# Recent Immigrants, Earlier Immigrants and the Canadian-Born: Association with Collective Identities

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# Executive summary

## Highlights:

- Recent immigrants, earlier immigrants and the Canadian-born collectively express high levels of positive identification as citizens of Canada as a whole, as citizens of their province/region, and as members of their local community. However, when looking at differences between the three groups, results show a decreased tendency for recent immigrants to 'strongly agree' with the various Canadian collective identities.

- Earlier immigrant and recent immigrant respondents who strongly identify with their community are significantly more likely to identify as citizens of Canada. This suggests that micro-community identification may play a significant role in influencing macro-community identification.

- For recent immigrants, race[1] is a significant variable which appears to have an impact upon response patterns. The Black population is found to express the lowest rates of identifying as a citizen of Canada and as a citizen of their province.

- Results suggest that income status does not appear to be associated with the degree to which the Canadian-born, earlier immigrant, and recent immigrant respondents identify as citizens of Canada. This finding suggests that economic integration may not play an integral role in the psychological integration of immigrants to their national community.

- Finally, the study provides preliminary evidence to suggest that there is no contradiction between identifying as a citizen of the world and identifying as a citizen of Canada. In fact, when looking at the total WVS population, the results show that respondents who identify as a world citizen are significantly more likely to positively identify as a citizen of Canada.

- This research report draws on data from the Canadian sample (2006) of the fifth wave of the World Values Survey (WVS).

- Recent immigrants, earlier immigrants and the Canadian-born are asked whether they strongly agree, agree, disagree, or strongly disagree with the statement: *"I see myself as … a citizen of the world/a citizen of North America/a citizen of Canada as a whole/a citizen of my province or region/a member of my local community"*. The responses of the three population groups are examined to see if and how patterns of identification compare across population groups.

- In order to gain further insight into the variables that are associated with an individual's likelihood of identifying themselves as a citizen of Canada in particular, ordered logistic regression analyses are completed.

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[1] Although ethnicity is the measured variable in WVS documentation, for the purposes of this paper, the authors are using the categories to reflect race rather than ethnicity.

# 1   Introduction

When attempting to gain insight into the effectiveness of Canada's integration policies and programs, the degree to which immigrants associate with their community, province, or country may be a useful indicator. Due to the increase in the ethno-cultural and linguistic diversity of immigrants to Canada over the past 15 years[2], the degree to which immigrants identify as a citizen of Canada and as a member of their local community may prove to be particularly significant.

Collective identities are statements about categorical membership, which can be understood to be, on the one hand, socially constructed, yet on the other, not unreal or without meaning. Levels of identification provide insight into feelings of belonging, perceptions of settlement, and overall life satisfaction and therefore can be used as an important indicator of social integration. High levels of identification have "widespread instrumental value in virtue of satisfying desires or needs to belong (or to identify with others, or be recognized by others) and thereby secure goods such as psychological security, self-esteem and feelings of being at home in the world" (Mason 2000, 54).

According to the results from Cycle 17 of Statistics Canada's General Social Survey (GSS) on social engagement, levels of life satisfaction were the highest among individuals who reported a very strong sense of belonging to their community (Schellenberg 2004a). Moreover, results from the Canadian Community Health Survey indicate that "close to two-thirds of those who felt a very strong or somewhat strong sense of community belonging reported excellent or very good general health. By contrast, about half (51%) of those with weak sense of belonging viewed their general health favourably" (Shields 2008, 5).

This study draws on data from the fifth wave (2006) of the World Values Survey (WVS) and builds on the work of Neil Nevitte to analyse respondents' association with various collective identities (citizen of the world, North America, Canada, province/region and local community). The analysis compares the responses of the Canadian-born with recent immigrants and established immigrants.

This paper undertakes to answer the following questions:

> *How do recent immigrants, earlier immigrants and the Canadian-born compare in the degree to which they identify/associate with various collective identities (i.e., the world, North America, Canada, province/region and local community)?*

> *Are the Canadian-born more likely to identify as Canadian citizens than earlier and recent immigrants?*

> *Are there variables that are associated with an individual's likelihood of identifying as a citizen of Canada?*

> *Do individuals who strongly identify with other collective identities (e.g., world citizen and local community) demonstrate a greater likelihood of identifying as a citizen of Canada?*

The paper proceeds as follows: After a literature review on identity, identification and migration, the next sections present a descriptive analysis, followed by regression results and discussion. The conclusion summarizes the main findings and discusses some policy implications of the research.

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[2] According to the 2006 Census, 19.8 percent of the population of Canada is foreign-born, and there has been a considerable shift in the source countries of immigration (Statistics Canada, 2007a). As a result, 70.2% of the foreign-born population report a mother tongue other than English or French (Statistics Canada, 2008a) and 54.3% of the foreign-born population indicate that they are visible minorities (Statistics Canada, 2008b).

# 2 Review of the literature

## 2.1 The concept of identity

Identity is about definition and is what makes us who we are. As social creatures "there is a very deep ontological longing in people to feel complete, which manifests itself in a desire to belong to something that is greater than oneself and to participate actively in the life of this supra-individual entity" (Létourneau 2001, 5).

Researchers argue that collective identities matter primarily because they are related to social cohesion (Jenson 1998; Muir 2007). According to Muir, shared values, shared action and shared identity lead to social cohesion. In this context, identity brings two important attributes to the table: "affective attachment and easy-to-generalise, imagined solidarities between large numbers of people" (Muir 2007, 8). This is because collective identity "involves the imaginative leap of bringing people together with large numbers of others under one symbolic roof and … allows us to generalise from individual encounters to a sense of solidarity with the broader community" (Muir 2007, 9).Furthermore, shared identity has the potential to make a distinct and valuable contribution to social cohesion through its ability to foster affective ties between potentially quite large numbers of people (Muir 2007, 17).

What makes individuals who they are is not only their personal traits and characteristics but also their membership– attributed by oneself or ascribed by others– in (real or imagined) social categories and social groups. In its social context, identity can be defined as "the distinctive character belonging to any given individual, or shared by all members of a particular social category or group… "Identity" may be distinguished from "identification"; the former is a label whereas the latter refers to the classifying act itself" (Rummens 2001, 3).

The sociological literature on identity suggests that identity and the related concept of identification are about situating an individual actor in society, about classification or categorisation (Tajfel 1974; Rummens 2001; Ashmore et al. 2004) and about the labelling of elements (individuals, groups) that share a same-*ness* (Tastsoglou 2001; Bokser-Liwerant 2002). As Tajfel, developer of social identity theory in the 1970s, indicates, identity in a social context involves "the individual's self-concept which derives from his knowledge of his membership of a social group (or groups) together with the emotional significance attached to that membership" (Tajfel 1974, 69).

Snow distinguishes between personal, social and collective identity: "personal identities are the attributes and meaning attributed to oneself by the actor; they are self-designations and self-attributions regarded as personally distinctive" (Snow 2001, 2). Meanwhile, social identities are "the identities attributed or imputed to others in an attempt to situate them in social space. They are grounded in established social roles" (Snow 2001, 2). Snow believes that collective identities are different from the first two types; collective identities have embedded within them a corresponding sense of collective agency facilitating collective action. He states: "Although there is no consensual definition of collective identity, discussions of the concept invariably suggest that its essence resides in a shared sense of "one-ness" or "we-ness" anchored in real or imagined shared attributes and experiences among those who comprise the collectivity and in relation or contrast to one or more actual or imagined sets of "others"" (Snow 2001, 2).

It should be noted that in the literature, the concept of identity is also associated with the idea of boundaries. More specifically, identities are bounded in that they confer not only a sense of same-

ness, but also of difference or distinctiveness from outsiders (Tajfel 1974; Tastsoglou 2001; Bokser-Liwerant 2002; Muir 2007).

## 2.2  The characteristics of identity

Identities are generally understood to be constructed, multiple, dynamic, relational and negotiated, and to vary in their salience. Current research suggests that identities are constructed, meaning that they are created, shaped and formulated by individuals as social actors, by groups and their social environments, as opposed to being essential or predetermined. This view is shared by several researchers including Rummens (2001), Létourneau (2001), Frideres (2002) and Ashmore et al. (2004).

According to Létourneau "there is general agreement that collective identity … is "constructed," that is to say, manufactured from elements drawn from historical materials and reified (or petrified) as *identity references*" (Létourneau 2001, 5). Frideres explains that identities "change as a consequence of both internal and external pressures" (Frideres 2002, 4).

Identities are understood to be multiple, in that they can be numerous and varied. A given individual can have a variety of identities, which can intersect, overlap, conflict and collide. This view on identity is shared by a number of researchers, including Peressini (1993), Rummens (2001), Létourneau (2001), Tastsoglou (2001) and Snow (2001). According to Rummens, "there are almost an unlimited number of "identities" that are ascribed to and/or assumed by individuals and groups as social actors" (Rummens 2001, 4).

Identities are also thought of as being dynamic in that they are understood to be fluid and malleable rather than fixed or static, and they may change over time and from place to place. This is a characteristic echoed by such authors as Létourneau (2001), Bokser-Liwerant (2002), Croucher (2004) and Rashid (2007). Létourneau, for example, understands identity as a "*continual re-interpretation of the self*. This is why it is said that identity is not fixed but changing and alive" (Létourneau 2001, 2).

Identities are generally considered relational. This view is discussed in the works of Tajfel (1974), Létourneau (2001) and Frideres (2002). What is meant by the relational nature of identity is two-fold. Firstly, identity is relational in that it is socially-embedded, inter-subjective, not constructed in isolation from its social context. "In short, individual identity is the product of a self-definition (or self-narration) process and of "external definition" (or "external narration") by others, whether individually or collectively. It can therefore be said that identity is a social, inter-subjective activity because it is the product of a relationship with the other in which the reference to others is internalized by the subject" (Létourneau 2001, 4).

Secondly, identity is relational in that it is generally understood to be other-referenced. It says something about same-ness but also about difference and about others. Identity thus implies comparison, contrast and boundaries. "The definition of a group (national, racial or any other) makes no sense unless there are other groups around. A group becomes a group in the sense of being perceived as having common characteristics or a common fate only because other groups are present in the environment" (Tajfel 1974, 71-72).

Identities are negotiated, contested and may or may not be taken up by the individual actor or group. This feature of identity is suggested in Rummens (2001), Hoerder et al. (2006), Rashid (2007), and Muir (2007). Muir for example, states that identity "is a process in which meaning is constantly being asserted, contested and negotiated" (Muir 2007, 11). Rummens asserts that

identities "are not just ascribed or achieved as part of the individual's socialization and developmental process, they are also socially constructed and negotiated by social actors. These identifications of self and/or others may be accepted or they may be contested" (Rummens 2001, 15).

## 2.3  What happens to national identities in the process of migration?

Frideres explains that immigrants "find the process of physically relocating presents a new definition of who they are" (Frideres 2002, 1-2). Grant explains that immigrants "often internalize a new national identity when they move to another country (psychological acculturation), although doing so means identifying with a culture that has values and traditions different from those of their culture of origin" (Grant 2007, 89). This process of internalisation – this change in the self-concept – if well realised, results in the development of a new national identity for the individual.

Different authors associate the development of a new national identity with successful integration. Walters et al. argue that "identification with the host society is important for national unity" (Walters 2007, 60). While the successful integration process involves acculturation and thus a shift in national identification, it does not imply that immigrants do, or should, put aside previous national identities.

Transnationalism is related to the transcendence of national boundaries and the involvement of several nations or nationalities. The concept of transnational identities is evoked in the works of various authors, such as Gardiner Barber (2003), Croucher (2004), Ehrkamp & Leitner (2006) and Grant (2007). Gardiner Barber argues that as "a global process migration produces citizens who have multiple connections and attachments. Immigrants view the world comparatively through a lens we now describe as transnational … Thus it may be said that all migrants, potentially at least, hold transnational identities" (Gardiner Barber 2003, 45). "The concept of transnationalism … suggests that immigrants forge and sustain familial, economic, cultural, and political ties and identities across national borders, in both home and host societies. ... In short, contemporary migrants are embedded in, identify with, and participate in multiple communities, and are not just, nor even primarily, anchored in one national collectivity" (Ehrkamp & Leitner 2006, 1593).

The literature reviewed suggests that different factors may impact upon the development of a new national identity by immigrants. These include, but are not limited to: the time spent in the host country (Grant 2007; Walters et al. 2007); the acquisition of formal citizenship (Krzyzanowsli & Wodak 2007; Walters et al. 2007); the degree of correspondence or incompatibility between the cultures of origin and of destination (Grant 2007); and the experiences in the host society (Grant 2007; Krzyzanowsli & Wodak 2007).

## 2.4  Collective identities and belonging amongst Canadians

Identity is a concept that can be operationalised in different ways for empirical study. As previously noted, the concept of identity, more specifically of collective identity, is related to belonging. This is the measure used in the studies of Schellenberg (2004a & 2004b) and Ipsos Reid (2007). A similar measure is also used in the cross-country comparison by Laczko (2005).

Ipsos Reid conducted a national survey in 2007 that "explores the levels of social engagement and attachment to Canada among English-speaking first and second generation Canadian

immigrants, and compares findings to a nationally representative sample of Canadians" (Ipsos Reid 2007, 1). Respondents were asked how strong their sense of belonging was to Canada. Their findings reveal that 88% of second generation Canadians reported their sense of belonging as strong (rating of four or five out of five), compared to 81% of first generation immigrants and 79% of the general population; while 71% of second generation Canadians indicated that their sense of belonging was very strong (rating of five out of five), compared to 58% of first generation Canadians and 62% of the general population[3] (Ipsos Reid 2007, 4).

Cycle 17 of Statistics Canada's General Social Survey (GSS 17), conducted in 2003, focused on social engagement and included questions on the sense of belonging to Canada, to their province and to their community. According to the results, immigrants reported a stronger sense of belonging to Canada than the Canadian-born population: 85.6%[4] of the Canadian-born reported a strong sense of belonging to Canada, as did 93.0% of established immigrants[5], 91.0% of those who immigrated between 1980 and 1990, and 87.6% of those who immigrated between 1991 and 2003 (Schellenberg 2004a).

Results also show that the sense of belonging to one's community did not vary considerably between the Canadian-born and immigrant populations: 69.4% of the Canadian-born reported a strong sense of belonging to their community, as did 71.2% of those who immigrated before 1980, 67.0% of those who immigrated between 1980 and 1990, and 68.2% of those respondents who immigrated between 1990 and 2003 (Schellenberg 2004a).

Finally, let us consider the analysis by Laczko, using data from the 1995 International Social Survey Program (ISSP). In this study, the author looks at data from 24 countries (including Canada), first as a whole, and then in a cross-country comparison. While the study did not make use of the concept of "sense of belonging", the 1995 ISSP used a similar measure, asking survey respondents about how "close" they feel to various levels of community (neighbourhood or village, town or city, province, country and continent), and about their willingness to geographically relocate (Laczko 2005, 519). The author found considerable cross-national similarities, and noted that "people [including Canadians] feel closest to their country or national society, and least to their continent" (Laczko 2005, 522-523). With regard to Canadian results, the author also found that Canadians express "relatively low levels of attachment to local communities" (Laczko 2005, 527).

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[3] The data from this study was weighted to ensure each of the three sub-population groups were reflective of the actual population.

[4] Responses "not stated" were removed from the calculations.

[5] Those who immigrated prior to 1980.

# 3   Methodology

The World Values Survey (WVS) is a survey-based "worldwide investigation of sociocultural and political change. The longitudinal survey has been conducted by a network of social scientists at leading universities all around world" (WVS 2008). Five waves of the survey have been carried out: in 1981, 1990-1991, 1995-1997, 1999-2001 and most recently in 2005-2006.

The WVS presents a national representative sample of Canadian residents 18 years of age and older. The core survey sample (total population N=1,765) was expanded for the second time in 2006 (first boosted in 2000) to include a larger sample of recent immigrants which allows for the comparison of the responses of recent immigrants – defined as persons not born in Canada who have lived in the country for a period of less than 10 years – with those of earlier immigrants – persons not born in Canada who have lived in the country 10 years or more – and the Canadian-born. The new immigrant sample targeted new immigrants in Vancouver (N=151), Toronto (N=157), and Montreal (N=192) and supplemented the core survey[6]. For each question, the reported results do not include respondents who did not, or refused to, answer the question. The core WVS sample was combined with the new immigrant sample, and then the population was sorted into three groups: those born in Canada, recent immigrants, and earlier immigrants.

> *CIC has provided on-going funding to the project (including the funding for the boosted new immigrant sample) and has an agreement to receive some of the Canadian data prior to its public release. Since the microdata was not accessible, the statistical analyses for this report are drawn from the work of Professor Neil Nevitte, University of Toronto – Canada's principal investigator for the WVS.*

Survey respondents were asked whether they strongly agree, agree, disagree, or strongly disagree with the statement: *"I see myself as …a citizen of the world/a citizen of North America/a citizen of Canada as a whole/a citizen of my province or region/a member of my local community"*. The percentages of the three population groups were contrasted, in order to see how the patterns of identification compare across the population groups (see Appendix A for Nevitte (2008) data tables).

In order to gain further insight into the variables that are associated with an individual's likelihood of identifying themselves with Canada as a whole, ordered logistic regression analyses were completed along with a pseudo r-squared test for goodness-of-fit. The regression analyses were conducted using the new immigrant sample which enabled the separation of Canadian-born, earlier immigrant, and recent immigrant populations.

Odds ratios and p-values were also calculated. Odds ratios greater than 1 indicate that the association of the independent variable with identification as a citizen of Canada is positive, while those less than 1 indicate that the association of the independent variable with identification as a citizen of Canada is negative. Odds ratios close to 1 indicate that changes in the independent variable are not associated with the dependent variable. It should be noted that in order to deal with missing data, "don't know" and refused responses were excluded from the calculations.

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[6] Within Montreal, Toronto and Vancouver, the survey data was weighted to ensure that it accurately reflects the profile of new immigrants within that city by age and gender. The weights were calculated using the data from the 2006 Canadian Census for the Montreal, Toronto, and Vancouver census metropolitan areas.

# 4 Results and discussion

## 4.1 Descriptive analysis

As identified in the literature review, identification is about situating an individual actor in society; it is also a statement about categorical membership (Tajfel 1974; Rummens 2001; Ashmore et al. 2004). Individuals may have multiple identities that make up their conception of self, and these identities can be "nested, situational or fluid" (Hedetoft 2002, 6). Levels of identification provide insight into feelings of belonging, perceptions of settlement, overall life satisfaction (Schellenberg 2004a) and can be used as an indicator of integration (Harles 1997). Therefore, this research is an important contribution to existing literature on immigrant integration and identification.

According to Kymlicka, the basis for social unity "is not shared values but a shared identity … People decide whom they want to share a country with by asking whom they identify with, whom they feel solidarity with" (Kymlicka 1998, 173). As Harles explains "perhaps the most profound mark of a well-integrated polity is the strong sense of belonging felt by its members. A fundamental integrative question about immigrants, then, is whether the newcomers' understanding of themselves – their idea of "us" – includes Canada. Do immigrants in any way "feel" Canadian?" (Harles1997, 717). The 2006 WVS data suggests that the answer to this question is a resounding 'yes'.

The WVS data indicates that recent immigrants, earlier immigrants, and the Canadian-born collectively express high levels of positive identification as a citizen of Canada, as a citizen of their province/region, and as a citizen of their community (see Figure 4-1 and Figure 4-2). The findings show that 96.6% of the Canadian-born population, 96.2% of earlier immigrants, and 95.4% of recent immigrants either 'agree' or 'strongly agree' that they view themselves as a citizen of Canada as a whole. Levels of identification with one's province or region are also high: 98.1% of the Canadian-born respondents, 92.9% of earlier immigrants, and 90.4% of recent immigrants either 'agree' or 'strongly agree' that they view themselves as a citizen of their province or region. Furthermore, the results indicate that all three categories express positive identification with their communities: 91.5% of Canadian-born respondents, 87.7% of earlier immigrants, and 86.9% of recent immigrants 'agree' or 'strongly agree' that they perceive themselves to be a member of their local community.

## Figure 4-1: 'Strongly agree' with collective identities
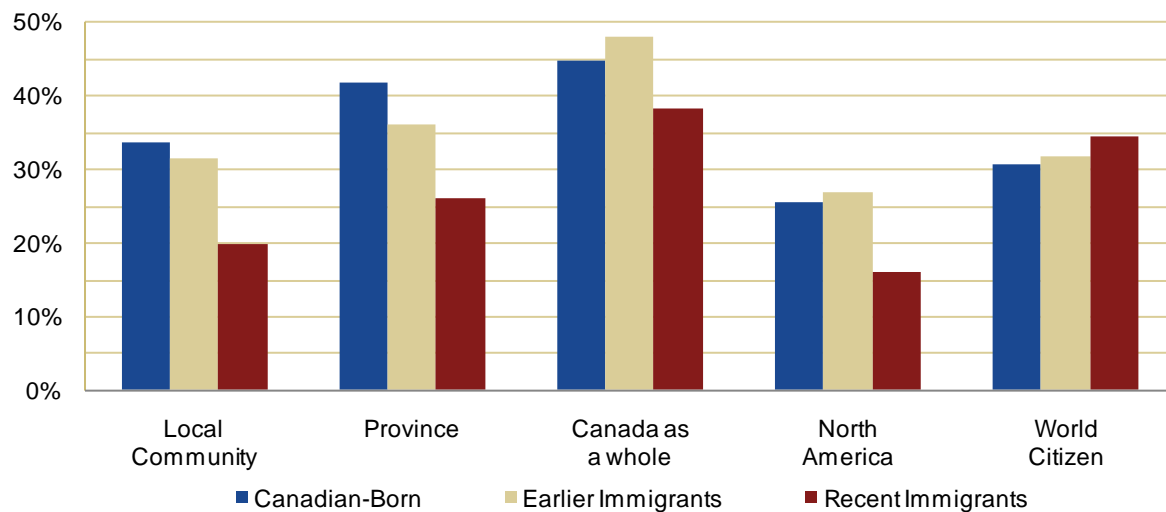


*Source: World Values Survey, 2006*

Figure 4-1 depicts the percentage of respondents who 'strongly agree' with the various identities. Overall, it appears that all three groups feel the strongest identification with Canada as a whole, and the weakest identification with North America. This finding is consistent with Laczko's multinational survey results which concluded that the national society "remains the strongest focus of feelings of closeness, and the larger continent is the weakest focus" (Laczko 2005, 522-525). The findings from the 2006 WVS also indicate that recent immigrants have the highest likelihood of strongly identifying as a world citizen.

When looking at differences between the three groups (Canadian-born, earlier immigrant, and recent immigrant populations), with the exception of identification as a world citizen, the results show a decreased tendency for recent immigrants to "strongly agree" with any collective identity. One possible explanation for this finding is that the lower levels of community identification amongst recent immigrants points to the existence of barriers to full integration. We noted earlier in the review of the literature that identity is an important indicator of both integration and social cohesion. Therefore, lower levels of identification with one's country, province, or community may have negative effects upon civic engagement and sense of belonging.

However, it is important to ask if it is reasonable to expect recent immigrants to display (in a relatively short period of time) the same levels of identification as do earlier immigrants and the Canadian-born population. The lower levels of identification may also showcase the reality that it takes time to develop a substantial bond with one's community, province, or country. Therefore, individuals who have had less time to establish a relationship with their community, province, and Canada, may feel less connected.

According to Hedetoft, the degree to which one displays a sense of belonging is "processed through and coloured by memory and by experiences, sensations and ideas encountered in other spheres and in different contexts" (Hedetoft 2002, 3). Hedetoft argues that these feelings of belonging are conditioned by "social and psychological concreteness – persons, landscapes, sensory experiences and 'mental mappings' of an immediate and familiar kind" and must always pass "through mental processing, personal and collective experiences, and the … psychological filter of "memory" – all of which shape each individual's images and perceptions of belonging, giving them depth and value, and engendering the meaning they have for different persons"

(Hedetoft 2002, 3). Therefore, the degree to which recent immigrants identify with various Canadian identities may likely be rooted in a sense of familiarity and history which may take time to develop.

Furthermore, as research indicates, identity is always in the process of evolving (e.g. Létourneau, 2001; Bokser-Liwerant, 2002; Croucher, 2004; Rashid, 2007). The extent to which an individual identifies with their community is not fixed but fluid and changing, and involves continuous re-interpretation. Therefore, it can be argued that as recent immigrants invest more into their communities, the degree to which they identify with their local community will also increase. This identification is dynamic, and occurs as a consequence of both internal and external pressures. This argument is supported by very similar expressed levels of identification among the Canadian-born and earlier immigrants to various collective identities.

In fact, the WVS results show that earlier immigrants express the highest levels of identification with Canada as a whole: 48.1% of earlier immigrants 'strongly agree' that they view themselves as a citizen of Canada, compared to 44.8% of Canadian-born, and 38.2% of recent immigrants. This finding is supported by results from the 2003 General Social Survey (GSS), which concluded that recent immigrants were "somewhat less likely than earlier arrivals to describe their sense of belonging as 'very strong'" (Schellenberg 2004b, 6). Schellenberg argues that "this may be due to the fact that they had resided in Canada for less time than others and had had less opportunity to cultivate a strong sense of attachment … feelings of belonging were also associated with the length of time that individuals had resided in a province or city" (Schellenberg 2004b, 6).

A final consideration is necessary when considering the possible reasons behind the lower observed levels of identification as a Canadian citizen amongst recent immigrants. As is addressed later in the paper, there are limitations inherent to the dataset used. Amongst these limitations is the manner in which the series of questions on identity have been posed in the WVS, namely their inclusion of the concept of 'citizenship'. Given that recent immigrants are less likely than earlier immigrants (and of course the Canadian-born) to hold legal Canadian citizenship (Statistics Canada, 2007b), lower reported levels of identification as a 'citizen' of Canada could partially reflect new immigrant participants' interpretation of the survey question..

Although recent immigrants are less likely to 'strongly agree' with most collective identities, when looking at the 'agree' responses, Figure 4-2 shows that they are more likely to 'agree' that they view themselves as a member of their local community, province, Canada as a whole, and as a citizen of North America.

Figure 4-2: 'Agree' with collective identities
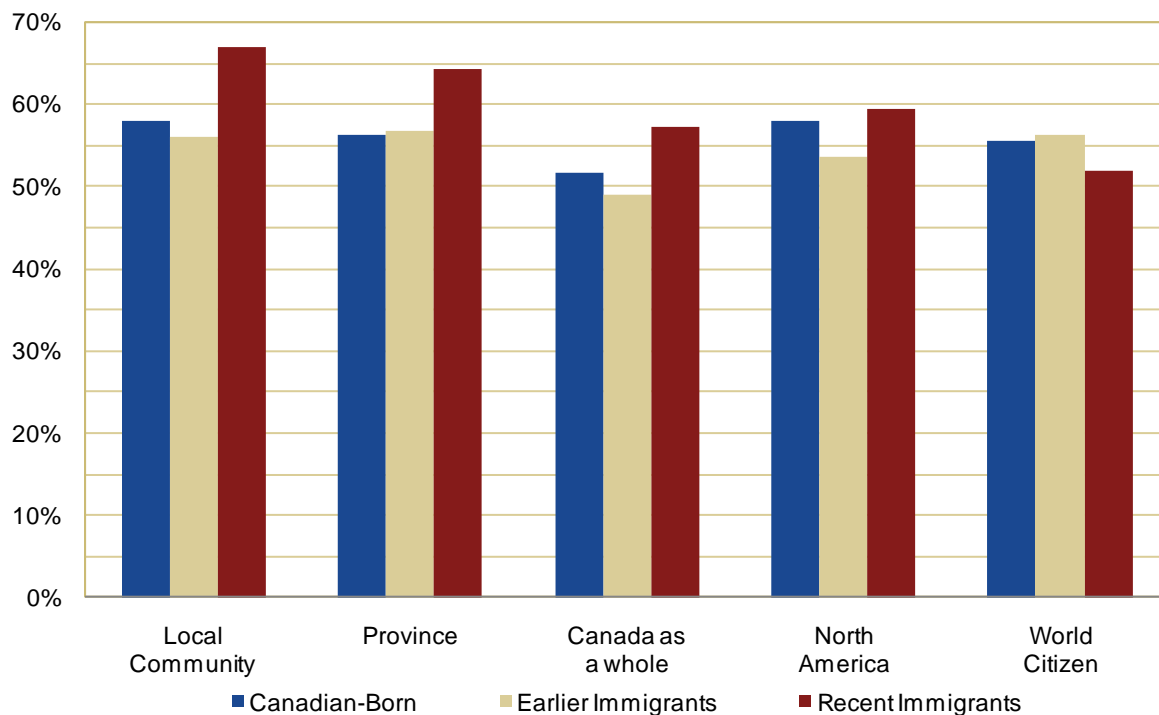


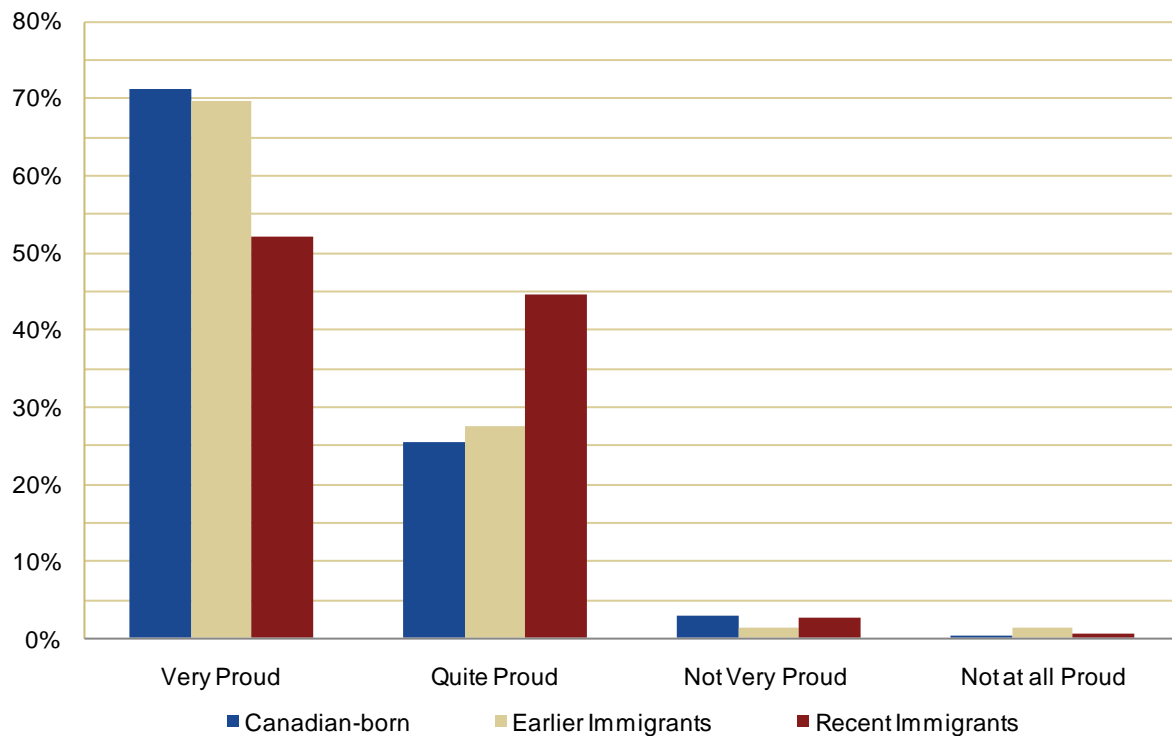Source: World Values Survey, 2006

Figure 4-3: 'Disagree/strongly disagree' with collective identities
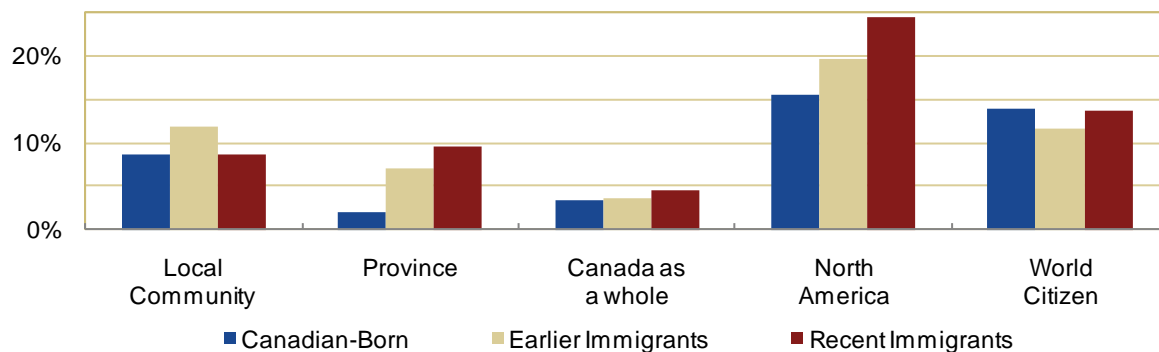


Source: World Values Survey, 2006

When looking at differences between the three groups (Canadian-born, earlier immigrants and recent immigrants) in terms of negative responses (disagree/strongly disagree), there are variations in responses (see Figure 4-3). Earlier immigrants have the highest rate of disagreeing or strongly disagreeing that they view themselves as a member of their community. This finding raises some concerns which warrant further investigation. Recent immigrants have the highest rate of negatively responding that they view themselves as a citizen of their province or region, Canada as a whole and as a citizen of North America, while the Canadian-born population have the lowest levels of responding that they 'disagree' or 'strongly disagree'.

Figure 4-4: 'Proud' to be Canadian



*Source: World Values Survey, 2006*

In terms of national pride, recent immigrants, earlier immigrants, and the Canadian-born population collectively express high levels (see Figure 4-4). Nevitte explains these findings,

> *Immigrants exhibit marginally higher levels of national pride than Canadian born respondents. According to the data summarized …, recent and earlier immigrant respondents are most likely to report that they are "quite proud" or "very proud" to be Canadian. Native born Canadians, however, are more likely to say that they are "very proud" to be Canadian (71.1 percent) than recent (52.2 percent) or earlier immigrants (69.6 percent) (Nevitte 2008, 8).*

There is also a positive and statistically significant relationship ($r=0.243$; $p<0.01$) between national pride and identification with Canada as a whole (Nevitte 2008).

## 4.2  Cross-tabulation analysis

In order to gain further insight into these preliminary findings, cross-tabulations were run for each of the population groups (recent immigrants, earlier immigrants, and the Canadian-born) as well as for the total population[7]. Layers were added using a number of socio-economic and demographic variables including sex, age, education, household income, occupation, employment status, race, and size of town. One trend emerged: although race is not related to substantial difference in the response patterns for earlier immigrants and the Canadian-born populations, for recent immigrants, statistically significant findings suggest that racial category influences the

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[7] "Total population" figures use data from the core sample only (excludes the new immigrant sample), in order to maintain the representativeness of the data. Adding in the new immigrant sample data would bias the sample towards recent immigrants.

degree to which one identifies as a member of their local community, citizen of their province/region, citizen of Canada, and as a world citizen[8]. This section will take an in-depth analysis of race for the recent immigrant population.

It should be noted that although 'ethnicity' is the measured variable in WVS documentation, the categories are interviewer-observed categories that are very broadly defined (e.g., Caucasian, Black) and reflects more accurately race rather than ethnicity. Also, because the racial category is an interviewer-observed response, there may be differences between interviewer observations and interviewee self- identification. Moreover, it may be difficult for the interviewer to categorize individuals who are of mixed backgrounds.

For recent immigrants, it appears that Caucasians, East Asians, and Arabs have the lowest rate of 'strongly' identifying as a member of their local community (see Figure 4-5). Only 15.7% of Caucasians, 17.7% of Arabs, and 19.5% of East Asians 'strongly agree' that they view themselves as a member of their community. Furthermore, 20.4% of Caucasians, 11.3% of Arabs, and 10.2% of East Asians state that they 'disagree' and do not view themselves as a member of their local community. The Black population has the highest rate of responding that they either 'strongly agree' or 'agree' that they view themselves as a member of their local community (97.3%), compared to 93.4% of South Asians, 89.3% of East Asians, 85.4% of Arabs and 77.6% of Caucasians.

Figure 4-6 shows that the Black population has the lowest rate of responding that they either 'strongly agree' or 'agree' that they view themselves as a citizen of their province or region (75.7%) compared to 89.9% of Caucasians, 91.2% of East Asians, 93.9% of South Asians and 90.5% of the Arab population.

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[8] Due to insufficient cell counts the category 'other' was not included in this analysis.

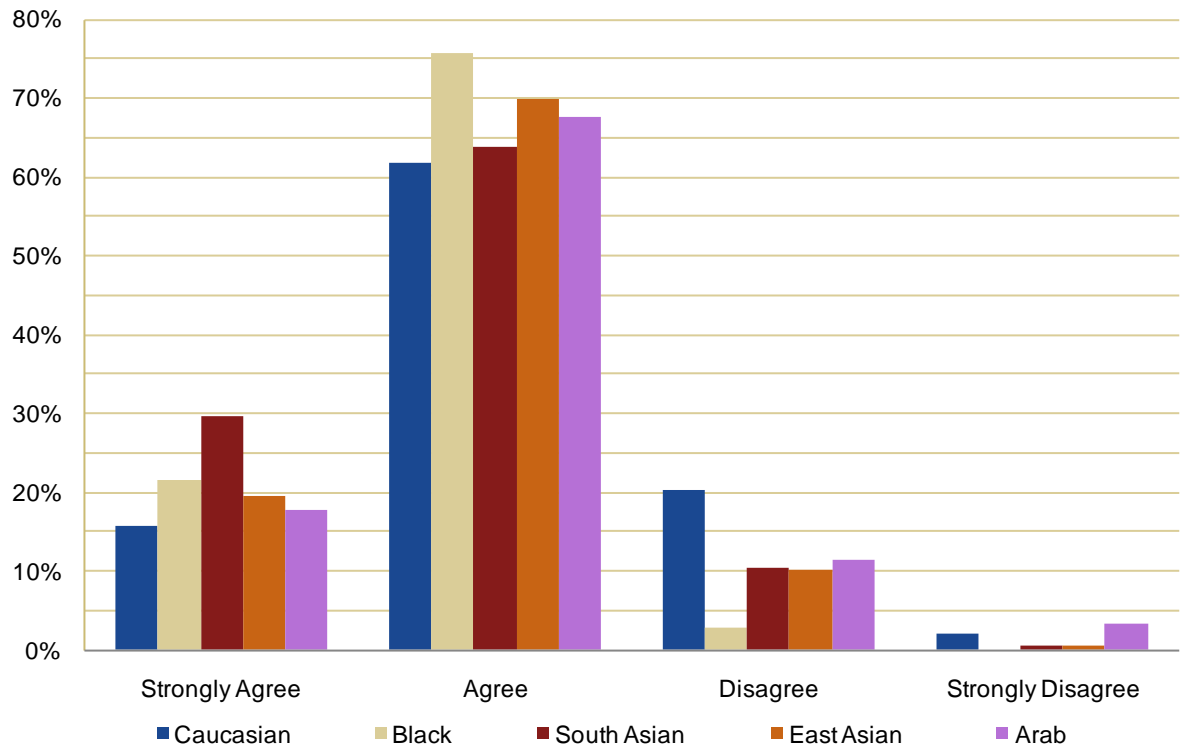## Figure 4-5: Recent immigrant population: Identification as a member of local community



Source: World Values Survey, 2006

## Figure 4-6: Recent immigrant population: Identification as a citizen of province/region
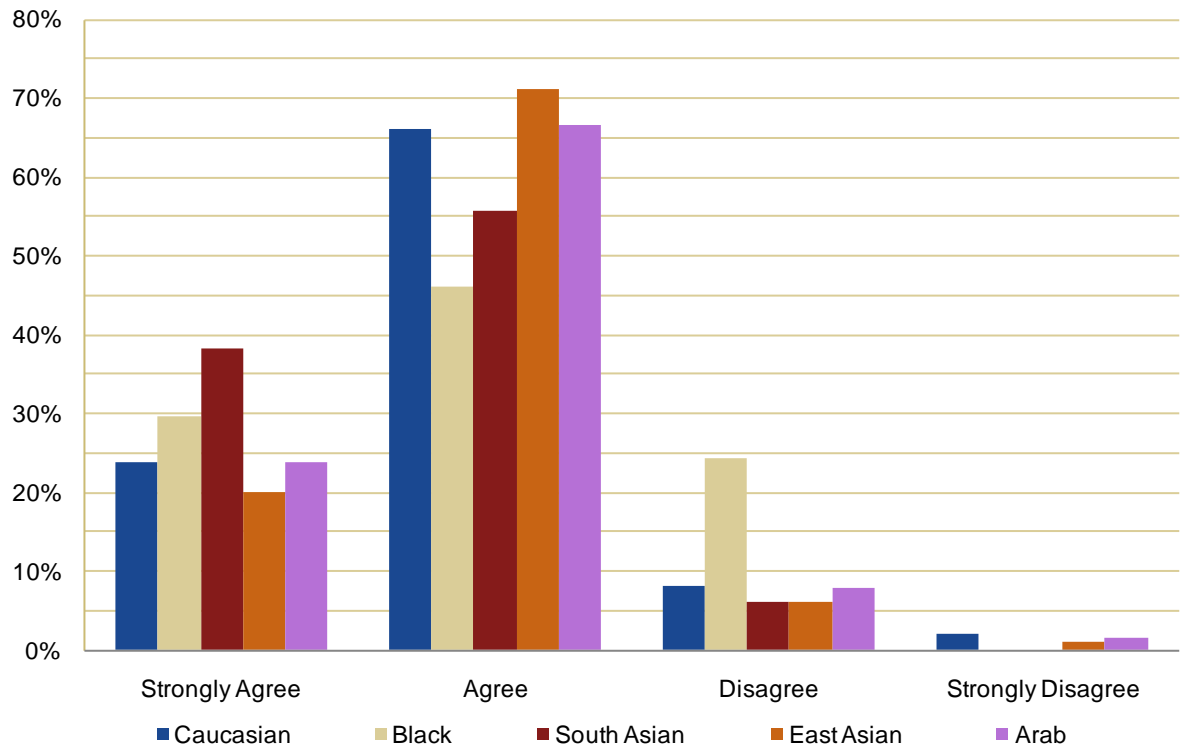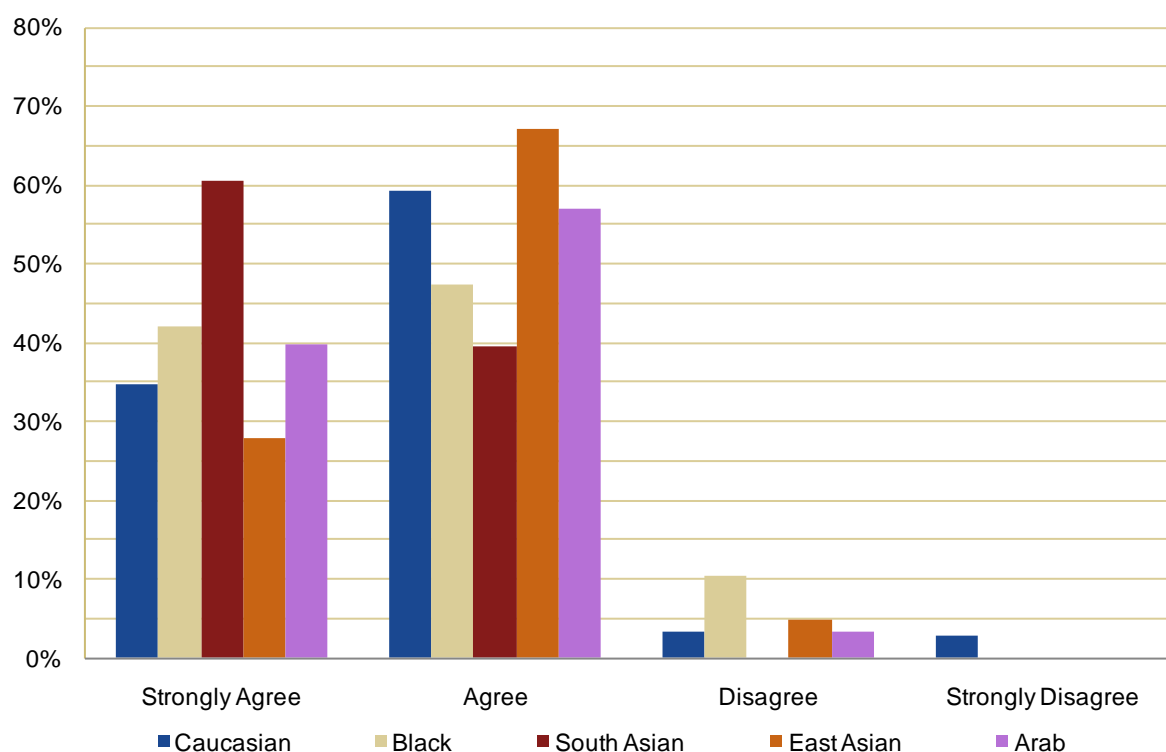


Source: World Values Survey, 2006

Figure 4-7: Recent immigrant population: Identification as a citizen of Canada



*Source: World Values Survey, 2006*

Figure 4-7 shows that within the recent immigrant population, East Asians have the lowest levels of strongly identifying as a citizen of Canada; only 27.9% of East Asian respondents reported that they 'strongly agree' that they view themselves as a citizen of Canada[9]. The Black population have the lowest rate of responding that they either 'strongly agree' or 'agree' that they view themselves as a citizen of Canada (89.5%) compared to 93.9% of Caucasians, 100% of South Asians, 95.1% of East Asians and 96.8% of Arab populations.

The lower rates of positive identification with Canada and to one's province/region among Canada's Black recent immigrant population may be due to experiences such as discrimination and racism that undermine trust and attachment to Canadian society. Results from the 2002 Ethnic Diversity Survey (EDS) show that the Black population is the most likely of all visible minority groups to report experiences of discrimination or unfair treatment because of ethno-cultural characteristics: 32% of Blacks compared to 21% of South Asians and 15% of Chinese reported having these types of experiences 'sometimes' or 'often' in the previous five years (Statistics Canada 2003, 18).

However, it should be noted that there are a variety of reasons why individuals immigrate to Canada. For refugees, the reasons for coming to Canada are likely very different than other immigrant sub-groups (e.g., economic and family class immigrants). Therefore, refugees may have a different sense of attachment to Canada as a result of the circumstances under which they arrived. In the last decade, Canada has been accepting more refugees from Africa. For example, in 2006, Ethiopia, Sudan, Democratic Republic of the Congo and Somalia were among the top 10 source countries for refugees selected under the Resettlement Program (CIC 2007). This may

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[9] Compared to 34.7% of Caucasians, 39.7% of Arabs, 42.1% of Blacks, and 60.5% of South Asians.

provide insight into the lower levels of attachment to Canada as a whole expressed by the Black recent immigrant population.

The WVS data also indicates that the Black population exhibits the highest rate of all racial groups of identifying as a member of their local community. These results require further in-depth analysis.

Figure 4-8: Recent immigrant population: Identification as a world citizen
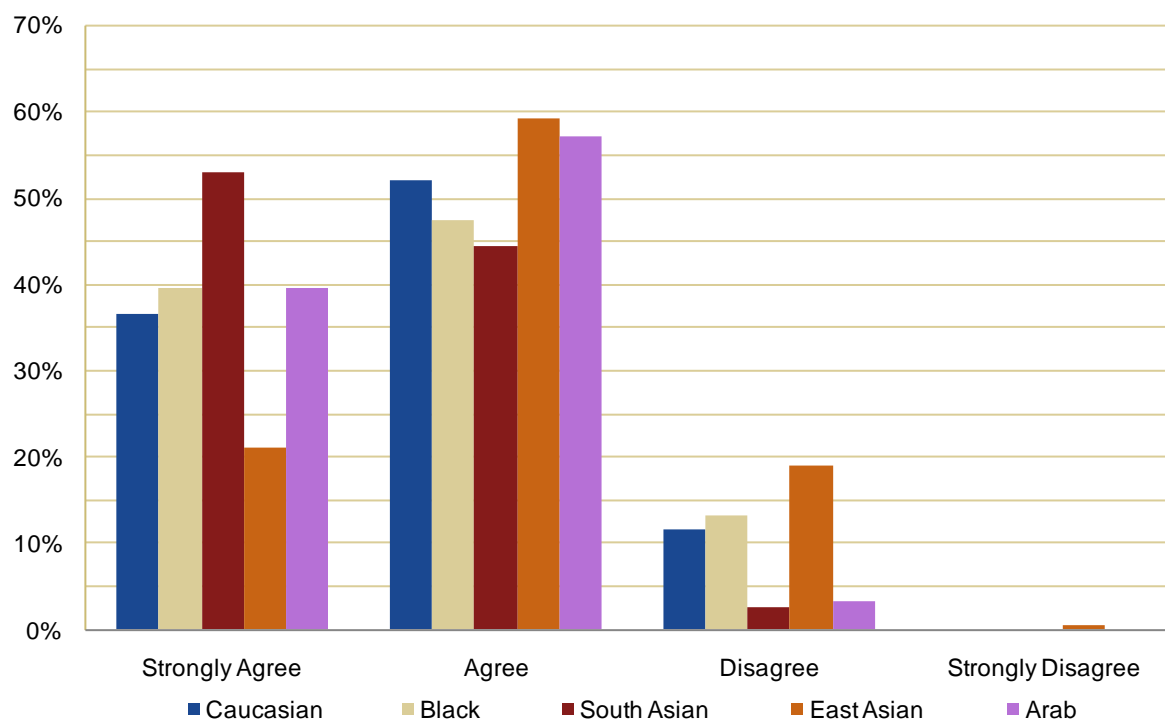


Source: World Values Survey, 2006

Finally, the findings show that the South Asian population expresses the highest levels of positive identification as a world citizen whereas the East Asian population showcases the lowest levels (see Figure 4-8): 97.5% of the South Asian population either 'strongly agree' or 'agree' that they view themselves as a world citizen, compared to 88.5% of Caucasians, 86.9% of the Black population, 85.7% of the Arab population and 80.4% of East Asians.

## 4.3  Ordered logistic regression analysis

In order to gain insight into variables associated with an individual's likelihood of identifying as a citizen of Canada, an ordered logistic regression analysis was completed. Table 4-1 displays the findings of the ordered logistic regression which include coefficients, standard errors, odds ratios (OR) and significance levels.

The pseudo r-squared in the Canadian-born population is 0.310, 0.319 for earlier immigrants, and 0.202 for recent immigrants. This indicates that these selected predictors account for approximately 31%, 32% and 20% of the variance in the outcome variable 'identification as a citizen of Canada as a whole', respectively. Findings for the ordered logistic regression for the total sample (including the boosted new immigrant sample) can be found in Appendix B. Please see Appendix C for variable definitions for the regression models.

Table 4-1 Predictors of identification as a citizen of Canada - Ordered logistic regression

| Dependent Variable | Layer | | | Immigrant status | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | Canadian-Born | | | Earlier Immigrants | | | Recent Immigrants | | |
| Identification as a Citizen of Canada | Coef | S.E. | Odds Ratio | Coef | S.E. | Odds Ratio | Coef | S.E. | Odds Ratio |
| Age | 0.006 | 0.004 | 1.006 | 0.010 | 0.012 | 1.011 | **0.039 \*\*** | **0.015** | **1.040** |
| Female | -0.179 | 0.142 | 0.836 | -0.441 | 0.376 | 0.643 | -0.139 | 0.233 | 0.870 |
| Post-Secondary | 0.257 | 0.156 | 1.293 | 0.633 | 0.436 | 1.884 | 0.548 | 0.430 | 1.729 |
| Low Income | -0.144 | 0.177 | 0.866 | -0.320 | 0.476 | 0.726 | 0.206 | 0.275 | 1.229 |
| High Income | -0.025 | 0.177 | 0.975 | 0.057 | 0.481 | 1.059 | 0.271 | 0.345 | 1.312 |
| Quebec | **-1.831 \*\*** | **0.278** | **0.160** | -1.134 | 0.780 | 0.322 | -0.126 | 0.284 | 0.882 |
| Very Proud to be Canadian | **0.996 \*\*** | **0.209** | **2.707** | **1.658 \*\*** | **0.472** | **5.25** | **0.828 \*** | **0.332** | **2.289** |
| Not a Canadian Citizen | | | | | | | -0.202 | 0.273 | 0.817 |
| Interaction: | | | | | | | | | |
| **Very Proud to be Canadian × Quebec** | **0.910 \*\*** | **0.341** | **2.483** | 0.604 | 0.961 | 1.829 | 0.801 | 0.582 | 2.227 |
| "Strongly" Identify As: | | | | | | | | | |
| World Citizen | 1.557 | 0.200 | 4.746 | 0.442 | 0.514 | 1.556 | **1.272 \*\*** | **0.266** | **3.568** |
| Member of Local Community | 2.473 | 0.192 | 11.856 | **2.670 \*\*** | **0.543** | **14.434** | **1.596 \*\*** | **0.329** | **4.933** |
| Citizen of Other Country | -0.304 | 0.506 | 0.738 | 1.531 | 0.803 | 4.621 | 0.622 | 0.416 | 1.863 |
| Autonomous Individual | **0.674 \*\*** | **0.199** | **1.961** | 0.977 | 0.557 | 2.658 | **0.750 \*** | **0.331** | **2.118** |
| Cut 1 | -4.751 | 0.516 | | -1.659 | 0.917 | | -3.566 | 1.225 | |
| Cut 2 | -2.507 | 0.342 | | 2.746 | 0.929 | | -0.730 | 0.750 | |
| Cut 3 | 2.124 | 0.321 | | | | | 3.489 | 0.764 | |
| Pseudo R2 | 0.310 | | | 0.319 | | | 0.202 | | |
| N | 1238 | | | 185 | | | 403 | | |

*Significant at p < .05*

*\*\* Significant at p < .01*

*Source: 2006 World Values Survey*

According to Hjerm, "national identity could be seen as an awareness of affiliation with the nation that gives people a sense of who they are in relation to others, or infuses them with a sense of purpose that makes them feel at home" (Hjerm 1998, 339). The findings from the ordered logistic regression analyses indicate that income status is not related to an individual's likelihood of identifying as a citizen of Canada. This finding is consistent with the results of Walters et al. derived from the EDS which concluded that "identification with the host society is important for national unity, which appears to be independent of one's level of economic integration" (Walters et al. 2007, 60). The authors suggest that there is an important distinction between identity integration and economic integration. Their results, based on cross-sectional data, "provide preliminary evidence that economic integration does not play an integral role in the acculturation of immigrant identities" (Walters et al. 2007, 60).

Our results also indicate that, when looking at Canadian-born, recent immigrant and earlier immigrant respondents separately, the attainment of post-secondary education is not associated with identification as a citizen of Canada. For recent immigrants, older respondents are slightly more likely to positively identify as a citizen of Canada (OR = 1.04, p<.01). Furthermore, the Canadian-born, earlier immigrants and recent immigrants who are 'very proud' to be Canadian, are significantly more likely to positively identify as a citizen of Canada (OR = 2.7, p<.01; OR = 5.3, p<.01; and OR = 2.3, p<.05, respectively).

Regression results also indicate that for the Canadian-born population, those individuals who reside in Quebec are less likely to identify as a Canadian citizen (OR = 0.16, p<0.01). This finding is consistent with the results of Soroka et al. based on wave two of the *Equality, Security and Community Survey*. Soroka et al. found that "Quebec francophones are significantly less attached to Canada (in terms of both the pride and belonging measures) than others" (Soroka et al. 2007, 584). There are no statistically significant results to suggest that this is the case for recent and earlier immigrants residing in Quebec.

The results of the ordered regression analysis also suggest that identification as a world citizen is not related to a decreased tendency to identify as a Canadian citizen, and provides preliminary evidence to dismiss claims that with the rise of globalization comes the deterritorialization of identities. According to Jedwab, "some fear that globalization will continue to blur territorial and national boundaries, further directing identities away from a strict focus on national affiliation" (Jedwab 2007, 67). The findings indicate that the opposite may be in fact the case. It appears that for recent immigrant respondents, the tendency to strongly identify as a world citizen is connected to an increased likelihood of identifying as a citizen of Canada (OR = 3.5, p<0.01). Furthermore, when looking at the total WVS sample, results show a positive and statistically significant relationship (OR = 3.9, p<0.01, see Appendix B).

These findings support the idea that an individual can have multiple identities and belongings without them necessarily conflicting or colliding with each other. They are also consistent with Ehrkamp and Leitner's argument that although "transnational migrants' practices and identities are multiple and cross territorial", communal boundaries "do not imply that identifications with territorially defined national politics and locales are disappearing" (Ehrkamp and Leitner 2006, 1630). Therefore, they explain that ideas of "deterritorialization and denationalization of citizenship are simplistic and premature" (Ehrkamp and Leitner 2006, 1630).

Rusciano conducted an analysis of survey data on 23 nations that examined the construction of national identity. Rusciano found support for the theory that "the construction of national identity derives, in part, from a negotiation between a nation's *Selbstbild* (nation's national

consciousness, or the image its citizens have of their country) and a nation's *Fremdbild* (or the nation's perceived or actual international image in world opinion)" (Rusciano 2003, 361). Therefore, one preliminary explanation for our findings is that if identification as a world citizen implies a concern or investment in events that occur on a global scale, it may be the case that individuals who identify as a world citizen, may also display a heightened support for Canada and its role in influencing these events. In other words, individuals who identify as a world citizen may place more emphasis on a nation's *Fremdbild.*

Regression results also show that earlier immigrant and recent immigrant respondents who strongly identify as a member of their local community are significantly more likely to identify as a citizen of Canada (OR = 14.4 and 4.9 respectively, both statistically significant at p<0.01). There is also a positive and statistically significant relationship when looking at data from the total WVS population (OR = 9.6, p<0.01, see Appendix B). These findings provide preliminary evidence to suggest that micro-community identification is associated with macro-community identification.

Pearce displays similar results from his analysis of the EDS data which found that there is a positive relationship between community trust and a sense of belonging on a national level. Pearce proposes that "one possible explanation for this may be that immigrants see their neighbours as a sample of the entire Canadian population and link their feelings toward their immediate community to their feelings for the wider society" (Pearce 2008, 26). As the literature review suggests, identification carries with it connotations of belonging and has implications for social cohesion. Therefore, it appears that the degree to which individuals, regardless of whether they are immigrants or not, identify with their local community has significant implications for the cohesiveness of the larger Canadian society. This finding has implications for the importance of investing in programs that foster cohesive and welcoming communities.

Ordered logistic regression results further indicate that a strong identification as a citizen of another country is not associated with the degree to which an individual identifies as a citizen of Canada. This finding provides preliminary evidence to suggest that dual citizenship may not undermine belonging to Canadian society.

Finally, Canadian-born and recent immigrant respondents who strongly agree that they view themselves as autonomous individuals are significantly more likely to identify as Canadian citizens, compared to those who do not (OR = 1.9, p <.01 and OR = 2.1, p<.05, respectively). When looking at data from the total WVS population, a positive and statistically significant relationship is also found (OR = 1.7, p<0.01, see Appendix B). This finding could indicate that values such as self-sufficiency and the freedom to choose and make informed decisions do not contradict the rights and freedoms associated with Canadian citizenship.

# 5   Conclusion

In this report, we provided an overview of literature on identity, and findings from an analysis of the Canadian WVS (2006), focusing on three population groups: recent immigrants, earlier immigrants, and the Canadian-born. All three groups collectively express high levels of positive identification as a citizen of Canada, as a citizen of their province/region and as a member of their community. Similarly, all three groups express very high levels of pride in Canada. These findings are consistent with Pearce's results, derived from the 2002 EDS data. Pearce suggests that "the strong sense of belonging to Canada is perhaps a credit to the Canadian multicultural framework and the federal government's keen interest in developing policies and programs based on research on Canadian social cohesion" (Pearce 2008, 20).

Findings from our descriptive analysis also suggest an overall tendency among all three groups to report the strongest identification with Canada as a whole, and the weakest identification with North America. Furthermore, recent immigrants are more likely than earlier immigrants and the Canadian-born to strongly identify as a world citizen, and recent immigrants are less likely than earlier immigrants and the Canadian-born to strongly identify with the other collective identities (including Canada, province/region and community).

Findings from the cross-tabular analysis suggest that for recent immigrants, race appears to be a marker of differences in the degree to which one identifies as a member of their community, their province or region, citizen of Canada, and citizen of the world. The Black population reports the lowest levels of identification as citizens of Canada and as citizens of their province/region. The role of discrimination in society should be taken into consideration when attempting to gain further insight into these findings. However, the Black population also reports the highest levels of identification as members of their local community. These results require additional in-depth qualitative and quantitative analysis.

Results from the ordered logistic regression analysis suggest that for recent and earlier immigrants, the tendency to 'strongly identify' as a member of one's local community is associated with an increased likelihood of identifying as a citizen of Canada. This finding is consistent with Pearce's conclusion which suggests that "there may be an intricate relationship between neighbourhood strength and general community attachment" (Pearce 2008), and also consistent with Hipp and Perrin's (2006) conclusion which suggests that feelings towards one's neighbourhood are positively associated with national level attachment. It may be the case that community level experiences, interactions, attitudes and norms are generalized by the individual and projected onto the larger national community.

These results also suggest that the experience of integration is very much community-based. Government of Canada programs such as the Welcoming Community Initiative may have a direct and positive impact on the degree to which immigrants associate with various Canadian collective identities by fostering more welcoming communities and by promoting participation. For recent immigrants, the CIC settlement programs may also play a significant role in expanding social networks and increasing access to community resources which, in turn, plays a role in positively impacting community attachment. Furthermore, these findings allow for the preliminary development of a theory which proposes that identity is rooted in a complex web of social relations wherein the strength and security of one collective identity may provide the foundation for the strengthening of other forms of collective identification.

The degree to which one feels a sense of attachment and identifies with one's community, province or country has significant emotional and behavioural connotations, which in turn has an

impact on the cohesiveness of communities as well as Canadian society at large. Therefore, one of the various ways in which the Government of Canada can promote Canadian identity is by supporting citizenship uptake among immigrants. Citizenship promotes loyalty and attachment to Canada, nurtures a shared national identity and in turn fosters a sense of belonging for newcomers. Therefore, the continued recognition of citizenship as the ultimate goal of the Government of Canada's Immigration Program plays a critical role in fostering a shared national identity and a sense of belonging for immigrants.

Finally, further research is needed in order to provide insight into these findings. For example, it would be interesting to similarly analyze responses from previous and upcoming waves of the WVS to analyze changes in collective identification over time. Furthermore, the Longitudinal Survey of Immigrants to Canada (LSIC) can provide additional information on levels of belonging among recent immigrants and provide insight into immigrant category (e.g., refugee, economic and family class immigrants). Qualitative research could also be used to provide insight into gaps in our understanding, as well as provide more insight into the complex and subjective nature of identification and belonging.

## 5.1  Limitations of the research

There are several limitations of this study that should be noted. Firstly, due to the subjective nature of the questions, respondents may have a variety of different interpretations about what *'seeing themselves as a citizen of Canada as a whole'* means. For instance, some individuals may be responding to a factual question about their status as a Canadian citizen whereas others may be assessing the degree to which they associate as Canadians, or feel that they 'belong' in Canada. Further muddying the waters, while a question pertaining to legal status as a Canadian citizen was posed to participants in the boosted new immigrant sample of the WVS, a similar question was not posed of core sample participants. Furthermore, respondents may have a variety of different interpretations on what 'local community' means because a definition was not provided.

A key limitation of this dataset is that it does not permit analysis by immigration class (e.g., family class, economic class and refugees); this may have provided this research valuable insight into differences in responses amongst earlier and recent immigrant sub-groups. Moreover, the dataset does not allow for the separation of the second generation population from third-plus generations, all of which are categorized as 'Canadian-born'. Furthermore, the data does not take into account any subsequent moves within Canada that may have a significant impact upon the degree to which a respondent identifies with their community and province/region.

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# Appendix A: Data tables (from Nevitte 2008)

### Table A-1: I see myself as a...member of my local community

| Options | Canadian-born | Earlier immigrants | Recent immigrants |
|---|---|---|---|
| Strongly Agree | 33.6% | 31.6% | 19.9% |
| Agree | 57.9% | 56.1% | 67.0% |
| Disagree | 7.9% | 11.9% | 12.1% |
| Strongly Disagree | 0.7% | 0.3% | 1.1% |
| n | 1,756 | 294 | 564 |

### Table A-2: I see myself as a... citizen of my province

| Options | Canadian-born | Earlier immigrants | Recent immigrants |
|---|---|---|---|
| Strongly Agree | 41.9% | 36.0% | 26.1% |
| Agree | 56.2% | 56.9% | 64.3% |
| Disagree | 1.8% | 6.7% | 8.5% |
| Strongly Disagree | 0.1% | 0.3% | 1.1% |
| n | 1,754 | 297 | 566 |

### Table A-3: I see myself as a... Canada as a whole

| Options | Canadian-born | Earlier immigrants | Recent immigrants |
|---|---|---|---|
| Strongly Agree | 44.8% | 48.1% | 38.2% |
| Agree | 51.8% | 49.1% | 57.2% |
| Disagree | 3.0% | 3.4% | 3.9% |
| Strongly Disagree | 0.4% | 0.3% | 0.7% |
| n | 1,758 | 295 | 565 |

### Table A-4: I see myself as a... North America

| Options | Canadian-born | Earlier immigrants | Recent immigrants |
|---|---|---|---|
| Strongly Agree | 25.6% | 26.8% | 16.0% |
| Agree | 57.9% | 53.6% | 59.4% |
| Disagree | 13.5% | 16.5% | 21.7% |
| Strongly Disagree | 2.0% | 3.1% | 2.9% |
| n | 1,744 | 291 | 557 |

### Table A-5: I see myself as a... world Citizen

| Options | Canadian-born | Earlier immigrants | Recent immigrants |
|---|---|---|---|
| Strongly Agree | 30.6% | 31.8% | 34.5% |
| Agree | 55.5% | 56.4% | 51.9% |
| Disagree | 12.1% | 9.3% | 13.3% |
| Strongly Disagree | 1.8% | 2.4% | 0.4% |
| n | 1,729 | 289 | 565 |

### Table A-6: National pride

| Options | Canadian-born | Earlier immigrants | Recent immigrants |
|---|---|---|---|
| Strongly Agree | 71.1% | 69.6% | 52.2% |
| Agree | 25.4% | 27.6% | 44.6% |
| Disagree | 3.0% | 1.4% | 2.6% |
| Strongly Disagree | 0.5% | 1.4% | 0.6% |
| n | 1,753 | 283 | 312 |

# Appendix B: Ordered logistic regression for total population

Table B-1: Predictors of Identification as a Citizen of Canada - Ordered Logistic Regression:

| Dependent Variable Identification as a Citizen of Canada | Layer Total Population WVS and NIS Combined | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| | Coef | | S.E. | Odds Ratio |
| Age | 0.008 | * | 0.004 | 1.008 |
| Female | -0.234 | * | 0.113 | 0.792 |
| Post-Secondary | 0.314 | * | 0.134 | 1.369 |
| Low Income | 0.006 | | 0.138 | 1.006 |
| High Income | 0.071 | | 0.147 | 1.073 |
| | | | | |
| Quebec | -0.996 | ** | 0.188 | 0.369 |
| | | | | |
| Very Proud to be Canadian | 1.241 | ** | 0.158 | 3.460 |
| Not a Canadian Citizen | -0.037 | | 0.245 | 0.963 |
| | | | | |
| Interaction: | | | | |
| Very Proud to be Canadian × Quebec | 0.399 | | 0.262 | 1.49 |
| | | | | |
| "Strongly" Identify As: | | | | |
| World Citizen | 1.371 | ** | 0.150 | 3.938 |
| Member of Local Community | 2.271 | ** | 0.154 | 9.687 |
| Citizen of Other Country | 0.488 | | 0.301 | 1.630 |
| Autonomous Individual | 0.564 | ** | 0.158 | 1.757 |
| | | | | |
| Recent Immigrant | 0.203 | | 0.195 | 1.225 |
| Earlier Immigrant | 0.656 | ** | 0.210 | 1.926 |
| | | | | |
| Cut 1 | -4.248 | | 0.454 | |
| Cut 2 | -1.833 | | 0.278 | |
| Cut 3 | 2.532 | | 0.273 | |
| | | | | |
| Pseudo R2 | 0.272 | | | |
| N | 1826 | | | |

*  Significant at p < .05
** Significant at p < .01
Source: 2006 World Values Survey

## Appendix C: Variable definitions for ordered logistic regression models

Reported results for Table 4-1 and Table B-1 are from ordered logistic regression model using the dependent variable:

*"People have different views about themselves and how they related to the world. Would you tell me how strongly you agree or disagree with each of the following statements about how you see yourself? I see myself as a citizen of Canada as a whole."*

### Values:

0 - Strongly disagree

1 - Disagree

2 - Agree

3 - Strongly agree

### Independent Variables:

Age - actual age in years

Female

Post-Secondary - obtained University or college degree

Low Income - 1st Income Tercile ($35,000 and lower)

High Income - 3rd Income Tercile ($62,501 and higher)

Quebec - 1 if respondent resides in Quebec, 0 otherwise

Very Proud to Be Canadian - 1 if "very proud" to be Canadian, 0 otherwise

Not Canadian Citizen - 1 if respondent is not a Canadian citizen

Interaction - 1 if "very proud" to be Canadian and resides in Quebec

Identification Variables - 1 if "strongly agree" to identification with identity