender identity, as almost a tenth of respondents identified as neither male nor female, including identifying as agender, genderqueer, gender fluid and transgender;
- b) sexuality, as more than three-fifths describe their sexual orientation as other than heterosexual, including identifying as asexual, pansexual, polysexual and queer; and,
- c) religious affiliation, as more than a third of respondents described their affiliation as other than agnostic or atheist, including as animist, Christian, pagan, Unitarian Universalist and Wiccan.

Almost all respondents agree that everyone in a polyamorous relationship should be treated equally regardless of gender identity, although respondents with incomes of \$60,000 or more per year and respondents with higher levels of educational attainment were less likely to hold this view. Smaller majorities of respondents agreed that everyone in a polyamorous relationship should be treated equally regardless of parental or guardianship status and that everyone in a polyamorous relationship should have equal parenting responsibilities regardless of gender identity.

Almost all respondents agree that everyone in a polyamorous relationship has the responsibility to be honest with each other, although respondents with higher levels of educational attainment were less likely to hold this view.

Almost all respondents also agree that everyone in a polyamorous relationship has the right to leave a polyamorous relationship if and when they choose. However, of respondents who were in a polyamorous relationship at the time of the survey, or had been in such a relationship in the preceding five years, most had not taken any steps to formalize the rights and responsibilities of the members of their relationships, including members leaving those relationships. Of those who had taken such steps, the most common steps taken were the preparation of emergency authorizations, the execution of cohabitation agreements, the execution of school authorizations and the execution of medial powers of attorney. Steps were most likely to have been taken by respondents older than age 34, respondents with personal incomes of \$60,000 or more per year and respondents with educational attainment below a university degree. One exception to this generalization stands out: younger respondents were slightly more likely than respondents age 35 and older to have executed a cohabitation agreement. Cohabitation agreements were also more likely to have been executed by respondents who had achieved less than a university degree than those who had achieved a higher level of education.

While a strong majority of respondents said that their religion supports polyamorous relationships, most respondents agreed that Canadians see polyamorous relationships as a kink or fetish, especially respondents living in Quebec and respondents identifying as female. Most respondents disagreed that Canadians see polyamorous relationships as a legitimate form of family; respondents identifying as neither male nor female and respondents with incomes below \$60,000 per year were most likely to disagree. Despite this grim assessment of Canadians' views of polyamorous relationships, the majority of respondents agreed that public acceptance of such relationships is increasing, especially respondents in a polyamorous relationship at the time of the survey, respondents with higher levels of educational attainment and respondents earning below \$60,000 per year.

A large majority of respondents agreed that the criminalization of polygamy has had a negative effect on Canadians' perception of polyamorous relationships. The effect of the criminal prohibition did not impact many respondents' willingness to pursue or be openly involved in polyamorous relationships; the prohibition was most likely to discourage rather than prevent respondents from pursuing or being openly involved in these relationships. Respondents who described themselves as homosexual, respondents with higher levels of educational attainment and respondents with gender identities other than male or female were least likely to agree that the criminalization of polygamy affected their willingness to pursue or be involved in polyamorous relationships. On the other hand, the respondents most deterred by the prohibition

include individuals with gender identities and sexual orientations not shared by the majority of Canadians, as well as individuals with lower levels of income and educational attainment.

It should be noted that slightly more than one-quarter of respondents declined to identify their place of residence when answering the survey's demographic questions. This low response rate raises concerns that some respondents may have withheld their response for fear that they may be identified and prosecuted, as suggested by many of the people contacting the Canadian Polyamory Advocacy Association about the potential criminal consequences of their relationships.

4.4 Recommendations

The number of Canadian adults involved in polyamorous relationships is unknown and, absent the inclusion of polyamorous families within Statistics Canada's definition of "census family," is likely to remain unknown for the foreseeable future. Also unknown is the number of children living with adults involved in polyamorous relationships. The data obtained from the Survey on Polyamorous Relationships and Perceptions of Polyamory in Canada suggest that, in total, 230 children live, or have recently lived, full-time in the households of 119 respondents while a further 80 children live or have recently lived part-time in the households of 44 respondents.

Anecdotal evidence, including the number of responses to a survey with a seven-week data collection period advertised solely through social media and the opinions of more than four-fifths of the respondents to our survey, suggest that the number of individuals involved in polyamorous relationships is not insignificant and is likely growing. Also growing, according to almost three-quarters of respondents, is acceptance of polyamorous relationships among the general Canadian public, despite concerns that polyamorous relationships may not be perceived by Canadians as having the same legitimacy as dyadic relationships.

4.4.1 Legislative reform and legal education

The findings from this report suggest that reforms are needed to address the needs of the growing number of individuals involved in polyamorous family and parenting relationships in three domains, criminal law, family law and social services and benefits, just as the needs of people involved in unmarried opposite-sex, and eventually

same-sex, relationships were addressed in a lengthy series of legislative reforms and court decisions occurring throughout the latter half of the Twentieth Century.

With respect to the criminal law, it is clear that polyamorous individuals feel that Canadian's perceptions of polyamory have been negatively affected by the criminal prohibition against polygamy, and that a substantial number of individuals have been deterred from pursuing or being openly involved in polyamorous relationships as a result of the prohibition. Those most likely to be discouraged from involvement in polyamorous relationships include those who are at an economic disadvantage and those belonging to groups already marginalized in Canadian society.

Although public legal education is required to educate Canadians on the differences between polygamous marriages and polyamorous relationships, amendments to s. 293 to either remove the reference to "conjugal union" or to reflect the conclusion of British Columbia Chief Justice Bauman in *Reference re: Section 293 of the Criminal Code of Canada* that the term does not relate to unmarried relationships,³⁹ would assist in dispelling any confusion that consensual polyamorous relationships are not among the forbidden polygamous relationships captured by s. 293 of the *Code*.

Reforms to a number of aspects of the legislation on domestic relations of Canada's provinces and territories would assist individuals in polyamorous relationships. Family law impacts people differently depending on the nature of their relationship with each other. People who are *parents* or qualify as *persons standing in the place of a parent* need to be concerned about parenting their children after separation and the payment of child support, regardless of the nature of their romantic relationship with each other. People who meet the statutory criteria to qualify as *spouses, common-law partners* or *adult interdependent partners* will be concerned about potential entitlements to receive or obligations to pay spousal support, whether they are married to one another or not; they may also acquire financial and property interests that may be subject to provincial legislation on matrimonial property⁴⁰ and, if not, to division under their provincial or territorial general legislation on real property or to potential claims under the equitable doctrine of unjust enrichment.

³⁹ *Supra*, fn 29

⁴⁰ Unmarried adults meeting certain criteria may seek orders for the division of matrimonial property in the manner of married spouses under the British Columbia *Family Law Act*, SBC 2011, c. 25, Manitoba's *The Family Property Act*, CCSM, c. F25 and Saskatchewan's *The Family Property Act*, SS 1997, c. F-6.3.

At present, the existence of a cohabiting, interdependent relationship between the relevant adults is a threshold requirement to establish status as a *person standing in the place of a child*, an unmarried spouse, a common-law partner and an adult interdependent partner. Standing as a parent, of course, arises from the genetic connection between parent and child, or in some cases from the agreement of the intended parents and participation in assisted reproduction, and does not require the parents to live or have lived in a cohabiting relationship.⁴¹ As a result, only some of the relationships between polyamorous individuals will give rise to rights and responsibilities under the legislation on domestic relations. The relationships between individuals who do not cohabit and are not parents will not usually attract legal consequences, regardless of the duration and commitment of those relationships.

With respect to cohabiting unmarried adults, the legislation on domestic relations varies, often significantly, between jurisdictions, creating a patchwork of statutes under which the adults involved in a polyamorous relationship may meet the criteria necessary to apply for all of the available relief under the law on domestic relations, as is the case in British Columbia, or almost none of that relief, as is the case in Alberta. This necessarily impedes the educational function of groups such as the Canadian Polyamory Advocacy Association and impairs the ability of all Canadians to get correct legal information about the rights and responsibilities that may flow from polyamorous relationships in their jurisdiction. Clarity in the legislative framework would be helpful to address issues such as:

- a) the circumstances in which an adult cohabiting with a child and both of the child's biological parents may "stand in the place of a parent" to the child, thus acquiring potential support obligations as well as an interest in the child's parenting after separation;
- b) parents' ability to appoint other adults as the guardians of a child with or without the necessity of a court order;
- c) the capacity of individuals to enter domestic relationships with legal consequences with more than one adult at the same time, and the exact nature and extent of those consequences; and,

⁴¹ Standing to apply under provincial or territorial real property legislation requires an interest in the property in dispute arising from co-ownership, contract or trust to which the presence of a cohabiting relationship is irrelevant. Standing to make a claim under the doctrine of unjust enrichment requires the claimant to meet a test established under the common law – see *Kerr v Baranow*, 2011 SCC 10 – which likewise does not require proof of the existence of a cohabiting relationship between the parties.

- d) where the legislation on matrimonial property applies to unmarried adults, how property is divided under that legislation among more than two adults.

Some consideration should also be given, from a policy perspective, as to whether obligations should attach among adults who do not reproduce and do not cohabit but are nonetheless involved in relationships that are significant, committed and enduring. These relationships may carry important social, economic and emotional consequences, and have a profound impact on the life courses of those involved, often of the same significance that led to the extension of rights and responsibilities to unmarried individuals in cohabiting relationships.

Given that 163 respondents to the Survey on Polyamorous Relationships and Perceptions of Polyamory in Canada, slightly more than a third of the total population of respondents, reported living full- or part-time with a total of 310 children, priority should be given to clarifying the law surrounding parenting responsibilities and parenting after separation, guardianship of children and child support.

It would also be helpful if efforts could be made to harmonize the laws of Canada's provinces and territories. A greater degree of consistency in the law on domestic relations between these jurisdictions, as the Uniform Law Conference has achieved in other areas of the law, would assist not only polyamorous individuals but Canadians as a whole.

The findings of this research suggest that a substantial number of respondents who were in, or recently in, a polyamorous relationship at the time of the survey had taken some steps toward formalizing the legal rights and obligations of the members of their relationships, mostly with respect to medical issues and children. The majority, however, had not, and cohabitation agreements, which may address interests in property, obligations for debt and future support obligations, as well as the day-to-day management of the relationship, had been executed by only 15.7% of these respondents.

Public legal education, specific to the laws of each province and territory, should be undertaken to explain the circumstances in which polyamorous relationships, cohabiting or not, may attract legal consequences as well as the steps that can be taken to formalize the entitlements and responsibilities of those involved. Particular attention should be given to the role of cohabitation agreements in structuring expectations, articulating responsibilities and resolving disputes among both ongoing and dissolving relationships.

Professional legal education would also help practicing lawyers better understand the needs of individuals in polyamorous relationships, how legislation normally applied to dyadic relationships is applied to non-dyadic relationships, and the drafting of cohabitation agreements and separation agreements for those involved in polyamorous relationships.

The nature of the reforms needed with respect to social services and benefit plans, including private extended health and dental insurance, concerns the extent to which such benefits are available to only one spouse or partner of an individual. Consideration should be given to extending coverage, or requiring that coverage be extended, to all persons meeting a plan's definition of spouse or partner, regardless of the number of such spouses or partners.

4.4.2 Further research

Additional research on the complex needs and realities of polyamorous individuals, how they see themselves and how they believe the general public sees them, is plainly warranted. The analysis conducted in this study examines only a fraction of the potential areas of study, and more information about Canadians involved in non-dyadic relationships, the frequency and nature these relationships and the circumstances of their formation and dissolution, is required. Areas of inquiry that should be prioritized include examining:

- a) the prevalence of polyamorous individuals and polyamorous relationships within the general population, and any trends over time in the expansion or diminution of this group;
- b) the development, composition, variability and durability of polyamorous relationships, including the characteristics differentiating primary and secondary relationships;
- c) trends, practices and issues encountered in the parenting of children in non-dyadic relationships;
- d) the barriers experienced by people involved in polyamorous relationships in accessing social services including private and public health care benefits, retirement benefits and social assistance;

- e) the nature of the discrimination experienced by individuals involved in polyamorous relationships, if any, and the impact of such discrimination on polyamorists' ability to participate openly and fully in Canadian society; and,
- f) polyamorous individuals' experience with family law processes, the extent to which the legislation on domestic relations impacts their lives and whether they wish that legislation to impact their lives.

In undertaking such work, future researchers should take heed of the views of respondents to the Survey on Polyamorous Relationships and Perceptions of Polyamory in Canada. Their feedback highlights the need for and importance of:

- a) establishing an advisory group of professionals and community members to guide the development of future research projects;
- b) developing survey instruments in consultation with members of the community, with special care being taken to ensure that the members consulted represent the diverse nature of polyamory and polyamorous relationships, and that the language used is clear but maximally inclusive; and,
- c) creating flexible, user-friendly software allowing individuals to map polycules, charts showing the structures of their relationships, differentiating between their primary and secondary relationships.

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GLOSSARY

Mean: The mean is the average response to a question. It is calculated by adding up all of the responses received and then dividing the resulting sum by the total number of responses.

Missing Cases: The number of responses on individual questions that are not available. The most common reason for missing cases in survey or interview data is that the respondent chose not to answer a particular question. In file review data, missing cases are usually the result of the relevant information not being included in the file.

Multiple Response Data: Multiple response data refers to questions in which respondents are allowed to choose more than one answer. In tables where multiple response data are presented, the percentages presented for individual items may total more than 100.

N and n: N refers to the total number of respondents to a survey or interview or the total number of files that were available for review while n refers to a subset of the total responses that may be selected for specific data analyses. For example, if 100 people respond to a survey, $N = 100$. If 30 of those respondents identify as female, then $n = 30$ females and $n = 70$ males.

Range: The lowest and highest responses from the range of responses received to a question.

Representativeness: The extent to which the responses to a survey or interview are likely to reflect the responses that would be given if every potential respondent could be surveyed or interviewed.

Response Rate: The percentage of completed surveys out of the total number distributed to potential respondents. In the case of interviews, the response rate refers to the number of completed interviews out of the total number of individuals contacted for an interview.

SPSS: Statistical Package for the Social Sciences, a widely used software program for analyzing social science data.

APPENDIX



The Canadian Research Institute for Law and the Family and the Canadian Polyamory Advocacy Association are working together on a short survey about polyamorous relationships and perceptions of polyamory in Canada. We would like to know more about the people involved in these relationships, the forms these relationships take and what people think about these relationships.

In this survey, we are using the term **polyamorous** to refer to committed romantic relationships between more than two adults. Other terms that mean roughly the same thing as polyamory include polygamy, polyfidelity, consensual non-monogamy, polyandry, polygyny and so on. We are using polyamory to refer to all of these relationships.

The survey is being hosted on servers located in Canada. No data will be stored outside of Canada. No identifying personal information will be publicly released in our reports on the survey and there is no possibility that your responses will identify you, your partners or your children.

It is important that you know that:

- **Your participation is completely voluntary.**
- **You don't have to answer any questions that you don't want to answer.**
- **Your information will be secured on password-protected computers and reported anonymously.**
- **Your responses are confidential and will not be released to any third-party agency or organization.**

If you finish the survey, you can enter your name in a draw for a \$100 Visa Gift Card. We'll draw a name at the end of the study and contact the winner by e-mail. Your name will not be associated with your responses to the survey and will not be published.

If you require any counselling services or want to speak with a support person, please call 2-1-1 or your provincial crisis centre.

If you have any questions or concerns about the survey, please contact John-Paul Boyd, the Executive Director of the Institute, at 403.216.0340 or jpboyd@ucalgary.ca.

Thank you for your participation in this important survey!

Demographics:

1. What province or territory do you live in permanently?

- | | | |
|--|--|--|
| <input type="checkbox"/> Alberta | <input type="checkbox"/> Newfoundland & Labrador | <input type="checkbox"/> Quebec |
| <input type="checkbox"/> British Columbia | <input type="checkbox"/> Nova Scotia | <input type="checkbox"/> Saskatchewan |
| <input type="checkbox"/> Manitoba | <input type="checkbox"/> Ontario | <input type="checkbox"/> Northwest Territories |
| <input type="checkbox"/> New Brunswick | <input type="checkbox"/> Prince Edward Island | <input type="checkbox"/> Nunavut |
| <input type="checkbox"/> Yukon | <input type="checkbox"/> I live in the United States | |
| <input type="checkbox"/> I do not live in the US or Canada | | |

2. How old are you?

- | | | |
|-----------------------------------|-----------------------------------|--------------------------------------|
| <input type="checkbox"/> Under 18 | <input type="checkbox"/> 25 to 34 | <input type="checkbox"/> 45 to 54 |
| <input type="checkbox"/> 18 to 24 | <input type="checkbox"/> 35 to 44 | <input type="checkbox"/> 55 or older |

3. What is your ethnicity?

- | | | |
|---|--|---------------------------------------|
| <input type="checkbox"/> African-Canadian | <input type="checkbox"/> East Indian | <input type="checkbox"/> Inuit |
| <input type="checkbox"/> Caucasian/European | <input type="checkbox"/> Filipino | <input type="checkbox"/> Métis |
| <input type="checkbox"/> Chinese | <input type="checkbox"/> First Nations | <input type="checkbox"/> Other: _____ |

4. What is your highest completed level of education?

- | | | |
|---|--|---|
| <input type="checkbox"/> Some high school | <input type="checkbox"/> Some college | <input type="checkbox"/> University degree |
| <input type="checkbox"/> High school | <input type="checkbox"/> College diploma | <input type="checkbox"/> Post graduate or professional degree |
| <input type="checkbox"/> Trade school | <input type="checkbox"/> Some university | |

5. What is your annual income level?

- | | | |
|---|---|---|
| <input type="checkbox"/> Less than \$24,999 | <input type="checkbox"/> \$60,000 to \$69,999 | <input type="checkbox"/> \$100,000 to \$124,999 |
| <input type="checkbox"/> \$25,000 to \$39,999 | <input type="checkbox"/> \$70,000 to \$79,999 | <input type="checkbox"/> \$125,000 to \$149,999 |

- \$40,000 to \$49,999 \$80,000 to \$89,999 \$150,000 to \$199,999
 \$50,000 to \$59,999 \$90,000 to \$99,999 More than \$200,000

6. Are you the only income earner in your household?

- Yes (skip to #9) No

7. How many income earners are in your household?

- 1 3 5
 2 4 More than 5

8. What is your household income?

- Less than \$24,999 \$60,000 to \$69,999 \$100,000 to \$124,999
 \$25,000 to \$39,999 \$70,000 to \$79,999 \$125,000 to \$149,999
 \$40,000 to \$49,999 \$80,000 to \$89,999 \$150,000 to \$199,999
 \$50,000 to \$59,999 \$90,000 to \$99,999 More than \$200,000

9. What is your gender identity?

- Male Female Transgender
 Genderqueer Gender Fluid Other: _____

10. How do you identify your sexuality? (please check all that apply)

- Heterosexual (sexual, emotional, and/or romantic attraction to the opposite sex)
 Homosexual (sexual, emotional, and/or romantic attraction to the same sex)
 Bisexual (sexual, emotional, and/or romantic attraction to the same and different genders)
 Polysexual (sexual, emotional, and/or romantic attraction to multiple genders)
 Pansexual (sexual, emotional, and/or romantic attraction to all genders)
 Asexual (not sexually attracted to any gender)
 Other:
-

11. What is your religious affiliation?

- Agnostic Hindu Roman Catholic
 Atheist Jewish Sikh
 Buddhist Muslim Other: _____
 Christian Protestant

12. Does your religious affiliation support polyamory?

- Yes No

Composition of your polyamorous household:

13. Are you currently in a polyamorous relationship?

- Yes (skip to #15) No

14. If you are not currently in a polyamorous relationship, have you been in a polyamorous relationship within the last five years?

- Yes No (skip to #27)

15. What term do you use to describe your relationship?

- Polyamorous Polygamous Polyandrous
 Polygynous Consensual Non-Monogamous
 Radical Bigamous Other:
-

16. How many people are in your polyamorous relationship?

- 1 3 5
 2 4 More than 5

17. Do all members of your polyamorous relationship live in the same household?

- Yes (skip to #19) No

18. If not, how many households do your partners live in?

- 1 3 5
 2 4 More than 5

19. How many people in your relationship/household are male, female or another gender:

- | <u>Men</u> | <u>Women</u> | <u>Other:</u> |
|--------------------------------------|--------------------------------------|--------------------------------------|
| <input type="checkbox"/> One | <input type="checkbox"/> One | <input type="checkbox"/> One |
| <input type="checkbox"/> Two | <input type="checkbox"/> Two | <input type="checkbox"/> Two |
| <input type="checkbox"/> Three | <input type="checkbox"/> Three | <input type="checkbox"/> Three |
| <input type="checkbox"/> Four | <input type="checkbox"/> Four | <input type="checkbox"/> Four |
| <input type="checkbox"/> Five | <input type="checkbox"/> Five | <input type="checkbox"/> Five |
| <input type="checkbox"/> More than 5 | <input type="checkbox"/> More than 5 | <input type="checkbox"/> More than 5 |

20. Are any of the adults in your polyamorous relationship/household legally married to each other?

- Yes No (skip to #22) Unsure (skip to #22)

21. If yes, how many people in your polyamorous relationship/household are legally married to each other?

2

4

6

More than six

22. How many children under the age of 19 live **full-time** in your household under the care of one or more parents or guardians?

One

Five

Eight

Two

Six

Nine

Three

Seven

Ten

Four

Other: _____

23. How many children under the age of 19 live **part-time** in your household in the care of one or more parents or guardians?

One

Five

Eight

Two

Six

Nine

Three

Seven

Ten

Four

Other: _____

24. In the last five years, how many new people joined your relationship?

Men

Women

Other:

One

One

One

Two

Two

Two

Three

Three

Three

Four

Four

Four

Five

Five

Five

More than 5

More than 5

More than 5

25. In the last five years, how many people have left your relationship?

Men

Women

Other:

One

One

One

Two

Two

Two

Three

Three

Three

Four

Four

Four

Five

Five

Five

More than 5

More than 5

More than 5

26. What, if any, legal steps have you taken to formalize the rights and responsibilities of the members of your household? (Check all that apply.)

- Power of attorney for legal matters
- Power of attorney for medical matters
- Guardianship appointment
- A living together or cohabitation agreement
- School authorization
- Emergency authorization
- Travel authorization

Other: _____

27. To what extent do you agree with the following statements about polyamorous relationships:

	<i>Strongly agree</i>	<i>Agree</i>	<i>Neither agree nor disagree</i>	<i>Disagree</i>	<i>Strongly disagree</i>
Everyone in a polyamorous relationship should be treated equally regardless of gender or gender identity	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Everyone in a polyamorous relationship should be treated equally regardless of parental or guardianship status	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Everyone in a polyamorous relationship should Have equal parenting responsibilities regardless of gender or gender identity	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Everyone in a polyamorous relationship should Have the responsibility to be honest and forthright with each other	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Everyone in a polyamorous relationship should have an equal say about changes in the nature of the relationship	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Everyone in a polyamorous relationship should have an equal say about introducing	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>

new people into the relationship

Each person in a polyamorous relationship should have the right to leave the relationship if and when they choose

28. To what extent do you agree with the following statements about public attitudes toward polyamory:

	<i>Strongly agree</i>	<i>Agree</i>	<i>Neither agree nor disagree</i>	<i>Disagree</i>	<i>Strongly disagree</i>
Public acceptance of polyamorous relationships is increasing	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Canada's antipolygamy law has negatively affected public perceptions of polyamorous relationships	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
People see polyamorous relationships as a kink or a fetish	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
People see polyamorous relationships as a legitimate form of family	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
The number of people who identify as polyamorous is increasing	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
The number of people who are openly involved in polyamorous relationships is increasing	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Canada's antipolygamy law has prevented me from pursuing polyamorous relationships	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Canada's antipolygamy law has discouraged me from pursuing polyamorous relationships	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>

Canada's antipolygamy law has prevented me
from being openly involved in
polyamorous relationships

Canada's antipolygamy law has discouraged me
from being openly involved in
polyamorous relationships