

Immigration and Multiculturalism: Views from a Multicultural Prairie City

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Abstract

In a survey at the University of Regina, undergraduate students were asked to state their views about goals, aims, and problems associated with multiculturalism and immigration. These views and their connections with attitudes on other political and social issues are analyzed in this paper. A multiple regression model is used to demonstrate a strong connection between support for immigration and views on social values, jobs, immigrant integration, and multicultural principles. Little connection was found between political orientation and support for immigration. Policy implications include expanding support for programs dealing with diversity and other multicultural principles as well as developing labour market policies to assure jobs and adequate training for new labour force entrants.

A. Introduction

1. Introductory comments

On the day I began writing this paper, the electronic edition of *The Globe and Mail* reported on a Leger Marketing study claiming that Canadians prefer fewer immigrants. According to the report "More than half of respondents to a poll said they believed Canada accepted too many immigrants." (Globe and Mail, 2002). Since Leger Marketing asked "In your opinion, does Canada accept TOO MANY or NOT ENOUGH immigrants?" (Leger, 2002) and did not ask whether Canada accepts about the right number, finding this level of opposition to immigration may have been a foregone conclusion.

In this paper I present results from a survey of over seven hundred University of Regina undergraduates. Of the six hundred and eighty-two who responded to a question about the desired level of immigration to Canada, seventy-two per cent said it should be kept at about the present level (Table 1). Seventeen per cent said that immigration should

be decreased and eleven per cent said it should be increased. These results do not represent views of Canadians as a whole, but provide some indication that Canadians may be more supportive of immigration than Leger Marketing and *The Globe and Mail* would have us believe.

2. Summary

In this paper I examine the views of undergraduates who gave their responses in a Fall 1998 survey of University of Regina undergraduates. Given their age, the region in which they reside, and their current activity – generally full-time undergraduates – these respondents may be more supportive of immigration than Canadians as a whole. However, it is the relation between their views on immigration and other social and political issues that concerns me in this paper. I examine the connection between views on immigration and views on multiculturalism, social values, and political issues. The relationships found in this study may help illustrate the way that Canadians, at least those from the Prairies, consider immigration and related issues.

Respondents were supportive of immigration, at least at its present level, and also generally supportive of the changes in immigration that have occurred since the 1960s. Respondents were concerned that increased immigration means fewer jobs but considered immigrants to be making good efforts to integrate into Canadian society. While respondents were not supportive of affirmative action and provided only moderate support for government training programs for immigrants, they were strongly supportive of principles of diversity, equitable participation, and elimination of barriers to equal participation. Section B of the paper contains a summary of these findings and begins to examine relationships of support for immigration with views on social and political issues.

In Section C, I develop multivariate regression models to further explore the ways that respondents appear to have thought about immigration related issues. In summary, the results of these models indicate that there were several distinct factors related to support for immigration – support for multicultural principles, concern about jobs and immigrant integration, and socio-demographic characteristics. Views on some social values, such as positive evaluation of the future and support for diversity also had an important positive effect on support for immigration. In contrast, political orientation and political party preference showed little or no apparent connection with support for immigration. As a result, it appears that respondents looked on immigration and political issues as being somewhat distinct. While some were concerned about limited numbers of jobs and the ability of immigrants to integrate, respondents generally took a positive approach to issues related to immigration.

At the end of Section C, I compare the findings of this project with a study of social and political attitudes (Langford, 1991) and two studies of attitudes toward immigration (Palmer, 1996; Fetzer, 2000). Some results from this study parallel the findings of these other studies, notably the multiple factors that affect views on immigration, the importance of labour market considerations, and views concerning cultural difference.

Following this, I suggest a few research and policy implications. The paper concludes with a short summary.

3. Methodology

The data for this paper come from the Survey of Student Attitudes and Experiences (SSAE), conducted in Fall 1998. This survey was part of a class that I instructed – Social Studies 306, Applied Methods: Quantitative Approaches – in the Department of Sociology and Social Studies at the University of Regina. The Department of Canadian Heritage funded the research project “Understandings of Multiculturalism Among Students in a Multicultural Prairie City,” providing financial support for the survey.

The questionnaire was developed jointly by students in Social Studies 306 and me, and the questions on immigration and multiculturalism were designed to meet the needs of the Canadian Heritage project. The survey was an omnibus survey dealing with student issues, social and political views, academic and personal background, student finances, and job activity. This paper concentrates on the sections dealing with social and political issues and with multiculturalism and immigration. The questionnaire was taken to a cross-section of undergraduate classes at the University of Regina in October and November of 1998. Students in these classes completed the survey in approximately fifteen minutes of class time. In total, there were seven hundred and twenty-six usable questionnaires. The sample sizes reported later in this paper differ from table to table because some respondents did not answer all questions, or sometimes their answers were unusable. For most of the tables, the sample size is over six hundred and fifty, although in a few cases it falls just below six hundred. Appendix B contains most of the questions that were used for the analysis in this paper.

The survey was not a random sample of students but was reasonably representative of University of Regina undergraduates. It over-represented females by 2.5 percentage points but in terms of other characteristics of undergraduates, about which we had comparative information, the sample was reasonably representative. Students from the class coded the survey questionnaires and graduate students were employed to enter the data into an SPSS data set. For this paper, I conducted the data analysis using SPSS, Release 11.0.

Given the survey method, two comments on the possible uses of the data are necessary. First, the results reported in this paper do not represent any population other than University of Regina undergraduates in the Fall of 1998. Quite different results might have been obtained if the survey had been conducted in other locations or among a cross-section of a larger population. At the same time, some of the findings about relationships among variables may have broader implications. Second, since the sample was not a randomly selected sample of undergraduates, but a quota sample using classes as clusters, statistical significance tests and exact significance levels should be treated with caution. The patterns of relationships among the variables were generally internally consistent, as were results from different statistical methods. When reporting differences

of means, regressions, and other statistical results, I have included significance levels in the belief that these are meaningful in a rough sense.

Later in the paper a number of indexes are developed in order to assist in the understanding and analysis of the data. In section C, reference is made to a factor analysis and several multiple regression models are presented. The methodology for each of these is described in the section of the paper where it is introduced.

There are a number of limitations to the findings of this study. First, the sample represents a limited population – that of undergraduate students in a specific location. Second, while the sample appeared to be reasonably representative of the target population, the method of sampling that was used may introduce some bias. I do not consider this to be a serious problem, however readers should recognize that this was not a probability sample but a purposive or judgment sample. Third, while we were able to conduct some testing of the survey questions, the questions and questionnaire structure were not submitted to rigorous or repeated testing. Fourth, the indexes that I constructed for support of multiculturalism and immigration, and for social and political issues (from the factor analysis) were not submitted to any testing or comparison to indexes from other studies. While I recognize each of these as limitations of this study, I do not consider them to be shortcomings or errors of this research. Rather, these results represent specific findings about a particular population that may or may not have wider implications; hopefully the results will be useful in further developing research and policy on multiculturalism and immigration.

B. Research Findings

The survey questionnaire contained four questions concerning immigration to Canada. In section B, I summarize the results from these questions and examine the relationship between these variables and other variables in the survey. In particular, I consider the relationship between views on immigration and multiculturalism, sociodemographic variables, employment issues, social values, and political issues.

1. Response to immigration questions

In the first question of the immigration section of the questionnaire, respondents were asked whether Canada should decrease, maintain, or increase annual immigration. As shown in Table 1, a majority (72%) considered the present level about right. More respondents stated that immigration should be decreased (17%) than said it should be increased (11%).

Table 1. Distribution of number and percentage of respondents by view of levels of annual immigration to Canada

Should Canada	Number	Per cent
Decrease annual immigration (1)	116	17.0
Keep at about the present level (2)	491	72.0
Increase annual immigration (3)	75	11.0
Total	682	100.0

Note: In this and subsequent tables I list the coding that accompanied the variables. Later in the paper, several of these variables are used to construct ordinal level indexes and are used in the regression models.

In the next question, respondents were asked to state their views concerning the shift in the source areas of immigration to Canada. As is well known, over the last thirty years, immigration to Canada has shifted from being predominantly immigration from Europe to immigration from Asia and the Caribbean, with larger numbers from other non-traditional source areas. Some commentators on immigration have expressed a view that this change in immigration sources has not been good for Canada. Many of these latter immigrants are members of visible minorities and issues of discrimination and racism have been a focus of discussions and policy in recent years.

In this question, respondents were given the option of stating that they were undecided on this issue, and just over twenty per cent opted for the undecided response. The responses of those who expressed a view on the matter are provided in Table 2. For much of the later analysis, those who said they were undecided were grouped with those who responded “neither positive nor negative.”

Table 2. Distribution of number and percentage of respondents by view of changes in immigration to Canada – more immigrants from outside Europe

View of change in immigration	Number	Per cent
Very negative for Canada (1)	11	2.1
Somewhat negative for Canada (2)	77	14.4
Neither positive nor negative (3)	220	41.3
Somewhat positive for Canada (4)	146	27.4
Very positive for Canada (5)	79	14.8
Total	533	100.0

When responses to this question were coded from 1 (very negative) to 5 (very positive), the mean response of the decided respondents was 3.39, and the standard deviation was 0.97. Among respondents as a whole, this demonstrates a moderately positive view (between neutral and somewhat positive) of the changes in immigration.

In order to obtain some idea of the possible reasons for respondents' views on immigration, we constructed questions on immigration and jobs and on immigrant integration. Immigration policy and regulations are closely connected to labour markets and views about numbers and types of immigrants are often connected to concerns about jobs. In question 35 of the survey (see Appendix B), respondents were asked to state their views concerning immigration and jobs; Table 3 contains the distribution of responses to this question.

Table 3. Distribution of number and percentage of respondents by view of the relation between immigration and jobs

Increased immigration means	Number	Per cent
Fewer jobs for Canadians (1)	258	37.3
Little change in the number of jobs (2)	366	52.9
More jobs for Canadians (3)	68	9.8
Total	692	100.0

While over one-half of respondents stated that increased immigration would make little difference in number of jobs, over one-third stated that more immigration would be associated with fewer jobs. For undergraduate students, thinking about their future, availability of jobs is a concern, and many make a connection between jobs and immigration, regardless of whether such a connection is warranted. Historically, immigration was often associated with growth in the number of jobs and some immigration researchers argue that immigrants help create jobs. Less than ten per cent of respondents expressed the view that increased immigration would mean more jobs, so in this study few recognized the possible expansive effect of immigration.

Another immigration issue is the view that immigrants may not integrate well into Canadian society. From the survey, opinions about immigration and jobs do not appear to have carried over to the issue of immigrant integration. Fifty-seven per cent of those responding to this question stated that they considered immigrants to be doing as much as they could to integrate (Table 4). Only thirteen per cent considered immigrants to keep to themselves or not really try to integrate. Another thirty per cent stated that immigrants might do more to integrate, but did not express the more serious levels of concern about lack of integration.

Table 4. Distribution of number and percentage of respondents by view of integration of immigrants

Which of the following comes closest to your view of immigrants in Canada	Number	Per cent
Try their best to integrate into Canadian society (1)	385	57.4
Could make a greater effort to integrate (2)	200	29.9
Don't make nearly enough effort to integrate (3)	55	8.2
All they want to do is keep to themselves (4)	30	4.5
Total	670	100.0

In summary, respondents generally approved of what has happened in terms of numbers and composition of immigrants. They generally considered immigrants to be attempting to integrate into Canadian society but expressed the view that increased immigration is associated with reduced jobs for Canadians. A small number called for increased immigration, but worries about jobs may have led some respondents to suggest reduced immigration levels.

2. Index of degree of support for immigration

In order to examine the relationship between support for immigration and other variables, I constructed a variable called degree of support for immigration (SI). This index represents a joint view on the issues of levels and composition of immigration, combining the responses reported in Tables 1 and 2. I classified respondents into one of three categories of support for immigration – weak support (1), moderate support (2), and strong support (3). Of the group that expressed least support for immigration, only forty-nine of the one hundred and thirty-nine respondents reported negative views toward immigration on both questions. Rather than labeling this category as opposed to immigration, I termed this weak support. Details of the construction of this index are contained in Appendix A and the distributions for SI are reported in Table 5. SI is an ordinal scale although, for the regression models reported later in the paper, I treat it as having an interval level of measurement.

Table 5. Distribution of number and percentage of respondents by degree of support for immigration (SI)

Degree of support for immigration (SI)	Number	Per cent
Weak support (1)	139	20.4
Moderate support (2)	307	45.2
Strong support (3)	235	32.4
Total	681	100.0

3. Relation of support for immigration and sociodemographic variables

Males were less likely than females to support immigration, with 29% of males and 15% of females in the lowest category of support for immigration (SI). For each of moderate and strong supporters, males constituted approximately one-third and females two-thirds. Cramer's V for the relation between sex and SI was 0.162, significantly different from zero at less than the 0.001 level of statistical significance.

Given this result, it may be surprising that there was almost no relationship between sex of respondent and response to the question on the relationship between increased immigration and jobs for Canadians (Cramer's V = 0.038, significance = 0.599). In fact, males were slightly more likely than females to state that more jobs might result from increased immigration, although this difference was not statistically significant. With respect to the question concerning integration into Canadian society, 16.4 per cent of males said that immigrants do not integrate well. In contrast, only 10.5 per cent of female respondents answered in this manner. In general, females were more likely to consider immigrants as doing their best to integrate. For the relationship between sex and view on integration, Cramer's V was 0.225, with a significance of less than 0.001.

There is weak evidence for a positive relationship between age and support for immigration (SI). The Pearson correlation coefficient relating the two variables is 0.07, with a one-tailed significance of 0.03. When respondents were classified into three age groups, 17-21, 22-29, and 30 plus, the respective mean values of SI were 2.11, 2.14, and 2.36, and a one-way analysis of variance showed a significance of 0.056. While the higher mean response of the older age group to degree of support for immigration is not all that remarkable in itself, this same more positive view toward immigration demonstrated by older respondents carried over to the other two immigration variables. It was the youngest respondents, aged 17-21 and the traditional typical undergraduate, who expressed by far the greatest concern about immigration and jobs. Forty-three per cent of this group considered increased immigration to mean fewer jobs for Canadians, while only seventeen per cent of those aged thirty and over expressed such a concern. Of course, there were relatively few older respondents in the survey, and those older respondents who were in this survey may not be typical of all Regina adults aged thirty and over. However, the difference in view by age was consistent among the questions on immigration.

With respect to immigrants and integration, the difference was not nearly as great, but again those aged thirty or over were more likely than younger respondents to state that immigrants try their best to integrate. Seventy per cent of those aged thirty or over said this, while only fifty-six per cent of those less than age thirty responded in this manner (difference of proportions test has a Z-value of 2.00, one-tailed significance of 0.023).

As might be expected, those respondents born outside of Canada expressed more support for immigration than did those born in Canada, with respective means of 2.49 and 2.10 for SI (significantly different at less than 0.001 in a one-way analysis of variance). A similar, although smaller, difference appeared between the two groups on the

immigration and jobs question. However, on the immigrant integration issue, there was almost no difference between the Canadian born and those born outside Canada – if anything, those born outside Canada thought immigrants could do more to integrate. In contrast, aboriginal respondents reported a mean value of 2.04 for support for immigration (SI), as opposed to 2.15 for non-aboriginal respondents (difference statistically insignificant). Aboriginal respondents were more supportive of the changed type of immigration to Canada than were non-aboriginal respondents, although this difference was again statistically insignificant.

A related issue is that of identity. It was those who identified themselves as an ethnic origin-Canadian (e.g. Vietnamese-Canadian or German-Canadian) who expressed the strongest support for immigration. But stronger support did not translate into a more positive view on the jobs or integration questions. Relationships between a number of other sociodemographic variables and support for immigration were considered – income, academic record, and importance of religious or spiritual values – but none of these demonstrated any apparent relationship with the immigration variables.

In conclusion, there appear to be two or three types of sociodemographic factors associated with support for immigration. First, females and older respondents generally demonstrated more support for, or had a more positive view of immigration than did males and younger respondents. For both males and females, there is little doubt that jobs were a primary concern with respect to immigration. It was older respondents who were less concerned about negative effects on jobs, so perhaps the immigration and jobs connection was less a reality than a worry for those who will be looking for jobs. Finally, a relatively small number considered immigrant integration to be a problem.

4. Relation of support for immigration (SI) and other immigration variables

Over one-third of respondents stated that increased immigration would lead to fewer jobs for Canadians and only ten per cent considered immigration to help expand the number of jobs for Canadians. The concern over immigration and jobs was concentrated among those who expressed the weakest support for immigration. As shown in Table 6, seventy per cent of the weak supporters of immigration considered immigration to threaten jobs. Thirty-seven per cent of the moderate supporters of immigration were also of this same view. It was only the strong supporters of immigration who expressed the view that more jobs would result from increased immigration. The correlation between the two variables in Table 6 was 0.370 for tau-b, significantly different from zero at less than the 0.001 level of statistical significance. From these results, it seems clear that the possibility of employment losses from immigration was an important factor in shaping views on immigration.

Table 6. Cross-classification of degree of support for immigration (SI) by view on immigration and jobs – number of respondents and column percentages

Increased immigration means	Degree of support for immigration (SI)			Total
	Weak	Moderate	Strong	
Fewer jobs for Canadians	96 69.5%	110 36.7%	45 19.4%	251 37.5%
Little change in number of jobs	39 28.3%	177 59.0%	138 59.5%	354 52.8%
More jobs for Canadians	3 2.2%	13 4.3%	49 21.1%	65 9.7%
Total	138 100.0%	300 100.0%	232 100.0%	670 100.0%

There was also a strong relationship between support for immigration and view concerning immigrant integration. Over seventy per cent of strong supporters of immigration and sixty-one per cent of moderate supporters said that immigrants try their best to integrate; in contrast, only twenty-three per cent of weak supporters of immigration gave this response. However, most of these weak supporters did not express the strongest view that immigrants stick to themselves or do not try to integrate. The value of tau-b for the correlation between these two variables was -0.309 , significantly different from zero at less than the 0.001 level of statistical significance. The overall number of respondents who expressed the view that immigrants do not do nearly enough to integrate or keep to themselves was relatively small, at least compared with the immigration and jobs issue. At the same time, opinions about how well immigrants are able to integrate appear to shape views on immigration.

Table 7. Cross-classification of degree of support for immigration (SI) by view on immigrant integration – number of respondents and column percentages

View on immigrant integration	Support for immigration (SI)			Total
	Weak	Moderate	Strong	
Do their best to integrate	30 23.1%	179 61.4%	159 71.3%	368 57.0%
Could do more to integrate	56 43.1%	88 30.1%	49 22.0%	193 29.9%
Don't make enough effort	25 19.2%	20 6.8%	9 4.0%	54 8.4%
Stick to themselves	19 14.6%	5 1.7%	6 2.7%	30 4.7%
Total	130 100.0%	292 100.0%	223 100.0%	645 100.0%

5. Relation of support for immigration (SI) and multiculturalism variables

In this section I examine relationships between respondents' views on multiculturalism and support for immigration in an attempt to shed further light on the issue of the possible factors associated with different views about immigration. As part of the Canadian Heritage aspect of the project, the questionnaire contained two pages of questions on multiculturalism. In particular, question 30 asked respondents to state their degree of agreement or disagreement with a series of six statements of multicultural principles and question 32 contained five statements of possible problems or issues related to multiculturalism (see Appendix B). Table 8 summarizes the responses to the statements concerning multiculturalism and their connection with support for immigration (SI).

For each of the eleven variables in Table 8, responses were measured on a five-point scale from strongly disagree (1) to strongly agree (5). The six variables M1 through M6 represent statements of multicultural principles, phrased so that a larger numerical response denotes greater agreement with the principle. As can be seen in Table 8, except for M5, respondents generally expressed high levels of agreement with these statements of multicultural principles – the closer the mean is to 5, the greater the degree of agreement. There was especially strong agreement with the principle of equal access (M2) and with the statement that Canada is enriched by having people from many cultural backgrounds (M6). Agreement with multicultural principles was also strong in the case of diversity being fundamental (M1), preservation of heritage (M3), and eliminating barriers to participation (M4). The statement for variable M5 “The government should fund festivals and special events celebrating different cultures” gave a mean response of 3.05, implying that respondents were split on this issue. Not only was the mean response especially close to a middle value of 3, the variation in responses to this question was by far the greatest of the eleven variables, so that respondents' views on this issue differed greatly.

The five variables PM1 through PM5 represent possible problems with multiculturalism. The statements for these five variables were constructed so that support for multiculturalism meant disagreement (low numerical values) with PM1, PM3, and PM5 and agreement with PM2 and PM4 (high numerical values). The means of 2.24 and 2.18 for PM1 and PM5, respectively, are below a neutral response of 3 and are consistent with support for multiculturalism. A mean response close to 3 for each of PM2, PM3, and PM4 indicates that respondents may consider these to be problem areas for multiculturalism and multicultural policy.

It is the correlation of responses to the multicultural statements with support for immigration that is of interest here. The last column of Table 8 shows the values of tau-b for the correlation between support for immigration and each of the multicultural variables. Each of these correlation coefficients is significantly different from zero at less than the 0.001 level of statistical significance, with the exception of PM2 and PM4. In the case of PM2 (multiculturalism addresses racism), the significance level is 0.240 and

for PM4 (multiculturalism encourages immigrants to acquire Canadian values) the significance level is 0.012. From these correlation coefficients, and their statistical significance, I conclude that support for immigration is generally connected positively with support for multicultural principles, especially those of diversity, equality, heritage, eliminating barriers, and enrichment of Canadian society. The correlation coefficients for the PM variables generally imply that those who express greater support for immigration did not consider multiculturalism to create great problems for Canadian society. Those who express less support for immigration appear to look on multiculturalism as being associated with some problems for Canadian society. In the case of PM2, it may be that supporters of immigration generally do not think multiculturalism does enough to address problems of racism in Canada – in retrospect, this question is confusing and was poorly designed.

Table 8. Mean and standard deviation of responses to multiculturalism statements and correlation of responses with support for immigration (SI)

Multicultural principle or issue	Statistics for statements about multiculturalism (1-5 scale)		Correlation (tau-b) of response to M and PM variables with support for immigration (SI)
	Mean	Standard deviation	
Diversity (M1)	4.09	0.94	0.200
Equality (M2)	4.52	0.76	0.139
Heritage (M3)	4.03	0.99	0.267
Barriers (M4)	4.12	0.94	0.195
Festivals (M5)	3.05	1.25	0.287
Enrich (M6)	4.31	0.85	0.345
Symbol (PM1)	2.24	1.15	-0.180
Racism (PM2)	3.12	0.88	0.042
Divisive (PM3)	3.00	1.06	-0.256
Values (PM4)	2.83	0.95	0.091
Offensive (PM5)	2.18	0.97	-0.251

In order to summarize views on multiculturalism in one variable, I conducted a cluster analysis, dividing respondents into three categories. The clusters of respondents produced by the cluster analysis resulted in three groups, from those least supportive to those most supportive of multicultural principles. I used cluster membership to construct the variable “support for multiculturalism,” or SM, with values of 1 denoting weak support, 2 moderate support, and 3 strong support. In constructing this variable I used only the six M variables, since some of the PM variables appeared to be problematic and gave inconsistent results. Responses to the six multicultural principles (M1-M6) were highly correlated with each other, although there was considerable variation among respondents.

Table 9 shows the strong positive connection between the variables degree of support for multiculturalism (SM) and the degree of support for immigration (SI). While there were some strong supporters of one but not the other, in general those who demonstrated stronger support for immigration also demonstrated stronger support for multiculturalism. For this table, tau-b is 0.327, significantly greater than zero at less than the 0.001 level of statistical significance. The variable SM is used in construction of the regression models in section C of this paper.

Table 9. Cross-classification of degree of support for immigration by degree of support for multiculturalism – number of respondents and column percentages

Support for multiculturalism (SM)	Support for immigration (SI)			Total
	Weak (1)	Moderate (2)	Strong (3)	
Weak support (1)	58 42.6%	61 20.4%	23 10.0%	142 21.4%
Moderate (2)	58 42.6%	121 40.5%	68 29.6%	247 37.1%
Strong (3)	20 14.8%	117 39.1%	139 60.4%	276 41.5%
Total	136 100.0%	299 100.0%	230 100.0%	665 100.0%

6. Relation of support for immigration and employment variables

The questionnaire contained several statements concerning a possible relationships between employment and either minority status or immigration. These statements were intended to examine views related to current or potential government policy initiatives on employment equity, affirmative action, and training assistance. The four variables measuring responses to these statements are labeled E1 through E4 (question 37 in Appendix B). A short discussion of the rationale and expected result for each question follows.

- Visible minority jobs (E1). The first statement was intended to elicit responses about affirmative action, that is, views on requiring employers to provide a specified number of jobs for qualified visible minorities. We expected that there would not be overwhelming support for such initiatives but that greater support for multicultural principles and immigration would be positively related to responses to E1.
- Non-whites restricted (E2). Since visible minorities may face barriers in the labour market and educational institutions, the second statement asked respondents whether they disagreed or agreed that such barriers exist. We expected that there were be general recognition of the possible restriction of employment and educational opportunities for non-whites. We also expected that those more strongly in support of multicultural principles and immigration would be more likely to agree that such

barriers exist. In this question we employed the term “non-whites” rather than “visible minorities” since we were not sure how well the latter term was understood.

- White males lose jobs (E3). When we developed the survey questionnaire in the class project, several students argued that either they, or other undergraduates, felt that employment equity programs were restricting employment opportunities for white males. We developed the E3 statement to measure the prevalence of such a view. It should be noted that there is no indication in this survey that employment equity requirements do have this effect, rather this statement was intended to measure whether or not this was a prevalent view. Since we had no idea what responses might be, we had no expectations concerning the extent of agreement with this statement. However, we did expect that responses to this statement would be negatively correlated with support for multiculturalism and immigration.
- Government assistance (E4). The last statement provides a concrete way of dealing with barriers to immigrant integration – government assistance to help immigrants develop skills and knowledge for the labour market. We expected that there would be more support for this than for E1 on the grounds that respondents who may not favour affirmative action type programs (E1) might be willing to support programs that provide immigrants with training, so they could compete with Canadian-born individuals on a more equal basis. Again, we expected responses to this statement to be positively correlated with support for multiculturalism and immigration.

Table 10. Mean and standard deviation of responses to employment statements and correlation of responses with support for immigration

Employment statements (measured on a 1-5 scale)	Statistics for employment statements		Correlation of E variables with support for immigration (SI)	
	Mean response	Standard deviation	tau-b	Significance
Visible minority jobs (E1)	2.30	1.18	0.171	<0.001
Non-whites restricted (E2)	2.67	1.18	0.052	0.132
White males lose jobs (E3)	3.12	1.29	-0.266	<0.001
Government assistance (E4)	3.14	1.10	0.261	<0.001

Summaries of the responses to the E1-E4 statements are given in Table 10. In general, the results conformed to our expectations, although there were some unexpected aspects. First, comparing responses to the first and last statements, the larger mean in E4 than in E1 implies that there was greater support for assisting immigrants to develop skills and knowledge (E4) than there was for requiring employers to provide a specified number of jobs for visible minorities (E1). In fact, responses to the statement in E1 are the most extreme of the whole group – a mean close to the value of 2 denotes mild disagreement with such affirmative action type programs. Only sixteen per cent of

respondents agreed with this statement, and while just over one-quarter expressed a neutral view, well over one-half (fifty-seven per cent) disagreed. In contrast, there was a reasonably high degree of agreement with the E4 statement, enough so that the overall mean response was 3.14, on the agree side of a neutral response of 3.

Agreement with the E2 statement was not as great as might have been expected. In the statements of multicultural principles, there was strong support for the idea of providing equal access for all (mean of M2 was 4.52) and eliminating barriers to participation (mean of M4 was 4.12). But the responses concerning actual restrictions on non-whites (E2) showed mild disagreement (mean of 2.67, below a neutral value of 3). Comparing these results, respondents supported the principles of equality and overcoming barriers, but were not generally of the view that educational and employment opportunities for non-whites were restricted. While there were slightly less than one-quarter of respondents who agreed that such restrictions occur, a greater number (forty-four per cent) disagreed that there were restrictions.

Support for the view that white males are losing jobs because of employment equity requirements (E3) was fairly strong – the mean response of 3.12 was above a neutral response of 3 so that, on average, respondents mildly agreed with this statement. Note that there was greater agreement with this statement than with E2. Whether this means that respondents considered the labour market problem for white males to be greater than that for non-whites is not clear, but responses point in this direction.

Before examining the relationship of the employment statements with other variables, it is worthwhile to note that the variation in responses to these four statements was rather large, greater than the variation in responses to earlier statements. That is, the standard deviation of responses was 1.10 or above in the case of each of the four variables. Only three of the statements in the multicultural section of the questionnaire elicited such great variation, and these were the questions concerning government funding for festivals (M5 with standard deviation of 1.25), confused Canadian identity (PM1 with standard deviation of 1.15), and creating divisions (PM3 with standard deviation of 1.06). Perhaps the four statements on employment issues are equivalent to some of these earlier statements. The large standard deviations show a wide variation among respondents' views on these issues. There was general agreement with multicultural principles, but views on policy to address multicultural and immigrant issues were more diverse.

As noted earlier in this section, it was expected that support for immigration would be positively related to responses to variables E1, E2, and E4, and negatively associated with responses to E3. The values of tau-b in Table 10 show that these expectations were met. These correlation coefficients demonstrate that there was a stronger relationship of support for immigration with E3 and E4, than with E1, and certainly stronger than with E2. In the case of E2, the small tau-b and the lack of statistical significance shows little relation between support for immigration and the view that non-white educational and employment opportunities are restricted. Support for immigration is fairly strongly associated with views on whether employment equity requirements hurt employment for

white males (E3). This is a negative association, meaning that stronger support for immigration tends to mean disagreement with this view. Finally, support for immigration is associated positively with the view that government should provide assistance to immigrants to assist them to prepare for the job market (E4). This is a fairly strong association indicating general support for this.

In conclusion, there is considerable support for government training or other programs to assist immigrants in getting established in Canada, but relatively little support for affirmative action type programs. Respondents expressed concern about the effects of employment equity on white males in the labour market, but appear less concerned about possible problems faced by non-whites in labour markets and educational institutions. Before taking these as the views of all respondents, the large variation in response should be noted. This may be one case where there are no “average people” in the sense that there is no single number that can be used to describe respondents. Rather, the variation in responses is large, meaning that different respondents have quite different views on these issues.

7. Relation of support for immigration with social and political views

In the survey, respondents were asked to provide their views about a number of social and political issues and state the political party that best reflected their political beliefs (questions 13 through 15 of Appendix B). A summary of the responses, along with the correlation coefficients between respondents’ views and support for immigration, is contained in Table 11.

The variables measuring support for free trade (V1), taxation on large corporations (V5), government support for big business (V6), and user fees for health care (V8) had little relationship with support for immigration. In this sample, respondents generally supported increased taxes for big business, opposed user fees for health care, and looked on government as more interested in helping big business than in helping Canadian citizens. Respondents were split on the issue of free trade, with moderate support for free trade. But the minimal association between support for immigration and these four variables means that strong, moderate, and weak supporters of immigration had much the same range of views on these issues.

There was a greater connection of support for immigration with views on six other social and political issues. Support for immigration was positively associated with support for affirmative action programs for visible minorities and women (V3) and support for recognition of gay couples as married for tax and job related reasons (V4) – tau-b of 0.168 and 0.171 respectively. Stronger support for immigration was negatively related to the social assistance variable (SA) and an initiative or self-reliance variable (V2) – tau-b of –0.159 and –0.106 respectively. In turn, these latter variables were strongly positively connected with each other. This means that support for immigration was associated with support for maintaining or increasing social assistance payments, and agreement that people help themselves even if more assistance is given to them. In contrast, respondents who expressed weaker support for immigration tended to look on

social assistance and other monetary support as impairing the ability of these people to find jobs and help themselves.

Table 11. Mean and standard deviation of responses to multiculturalism statements and correlation of responses with support for immigration

Social or political issue (measured on a 1-5 scale)	Statistics of social or political statement		Correlation of V variables with support for immigration (SI)	
	Mean	Standard deviation	tau-b	Significance
Free trade positive (V1)	3.19	1.06	0.051	0.146
Initiative (V2)	3.11	1.18	-0.106	0.002
Affirmative action (V3)	3.11	1.08	0.168	<0.001
Recognize gay couples (V4)	3.05	1.37	0.171	<0.001
Corporate tax increase (V5)	3.80	1.04	0.034	0.317
Govt. helps big business (V6)	3.57	1.03	0.017	0.615
Have power to affect future (V7)	3.28	1.14	0.139	<0.001
User fees for health care(V8)	2.03	1.18	-0.013	0.701
More health spending (V9)	3.50	1.07	0.081	0.022
Social assistance (SA) (1-4 scale)	2.55	0.82	-0.159	<0.001

There was no apparent connection between views concerning user fees and support for immigration, but those who expressed greater support for immigration also expressed greater support for more tax money being devoted to universal health care (V9) – tau-b of 0.081. However, this relationship was the weakest of the statistically significant relationships. Those respondents who more strongly supported immigration also considered themselves to have the power to have an effect on Canada’s future (V7) – tau-b of 0.139. This positive evaluation of their own power did not, however, translate into a view that in twenty years, respondents would be better off than their parents. While this latter question is not analyzed in this paper, respondents at each of the three levels of support for immigration expressed much the same set of views concerning their own future. Just over forty per cent were very optimistic about their own future, twenty per cent were pessimistic, and the remainder thought they would be at about the same economic level as their parents are now.

In summary, these results show that views on immigration have a mixed connection with views on political issues. Researchers have used views on political issues as a means of distinguishing left from right or progressive from conservative. But in this study, issues such as government and big business, corporate taxes, and user fees, often used as a standard for describing political orientation, do not distinguish respondents in terms of degree of support for immigration. Issues such as support for social assistance,

affirmative action programs, recognition of gay couples as married and, to a lesser degree, universal health care, differ by degree of support for immigration.

These findings are amplified by responses to the question on the possible uses for the anticipated federal budget surplus. The survey was conducted in Fall 1998, when such a surplus was anticipated. Support for immigration was positively connected to support for social programs, and negatively to using the surplus for tax reduction. In contrast, support for debt reduction did little to distinguish strong from weak supporters of immigration – about 1/3 of each level of support for immigration favoured debt reduction. Relatively few respondents placed a priority on using the anticipated surplus to increase spending for infrastructure.

In terms of political party preference, there was little difference in the degree of support for immigration among the four different political preference groupings. To the extent that there was any difference, such differences were very similar at both the provincial and federal level. In each case, those who expressed preference for the NDP gave the greatest support to immigration and those in the conservative grouping (Progressive Conservative, Reform, and Saskatchewan parties) gave the least support to immigration. Those who preferred the Liberal party or none of the parties were in the middle. However, in each case the correlation between political preference and support for immigration, as measured by Cramer's V was below 0.10 and significantly different from zero at only a 0.15 or greater level of statistical significance. As a result, political party preference had little relationship with support for immigration, although where connections do exist, they are relatively consistent. That is, NDP supporters tend to express a little more support for immigration, those who support one of the more conservative political groupings express a little less support, and those who prefer the Liberal or no party are in the middle, close to the average.

C. Model explaining support for immigration

The preceding section showed that many variables are related to support for immigration. Several of these variables were connected to each other in simple ways but some had more complex relationships with each other. In order to sort through the variables and assist in understanding the structure of relationships among them, I decided to develop multivariate regression models that would help explain support for immigration. These models were constructed using results from the analysis of section B of this paper, along with considerations from analyses of Palmer (1996) and Fetzer (2000). I first describe how I developed the models, followed by a presentation and discussion of the findings from the models. Concluding this section are some comparisons of the findings from this study with those of Palmer, Fetzer, and Langford (1991), followed by a short discussion of implications for research and policy.

1. Method

As a first step in developing the multivariate regression models, I constructed several indexes summarizing social, political, and other views. In order to summarize the social and political views, I undertook a factor analysis of the fourteen variables examined in Tables 10 and 11 – the variables providing respondents' views on social, political, and employment issues. A principal axis factor analysis, using either varimax or oblique rotation and five factors, led to what I considered an interpretable result with reasonable connection to the earlier findings. In the initial factor analysis, variable V4 (recognition of gay couples as married) loaded about equally on all five factors so I deleted from the factor analysis and conducted the analysis again, with the same five factors resulting. Variable V4 is included on its own in the models, as an explanatory social issues variable. The five resulting factors, the names I gave the factors, and the variables that loaded most highly on them are listed in the first two columns of Table 12. Most variables loaded positively on the respective factors but some loaded negatively, so I also note the sign of the factor loadings.

Table 12. Summary of factors and indexes for social and political variables; correlation coefficients for relationship between indexes and support for immigration

Factor and index name	Variables loading most highly on factor and sign of loading	Range of index	Correlation of indexes with support for immigration (SI)	
			tau-b	Significance
Employment	E1 (+), E2 (+), E3 (-), V3 (+)	4 to 20	0.239	<0.001
Corporations	V5 (+), V6 (+)	2 to 10	0.031	0.356
Initiative	SA (+), V1 (+), V2 (+)	3 to 14	-0.087	0.009
Future	EMP4 (+), V7 (+)	2 to 10	0.256	<0.001
Health	V8 (-), V9 (+)	2 to 10	0.053	0.123

My aim in the factor analysis was to sort through the social and political variables in order to construct some indexes that could be used for the regression model. For each factor, I took the variables that loaded most highly on that factor, and added together the values of the variables, reversing the scoring of those that loaded negatively before summing the variables. For example, for the health factor I recoded the V8 variable with 5 as 1, 4 as 2, and so on, and then added the values of this recoded V8 variable to the values of V9. This led to the Health index with a minimum possible value of 2 (if the response was 1 for each question) to 10 (if the response was 5 for each question). The range for the values of the resulting indexes is given in the third column of Table 12.

The last two columns of Table 12 contain the correlation coefficients, and their statistical significance level, for the relation between the indexes and the support for immigration (SI). Since these are all ordinal level scales, I report the value of tau-b for each relationship. Note that the Employment and Future indexes are most strongly

related to support for immigration, Corporations and Health are unrelated, and Initiative is weakly related.

Following construction of these five indexes, I constructed and tested various multivariate regression models. Tables 13 and 15 contain statistics from six different models and Table 14 provides a guide to the variables. All regression models are linear. The dependent variable in all of the regression models is SI, the index of degree of support for immigration. Tables 13 and 15 contain the unstandardized values of the regression coefficients, the respective standard errors, and summary statistics for each regression model. Asterisks denote statistical significance levels.

Models 1 to 3 of Table 13 contain indexes representing most of the variables, or the variables themselves, mentioned earlier in the paper. The main exception is that the immigrants and jobs and immigrant integration variables are not included in the models of Table 13. Models 4 to 6 in Table 15 include the immigrants and jobs and immigrant integration variables but exclude statistically insignificant variables. I tested other regression models by including variables such as importance of religious values, age, family income, and political preference, but these variables were statistically insignificant and were excluded from the models of Table 15. Undoubtedly there is some multicollinearity among the independent variables in these models, since several of these variables have statistically significant correlation coefficients with each other. In order to test for this, I used stepwise regression to examine changes in the size of the regression coefficients as new variables entered the model. In general, regression coefficients did not change much from step to step, so I conclude that collinearity among the variables is not a serious problem, at least in the models of Table 15.

2. Analysis of regression models

Each of the regression models presented in Tables 13 and 15 represent an attempt to explain support for immigration in terms of the variables examined earlier in this paper. As a guide to the models, I describe Model 1 of Table 13 in some detail and provide shorter comments on other models. The models I find most satisfactory are Models 4 through 6 in Table 15 – all of the regression coefficients in these models have the expected sign and most are statistically significant. It is these latter models that I used to develop the schematic diagram of Figure 1.

In Model 1 of Table 13, each of the first six regression coefficients has the expected sign and is significantly different from zero at the 0.05 level or less. Support for multiculturalism is positively related to support for immigration and, in these models, always appears as one of the more statistically significant variables. This is no surprise since there was a positive correlation between support for multicultural principles and support for immigration (Table 9).

Each of the next three variables – Future, Employment, and Recognize gay couples – is a key variable in the social values influence on support for immigration. The Future variable is a combination of views about having power to affect Canada's future and

extent of support for development of skills and knowledge of immigrants. Greater agreement with these views is associated with greater support for immigration and the regression coefficient is very significant statistically. The Employment variable is similar, with greater agreement that non-whites face restrictions and more support for affirmative action programs associated with greater support for immigration. Greater support for recognizing gay and lesbian couples as married for tax and job benefits (Recognize gay couples) is another variable that is positively related to support for immigration. Recall that this variable was removed from the factor analysis since it did not align itself with any single factor. From the very diverse views of respondents on this issue, and from the lack of connection of this variable with other variables, views on this issue appear to represent a different dimension of attitudes than what is captured by other variables. As a result, I have generally included Recognize gay couples in the models. Its regression coefficient is usually statistically significant, and views on this issue may represent a way of understanding diversity that carries over to support for immigration.

The sociodemographic factors in this model are the four variables from Born outside Canada to Diverse ancestry. These are truly independent variables in that they are ascribed. As expected, those born outside Canada express greater support for immigration and those with aboriginal status express less support, in each case compared with respondents without the characteristic. Through the six models, the regression coefficients for these two variables are generally highly significant statistically and always of the expected sign. In contrast, the coefficient for Sex was not statistically significant. Female respondents expressed greater support for immigration than did males, but it appears that once other characteristics of respondents are included in the models, respondent's sex is not related to support for immigration. A similar result occurs with Diverse ancestry – those who listed more than one ethnic or cultural ancestry. The latter two variables were omitted from the models of Table 15.

The final four variables in model 1 are the political orientation variables – Corporations, Individual initiative, Health, and Social programs. Not only are the regression coefficients for these variables generally statistically insignificant, the variables frequently enter the regression models with an unexpected or incorrect sign. Corporations measures degree of support for more corporate taxes and extent of agreement with the view that governments help big business. This is a traditional measure of political orientation that is related to political party preference in the expected left-right manner. That is, the mean value of the Corporations index is largest for NDP supporters, smallest for the conservative grouping, with Liberal supporters in the middle. In the regression models, Corporations appears to have two problems connected with it. First, the regression coefficient is negative, producing the unexpected result that those more on the “left” are less supportive of immigration than are those on the “right.” While it is certainly a possibility that those on the left and right think this way, this result is inconsistent with other relationships in this study. Second, the coefficient for Corporations becomes statistically significant only when the support for multiculturalism variable is in the equation – compare models 1 and 2. The source of the problem appears to be collinearity of Corporations and support for multiculturalism – these two variables are positively correlated. From this, I conclude that there is little independent relation

between Corporations and support for immigration, a conclusion consistent with the low correlation coefficients of V5 and V6 with support for immigration, noted in Table 11. While collinearity does not appear to be such a problem in the case of Individual initiative and Health, the regression coefficients are statistically insignificant in each case and again enter the model with an unexpected sign. These variables are traditional ways of measuring political orientation, associated with political party preference in an expected manner, but with little effect on support for immigration.

The case of Social programs is somewhat different. This is a dummy variable that compares those who favoured using the anticipated federal surplus to expand social programs (1) with those who said it should be used for debt or tax reduction or for infrastructure expansion (0). This regression coefficient is positive and statistically significant in models 1 and 2, although less significant in model 3. That is, supporters of expanding social programs express greater support for immigration than do those who favour other uses for the anticipated surplus. This is a traditional political orientation variable that, in contrast with Corporations, Individual initiative, and Health, is statistically related to support for immigration in an expected manner.

Overall, each of the models is statistically very significant, as noted by the F-values and their statistical significance (last row of Table 13). Since there were different numbers of respondents for each question, the sample size differs from model to model but is approximately six hundred in each model. The goodness of fit in the models, as measured by R-square or the adjusted R-square, is generally above twenty per cent and as high as thirty-two per cent (Models 4 and 5).

Model 2 is provided to show problems associated with the relationship between Corporations and support for multiculturalism. Model 3 is the same as model 1, but with the three statistically insignificant political orientation variables and Diverse ancestry omitted. Not much appears to be lost by removing these variables – the goodness of fit is only slightly reduced and the regression coefficients for the statistically significant variables change little from models 1 or 2.

Models 4 through 6 of Table 15 introduce three changes. First, Sex is omitted since it was statistically insignificant, even after omitting the three political orientation variables. Second, two variables with a strong connection to support for immigration are introduced – Immigrants and jobs and Integration. Immigrants and jobs is a measure of the extent to which respondents considered immigration to take jobs away from Canadians (smaller values for Immigrants and jobs) or meant more jobs (larger values). Smaller values for Integration represent the view that immigrants immigrate well and larger values represent the view that immigrants do not integrate well. As a result, in terms of the effect of these on support for immigration, I expected that Immigrants and jobs would be positively related and Integration negatively related. These expectations were met in Models 4 to 6 and both of these variables is statistically very significant. Once these latter variables were introduced to the models, the coefficient for Social programs became statistically insignificant, so I omitted Social programs from these models.

Table 13. Regression models with degree of support for immigration (SI) as dependent variable and various independent variables

Independent variable and expected sign of regression coefficient	Unstandardized regression coefficient b (standard error of b)		
	Model 1	Model 2	Model 3
Support for multiculturalism (+)	0.266 **** (0.040)		0.247 **** (0.038)
Future (+)	0.072 **** (0.017)	0.104 **** (0.017)	0.075 **** (0.017)
Employment (+)	0.034 *** (0.010)	0.045 **** (0.010)	0.026 *** (0.009)
Recognize gay couples (+)	0.057 *** (0.020)	0.078 **** (0.021)	0.049 *** (0.020)
Born outside Canada (+)	0.225 ** (0.100)	0.247 *** (0.092)	0.253 *** (0.095)
Aboriginal status (-)	-0.263 *** (0.103)	-0.280 *** (0.107)	-0.279 *** (0.102)
Sex (+)	0.028 (0.057)	0.056 (0.059)	0.034 (0.056)
Diverse ancestry (+)	-0.020 (0.026)	-0.010 (0.027)	
Corporations (+)	-0.034 ** (0.016)	-0.017 (0.016)	
Individual initiative (-)	0.007 (0.013)	0.001 (0.014)	
Health (+)	-0.017 (0.017)	-0.009 (0.017)	
Social programs (+)	0.136 ** (0.067)	0.126 ** (0.070)	0.089 * (0.064)
Constant	0.845 *** (0.258)	0.883 *** (0.265)	0.647 **** (0.128)
R-square/adjusted R squared	0.260/0.244	0.201/0.186	0.241/0.231
Standard error of estimate	0.633	0.657	0.637
F-value, degrees of freedom	F (12,575) = 16.812 ****	F (11,585) = 13.405 ****	F (8,601) = 23.897 ****

Note: Asterisks denote one-tailed significance of regression coefficients and of F-values as follows:

**** <0.001
 *** <0.01
 ** <0.05
 * <0.10

Table 14. Guide to variables in regression models

SI – three-point ordinal scale of support for immigration from weak support (1) to strong support (3).
SM – three-point ordinal scale of support for multiculturalism from weak support (1) to strong support (3).
Future – nine-point ordinal scale from 2 to 10, sum of two five-point scales, V7 (power to affect future) and E4 (assist immigrants to develop skills). Larger value indicates more positive evaluation of future.
Employment – seventeen-point ordinal scale from 4 to 20, sum of four five-point scales E1 (jobs for visible minorities), E2 (restricted jobs for non-whites), E3 (white males lose jobs), and V3 (affirmative action). Larger value indicates greater support for affirmative action.
Recognize gay couples – five-point ordinal scale from strong disagreement (1) to strong agreement (5) that tax laws and job benefits should recognize gay and lesbian couples as married.
Born outside Canada – dummy variable with 0 for those born in Canada and 1 for those born outside Canada.
Aboriginal status – dummy variable with 0 for those without aboriginal status and 1 for those with aboriginal status.
Sex – dummy variable with 0 for males and 1 for females.
Diverse ancestry – number of ancestries mentioned by respondent.
Corporations – nine-point ordinal scale from 2 to 10, sum of two five-point scales, V5 (taxes on big corporations should be increased) and V6 (governments help big business). Larger value indicates greater anti-corporate sentiment.
Individual Initiative – twelve point ordinal scale (from 3 to 14), sum of two five-point scales and one four-point scale, V1 (free trade positive), V2 (help to people thwarts initiative), and SA (view on social assistance). Larger value indicates greater support for individual initiative.
Health – nine-point ordinal scale from 2 to 10, sum of two five-point scales, V8 (user fees) and V9 (more dollars for universal health care). Larger value indicates greater support for universal health care.
Social programs – dummy variable with 1 for those who say top priority for the federal surplus should be to expand social programs, 0 for those stating other priorities.
Immigrants and jobs – three-point ordinal scale with smaller values representing view that increased immigration means fewer jobs for Canadians and larger values representing view that increased immigration means more jobs for Canadians.
Integration – four-point ordinal scale with smaller values representing view that immigrants integrate well and larger values representing view that immigrants integrate less well.

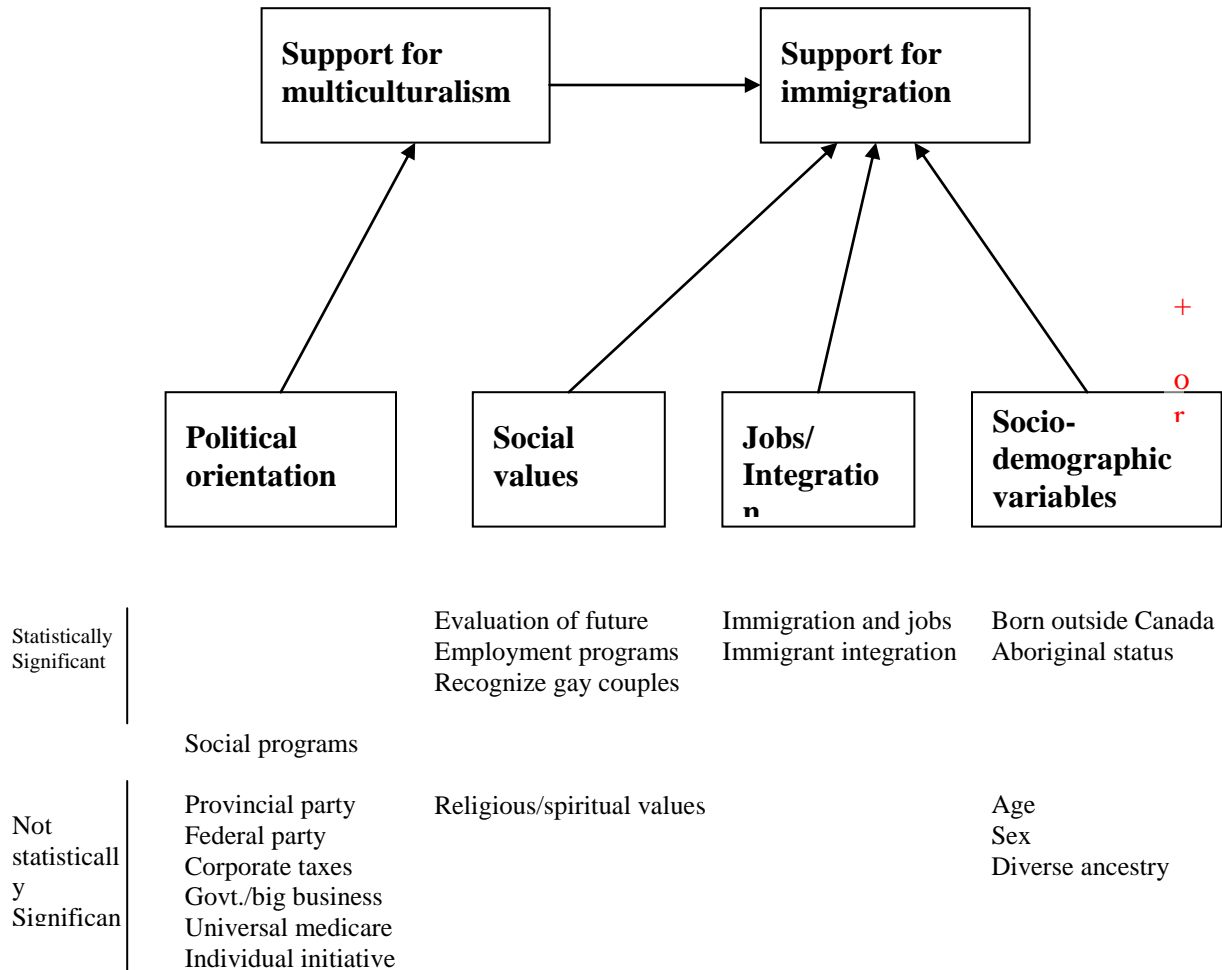
Table 15. Regression models with degree of support for immigration (SI) as dependent variable and various independent variables

Independent variable and expected sign of regression coefficient	Unstandardized regression coefficient b (standard error of b)		
	Model 4	Model 5	Model 6
Support for multiculturalism (+)	0.162 **** (0.038)	0.169 **** (0.038)	
Future (+)	0.052 **** (0.016)	0.053 **** (0.016)	0.064 **** (0.016)
Employment (+)	0.024 **** (0.009)	0.025 **** (0.009)	0.035 **** (0.008)
Recognize gay couples (+)	0.024 (0.019)		0.038 ** (0.019)
Born outside Canada (+)	0.173 ** (0.092)	0.163 *** (0.092)	0.180 ** (0.094)
Aboriginal status (-)	-0.201 ** (0.099)	-0.202 *** (0.099)	-0.199 ** (0.101)
Immigrants and jobs (+)	0.304 **** (0.043)	0.304 **** (0.043)	0.311 **** (0.043)
Integration (-)	-0.138 **** (0.033)	-0.142 **** (0.033)	-0.169 **** (0.033)
Constant	0.815 **** (0.168)	0.863 **** (0.164)	0.971 **** (0.165)
R-square/adjusted R squared	0.324/0.315	0.323/0.315	0.298/0.289
Standard error of estimate	0.602	0.602	0.612
F-value, degrees of freedom	F (8,587) = 35.237 ****	F (7,589) = 40.066 ****	F (7,596) = 36.087 ****

Note: Asterisks denote one-tailed significance of regression coefficients and of F-values as follows:

**** <0.001
 *** <0.01
 ** <0.05
 * <0.10

Figure 1. Schematic diagram of relationships of social, political, and demographic variables with support for immigration



Note: The variables listed below each box were tested for relationship with support for immigration. Those coefficients for variables directly below each box were statistically significantly related to support for immigration at the 0.05 level or lower. Coefficients for variables further down were less significant (e.g. social programs) or not at all significant (e.g. universal medicare). Support for multiculturalism was

In Model 4, all variables enter with the expected sign and the goodness of fit is considerably improved over that in models 1 to 3. The coefficient for all the variables are statistically significant, except for Recognize gay couples (one-tailed significance of 0.101 in Model 4). In the earlier models, the coefficient for Recognize gay couples was very significant statistically and views on this matter appeared to represent a dimension not captured by other variables. Comparing models 4 to 6, it appears that once Immigrants and jobs and Integration are introduced, there is some collinearity associated with Recognize gay couples, and the latter has a statistically significant coefficient only when support for multiculturalism is omitted.

In summary, my own preference is for model 4, even though the coefficient for Recognize gay couples is statistically insignificant. This model contains the variables that have been most robust across the various models, all the coefficients are of the expected sign, and these results are generally the most consistent with the findings of section B.

3. Visual representation of the model

To provide a clearer understanding of the implications of the research findings, I developed a schematic diagram that summarizes the results of the regression models in a visual manner (Figure 1). While this diagram may appear to be a diagram of a path analysis or structural equation model, it is not intended as such. One of these approaches might be a reasonable way to analyze these data, but further development of the models would be necessary first. Figure 1 is simply a schematic diagram to illustrate the research findings visually.

I constructed the diagram to illustrate the factors that appear to be related to support for immigration. The explanatory variables are divided into five groups. Four of these – support for multiculturalism, social values, jobs/integration, and sociodemographic variables – are important explanatory variables and one – political orientation – has little effect on variation in support for immigration. As noted earlier, support for multiculturalism and the jobs/integration variables are among the strongest explanatory variables. The social values block includes three variables – Future, Employment, and Recognize gay couples – generally related to support for immigration. Religious or spiritual values might also be included here, but the variable measuring these did not have a statistically significant effect on support for immigration. Of the sociodemographic variables, only Born outside Canada and Aboriginal status had a statistically significant effect on support for immigration.

The political orientation block of variables is the one surprising result of the findings. I expected that at least some of the traditional measures of left-right political orientation would be associated with support for immigration. But in the models of Table 15, no variable in this block was statistically significant. These same variables were connected with support for multiculturalism, more or less in an expected manner. In the regression models explaining support for immigration, even when support for multiculturalism was removed as an explanatory variable, these political variables were

statistically insignificant (not shown in this paper). One additional regression test I conducted was to examine the five blocks of variables in groups, removing one block at a time. Removing the political orientation block had little effect on the regression models, but removing each of the other four blocks of variables had a statistically significant effect. From this I conclude that there is little direct relation between the political orientation variables and support for immigration.

4. Discussion of findings

Discussions of views about immigration often focus on opposition to immigration, emphasizing factors such as racism, xenophobia, nativism, or distrust and antagonism toward outsiders. In Canada, these have been important factors historically and they continue to shape views on immigration. It is likely that factors such as these helped produce low values on the support for immigration index for some respondents in this study, and perhaps no respondent is free of such feelings and views. Rather than focus on these negative factors, in this paper I have attempted to consider reasons for support of immigration, in an attempt to discover how respondents' views on this issue are organized. One aim of the project was to investigate how undergraduates thought about multicultural ideas and principles, and this led in the direction of attempting to understand how they thought about immigration.

Many of the findings of this study were expected – support for immigration was greater among those born outside Canada, among those who consider immigrants to integrate well, and among those who express greater support for multiculturalism. Support for immigration was less among aboriginal respondents and among those who were concerned that immigrants take jobs from Canadians. The findings that were not expected were the contrast between the strong association of social values with support for immigration and the weak or nonexistent association between political orientation and support for immigration. From these findings, respondents with an optimistic view of the future, those who are more open to diversity and differences, and those willing to support programs or policies aimed at overcoming barriers to equitable participation also expressed greater support immigration. In contrast, placement on a left-right political spectrum or differences on traditional issues of political orientation appeared to have little or no relationship to support for immigration. These latter results may apply only to this sample, but if there are similar findings for other populations, this has important implications for how researchers and policy-makers understand views on immigration.

The latter finding, that political orientation has little connection with support for immigration, appears to run counter to what Tom Langford (1991) has argued concerning left/right orientation and political attitudes. Langford used the 1984 Canadian National Election Study to study attitudes of Canadians on a range of political issues and examine how these were connected to respondents' self-placement on a left/right political spectrum. He found that "the Left-Right Orientation is connected to Canadians' morality beliefs" (Langford, 1991, 476) and concluded that political changes in Canada will lead "more and more Canadians to incorporate the political labels left and right into their understanding of political symbols and issues" (Langford, 1991, 496). There are many

differences between the Langford study and this survey – different samples, questions, methods, and issues – and Langford’s analysis did not include immigration as a political issue. At the same time, I had expected that the political orientation variables in the present study would show some connection with support for immigration.

Perhaps a clue to some of the reasons for differences in the research findings lies in two other studies of attitudes to immigration, one by Douglas L. Palmer (1996) and one by Joel S. Fetzer (2000). Here I briefly review some finding from their analyses and compare these with findings from this project. Palmer examines surveys of Canadian attitudes toward immigration from 1975 to 1995 and Fetzer examines attitudes toward immigration in the United States, France, and Germany over the past hundred years. These studies identify a number of factors related to attitudes toward immigration – prejudice, economic conditions, contact with immigrants, and cultural marginality. While neither author downplays racism or prejudice as reasons for anti-immigrant attitudes, both emphasize the multiple factors and conditions that are associated with such attitudes. Both studies note that economic factors are associated with attitudes to immigration. For Canada, Palmer finds “a strong relation between opposition to immigration and the unemployment rate.” (near end of electronic version of article) Fetzer finds that over time attitudes toward immigration are correlated less with the unemployment rate and more with general economic conditions. He notes “Periods of economic prosperity – at least in the United States and France – brought with them greater overall tolerance of foreigners, whereas depressions or recessions most often provoked widespread nativism.” (Fetzer, 2000, 142).

Palmer’s results suggest “that the attitude toward the level of immigration is the result of an interaction between various beliefs about the effects of immigration and motivations.” (2nd last p. in electronic version). Palmer notes that “concerns about economic effects, crime, culture, increasing population size, and so on” (2nd last p.) as well as prejudice all have an affect on the manner in which Canadians look on immigration policy, immigration levels, and immigrants themselves. Fetzer considers the cultural marginality explanation to be the most important. He notes

As cultural-marginality theory predicted, natives warmly welcomed immigrant groups whose culture approximated the traditions of the dominant group of natives in each country. In spite of economic theory’s contrary prediction, immigrants whose background diverged most widely from inlanders’ cultural “norm” almost always suffered the most severe hostility from the native-born during any given period. (pp. 141-2).

Fetzer also considered a contact model, but finds that the extent of contact between native-born and immigrants is not a major factor in explaining changes in attitudes to immigrants.

Given the variables obtained in this survey, it is not possible to test the specific claims and findings of Palmer and Fetzer. However, the regression models of this study demonstrate some parallel findings. First, both Palmer and Fetzer found that a variety of

distinct factors are related to attitudes toward immigration. This study has a similar finding, that is, it is not appear possible to reduce views on immigration to a single factor. Rather, views on immigration are related to several factors including concerns about jobs and immigrant integration, support for principles of multiculturalism, and other social values. Second, parallel to the Palmer study, I found that economic factors in the form of concern about jobs, employment programs, and other labour market issues are related to views on immigration. Third, my finding of a relationship between concerns about immigrant integration and support for immigration parallel the Fetzer finding about cultural difference. Students in the survey who said that immigrants do not integrate well also expressed less support for immigration. While this survey did not ask respondents directly about cultural difference, strong supporters of immigration generally did not agree that multiculturalism is divisive or maintains offensive practices. In contrast, those who expressed less support for immigration were more likely to consider multiculturalism as divisive, help maintain offensive practices, and make it hard to know what it means to be a Canadian.

Both Palmer and Fetzer note that those with higher levels of education tend to express greater support for immigration than do those with lower levels of education. Respondents in the present study generally supported immigration more than the Canadian population as a whole, at least judging by what is reported in Canadian opinion polls. As I noted in introductory comments, this may have resulted because of different wording of questions, or it may be a result of the fact that all respondents in this survey were enrolled in university programs. A study of non-university youth in Regina might find quite different results. At the same time, Palmer found that younger respondents express less support for immigration. In the present study, concerns of young university student about jobs may have tempered their relatively strong support for immigration.

5. Research and policy implications

This study found limited or no connection of political orientation with support for immigration. Since Langford's study did not contain information concerning views on immigration, it is not clear whether his findings differ from those of the present study, although the evidence certainly points in this direction. From a research perspective, it would be worthwhile to investigate the extent to which views on immigration align themselves with political orientation and, more specifically, along a left-right spectrum and with political party preference.

This study did not directly examine issues of prejudice or opposition to newcomers, especially those who are perceived to have a different culture. The approach I took was to examine the extent of support for the multicultural principles of equality, elimination of barriers to participation, and diversity, and for programs to support these. I found that respondents generally supported these principles and programs and this support was positively related to support for immigration. What is not clear from this study is whether these views toward multicultural principles are the positive side of a factor in which the negative pole is prejudice and racism. That is, are those who do not

agree with multicultural principles also prejudiced and racist, or do these two sets of views represent different dimensions? It would be worthwhile to investigate this issue.

Moving to policy implications, the issue raised in the last paragraph has a direct implication for both multicultural and other government policies, and for non-governmental groups and organizations. That is, should efforts to further understanding and acceptance of immigrants be devoted primarily to countering prejudice and to anti-racism projects or to promoting multicultural principles? Both are necessary, but one implication of this study is that promotion of some of the more positive principles of acceptance and understanding of diversity may be an effective means of increasing support for multiculturalism and immigration. In this study, those who expressed strong support for multicultural principles generally expressed strong support for immigration. It was also support for recognition of gay and lesbian couples as married, and support for programs to assist visible minorities and other groups participate equally in the labour market that were positively associated with support for immigration. It may be that educational programs on behalf of governments, non-governmental organizations, and private groups could emphasize the advantages of supporting these issues.

Respondents' concerns about jobs were expressed in various ways. One of the important policy implications is that governments and business need to make strong efforts to develop jobs for the youths about to enter labour markets. This would help alleviate concerns about immigrants taking jobs from Canadians. While there was not strong support for affirmative action programs or providing specified numbers of jobs for visible minorities, there was strong support for equality of access and some support for assisting immigrants in developing skills and knowledge. Support for these could translate into support for employment related programs to assist new labour force entrants.

Finally, one of the concerns expressed by many respondents was that immigrants could make a greater effort to integrate into Canadian society. Educational programs and the media could certainly assist in showing how immigrants have integrated and continue to integrate into Canadian society.

D. Conclusion

This study of University of Regina undergraduates has shown that there is a strong connection between support for immigration and support for multicultural principles, social values, views about immigrant integration, and concern about jobs. At the same time, measures of political orientation and political party preference showed little or no connection to support for immigration. In general, respondents expressed strong support for most multicultural principles such as diversity, equality, and cultural enrichment. Support for immigration was generally quite strong – at least at the current level and with the current mix of immigrants. At the same time, concerns about jobs meant limited support for special programs to assist visible minorities and there was generally a lack of support for affirmative action type programs. While this study refers only to a specific

group of undergraduates, some of the connections among variables are of more general interest. In particular, the finding that acceptance of diversity and multicultural principles are strongly related to support for immigration may have implications for multicultural and immigration policy.

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Appendix A. Index of degree of support for immigration (SI)

I constructed an index of the degree of support for immigration along the following lines. The index is a combination of responses to survey questions 33 (IMM) and 34 (CHANGE). The index has a three-point scale, weak support (1), moderate support (2), and strong support (3). Those who expressed the most positive support for increased immigration to Canada (IMM, question 33) and viewed changes in immigration to Canada most positively (CHANGE, question 34) were given the largest value of SI (3). Those expressing the lowest level of support for these variables were given the lowest value for SI (1). Those in the middle were given a value of 2. Since there were only two variables that measured such views, a cluster analysis did not seem appropriate, as in the case of degree of support for multiculturalism.

One complication in the construction of this index is that over 100 responses to question 34 (CHANGE) were “uncertain.” Eliminating all of these respondents would have meant eliminating over 15 per cent of the sample from this analysis. Since an uncertain response may be little different than “Neither negative nor positive,” I decided to merge these two responses for construction of the index. The variable with these two categories merged is labeled CHANGER. This new variable was used in the construction of SI.

Table A1 shows the combinations of values of IMM and CHANGE that were used to construct SI. From question 34, the values of CHANGE were recoded into CHANGER as follows: 1 and 2 were recoded as 1 (negative evaluation of changes), 3 and 6 were recoded as 2 (neutral evaluation), and 4 and 5 were recoded as 3 (strong evaluation).

Table A1. Derivation of values of SI, degree of support for immigration (in bold), from values of the variables IMM and CHANGER

Value of IMM	Values of CHANGER		
	1	2	3
1	1	1	2
2	1	2	3
3	2	3	3

Appendix B. Questions on multiculturalism and immigration

This appendix contains the survey questions in the areas of social and political views, multiculturalism, and immigration. Listed are all the survey questions on immigration, along with the multiculturalism and social and political questions that are mentioned in the paper. The questions are in the same format as in the survey questionnaire except that here I have added titles to the four sets of questions and variable names to some of the questions. That is, the labels such as V1, V2, etc. were not included in the survey questionnaire. I have also reduced the font size from 12 to 10.

1. Social and Political Views

13. The federal government is predicting surplus budgets. If this surplus continues, which of the following should be the federal government's **top priority**?

Reduce the federal debt 1 Increase spending for infrastructure 3
 Reduce taxes..... 2 Expand social programs 4
 Other (specify) _____

14. In general, people on social assistance (welfare): (Select one)

Need increased payments to support themselves and their family 1
 Receive about the amount they require 2
 Should have payments cut if they do not look for work 3
 Should be looking after themselves..... 4

15. State your view or opinion about each of the following. Please circle one of the numbers between 1 and 5, where strongly disagree is 1 and strongly agree is 5.

Strongly View or Opinion:		Strongly Disagree					Agree
V1	Free trade is positive for Canadians	1	2	3	4	5	
V2	The more money spent helping people, the less they will help themselves	1	2	3	4	5	
V3	Governments should provide stronger affirmative action programs for visible minorities and women	1	2	3	4	5	
V4	Tax laws and job benefits should recognize gay and lesbian couples as married	1	2	3	4	5	
V5	Taxes on big corporations should be increased	1	2	3	4	5	
V6	Governments are more interested in helping big business than in helping Canadian citizens	1	2	3	4	5	
V7	As a citizen, I have the power to have an effect on Canada's future	1	2	3	4	5	
V8	There should be user fees for health care	1	2	3	4	5	
V9	More provincial tax dollars should be devoted to universal health care	1	2	3	4	5	

2. Multiculturalism

30. Following are a number of statements concerning multiculturalism. Please circle one of the numbers between 1 and 5, where strongly disagree is 1 and strongly agree is 5.

		Strongly		Strongly			
		Disagree		Agree			
M1	Ethnic, racial, and cultural diversity is a fundamental characteristic of Canadian society	1	2	3	4	5	
M2	Canadian institutions should provide equal access, regardless of ethnic, racial, or cultural background	1	2	3	4	5	
M3	Ethnic and racial minorities should be given opportunities to preserve their cultural heritage	1	2	3	4	5	
M4	Canadian institutions should eliminate barriers that make it difficult for some to participate	1	2	3	4	5	
M5	The government should fund festivals and special events celebrating different cultures	1	2	3	4	5	
M6	Canadian society is enriched by having people from many cultural backgrounds	1	2	3	4	5	

32. State your view concerning each of the following possible problems that some have associated with multiculturalism.

		Strongly		Strongly			
		Disagree		Agree			
PM1	Multiculturalism makes it hard to know what it means to be a Canadian	1	2	3	4	5	
PM2	Multicultural policy addresses problems of racism and discrimination	1	2	3	4	5	
PM3	Multicultural policy creates divisions in Canadian society	1	2	3	4	5	
PM4	Multiculturalism encourages immigrants to acquire Canadian values	1	2	3	4	5	
PM5	Multiculturalism maintains ethnic and cultural practices that are offensive to Canadian ways of life	1	2	3	4	5	

3. Immigration

33. Should Canada

- Decrease annual immigration..... 1
 Keep annual immigration at about the present level 2
 Increase annual immigration 3

34. Before 1960, most immigrants to Canada came from Europe. In the last thirty years, more immigrants have come from Asia, the Caribbean, and other places outside Europe. Do you think this change has been:

- Very negative for Canada..... 1
 Somewhat negative for Canada..... 2
 Neither negative nor positive 3
 Somewhat positive for Canada..... 4
 Very positive for Canada 5
 Uncertain..... 6

35. Increased immigration means:

- Fewer jobs for Canadians 1
 Little change in the number of jobs for Canadians 2
 More jobs for Canadians 3

36. Which of the following comes closest to your view of immigrants in Canada?

- They try their best to integrate into Canadian society 1
 They could make a greater effort to integrate 2
 They don't make nearly enough effort to integrate 3
 All they want to do is keep to themselves 4

4. Employment Issues

37. State your view concerning each of the following statements concerning the relationship between employment and immigration.

		Strongly Disagree	Strongly Agree				
			1	2	3	4	5
E1	Employers should be required to provide a specified number of jobs to qualified visible minorities		1	2	3	4	5
E2	Employment and educational opportunities for non-whites are often restricted		1	2	3	4	5
E3	White males are losing jobs because of employment equity requirements		1	2	3	4	5
E4	Government should assist immigrants in developing the skills and knowledge they require to fill jobs		1	2	3	4	5

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