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An Analysis of Public Attitudes to Immigration and Integration in Seven Alberta Communities

by

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A thesis submitted to the Faculty of Graduate Studies ands Research in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of Master of Arts

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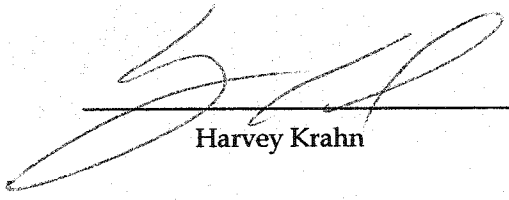

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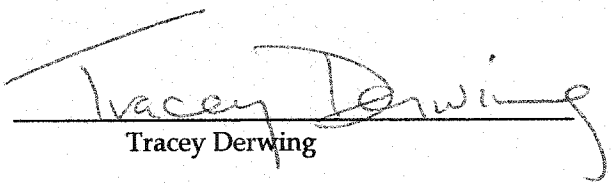

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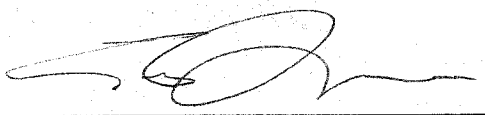

Sourayan Mookerjea

Date: Sept 17, 2002

Dedication

This thesis is dedicated to my father George Henkel, a first generation immigrant to Canada who died while I was working on my thesis. Thank you for teaching me to strive to be all I can and for never accepting mediocrity.

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Abstract

This thesis examines public opinion about immigrants and their integration to Canada in seven Alberta communities. Public opinion data were obtained from a sample of 802 randomly selected adults from the communities of Edmonton, Calgary, Lethbridge, Red Deer, Medicine Hat, Grande Prairie, and Fort McMurray. Increasing federal government focus on dispersion of immigrants into communities other than Montreal, Toronto and Vancouver makes examination of variations in attitudes by community particularly policy-relevant. Three middle-range social psychological theories of public opinion and response to immigrants are employed to explain variations in attitudes while controlling for specific individual and community characteristics. In Conflict theory it is surmised that immigrants increase competition for jobs and other scarce resources thus resulting in discord between new immigrants and native-born Canadians. Contact theory states that prejudice between groups diminishes with favourable contact as social equals. Finally, education theory asserts that higher education leads to more positive attitudes about immigrants. In addition to analysis of the survey data, community characteristics taken from the 1991 and 1996 Canadian Censuses are used to contextually analyse public opinion.

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1. Introduction

Canadian communities are becoming increasingly heterogeneous, a condition enhanced by expanded mobility and immigration from a widening variety of source countries. Community profiles differ in terms of economies, industries, resources, and access to goods and services. Centres with larger populations have greater potential for diversity of choice and experience, while smaller centres may offer greater opportunities for community involvement or a slower pace of life. Community forms the backdrop and facilitates potential for contact with people like or unlike us. Our attitudes and opinions are grounded in our life experiences and are influenced by those with whom we come into contact. How we respond to and view new faces is influenced by many factors.

Since the 1970s the face of immigration to Canada has changed from predominantly European to Asian newcomers. In addition, a growing proportion of recent immigrants tend to gravitate to the three largest cities of Toronto, Montreal and Vancouver. These changes in immigration have served to widen differences between the populations of the three metropolises and smaller communities. The 1991 census shows that 38% of Toronto's population was foreign-born as compared to 20% in Edmonton and fewer than 10% in Medicine Hat, Red Deer and Grande Prairie, Alberta (Lamba, Mulder & Wilkinson, 2000). This strong urban pull represents a change from earlier patterns where larger proportions of newcomers settled in farming communities or chose to live in smaller urban centres across the nation. When researching public opinion towards newcomers it is important to first consider how the uneven dispersion of immigrants throughout Canada affects Canadians' exposure to newcomers and

consequently may influence attitudes of both the Canadian-born and immigrants. Moreover, the varied and diverse conditions and features of communities serve to shape their residents' feelings of security and openness to others.

While some larger research studies and public opinion polls explore public attitudes at a national level, regional comparisons usually focus on the three large urban immigrant-receiving centres (i.e., Toronto, Montreal and Vancouver), or between these centres and the "other" part of Canada. The use of this method implies that while public opinion across Toronto, Montreal and Vancouver may vary; public opinion across the "other" does not vary. In light of an increasing federal interest in encouraging immigrants to locate in smaller centres, information derived from the collective "other" is not very useful. When we look at public opinion to immigration from a national or global perspective, we find many interesting and similar trends especially across nations with similar policies (Reitz & Breton, 1994); however, aggregating regions or countries for research purposes may serve to conceal regional differences.

Knowledge of the uniqueness of communities and community attitudes toward immigrants may well assist policy makers to explore new paradigms in destining refugees and in providing accurate information to prospective and new immigrants. More accurate matching of immigrants to communities that offer services to meet their particular needs, and to a community that needs the newcomers' specific skill sets, would ensure benefits to both the newcomers and the community. In addition, placement in an accepting community environment may serve to accelerate and enhance the integration process and diminish early secondary migration to a new community where settlement services may not be as readily accessible.

While some Alberta communities are older and well established, others are relatively new; some have economies that are based on farming while others depend heavily on manufacturing and natural resource extraction. The sizes of communities vary, as do the services and facilities available within them. While some communities have higher proportions of older people, the young more heavily populate others. Furthermore, communities differ in their range of available post-secondary educational opportunities, necessitating some movement in order to pursue specific post-secondary educational interests.

While immigrants to Canada are free to settle anywhere they choose, government-assisted refugees are destined to specific locations. In most provinces, government selected destinations are limited to one or two main urban centres. Until the year 2000, government-assisted refugees arriving in Alberta were settled in one of seven communities: Medicine Hat, Lethbridge, Calgary, Red Deer, Edmonton, Grande Prairie or Fort McMurray. This distribution (at the request of the provincial government) ensured that in addition to immigrants who chose these communities, a number of destined newcomers were settled in these sites each year. This settlement dissemination makes Alberta an excellent choice for researching public opinion about immigrants in a variety of communities.

When considering public attitudes towards immigrants, it is important to examine community differences. If community differences in public opinion exist we must further explore community factors that might influence these attributes. Understanding the conditions that are most favourable to immigrant acculturation and settlement will provide valuable information to communities, immigrants, researchers and policy makers.

Communities may be able to develop strategies to attract newcomers, initiatives that could be especially important in keeping smaller centres vibrant. Prospective immigrants could use community information to get a sense of how they will be accepted upon their arrival, and to best choose their destination and to further prepare for settlement. Researchers can learn more about how the public responds to immigrants, and about community conditions that foster positive public opinion. Policy makers can be informed about developing policies that best serve communities for both long-time residents and newcomers.

This thesis comprises seven chapters. Chapter one provides an introduction to the thesis, while chapter two presents the three theoretical perspectives addressed in this analysis. Chapter three includes a review of background literature, sourced from four areas: news media, public opinion polls, government documents and theoretically informed academic research. Chapter four offers characteristics of the seven sample communities, derived from 1991 and 1996 Canadian Censuses and the Landed Immigrant Data Base (1992-1997). The research methodology is presented in chapter five and the multivariate analysis appears in chapter six. The concluding chapter is a discussion of the findings as well as policy recommendations and suggestions for further research. A bibliography and an appendix that contains the public opinion survey questionnaire used in this study follow the main body of the thesis.

2. Theoretical Perspectives

Three theoretical perspectives offer explanations of how immigrants are perceived and received by the public. Group conflict and group contact theories provide opposing hypotheses while the third theory postulates that education has a positive effect on attitudes toward immigrants. It is important to note that these theories do not stand alone, but are intertwined with each other and with further explanations. They serve to explain variations in attitudes across time and space making them useful to this thesis project.

The three theoretical perspectives are middle range social psychological theories of individuals and attitudes that serve to provide a framework for defining "other". Within the Canadian nation-building context the meaning of "other" is not static. The Aboriginal peoples initially saw the first settlers to Canada as "other", but as Europeans gained power, this paradigm shifted and the settlers became the entrenched "we" and aboriginals became the "other". With the exception of a number of Chinese immigrants at the turn of the last century, until the 1970s, immigrants to Canada were largely white. During this time, race and ethnicity determined the immigrant "other" that included all non-white immigrants and those white immigrants who were not of British or French origin. With a continuing increase in the proportion of non-white immigrants since the 1970s, the categorization of "other" has shifted and is now primarily driven by race.

Conflict Theory

In terms of social psychological explanatory perspectives, conflict theory is the oldest explanation of prejudice and discrimination. It is rooted in the Marxist view that

the history of all existing societies is based on class struggle. For conflict theorists, the key explanatory principle is that society is composed of opposing groups who compete for scarce resources. The most powerful group, the ruling class, has the power and tools to control resources. When applied to the Canadian mosaic, the division of competing groups has evolved historically. In general terms, the earliest immigrants, those of British and French origins, hold the greatest power, with later immigrants from non-British and non-French origins holding less power. (Driedger and Halli, 2000). Since the 1970s the newest immigrants are largely visible minorities.

When placed within the framework of public response to immigration, conflict theory suggests that the public is xenophobic because more powerful groups sense that immigrants will threaten their own group position in society. Competition for scarce resources leads to conflict with immigrants and lowers public levels of acceptance and tolerance, especially among those who feel they have the most to lose. What begins as a competition develops into full-scale emotion-laden prejudice where the out-group is perceived as being the enemy (Baron & Byrne, 1994).

Fetzer (2000) takes the theory further by suggesting that relative deprivation or perception of a discrepancy between expectations and capabilities also promotes xenophobia. Placing his theory within the context of this study, immigrants pose a threat to Canadian-born workers who believe that they must face greater competition in the labour market. Canadian-born workers might also be concerned that immigrants will accept jobs that they would not take, fearing that immigrants are generally worsening labour conditions and threatening wages.

Fleres and Elliot (1992) explain how maintaining racially-based inequality is useful to some: "Fomenting racial prejudice and out-group hostility helps to perpetuate the status quo, prevents the formation of worker solidarity, improves capital formation, destabilizes counter movements, and militates against the development of class consciousness" (p. 103). Conversely, the experience of being marginalized or oppressed breeds sympathy and solidarity among groups that would otherwise perceive little common ground. Conflict and marginalization have implications beyond the labour market that relate to race, ethnicity, religion, language and gender. Fetzer (2000) points out that for those who have experienced discrimination there is usually no middle ground in terms of tolerance for racism or discrimination.

Contact Theory

Rooted in the work of Gordon Allport (1958), contact theory proposes that prejudice is reduced when social equals meet under favourable circumstances (Ford, 1986). Reduction in prejudice and intolerance can occur even when the contact is between a dominant and 'other' group, or in the present context, white Canadian-born and 'other'. Contact theory is part of general attitude-change theory that considers how experiences change attitudes and how new attitudes change subsequent behaviours. According to this theory, those who have the most contact with immigrants will be the least threatened by them, and consequently will be the most willing to accept them as part of the community.

Positive contact allows each group to see and evaluate life from the other's point of view, thus fostering better understanding and greater acceptance. Yehuda Amir (1969)

assessed research on the effects of inter-group contact to find that the results can be both positive and negative. While the majority of studies report some reduction in some aspect of prejudice, there is also evidence that inter-group contact may increase tension. Amir points to conditions that both favourably and unfavourably affect prejudice in contact situations. Favourable conditions that reduce prejudice include equal status contact; contact between members of a majority group with higher status members of the minority group; a social climate that favours or promotes inter-group contact, when the contact is intimate versus casual; contact that is pleasant or rewarding to both groups; and contact in which the interaction is functionally important and relates to a common goal. Conditions that strengthen prejudice include contact that encourages competition between groups; unpleasant, involuntary or tense contact; contact which results in a lowering of prestige; contact where either or both groups are in a state of frustration; contact when one group's moral or ethnic standards are objectionable; and finally, contact when the members of the minority group are of a lower status than the members of the majority group (Amir, p. 338).

In related research on conditions that affect second language acquisition, John Shumann (1978) explores social distance. He finds that expectations, on the part of the established citizenry as well as on the part of the newcomer or ESL learner, influence how language learning takes place. Conditions that foster ESL acquisition are congruent with those that promote positive contact: group expectation of dominance or subordination; preconceived ideas on both sides; congruence of cultures; and characteristics of each group in terms of cohesiveness, size and permanence. However, Shumann (1998) presents two caveats. First, "these factors are not independent; they

often interact so that one will affect the other", and secondly "the social factors in each group are treated as though they were discrete categories, but in reality each grouping is a continuum." (p.80). It is precisely such caveats that make it so difficult to measure and predict conditions conducive to positive contact.

Contact theory is also explained as a dimension of Social Categorization Theory where within an "us"/ "them" dichotomy we tend to attribute more favourable qualities to the "us" to which we belong. As people shift the boundaries so that persons previously "them" become "us", prejudice towards these people tends to disappear. The shifting of boundaries requires contact and/or education (Ely & Suny 1996).

Fetzer (2001) further refines contact theory by maintaining that it is the number and type of personal contacts that one has with newcomers that distinguish between "true" acquaintances, with a result of decreasing prejudice, or "casual contact" with increased prejudice being the outcome. Policies that focus on ensuring equal opportunity and equal access serve to increase contact opportunities. However, whether these opportunities reduce or foster prejudice depends on other factors.

Education Theory

A third general theory of inter-group relations proposes that higher education leads to more liberal and accepting attitudes towards immigrants and visible minorities because people learn to think differently and become more accepting of members of the "other". Considerable research supports this theory. A review of public opinion polls from post WWII to the early 1970s indicates that university-educated Canadians were more likely to both recognize the contributions of immigrants, and to indicate that more

immigrants are needed in Canada (Tienhaara, 1975). Subsequent public opinion research conducted by Angus Reid, Gallup and Ekos (reviewed in the next chapter) also supports "education theory".

It is important to explore other variables that accompany receiving a higher education to determine what it is about higher education that has an influence on attitudes. For example, Canada does not have a system of fully funded post-secondary education; economic status affects access to education. These differences in attitudes attributed to education might simply reflect economic status differences. Furthermore, the post-secondary education setting frequently provides opportunities for contact with foreign students. Finally, the types of people who choose post-secondary education may have more positive pre-existing attitudes towards immigrants. While post-secondary education may indeed be a factor in changing attitudes, it is important to consider and control for such exogenous or intervening variables. Guimond, Palmer and Begin (1989) suggest that attitudes of post-secondary students towards immigrants vary in relationship to academic disciplines; however, Sorenson and Krahn (1996) did not find such differences.

In looking at the impact of higher education on attitudes towards immigrants, it is also important to consider symbolic racism. As abhorrence to overt racism increases, prejudice may be going underground rather than being eradicated, thus finding expression in subtler forms (Palmer, 1996). Recipients of higher education may be more highly attuned to being "politically correct", thus may be more able to cloak racism behind statements in defence of pro-immigration values.

Defining and Categorizing Racism and Ethnic Prejudice

To fully understand social psychological theories of how we accept and respond to newcomers, it is important to look at theories of discrimination and racism. Satzewich (1999), in *The political economy of race and ethnicity,* outlines two theories of racism. Within the structural tradition, established by Oliver Cromwell Cox (1948), race problems begin as labour problems. Racial boundaries and categories are divisive tools that establish group boundaries to ensure reserves of cheap labour. Here, racism facilitates the production progress, justifying exploitation and unequal treatment of minority groups. Examples of immigrant groups in Canada that fit within this framework are those of migrant labourers from the Caribbean and Mexico who were not free to either change employers or stay in Canada and, conversely, immigrant Dutch farm workers who could change employers and were able to become landed immigrants to Canada. (Fleras and Elliot 1996).

A second explanation of racism and discrimination is the agency or political economy tradition where racism and/or discrimination is a way of making sense of experiences and a way to interpret and explain the world. This theory is rooted in the work of Antonia Gramsci and was popularized in Britain by Stuart Hall (Fleras and Elliot 1996). The first theory describes racism and/or discrimination as a conscious and purposeful way of dividing society and thus a factor in creating a social order based on division. The second theory proposes that racism and/or discrimination is a tool that people use to understand an existing social order.

Driedger and Halli in *Race and Racism* (2000) present Daniels and Kitano's (1970) four basic stages of racial separation. These progressive stages were evidenced in

the treatment of Japanese Canadians prior to WWI through WWII. The first stage includes informally patterned rules for interaction, or *prejudice* and proceeds to formal rules, norms and agreements that translate to deprivation and *discrimination.* Jealousy about Japanese success in fishing, farming and lumbering led to the Vancouver Race Riots of 1907. Many Canadians feared that Japanese immigrants would take employment opportunities away. Subsequently, laws were established to restrict Japanese minority influence. The final stages of this progression, *segregation* and *apartheid,* were marked by the "repatriation" of Japanese from the west coast to inland locations during WWII. Following the war, attempts to deport Japanese Canadians were still being initiated with an Order-in-Council (Shiva and Halli 2000). In the interest of national security, overt racism was considered to be justified and was therefore implemented.

Researchers also define a number of forms or types of racism, some overt and others hidden beneath a more palatable exterior. Evelyn Kallen (1995) describes numerous forms of discrimination in *Ethnicity and human rights in Canada.* She contends that discrimination can be individual, institutional or cultural. Cultural discrimination occurs when the dominant ethnic collectivity in a multicultural society imposes its cultural attributes, values and standards, and definitions of reality on the greater society. Only the dominant ethnic group has the power to transform ethnocentrism into cultural discrimination. Kallen also describes "discrimination of silence" where educators and other Euro-Canadians in positions of power say and do nothing about racism in Canada, and a related structural discrimination where ethnic minorities are categorically denied opportunities.

Fleras and Elliot (1996) take an in-depth look at various types of racism in *Unequal relations: An introduction to race, ethnic and aboriginal dynamics in Canada.* They explain that the different modes of racism embody variations of intent, awareness, scope, channels of expression, depth of intensity and consequences. The most overt type of racism is that of the "red-neck", the kind that immediately comes to mind. Personal and subliminal racism are also communicated at personal levels, but in a more covert form, making these types of racism less easy to address. Finally, institutional and systemic racism move beyond the individual to the larger group and group structures. While differences in space and time may influence the mode, all of these types of racism exist in Canada today. Fleras and Elliot note that despite social sanctions against acting on these views, Canadians employ a variety of forms of racism ranging from openly to politely racist actions.

Berry and Kalin (2000) defined racism as a combination of prejudice and the power to act on that prejudice. They pointed out that prejudice held by a non-dominant group toward the dominant group does not qualify as racism. Berry and Kalin (2000) review public opinion surveys from 1974 and 1991, sponsored by the Multiculturalism Branch of the federal government. The purpose of these surveys was to measure multicultural ideology and to look at attitudes toward specific programs that promote diversity. Barry and Kalin note that while the objects of prejudice have shifted, the underlying principle remains that of rejecting others. In both studies there is a clear hierarchy of acceptance of groups with those of European origins; in addition, Aboriginals and Chinese were rated more positively than other visible minorities. For visible minorities, increasing critical mass does not seem to have the same influence on

attitudes as it does for other groups. The authors point out that cultural enclaves do not allow for even distribution of mass across neighbourhoods.

Peter Li (2001) presents racism as a social feature where there is social value in classifying people into unalterable groups. This classification is based on real or imagined congenital features. The concept of "diversity" becomes a substitute for non-white immigrants and in this way the discussion of race or skin colour is central but codified, thus making "democratic racism" part of the agenda. Race-based evaluations are thus covered up by pseudo-scientific constructs. At extreme levels democratic racism provides grounds for unequal treatment and sets the rationale for the justification of inequality.

In *Public opinion visible minorities,* Dreidger and Reid (2000) examine prejudice and discrimination against immigrants and visible minorities. They point out that it is more difficult to measure attitudes of prejudice than it is to measure the actions of discrimination. Prejudice is difficult to identify because it contains the same elements as the legitimate function of categorization, but is based on negative attitudes. On the other hand, actions of discrimination are more easily recognized.

The authors place the characteristics of prejudice and discrimination on a continuum of differential treatment, ranging from prejudicial treatment to disadvantageous treatment, and denial of desire. Two analytic perspectives of discrimination are presented, that of "colour-class" where society identifies non-whites with the lowest social class, and that of "stranger" where non-white immigrants are archetypal strangers, both in appearance and behaviour, and thus are reacted to with distrust, antipathy, and negative attitudes.

The New Racism

Racism and discrimination have evolved and changed within the national context. Zong (1997) and Li (2001) describe the "new racism" as covert and oblique in contrast to the earlier blatant manifestation. Li (2001) calls this form of racism "democratic" due to its justification in democratic society. It is built on racial myths and stereotypes and does not require its followers to denounce the principles of democracy. This new and softer version of racism maintains that racial distinctions are natural and immutable, propagating a codified version of racism that is legitimated and not seen as racist. Descriptors such as "non-white" are replaced with "diversity". Government and researchers reify race by encouraging Canadians to evaluate the desirability of people based on skin colour. However, this racial subtext transforms the racial message into "valid concerns" and scientific findings". In this way, unacceptable racist opinions are transformed into legitimate concerns. Li suggests that this type of analysis holds a number of policy implications. Tighter control and more regulation in dealing with immigration problems, and the abandoning of racial subtext in the construction of knowledge and policy perspective, would serve to foster a society based on "respect of differences by dispelling racial stereotypes and cultural myths" (p. 93).

Mookerjea (1994), also explores the effects of the binary white/coloured dichotomy. In his analysis he follows changes in racism through time. In classical colonialism, each race had its own time and stage, but pluralism and relativism dispense "original cultures" to their own spaces but within the whole of the nation or world order. Mookerjea describes the Multiculturalism Act as a way "to secure and legitimate the racisms and nationalism of the constitutional foundations of the nations as one between

two founding nations" (p 4). Whereas the old pluralism gives us rights as individuals, the new multiculturalism focuses on group rights where each person is a member of a racially designated cluster.

Summary

Looking at public opinion about diversity and immigration policy through the lenses of three social psychological theories helps us to understand how these different but related ways of explaining variations in public opinion are connected to broader social and economic trends and public issues. Furthermore, it is helpful to explore different theoretical perspectives on racism and discrimination given the changing face of immigration to Canada in the last three decades. A solid understanding of the concept of racism is needed to place the social psychological theoretical perspectives, and to better understand differences across time and space in public opinion about diversity and immigration policy.

The three middle range social psychological theoretical perspectives presented above provide explanations for variations in public attitudes about immigrants. The core proposition of education theory is that people learn to think and act differently. Hence attitudes are based on learning, not necessarily contact. While education theory would still be valid in an environment where there is no contact with immigrants, the Canadian reality of being an immigrant nation means that almost all urban Canadians have at least some contact with immigrants. Conflict theory requires contact to confirm the struggle over resources and move the theory beyond an empty paranoia. In essence, both conflict and education theories are dependent upon contact. If we examine the conditions of

positive and negative contact, we find that conflict and education theories fit into the larger contact theory.

These three theoretical explanations of the relationship between new immigrants and the Canadian-born, place public opinion within a more useful conceptual framework. Attitudes towards immigrants and immigration in multicultural societies are important because individuals act and react, provide limits for social change, and offer the necessary support for policies and programs. Furthermore, attitudes can be tracked so that predictions for the future can be made. Not only has the essence of the Canadian population changed dramatically, that change has taken place over a relatively short period of time and continues to change at an accelerating pace. Moreover, immigrants to Canada tend to settle in specific regions and communities, a practice, which serves to widen Canadian regional differences in terms of population composition.

Within an ever-changing context, Canadians must come to terms with their past, present and future. Our attitudes and opinions are often drawn from our lived experience. In Canada an abundance of baby-boomers entered the labour market in an environment with little diversity in terms of race or culture. Attitudes toward increased immigration and increasing proportions of visible minorities vary greatly. While the public draws from the past, policy makers must look to the future in order to plan. The realities of a declining birth rate, an aging population, and imminent shortages of skilled labourers push policy makers to consider immigration as a viable solution.

Policy makers should be visionary leaders in planning a Canadian future that will best serve all Canadians; at the same time, they should implement policies that Canadians will accept and support. Research by Angus Reid (1990) suggests that the three largest

centres of Montreal, Toronto, and Vancouver may be nearing a flash point. Residents of these centres feel that too many immigrants are settling in their cities; they would like to see immigrants more evenly dispersed across Canada. An additional effect of the concentrated settlement of immigrants is a widening regional diversity. Public support for a wider dispersal of new immigrants within Canada is evident. Immigrants could serve to provide needed skills, and add to diminishing populations in smaller urban centres.

However, successful immigrant settlement and retention in smaller centres is contingent on a number of factors. While we know that community receptivity, the availability of housing, and access to employment and education are all factors affecting settlement and retention, there is a lack of research into how these factors play out in communities. There are few systematic comparisons beyond Montreal, Vancouver and Toronto, and the comparisons that do exist involve only the largest provincial centres. Smaller urban centres may, in fact, have the capacity to accept and settle immigrants, providing benefit to both the newcomer and the community. This thesis will examine the variation in public opinion across Alberta communities, taking into consideration the unique contexts of each community.

To facilitate the creation of public policy that is conducive to and supportive of immigrants choosing smaller centres for settlement, it is imperative to conduct systematic research on several immigrant-receiving communities. Alberta provides the ideal setting for such research because, unlike other provinces, government-sponsored refugees from Alberta were settled in several relatively small communities to ensure that there is a new immigrant base in each location. In addition, these communities are diverse in size, economy, composition and history. While Medicine Hat is centred in a rural area where

many of the residents are retired farmers, Fort McMurray is a relatively new city that developed because of the oil industry. The seven cities considered here, Medicine Hat, Lethbridge, Calgary, Red Deer, Edmonton, Grande Prairie and Fort McMurray, vary in size and degree of isolation.

This thesis undertakes a systematic theoretical interpretation of data from a public opinion survey in these seven communities. The social psychological theories of contact, conflict and education provide the tools to look at the differences in and across communities and provide the framework to explore attitudes and why those attitudes are similar or different across communities. If conflict theory is borne out, there should be fewer favourable attitudes to immigrants in communities with higher unemployment. Respondents and communities with a generally well-educated population may have more tolerant views towards immigrants. Hence communities with facilities for post-secondary education or those communities that attract the more highly educated may be better locations for newcomers. Finally the amount of contact and types of contact that the Canadian-born have with immigrants will be explored. Communities with conditions that foster positive contact with visible minority residents should have more positive attitudes.

A systematic and focussed study of these communities allows for control of exogenous or intervening factors that may influence attitudes. A clearer understanding of the differences and similarities of smaller Canadian urban centres in relation to conditions that are conducive to the settlement of newcomers may serve to assist policy-makers to handle future immigration in a way that is best for both newcomers and the communities in which they settle.

3. Attitudes Toward Immigrants: Literature Review

This literature review is drawn from four sources: news media, public opinion polls, government documents, and theoretically informed academic research. This review does not include all relevant sources but does provide some necessary background. Drawing on these different yet complementary sources of public opinion research provides a sound basis for researching Alberta community differences in public opinion towards immigrants.

An examination of media reports illuminates the context in which attitudes are developed, while public opinion polls measure attitudes directly. Public opinion polls pertaining to issues of immigration are conducted sporadically and all are greatly influenced by a number of issues, some closely related to immigration and others not. Polls focus on attitudes and the demographic factors that influence them, but rarely upon underlying reasons for attitude formation. Government documents use opinion poll data to describe and anticipate public support in setting direction for public policy.

Academic researchers access data from a variety of sources to assess causal factors for public attitudes. Analysis is most often placed within theoretical frameworks to best explain past, present and future variations in attitudes. Researchers move beyond the description of public opinion to examine attitude formulation, exploring conditions that both positively and negatively affect attitudes and placing those conditions within theoretical frameworks. Thus the academic research section of the following literature review explores the underlying conditions of attitude formation, beginning with the viewpoint that racism and prejudice have always existed.

News Media

The volume of media reporting about immigration is immense. This review will focus only on articles that pertain to public opinion about immigration issues during the last three decades. The articles are drawn from Canada and the United States. Media coverage of immigration issues tends to be sporadic and generally peaks during times when citizens are affected by a specific immigration-related event.

Canadian Newspapers

By the late 1970s, Canada was receiving a substantial number of visible minority immigrants with 11,000 Vietnamese "boat people" arriving over a period of several weeks. In subsequent years, Canadian media reported numerous landing attempts by refugee claimants including the landing of Tamils off the coast of Newfoundland, Sikhs arriving on the shores of Nova Scotia, a planeload of Turkish claimants, and purported Trinidadian queue jumpers (Foster, 1998). In contrast to the mainly positive coverage of the Vietnamese arrivals, the media portrayal of these other events served to foster a general attitudinal climate that was not favourable to immigration. Simons (1999) reports that by the 1980s, the majority of the public was in favour of limiting immigration and this opinion extended to all education and income levels.

An article in *Macleans* (December 30, 1996) outlined the Canadian public's division over the topic of immigration; half of the surveyed Canadians said there were too many immigrants coming to Canada and that newcomers would take jobs away from Canadians, while two-thirds agreed that immigrants contribute to the country's crime rate. In this article, academic Don DeVoretz pointed out that Canadians were anxious about immigrants entering Canada. However, once immigrants landed, Canadians were

accommodating. He further pointed out that immigrants caused both job displacement and job creation in Canada.

Since the early 1970s the majority of articles favouring restrictionist policies appeared in response to an influx of non-European immigrants and/or to immigrants who entered the country illegally. In 1999, two simultaneous immigration events elicited both positive and negative press. Although the number of Chinese "boat people" that arrived on the west coast of Canada was relatively small (<600), this group was seen as a threat to Canadians and the Canadian way of life. Daily newspapers supported this perception by presenting these boat arrivals as a risk to society. The sub-title of a September 18, 1999 article in the *Economist* stated, "The influx [of Chinese boat people] has angered many Canadians making them feel like suckers." Interestingly, the ethnic Chinese community in Canada was even less tolerant than the general public with 91% calling for the boat people to be deported immediately. An August 31, 1999 *Globe and Mail* article reported an Angus Reid Public Opinion Poll showing that a strong majority of Canadians (70%) felt that the Chinese boat people should not automatically be granted refugee status, while 50% felt they should be deported without a hearing. Respondents from British Columbia were most likely to call for immediate deportation. Apparently, escaping communism no longer gained the public sympathy it did when the Vietnamese refugees arrived a decade earlier.

During the same summer more than 7,000 refugees from Kosova arrived in Canada. The media portrayed this group of arrivals positively, and no amount of support and welcome seemed beyond what Canadians were willing to give. Local newspapers published human-interest stories related to sponsor-refugee relationships and the good

will of Canadians towards the Kosovars. Headlines in Alberta papers presented these refugees in a very positive light: February 20,2000, *Edmonton Journal*, "Sanctuary, and New Life", March 5, 2000 *Edmonton Journal*, "Kindness brings smile to Kosovar refugee", and May 16, 2000, in the *New York Times*, an article about Kosovars in Lethbridge entitled "Kosovars Changing Canadian Prairie".

The conditions of arrival for the Kosovars and the Chinese boat people were very different, one group arriving with permission and the other without. The media contributed heavily to shaping the opinions both of Canadians who had contact with these newcomers and those who formed their opinions based on media presentations.

Summary

Media narratives with regard to immigrants are often conflicting. While at one level immigrants are portrayed as an economic and social benefit to the broader society, at another level they are seen as usurpers of social benefits, and as less productive or non-productive members of society. Patterns in reporting range from portraying visible minorities, namely immigrants, as socially problematic people who make demands on national prosperity, to being exotic adornments that are irrelevant to society. In her article, *Media and minorities in a post-multicultural society: overview and appraisal,* Fleres (1994) suggests that the media both inadvertently and deliberately convey negative information about ethno-racial minorities. Minorities are largely underrepresented and stereotypes about them are, for the most part, upheld. Media reporting patterns alternately present minorities as invisible and as social problems that limit national prosperity. In conclusion Fleres (1994) points out that the media have a responsibility to accurately reflect and to reinforce diversity in Canada.

Public Opinion Polls

In Canada, public interest in anglophone/francophone relations has traditionally superseded interest in immigration. However, in the last three decades there has been an escalating public interest in immigration issues. This interest was motivated by a number of national issues as well as a growing global population crisis. Adult Canadians have experienced recessions, energy crises, increasing female labour force participation, and a rapid growth as the baby boomers entered the workforce. These issues may serve to foster a climate of resistance to immigration for those who feel threatened in the labour market or for those who have difficulty adapting to an increasingly diverse social fabric. In looking to the future, Canada's birth rate continues to decline and the baby-boomers are on the verge of retirement, conditions that point to future labour force shortages with fewer Canadians of working age. As policy makers plan for the future, they must be aware of how much change and what kind of change Canadians will tolerate or support; to do this they rely heavily on opinion polls.

The discussion that follows is based on multiple sources. National polling companies that have consistently provided public opinion information to the federal government include Angus Reid, Gallup, Decima and Ekos. Information for this section of the literature review is drawn from polling company reports. At a regional level, the Alberta Survey, conducted by the Population Research Laboratory at the University of Alberta, also periodically includes questions on immigration and integration issues.

Post WWII to 1975

Nancy Tienhaara (1975) provides a comprehensive review of polled opinion on immigration in *Canadian views on immigration: An analysis of post-war Gallup polls.*

Between the end of WWII up to 1975, Canadians generally approved of immigration, but with many conditions attached. Approval for immigration is often conditional upon it being restrictive or selective, and connected to the Canadian employment situation where support "fluctuates with the needs of Canada, or means that immigrants could obtain employment without taking jobs away from Canadians" (p.2).

The polls show that attitudes to immigration varied across time and space and were influenced by several demographic factors. Those respondents, who had come to Canada as immigrants, and most especially those who had recently come from countries where they had experienced political or economic upheaval, were most positive about the benefits of immigration to Canada. While gender proved to be a significant factor, males generally being more agreeable to immigration than females, age and marital status did not significantly influence attitudes to immigration.

Those who presented the most negative attitudes toward immigrants generally had a common set of characteristics in that they had lower incomes, were less educated, held unskilled or low skilled jobs, lived in rural areas and were residents of areas with high unemployment and/or marginal economies (Tienhaara, 1975). As well, those with a lack of contact with or awareness of immigrants tended to have more negative and undecided responses when addressing questions about Canada's need for immigrants.

Differences in attitudes across space were also evident. While Ontarian residents' attitudes to immigration remained consistent with the national opinions, respondents from the prairies and British Columbia were most positive about immigration just after WWII and least positive by the early 1970s. Furthermore, respondents from the Atlantic region and those living in small communities were consistently most undecided in their

responses, perhaps because many of these residents have little contact with new immigrants and thus do not feel affected by immigration. Given the increasing trend for immigrants to settle in large urban centres, rural respondents may have had little contact with immigrants and/or little or no awareness of immigration issues. Consistently, from post WWII to the early 1970s, community size and type appear to be factors in attitudes to immigration, where respondents from cities with a population of over 100,000 had more positive attitudes towards immigrants. When Tienhaara (1975) controlled for education, she found that some of the correlation between community size and attitude disappeared, but community size was still a significant factor in accounting for variation in attitude.

1975 - Present

Since the late 1970s, immigrant source countries have changed from European origin to other parts of the world, especially Asia. With this change came a growing interest in issues pertaining to immigration. This variation of "face" reflects a change in global conditions but is also a result of Canada's formalized commitment to diversity, or rather a "managed diversity" brought about through the Charter of Rights and Freedoms (1985), the Employment Equity Act (1986) and the Multiculturalism Act (1988).

Considering the differences between "managed" and "lived diversity", Kalin and Berry (1994) point out that the term "multiculturalism" is laden with a variety of meanings, making it difficult to assess attitudes to "multiculturalism" as policy and "multiculturalism" as fact. Public opinion polls have explored attitudes to multiculturalism by asking questions related to integration. In multiple polls conducted by Berry, Decima, and Environics, between 1974 and 1990, the majority of Canadians

consistently accepted the idea of multiculturalism and approved the retention of heritage identities, but they also had expectation that newcomers would change to fit into the new society (Kalin & Berry, 1994). These findings are somewhat supported by Bibby's (1987) research where a majority (56%) of respondents favoured Canada as a "mosaic" rather than a "melting pot". In 1990, McLean's magazine conducted a poll using the same question and found that two-thirds of respondents favoured the "mosaic".

Compared with attitudes regarding immigration from the immediate post WWII era, polls conducted in the 1970s and 80s reveal that Canadians were more divided, with similar numbers of Canadians seeing positive and negative consequences to immigration. Canadians favoured certain types of immigrants, those with relatives in Canada and those with high education and job skills. However, this preference was not evident in the marketplace where Canadians were reluctant to seek the services of immigrant professionals (Kalin & Berry, 1994). Congruent with earlier polls, differences in attitudes were found. Members of the Canadian public, who had higher status, and particularly those with higher education levels, had more open and tolerant views. As well, respondents viewed their own ethnic group with more tolerance than did people from other groups. Community size was also found to be related to attitude in that the larger the community, the more positive the attitude to immigration and multiculturalism. Finally, there was a hierarchy regarding acceptance by ethnicity that is similar to social distance ratings and prestige ratings. Generally, those with a European ethnicity were most accepted and those of African ethnicity were least accepted (Kalin & Berry, 1994).

Opinions about Immigration Levels

Since WWII, polls have regularly reported Canadian attitudes on immigration and population. Immediately following WWII, when the majority of immigrants came from Europe and the United Sates, a majority of Canadians (65%) were in favour of a much larger immigrant population, but by the mid-1970s fewer than one third (30%) felt that the population should be larger. These percentages have further declined as reported in an August 24, 1998 Gallup poll, where only 11% of the population favoured an increase in immigration. Consistently, higher proportions of respondents with university education support increased immigration. Support also varies regionally. A 1990 Angus Reid report indicates that while 71% of respondents believed that immigrants should be settled outside of major Canadian cities, the highest support came from Ontario and British Columbia, the locations of two of the three major immigrant receiving cities.

Opinions about Immigration Policy

Throughout the 1990s, Canadians have expressed concern about immigration policy and who should be allowed entry into Canada. A March 1990 Angus Reid poll revealed that the most favoured immigrants were those who were being reunited with family already in Canada and those who could contributed to Canada's economic growth. Canadians were also worried about immigrant screening and selection procedures. A February 1992 Ekos poll further found that a majority of Canadians had concerns about the social and economic costs of immigration, crime, concentrations of immigrants, housing problems, loss of Canadian culture, loss of employment, and the adaptation of newcomers. Regional differences in intensity of concern and reasons for concern were evident. In July 1992 an Ekos poll on the impact of amendments to the Immigration Act

found that just fewer than half (48%) of Canadians were aware of the new legislation and that the large majority of those with awareness (73%) supported a selection system that placed an emphasis on protecting the economic and social interests of Canadians. Changes to the Act were seen as tough, pragmatic, and in the best interests of Canada.

An April 1993 Angus Reid poll reported that, although a significant number of Canadians were concerned that Canada is taking too many immigrants, very few Canadians believed that the country would be better off if all recent immigrants returned to their countries of origin. A significant minority of Canadians thought that new immigrants should be restricted in terms of how much influence they are permitted to exercise over the future of the country.

In response to proposed federal legislation that would require immigrants to be proficient in English or French, a March 1998 Gallup poll found that a large majority (68%) favoured this requirement. The highest support was found in Quebec (77%) followed by British Columbia, Ontario, the Atlantic Provinces, and the Prairie region. In addition, 66% favoured immigrants paying for their own English or French language classes.

Opinions about Race and Multiculturalism

While Canadians express pride in the concept of the "cultural mosaic", their opinions about settlement are not congruent with this belief. In a March 1989 Angus Reid poll, a substantial majority agreed that the generous treatment of minorities is one of the things that defines the Canadian character. But, at the same time, the same proportion (60%) supported the "melting pot" by believing that encouraging minority groups to be

more like most Canadians should be of greater priority than fostering the cultural mosaic. These contradictory views were replicated in an April 1993 Angus Reid poll.

Canadians have also been asked questions pertaining to racism and multiculturalism. A March 1989 Angus Reid poll found that Canadians were concerned that higher levels of immigration could lead to higher levels of racism. They felt that there was a lack of federal government attention to promoting "being Canadian" as opposed to being an immigrant of an ethnocultural minority. Respondents expressed anxiety about the traditional concept of multiculturalism and saw a need for change. They were most positive about "sharing across immigrant groups" and most negative about "group isolation". In the 1990s, Angus Reid polls consistently showed that a majority of Canadians believed that racial intolerance was increasing and they attributed this intolerance to higher levels of immigration and tough economic times.

Opinions about Contributions of Immigrants

A March 1990 Angus Reid poll found that the majority of Canadians felt that immigrants make a positive contribution to the economy and the culture of Canada. Respondents from British Columbia and Ontario were most likely to say that new immigrants positively contribute to Canada. In corresponding focus group research, held in Toronto, Montreal, and Vancouver, regional differences were evident. Respondents from Toronto were most concerned that the education and skills that newcomers bring with them should be put to better use to meet labour force demands. Those in Montreal were concerned that new immigrants did not work to assimilate into Canadian culture. Participants in Vancouver discussed the increasingly large numbers of immigrants from Hong Kong with reference to the rising costs of housing. More generally, they discussed

the strain that large numbers of immigrants placed on the city's educational resources. Respondents from all three centres felt that too many immigrants were settling in Canada's three largest cities. They wanted federal financial assistance to help immigrants and refugees settle in areas outside of the three main centres. They further proposed that relocation to other areas should be a condition of entry to Canada.

Alberta Polls

Questions about immigration were included on the Alberta Survey in the 1990s, providing data on opinions from Albertan perspectives. Marianne Sorenson summarized Albertan opinions in the Population Research Laboratory publication, *Immigrants in Alberta: Who are they and how they are viewed* (1993). Consistent with Canadian findings, she reports that while many immigrants "possess the human capital to fully participate in the Alberta labour force—they are still viewed by some individuals as 'backward' and thus a drain on the public purse" (p. 4). In fact, the proportion of immigrants with post-secondary or higher education is larger that that for Canadian-born Albertans.[1] Compared with the remainder of Canada, Alberta was slightly more in favour of decreasing immigration levels. Consistent with national patterns, decreasing immigration levels was most highly supported in rural areas and by those who were the least educated. Those in favour of decreasing immigration also favoured assimilation of immigrants into "Canadian" society.

Summary

Since the 1970s Canadians have been increasingly divided in their attitudes to immigration. In the public's eyes, immigrants vacillate between being contributors and

[1] Immigrant females = 47%, immigrant males = 46%, Canadian-born males = 43%, Canadian-born females = 35%

usurpers. When the Canadian economy is healthy, immigrants who will easily "fit in" are most welcome. In times of economic recession, immigrants are blamed for taking jobs from Canadians. While Canadians prided themselves on the Canadian cultural mosaic model, they were also reluctant to fund multiculturalism, and they generally favoured policies that support assimilation. There was a desire to recruit needed professional and skilled immigrants with little concern that these recruits are drawn from developing countries that may be losing their most qualified and desperately needed professionals (Angus Reid March, 1990).

Finally, it is not possible to define a single Canadian opinion about immigration, just as it is not possible to determine a single definition of "Canadian". In a February 1992 Ekos report *National opinion study on changes to immigration policy,* the dichotomy of Canadian opinion regarding immigration is described as follows: "a strong and durable humanitarian ethic coexists with the less tolerant mood of the nineties".

Government Documents Regarding Attitudes Toward Immigration

Government documents pertaining to public opinion concentrate on two themes, both of which are imperative to gaining insight for policy development. First, Canadian attitudes regarding various aspects of immigration serve to inform government in determining benchmarks for immigration levels. Second, a picture of Canadian thinking about diversity and multiculturalism informs policy makers as to the scope of public tolerance and expected challenges to an increasingly diverse population.

Immigration Levels

While the federal government funds many national public opinion polls, relatively few government documents solely address public opinion. As a background paper to *Perspectives on immigration in Canada* published in September 1988, the Canada Employment and Immigration Advisory Council analyzed public opinion polls from 1979 to 1987. In addition to the information already outlined in the previous polls section of the literature review, a number of interesting observations were made.

Canadians were divided on the number of refugees Canada should accept, and they also underestimated the number of immigrants that Canada receives. They were generally opposed to Canada taking a leadership role in accepting refugees and believed that Canada is doing more than its fair share. Disbelief regarding the legitimacy of refugee claims was brought forward in a national poll where 79% of respondents indicated that people claiming to be refugees are not "real" refugees. Moreover, a large majority (81%) said that those who enter Canada illegally should not be given the same privileges as those who enter legally.

In another government document, *Determinants of Canadian attitudes toward immigration: More than just racism?* Palmer (1996) explores attitudes to immigration. Using data from Gallup and Environics surveys gathered between 1975 and 1995, Palmer found that opposition to immigration was highly correlated with unemployment. He surmised that attitudes toward immigration were more than a measure of prejudice but were, in fact, influenced by fear of economic insecurity. He agreed that in order to promote positive attitudes toward immigration, it is imperative to consider the full spectrum of public concerns.

Two reports by Citizenship and Immigration Canada, *A detailed regional analysis of perceptions of immigration in Canada* (1998), and *Canadian attitudes and perceptions regarding immigration relations with regional per capita: Immigration and other contextual factors* (1999), considered regional factors affecting attitudes to immigration. It was determined that national patterns were not uniformly representative of what was happening in the various regions and provinces. Residents of regions where the rate of immigration was highest were more likely to say that there were "too many" immigrants coming to Canada. Moreover, this group displayed a greater tendency to perceive negative effects of immigration. However, no difference was found in the reporting of positive effects. In comparing the three large immigrant-receiving centres of Montreal, Vancouver and Toronto, residents of Vancouver were found to be less positive than those in Montreal or Toronto. Two specific inter-group conflicts in Vancouver and Halifax that took place around the time of the analysis were noted as having a regional effect of increasing intolerance to non-white immigrants.

Diversity and Multiculturalism

The Economic Council of Canada's report *New faces in the crowd: economic and social impacts of immigration* (1991) contains a compilation of 62 surveys gathered between 1975 to 1990 by Gallup, Decima and Environics. This report indicates that Canadians were divided regarding their opinions about the increasing diversity of immigration from a range of countries. Some Canadians saw increased diversity as essential to building a dynamic, pluralistic society while others saw it as a threat to social peace and tradition. Opinion varied across space and time.

Respondents from communities with higher proportions of visible minority immigrants tended to be more tolerant of racial and ethnic differences. Rising unemployment coupled with high proportions of visible minorities were conditions most likely to induce unfavourable attitudes. The report cites several intervening factors that contributed to changes in survey results: as Canadians are more sensitized they are likely to report less serious incidents of racism; there are increasingly more potential targets of intolerance; and a small minority of Canadians may have recently become more negative in response to a more tolerant majority. The report points out that roughly one in twenty Canadians are from non-European origin and, even without changes to immigration rates, that proportion will be one in ten within the next twenty-five years.

In her publication *Exploring Canadian values: foundations for well being* (1995), Suzanne Peters looked at Canadian values in an environment where Canadians were increasingly separated from participation in policy formation. Peters utilized data from a number of public opinion polls and conducted 25 focus groups in cities across Canada. Her chapter "Canadians' Vision for Canada" explored issues of immigration and multiculturalism. Peters found that many Canadians disagreed with the statement, "The composition of the new immigrant population provides a good balance". Young Canadians, the university-educated, members of minority ethnic groups, and regionally, those living in the Atlantic region and the prairies, were more in agreement with the above statement. While most Canadians were not opposed to immigration, they thought immigration policy should focus solely on providing economic benefit to Canada. They felt that current immigration policy allowed entry to many immigrants who were ill equipped to function in Canadian society.

While Canadians support a multicultural society, they also expect immigrants to adapt to the values of other Canadians and do not want newcomers to jeopardize the "Canadian way of life" or "Canadian values". An overwhelming majority of Canadians (9 out of 10) did not support increased spending on multiculturalism groups, but did support funding for integration initiatives, non-discrimination and cultural tolerance as opposed to funding measures that actively promote difference (Peters, 1995).

Peters' research confirmed the existence of a subtle and pervasive racism, recognized by a large majority of Canadians (80%). However, a large majority (71%) agreed that immigrants often bring discrimination on themselves and a large minority (40%) felt that minority groups should try to get rid of their harmful and irritating faults in order to be better liked by Canadians. Thus, racism was not only recognized but it was also justified. Peters identifies a hierarchy of acceptance similar to social distance and prestige ratings. While Canadians were prepared to accept diversity and difference at one level, they were less willing to do so where they are personally affected, "It appeared that participants were willing to tolerate Canadian diversity and are often proud of it, as long as their vision of the "Canadian way of life" and "Canadian family values" is not jeopardized." (p. 46).

Summary

Canadians were divided in their attitudes regarding immigration and an increasingly diverse population. Regional differences supported contact theory in that populations with a higher proportion of visible minorities had more tolerant attitudes towards visible minorities. However, this support was a qualified support set within conditions for positive attitudes. Many poll findings also served to support conflict and

education theories. Conflict theory was strongly supported in relation to the labour market where those who felt most insecure in terms of their own employment were the least positive about immigration. Moreover, those with the most education held the most positive attitudes to immigration and ethnic diversity.

International Research

In considering international comparisons of attitudes to immigration it is imperative to remember that units of comparison differ in many ways. In addition, demographics, history, and the development or non-development of policy surrounding immigration strongly influence attitudinal development. When the proportion of immigrants in various nations is compared it must be considered that these differences alone could have a significant impact on the newcomers' settlement experience and on public acceptance and opinion. For example, in 1991 the proportion of immigrants per 1,000 in Canada was 8.8, in Australia, 7.6 and in the United States only 2.5 (Fleres & Elliot, 1994).

In *A comparative assessment of public opinion toward immigrants and immigration policy,* (Simon and Lynch, 1999), and in *Public attitudes toward immigration in the United States, France, and Germany,* (Fetzer, 2000), the authors compare public opinion in a number of immigrant receiving and non-immigrant nations. While Australia, Canada and the United States are immigrant nations, Germany and Japan have very restrictive immigration policies and are virtually non-immigrant nations. France and Great Britain fall somewhere in between the immigrant and non-immigrant nations. The immigrant nations and Great Britain all have Immigration Acts in place.

However, the concept of immigration exists neither in fact or law in Japan where foreign nationals may never become citizens.

The immigrant nations have hierarchies of immigrant preference with priorities being family reunification, economic need, and humanitarian need. Until the 1970s, immigration to France was based on responding to labour needs but more recently has focussed on family reunification. Furthermore, France developed policies that provide financial incentives for Algerians to repatriate. Immigration to Britain is open to citizens of the United Kingdom and to selected Commonwealth citizens. There is also provision for admittance under family reunification, and work permits are attainable to those with specific skill-sets. Germany allows immigration of "guest-workers" to fill labour market needs, only to expel these newcomers when labour needs shift.

This group of countries with major differences in statutes, policies and practices vis-à-vis immigration nevertheless shares many similar attitudes and beliefs about immigration. The majority of respondents across the nations want their governments to accept fewer immigrants than the law permits, and they want more restrictions based on colour. They also prefer priority to be focussed on skills rather than family reunification, and believe that their country has done its fair share in terms of receiving refugees.

Inter-country comparisons are difficult for a variety of reasons. History and conditions of life, in addition to government, serve to provide a variety of specific and unique backdrops for the immigration and settlement process. In *New immigrants and democratic society: Minority integration in western democracies,* Hoskin (1991), points out that surveys are conducted sporadically and that they rarely take place simultaneously. However, Hoskin did find value in comparing overall patterns and the

differences between nations. Upon comparing German, British, American and Canadian polling data, she found some common themes. In all of these countries the proportion of respondents that were hostile to new immigrants was substantial. This hostility was generally consistent over time but was affected by dramatic events such as boatlifts, large movements of refugees and/or dramatic economic shifts. Hoskins found a "cross-national truth" in that immigrants or foreign workers are permanent features of post-industrial democracies.

In a July 1997 Angus Reid Poll, respondents were interviewed in twenty countries. Canadian society was found to have an international image as one of the most accepting of different cultures and lifestyles. The majority of respondents in almost all countries, 19 out of 20, agreed with the statement, "Canadians are tolerant of people from different racial and cultural backgrounds". With the exception of Israel at 49%, the remaining countries agreed to this statement by a proportion of more than 60%. The report concluded that the perceived capacity for Canadian tolerance is an important part of Canada's international reputation and of Canadians' collective self-image.

Reitz and Breton (1994), in *The illusion of difference*, compared public opinion in Canada and the United States to discover whether the widely-held visions of the American "melting pot" and the Canadian "cultural mosaic" could be substantiated by research. Interestingly, public opinion in the two countries was very similar, especially when opinion towards comparable cultures was assessed. The authors pointed out that there are five assertions or perceived differences that foster the imagery of the Canadian "cultural mosaic" and the American "melting pot": 1) the ethnic community in Canada is more visible; 2) the Canadian government has adopted multicultural policies; 3) the

United States has a history of serious racial conflict; 4) the English/French relations in Canada are an example of inter-group accommodation; and, 5) there are general cultural differences between United States and Canada.

Polls have shown that public opinion in Canada and the United States is moving to convergence. Americans are increasingly more likely to declare themselves in favour of cultural maintenance while Canadians are becoming more assimilationist. Reitz and Breton point out that Decima polls attributed this difference in opinion mainly to a larger proportion of more highly educated young people in the United States. A majority of both Canadians and Americans "feel that minorities are responsible for their own inequality, that discrimination is not a major cause of inequality, and that government should not intervene to ensure equality" (p. 88). Reitz and Breton concluded that the differences between Canadian and American opinion are not large enough to justify the implied distinction in the metaphors "cultural mosaic" and "melting pot".

While it is difficult to compare nations, international research in the area of immigration and integration is imperative to help us search out and assess both the similarities and differences in opinion and understanding. While movements of immigrants and refugees may follow similar patterns it is important to learn how differences in proximity and space factor into public perception. Variances in community characteristics provide unique backdrops for both attitude formation and theoretical perspectives.

Theoretically Informed Academic Research

This final section of the literature review serves as an introduction to academic research in the area of public attitudes towards immigration that has generally been more theoretically informed. It begins by placing research into a historical context from the early years when immigrants were largely ethnically homogeneous to the present where immigrants come from a wide range of source countries and ethnicities. Attitude and attitude formation regarding multiculturalism is reviewed in light of a Canadian population that has grown in ethnic diversity over a relatively short period of time. Ethnic prejudice and racism are defined and explained in the Canadian context, and their effects are also examined. Finally, research into the changing face of racism is explored in an attempt to understand how racism continues to exist in the changing Canadian context.

Historical Context

Canada is a nation largely comprised of immigrants and the descendants of immigrants. Boyd, Goldman and White, in *Race in the Canadian census,* (1993) point out that the relative desirability of various "white" race immigrants lasted well into the 1940s. Outside of Quebec, there existed a common "Anglo" ideology and set of institutions, and the focus of the policy agenda was to develop the western interior of Canada. This setting provided a context for debates about the relative suitability of southern and eastern European immigrants. Prior to WWII, there were primarily two models for settlement in Canada, both of which focussed on lineage and included the distinctions of "we" and "they". There were firm barriers to the entry of non-white immigrants. The Immigration Acts of 1910, 1927 and 1952 all excluded groups based on

ethnic and racial criteria and favoured immigrants from the British Isles and northern Europe.

To some extent, WWII sensitised the western world to the horrendous results of conceptualizing race as biological and unalterable (Boyd et al., 1993). In 1962 and 1967, changes in regulations opened immigration to non-Europeans, and the percentage of immigrants of Asian origin grew from 2% in 1961, to 13.6% in 1971, and 44% in 1981. In 1971 Canada was officially declared a bilingual and multicultural nation, but since only 5% of the population was non-white, race was virtually a non-issue. Canada's multiculturalism policy strove to recognize the role of ethnic diversity in the changing face of immigration to Canada. In the 1976 Immigration Act, national origins criteria for admission were replaced with criteria focussing on family reunification and labour market contribution.

Newcomers face a number of difficulties in the settlement process, especially within their first five years in Canada. In *Race and Racism*, Dreidger and Halli (2000) find that during their first five years in Canada, immigrants experienced higher levels of unemployment, and lower levels of income than the Canadian-born. They also faced non-recognition of qualifications, lack of Western experience, language problems, and discrimination. In response to problems of discrimination in the workplace, the federal government implemented the Employment Equity Act in 1986. While federally legislated measures have served to alleviate inequities somewhat, Driedger and Halli suggest that Canadian society must become better able to accept immigrants. They believe that new theoretical approaches are needed to better understand cultural differences, their social and reproductive behaviour and their institutions, and in this way existing prejudices will

be minimized. Immigrant integration is contingent upon both the newcomer's desire to integrate and the host society's acceptance.

Attitudes toward Multiculturalism

Kalin and Berry (1994), in *Ethnic and multicultural attitudes,* reviewed public opinion polls collected over a span of 25 years (1974-1989). In their review, they found moderate and continuing support for multiculturalism with a majority of Canadians accepting a multicultural ideology. Canadians agreed that their nation is richer in culture because of immigration and they supported community cultural centres and ethnic histories and folk festivals. However, they were moderately negative regarding support for public programs to support ethnic cultural retention. Canadians were increasingly unwilling to accept newcomers who would not assimilate. In 1977 and 1985, a minority of Canadians disagreed that 'ethnic groups should keep their own way of life', but by 1989 a majority disagreed with this statement. The authors concluded that Canadians are willing to accept newcomers on the condition that the new immigrant adapt to a "Canadian" way of life.

In *Social and economic context and attitudes toward immigrants in Canadian cities* Schissel, Wanner and Frideres (1974), explored the dimensions of attitudes towards immigrants, through further examination of Berry's 1974 data set. In contrast to Palmer's (1996) findings, they observed that the unemployment rate had only a minor impact on an attitude dimension. They pointed to the rate of population growth as the single contextual variable that consistently appeared to influence attitudes to immigrants. A higher rate of population growth translated to lower tolerance and the perception of competition increased.

Measuring Racism and Ethnic Prejudice

In a research report prepared for the Economic Council of Canada *New Faces in the Crowd* Palmer (1991), assessed details of prejudice and tolerance. Not only did Palmer find little indication of backlash or prejudice resulting from a growing proportion of visible minority immigrants, he also found that the trend is towards lower levels of prejudice. Furthermore, the proportion of visible minority immigrants living in a community was positively related to increased tolerance and positive attitudes towards immigration. There was no indication that maintaining or gradually increasing immigration levels would increase conflict potential. However, Palmer attached five caveats to this summation; 1) conditions in Quebec are different; 2) a severe recession or depression could change things; 3) careful monitoring is required if proportions of immigrants are significantly increased; 4) analysis is based on limited data; and 5) the attitudes of minority groups have not been adequately assessed.

Breton, Reitz and Valentine (1980) examined how racism has been influenced by inter-group contact. They found that overt expressions of racism were increasingly unacceptable and that by 1978, only one in six white Canadians was willing to openly express racist views. In the general population racist views were most commonly expressed by the less well-educated, older and more religious persons, and by housewives. Among various white ethnic groups, those with a low ethnic status more commonly expressed racist views. Regional differences that were attributed to inter-group contact were also noted.

Driedger (1999) compared the three main immigrant-receiving cities in Canada. He pointed out that prior to the 1960s Canada was largely bilingual and bicultural, and

European immigrants joined one of the two charter groups. He examined the unique environments in Montreal, Toronto and Vancouver and used hybrids of these city environments to define the prairie cities of Edmonton, Calgary, Regina and Winnipeg.

In terms of ethnicity, Edmonton was found to be similar to Winnipeg with well-off northern Europeans holding the highest socio-economic position. Edmonton is comprised of recent white and visible minority immigrants that represent a broad range of income and educational levels. Regina and Winnipeg are similar to Edmonton but with more aboriginals living in the inner city. Dreidger contends that Edmonton, Regina and Winnipeg constitute a fourth environment that is unique to the prairies. Calgary is found to be like Toronto in that it is "a magnet for newcomers related to the oil industry" (p.19). Like Toronto, Calgary's new immigrant population is largely composed of visible minority immigrants.

In *Immigration and settlement in Australia: An overview and critique of multiculturalism,* Jayasuriya (1996) explored how racism was gaining intellectual acceptance in Australia. She suggested that when differences between groups are perceived as normal and natural, the intrinsic worth of these differences is exaggerated. Furthermore, this exaggeration of difference opens the door to a new concept of "nation" as a way to draw the lines of acceptance and rejection of ethnic group membership.

On the Metropolis Website (2001), Peter Li presented an overview of research relating to prejudice toward immigrants. He pointed out a working class propensity to oppose more immigration and desire for newcomers to try harder to be more like Canadians. Li suggested that these opinions are premised both upon jealousy and fear of non-white immigrants for doing better than their white counterparts. While the earnings

of immigrants arriving to Canada between 1946 and 1960 have historically been higher than their Canadian-born counterparts, this has not been the case for more recent arrivals who are increasingly losing ground in the labour market.

Examining the labour market integration of refugees in Alberta, Krahn et al. (2000) discussed immigrant labour market experiences. A higher proportion of immigrants than Canadian-born were likely to be found in non-standard jobs; they also found that it was especially difficult for professionals to re-enter their previous occupations. Although overt employer discrimination was seen as problematic, the systemic discrimination around qualification recognition proved to be an even greater obstacle.

Summary

The literature review in this chapter was specifically arranged to begin with the more general (and frequently under-analyzed) media messages pertaining to diversity and immigration, and then move to public opinion polls that underlie many of the media accounts and to government documents outlining public policies related to immigration issues. The final section of this review presented more theoretically informed academic research on immigration and public opinion issues. A number of themes are apparent in this literature review.

Although Canada has always been a nation of immigrants, only since the 1970s has the population shifted to become increasingly racially and culturally heterogeneous. The visible minority proportion of the Canadian population is growing annually, a reflection of the source countries of immigration to Canada. Canadians are divided in

their attitudes to immigration and multiculturalism, as the nation is regionally diverse in its proportions of immigrants.

While some Canadians have many opportunities for contact with newcomers, others do not. Contact with newcomers fosters diverse effects on attitudes and acceptance, and is contingent upon many factors. For some, contact with newcomers is an opportunity to break down stereotypes and build relationships, while for others contact serves to foster hostility. Research points to conditions within which contact promotes positive attitudes.

Conflict theory is also supported by research that suggests that the Canadian-born see immigrants as a threat in the labour market and as competitors for limited resources of education and health care. Other researchers suggest that population growth may have more of an influence than simply the threat of unemployment. In considering the effect of the threat of unemployment on attitudes, it is also important to control for other factors that may influence opinion.

Research data indicate that those who are the most highly educated will have the most favourable attitudes to and feel the least threatened by immigrants. This educational theory is related to conflict theory, in that those who are most threatened in the workplace are often those with the lowest educational attainment. When exploring the education argument, it is important to consider other factors related to education. Those with the highest educational attainment may simply be more refined in the way they discuss and demonstrate their attitudes, and they may in fact engage in a more covert racism than the less educated.

Canadians are divided on almost every area of questioning about their attitudes towards immigration and multiculturalism. While the contact, conflict and education theories serve as points of discussion and understanding of attitudes, it is difficult to answer questions of why attitudes differ within and across communities. Researchers acknowledge and discuss attitudinal differences, however, there is little research looking into the reasons for these differences. Furthermore, research that contextualizes public opinion within specific communities of varying population sizes is virtually non-existent, a gap that is addressed by the systematic comparison in this thesis of public opinion data from seven different Alberta communities. The next chapter will look at specific community characteristics in the seven centres selected for this analysis.

4. Sample Community Characteristics

The seven communities in Alberta selected for this study are diverse both geographically and in many other characteristic features. It is important to note the unique features of each sample community in order to more fully understand the backdrop into which immigrants arrive and settle and to consider if and how these features influence that experience as well as the public opinion towards immigrants. Information on these communities is drawn from the 1991 and 1996 Canadian Censuses and the Landed Immigrant Data Base (1992-1997). Wherever possible, data from the 1996, rather than the 1991 census is used, as the 1996 time frame most closely matches the public opinion data analyzed in this study. Community characteristics drawn from these sources include demographic features, social and cultural characteristics, labour force and economic indicators, and finally, residents' mobility status.

Demographic Features

Table 1 shows 1996 Census data indicating that the seven communities vary considerably in size with Calgary, the largest city, being almost 25 times larger than the smallest, Grande Prairie. While Edmonton's population decreased slightly between 1991 and 1996, the population of Fort McMurray decreased by almost 1,700 people or 4.8%. However, decreased population in the economically vibrant oil-producing city of Fort McMurray is somewhat a result of changes to its boundaries as defined by Statistics Canada. The resource-based city of Grande Prairie gained in population by the largest

proportion (10.1%) between 1991 and 1996, followed by Calgary with an 8.1% population increase.

Table 1: Total Population and Population Change for Selected Communities in Alberta, 1991 and 1996

	Population 1991	Population 1996	Percent Change
Edmonton	616,741	616,306	-0.1
Calgary	710,795	768,082	8.1
Lethbridge	60,974	63,053	3.4
Red Deer	58,145	60,075	3.3
Medicine Hat	43,625	46,783	7.2
Fort McMurray	34,706	33,045	-4.8
Grande Prairie	28,271	31,140	10.1
Alberta	2,545,553	2,696,826	5.9

Note: Data from Calgary and Edmonton reflect CMA only
Source: Statistics Canada (1998). 1996 Census of Canada. Ottawa

Age

The age distribution of residents varies considerably across these seven centres. Lethbridge and Medicine Hat have the oldest populations with more than one in five residents over the age of 55 years (Table 2). Both centres are located in agricultural regions where many retired farmers move to these cities to enjoy the benefits of services for seniors that are less available rurally. Fort McMurray has the lowest proportion of seniors (1.5%). Fort McMurray and Grande Prairie have the youngest populations with more than two in five residents under the age of 24 years. Both communities are natural resource extraction centres with employment opportunities for young families. The age distribution in Calgary, Edmonton and Red Deer is less skewed and more closely reflects provincial averages.

Table 2: Age Distribution for Selected Communities in Alberta, 1996

	% of Population						
Age	Edmonton	Calgary	Lethbridge	Red Deer	Medicine Hat	Grande Prairie	Fort McMurray
<15	21.9	18.2	19.7	22.8	21.3	24.4	26.2
15-24	11.2	13.4	15.9	16.0	13.9	17.2	16.3
25-34	15.5	17.7	14.6	16.4	14.3	19.8	18.0
35-44	18.1	19.3	15.8	18.0	17.1	17.6	20.9
45-54	13.9	12.2	11.4	10.7	11.1	9.5	13.6
55-64	8.5	7.1	8.0	6.6	8.1	5.2	3.5
65+	11.0	8.7	14.6	9.5	14.2	6.3	1.5
Total "N"	863,150	821,640	63,060	60,070	55,580	31,145	33,045

Source: Statistics Canada (1998). 1996 Census of Canada

Education

While the proportion of those with a high school diploma varies little across communities, there are significant differences in the proportion of individuals who have less than a high school education (Table 3). Medicine Hat has the highest proportion of

Table 3: Education Attainment for Selected Communities in Alberta, 1996

	% of Population				
	Less than High School	High School Diploma	Some Post-Secondary	Trades Certificate	University Degree
Edmonton	31.9	11.3	12.8	26.4	17.6
Calgary	27.1	11.4	14.2	26.5	20.8
Lethbridge	31.8	11.1	15.3	27.5	14.3
Red Deer	35.4	11.8	13.4	28.0	11.4
Medicine Hat	41.9	11.3	11.4	26.1	9.3
Grande Prairie	33.9	13.3	12.2	29.9	10.7
Fort McMurray	30.0	12.7	17.4	31.1	8.8
Alberta	33.6	11.8	12.4	27.1	15.1

Note: For population aged 15 years and older
Source: Statistics Canada (1998) 1996 Census of Canada: Nations Series

residents with less than a high school education, followed by Red Deer, and Grand Prairie, all of which have proportionately more people with limited education than the Alberta average. Residents in Fort McMurray and Grande Prairie are more likely to hold trades certificates than those living in other cities in the province. Medicine Hat, Fort McMurray and Grande Prairie all fall below the provincial average for individuals holding a university degree.

Social and Cultural Characteristics

No significant differences in family size between these seven communities were found. Families across Alberta have an average size of 3.2 persons in a married or common-law relationship and an average of 2.6 persons in lone-parent families (Canadian Census, 1996).

A majority of Albertans own their own homes (68%). While home ownership exceeds or matches the Alberta average in Medicine Hat (71%) and Lethbridge (68%), it falls below the provincial average in all other centres with the lowest home ownership in Edmonton (58%), followed by Red Deer (59%), Grande Prairie (63%), Calgary (64%) and Fort McMurray (65%). The very high proportion of homeowners in small communities and in rural Alberta serves to keep the provincial proportion of homeowners at a high level.

Alberta communities are diverse in terms of immigrant arrival times and settlement location. The majority of immigrants in Lethbridge (61.3%) and Medicine Hat (63%) arrived prior to 1971 (Table 4). Conversely, in Edmonton, Calgary, and Fort McMurray, a large majority of immigrants arrived in Canada after 1970. Moreover, these

centres exceed the provincial levels of recent immigrants. Immigrant populations account for varying proportions of the total population. In Edmonton and Calgary, more than one-fifth of the population is comprised of immigrants, while in Red Deer, Medicine Hat, and Lethbridge, immigrants comprise fewer than 10% of the residents. Eighteen and 16% of the residents of Edmonton and Calgary, respectively, report visible minority status as compared to fewer than 10% in Fort McMurray, Lethbridge, and Red Deer, and fewer than 5% in Medicine Hat and Grande Prairie. Edmonton and Calgary exceed the provincial averages for both proportions of immigrants and visible minority status, indicating that the two largest provincial centres are more culturally diverse than the remainder of the province.

Table 4: Indices of Diversity and Period of Immigration for Selected Communities in Alberta, 1991

		% of Population			
	Total Number of Immigrants	Arrived Before 1971	Arrived 1971-1991	Immigrants	Visible Minority
Edmonton	152,805	39.8	60.2	22.5	18.1
Calgary	151,745	37.5	62.5	21.7	16.5
Lethbridge	9,105	61.3	38.7	14.1	7.8
Red Deer	5,285	48.5	51.5	9.7	5.0
Medicine Hat	4,130	63.0	37.0	9.2	3.4
Grande Prairie	2,425	45.8	54.2	7.6	3.3
Fort McMurray	3,870	26.4	73.6	10.4	8.1
Alberta	381,505	43.2	56.8	15.2	10.1

Note: Excludes non-permanent residents

Sources: Statistics Canada. Profile of Census Tracks: Edmonton & Calgary. Part B. Catalogue: 95-378. Ottawa: Minister of Industry, Science and Technology, 1994; Statistics Canada. Profile of Census Divisions and Sub-Divisions in Alberta. Part B. Catalogue: 95-373. Ottawa: Minister of Industry, Science and Technology, 1994.

In 1991, half of the immigrants in Alberta were European-born while just fewer than one third (28.9%) were born in Asia (Table 5). Relative to the provincial average, Fort McMurray has a significantly higher proportion of immigrants born in the United

Kingdom no doubt reflecting the impact of the oil industry where tradesmen could easily transfer their skills and/or could transfer to positions in Fort McMurray while still working for the same company as they did before immigration Canada. Medicine Hat and Lethbridge had the highest provincial proportion of immigrants born in the United States. Both Red Deer and Grande Prairie have marginally higher proportions of Americans than Lethbridge. Only Edmonton and Calgary exceed the provincial average proportion of immigrants born in Africa. Three centres, Edmonton, Calgary and Fort McMurray, exceed the provincial average for immigrants coming from Asia, with Asian immigrants comprising one-third of their immigrant populations. Canadian Census data do not distinguish between classes of immigrants, so from these data one cannot determine the voluntary nature of community selection in Canada. However, information from the Landed Immigrant Database indicates that an overwhelming majority (85%) of both government and privately-sponsored refugees who come to Alberta are destined to

Table 5: Immigrant Population Place of Birth for Selected Communities in Alberta, 1991

	% of Immigrant Population							
	United States	United Kingdom	Other Europe	Central/ South America/ Caribbean	Africa	Asia	Other	* Total Immigrants
Edmonton	5.0	14.7	33.5	7.4	4.3	33.2	1.8	152,805
Calgary	6.3	18.5	28.1	6.9	5.4	33.2	1.7	151,745
Lethbridge	11.6	20.4	42.3	6.1	1.2	17.3	1.2	9,110
Red Deer	14.0	24.1	29.4	8.5	3.1	19.0	1.9	5,295
Medicine Hat	14.3	20.6	42.2	9.6	0.5	12.0	1.0	4,135
Grande Prairie	13.8	17.1	34.0	8.4	1.4	24.1	1.2	2,430
Fort McMurray	4.8	32.6	15.1	7.7	3.8	33.2	2.7	3,865
Alberta	7.8	17.7	33.0	6.7	4.2	28.9	1.7	381,515

* Excludes non-permanent residents

Sources: Statistics Canada. Profile of Census Tracks: Edmonton & Calgary. Part B. Catalogue: 95-378. Ottawa: Minister of Industry, Science and Technology, 1994; Statistics Canada. Profile of Census Divisions and Sub-Divisions in Alberta. Part B. Catalogue: 95-373. Ottawa: Minister of Industry, Science and Technology, 1994.

Edmonton or Calgary, a slightly higher percentage than for the entire immigrant population (79%).

1996 Census data show that 81% of Albertans are unilingual English speakers. These proportions range from a low of 73% in Edmonton to a high of 91% in Fort McMurray (Table 6). In all seven Alberta communities, less than 3% of the population speaks French. Knowledge of non-official languages is strongest in Edmonton where almost one-quarter of the population speaks a language other than French or English.

Table 6: Knowledge of English and Non-Official Languages for Selected Communities in Alberta, 1996

	English Only	Other Non-Official Language*
Edmonton	73.1	24.7
Calgary	78.8	19.5
Lethbridge	84.4	14.5
Red Deer	89.9	8.6
Medicine Hat	86.5	12.4
Grande Prairie	88.0	8.9
Fort McMurray	91.0	0.3
Alberta	81.0	16.9

Source: Statistics Canada (1998) 1996 Census of Canada: Nation Series

Data from the 1991 Census indicate that the most common non-official languages in Alberta are German, Chinese, Ukrainian, Spanish, Dutch, Polish and Italian.Differences between communities regarding the most prevalent non-official languages are evident (Canadian Census, 1996). For example, knowledge of German is highest in Medicine Hat where a majority of immigrants (63%) arrived prior to 1971, and lowest in Fort McMurray where the majority of immigrants (74%) arrived after 1970.

The variety of non-official languages most prevalent in Alberta communities reflects the time frame in which the immigrants arrived in Canada, as well as the extent to which second generation immigrants retain the mother-tongue of their parents.

Labour Force and Economic Indicators

Employment is an important indicator of well-being. The unemployment rate in Alberta rose from 7% in 1990 to 9.7% in 1993, then declined to 7.2% in 1996 (Table 7). In 1996 the unemployment rates were highest in Red Deer, Edmonton and Fort McMurray, followed by Medicine Hat and Grande Prairie, all of which were above the provincial average. Only Calgary and Lethbridge had unemployment rates lower than the provincial average. Gender differences in unemployment were significant only in Fort McMurray where more females (10%) than males (7%) were unemployed, and in Red Deer where more males (10.6%) than females (8.7%) were unemployed. In all centres the majority of the population was in the labour force (i.e., they were actively employed or seeking employment). The highest proportion of the population in the labour force occurs

Table 7: Labour Force Indicators and Mean Income For Selected Communities in Alberta, 1996

	Unemployment Rate	% in Labour Force	Mean Household Income
Edmonton	9.0	69.3	$47,371
Calgary	6.7	73.7	$52,152
Lethbridge	6.8	67.2	$42,179
Red Deer	9.7	73.7	$43,701
Medicine Hat	7.7	66.3	$40,034
Grande Prairie	7.7	79.9	$46,976
Fort McMurray	8.0	79.0	$69,300
Alberta	7.2	79.3	$51,118

Source: Statistics Canada (1998) 1996 Census of Canada: The Nation Series

in Fort McMurray and Grande Prairie reflecting the younger age of the population of these cities.

The range of average household incomes varied greatly across communities (Table 7). The average income in Fort McMurray ($69,300) was more than one and a half times greater than in Lethbridge ($42,179), and more than $18,000 greater that the provincial average, reflecting a large proportion of population employed in the oil industry in Fort McMurray. It is important to take into consideration the variation in cost of living across communities in Alberta. Calgary has the second highest mean household income at $52,152, just $1,000 above the provincial average, but the most expensive housing at an average value of $150,820, almost $25,000 more than the provincial average value (Canadian Census, 1996). Fort McMurray, on the other hand, not only has the highest mean household income at $69,300 but also the lowest cost of housing at an average value of $93,770.

Residents' Mobility Status

Alberta communities are home to both long and short-term residents. Movers include new immigrants to Canada as well as immigrants and the Canadian-born who have lived in Canada for many years and have moved inter and intra-provincially. On average, three-quarters of Albertans lived in the same home or same community in the five years prior to the 1991 Census (Table 8). More than one in five residents had moved to Red Deer and Grande Prairie from somewhere else in Alberta during the five-year period prior to 1991. Calgary attracted the lowest proportion of people from somewhere

else in Alberta. Fort McMurray had the highest proportion of residents who had relocated from other provinces at 11.2%. Only Lethbridge and Edmonton fell below the provincial average for proportion of migrants from other provinces. Edmonton and Calgary received the highest proportion of immigrants between 1986 and 1991 while Medicine Hat received the lowest proportion.

Table 8: Mobility Status (Five Year) for Selected Communities in Alberta, 1991

		% of Movers			
	% In Same Community	Intraprovincial migrants	Interprovincial migrants	Immigrants	Total "n"
Edmonton	77.7	11.9	6.5	3.9	761,280
Calgary	78.1	7.6	9.4	4.9	684,890
Lethbridge	76.4	15.6	5.3	2.7	55,490
Red Deer	68.8	21.1	8.3	1.8	51,640
Medicine Hat	78.8	11.0	8.7	1.6	39,680
Grande Prairie	68.1	20.6	9.3	2.0	25,220
Fort McMurray	73.5	13.4	11.2	1.9	31,340
Alberta	76.3	13.0	7.4	3.3	2,291,075

Sources: Statistics Canada. Profile of Census Tracks: Edmonton & Calgary. Part B. Catalogue: 95-378. Ottawa: Minister of Industry, Science and Technology, 1994; Statistics Canada. Profile of Census Divisions and Sub-Divisions in Alberta. Part B. Catalogue: 95-373. Ottawa: Minister of Industry, Science and Technology, 1994

Summary

The seven larger Alberta communities in this study have many similarities and differences. The two most northern and smallest communities are mainly sustained by resource extraction. Grande Prairie had the highest growth rate and five-year mobility rate while Fort McMurray had the highest mean income and the highest proportion of residents with trades certificates. Conditions in these two centres are reflective of an established oil industry in Fort McMurray and developing resource industries in Grande

Prairie. While Grande Prairie had the lowest proportion of immigrants and visible minority residents, Fort McMurray ranked the third highest in both areas. These differences may be due to the international profiles of the well-established oil companies of Suncor and Syncrude in Fort McMurray. Furthermore, the area around Grande Prairie is more populated and may be in a position to attract people from the immediate surrounding areas.

The population of Edmonton stayed virtually the same between 1991 and 1996. The diverse nature of the population is evident in that almost one in five Edmontonians is an immigrant andone-third of these immigrants are from Asia. Furthermore, Edmonton has the highest proportion of visible minority residents in Alberta, and, consequently the highest proportion of people who have knowledge of unofficial languages (neither English of French).

Calgary had the second largest population growth between 1991 and 1996. Similar to Edmonton, almost one in five residents are immigrants and one third come from Asia. Calgary had the second largest proportion of visible minority residents and the highest proportion of residents with university degrees.

Red Deer is located equidistant between Edmonton and Calgary. This centre was below the provincial average in population growth and in its proportion of immigrants and visible minorities. Unemployment was the highest in the city and there were a high proportion of residents with less than high school education.

Medicine Hat and Lethbridge are located in farming areas and many city residents are farm retirees; consequently, these two cities have the oldest and least-educated populations. They also have the highest proportion of residents who own their own

homes, and the lowest five-year mobility rate. A majority of immigrants in both centres arrived in Canada prior to 1971. Medicine Hat had the lowest mean income in Alberta at the time of the study.

Summing up, the seven communities in Alberta represent diversity, not only in the physical characteristics of the communities themselves, but in their location within the province, and in their populations. These community differences may be factors that help explain variations in the opinions of community residents on immigration issues.

Conditions of and access to contact with immigrants varies across communities. Those centres with a critical mass of a specific ethnic group may serve to limit contact between those newcomers and Canadian-born residents. Furthermore, the critical mass of a minority group may present a threat to the remainder of the community. A low proportion of newcomers in a community may serve to increase contact with Canadians under conditions where newcomers must make contact with community members outside of their own cultural group in order to make a life in the community. However, a very low proportion of immigrants in a community may negatively influence contact opportunities.

The unique features of community economy and the types of jobs available may serve to influence attitudes to diversity and policy regarding immigration. If immigrants are seen as participating members who are needed in the labour-force, they will most likely be looked upon favourably. If, on the other hand, there is a large proportion of the community population living on a fixed income, there may be resentment towards newcomers, especially if these immigrants are able to access higher paying jobs and are racially and culturally different.

While all the communities in the sample have some type of post-secondary education institutions, these facilities differ considerably. Not only will communities with universities be expected to have a population of students with higher education, they will also have a population of residents with advanced degrees. According to education theory, these factors may serve to foster differences in attitudes between communities.

The next chapter outlines the research methodology utilized in this analysis of public opinion data in the seven selected Alberta communities. Following a discussion of the sampling and data collection methods, the analytical model used in the statistical analysis is presented and a variety of measurement issues are outlined.

5. Research Methodology

Sampling and Data Collection

A public opinion survey of 802 randomly selected adults from seven urban communities in Alberta is the data source for this analysis (Abu-Laban et al. 1999). In addition, social and demographic data from the 1991 and 1996 Census are also used to create contextual variables for the analysis.

The survey questions focus on residents' perceptions of immigrant experiences of settlement, as well as public awareness of immigrant and settlement issues. The research team drew from previous surveys, both provincial and national, to create the questionnaire (See Appendix). A University of Alberta Research Ethics Committee approved the questionnaire and interviewing protocols. The questionnaire was pre-tested with 30 randomly-selected subjects and appropriate modifications were made.

The interviewing goals were set at 150 interviews in each of Edmonton and Calgary and 100 interviews in each of the five remaining communities. The target population in the seven communities consisted of persons 18 years of age or older who lived in non-institutional dwellings and who could be reached by phone.

The Population Research Laboratory (PRL) (where the data collection was conducted) employed a random-digit-dialling system to select a bank of phone numbers in each of the communities. Telephone interviewers eliminated the business and other non-eligible numbers that constituted 46% of the numbers originally selected. When

contact with an eligible household was made, a quota sampling technique was used to select male and female numbers over the age of 18.

The overall response rate was 57%, with more than half of the non-response calls being the result of no contact with the randomly selected phone number (Table 9). The survey was conducted over a three-week period from October 6-27, 1998, by trained and supervised interviewers and was administered through the Computer-Assisted Telephone Interviewing[2] system at the PRL. Data were collected between the hours of 9:30 a.m. and 9:00 p.m. seven days a week. A minimum of fifteen call-backs were attempted prior to declaring a number "no contact".

Table 9: Response Rate for Corrected Sample

	Number	Percent
Completed Interviews	802	56.9%
Incomplete Interviews	6	0.4%
Refusals	260	18.4%
Language Problems	18	1.3%
No Contact	324	23.0%
Total	1,410	100.0%

Interviewers read instructions and text from a computer screen and responses were entered directly into the computer. They informed potential respondents of the voluntary nature of the survey and assured them of confidentiality. Upon completion of data collection, supervisors re-contacted 10% of the respondents to verify respondent eligibility and to ensure quality of interviews.

[2] The Ci3 CATI System is a PC-based product of Sawtooth Software, Evanston, Illinois

Upon completion of the survey, the data were formatted for analysis with the SPSS statistical package. The data were weighted to reflect the size of the seven communities. Weighted data are reported throughout this thesis, unless otherwise noted. The research team reviewed the responses to open-ended questions and developed coding categories. The open-ended responses were then coded and added to the SPSS data set.

Analytical Model

Figure 1 presents a model of variables used in this thesis. The two dependent variable indices are discussed and followed by the independent variables drawn from the public opinion data, and finally, the independent variables drawn from census data.

Because only interval and ratio level variables are suitable for regression analysis, variables not of this type were re-coded to dichotomous variables as required. Preparation for indexed variables included some recoding to ensure consistent direction of values. Indices of opinions about diversity and immigration policy form two dependent variables. Three sets of independent variables are utilized to address the theoretical questions. Five exogenous independent variables from the public opinion data are also examined. In addition, four independent variables are constructed from 1996 Census data in order to further how these community characteristics influence public opinion about immigration.

Three core sets of independent variables are used to test our hypotheses. Regarding the conflict hypothesis, it is proposed that the unemployed and those with the lowest income levels will be most threatened by immigration. In addition, those with the highest levels of financial pessimism, both for their past and future, are considered to be most likely to have negative attitudes towards immigration. The "conflict" variables are

comprised of two single variables measuring unemployment and income, as well as an index composed of two variables that measure past and future financial pessimism.

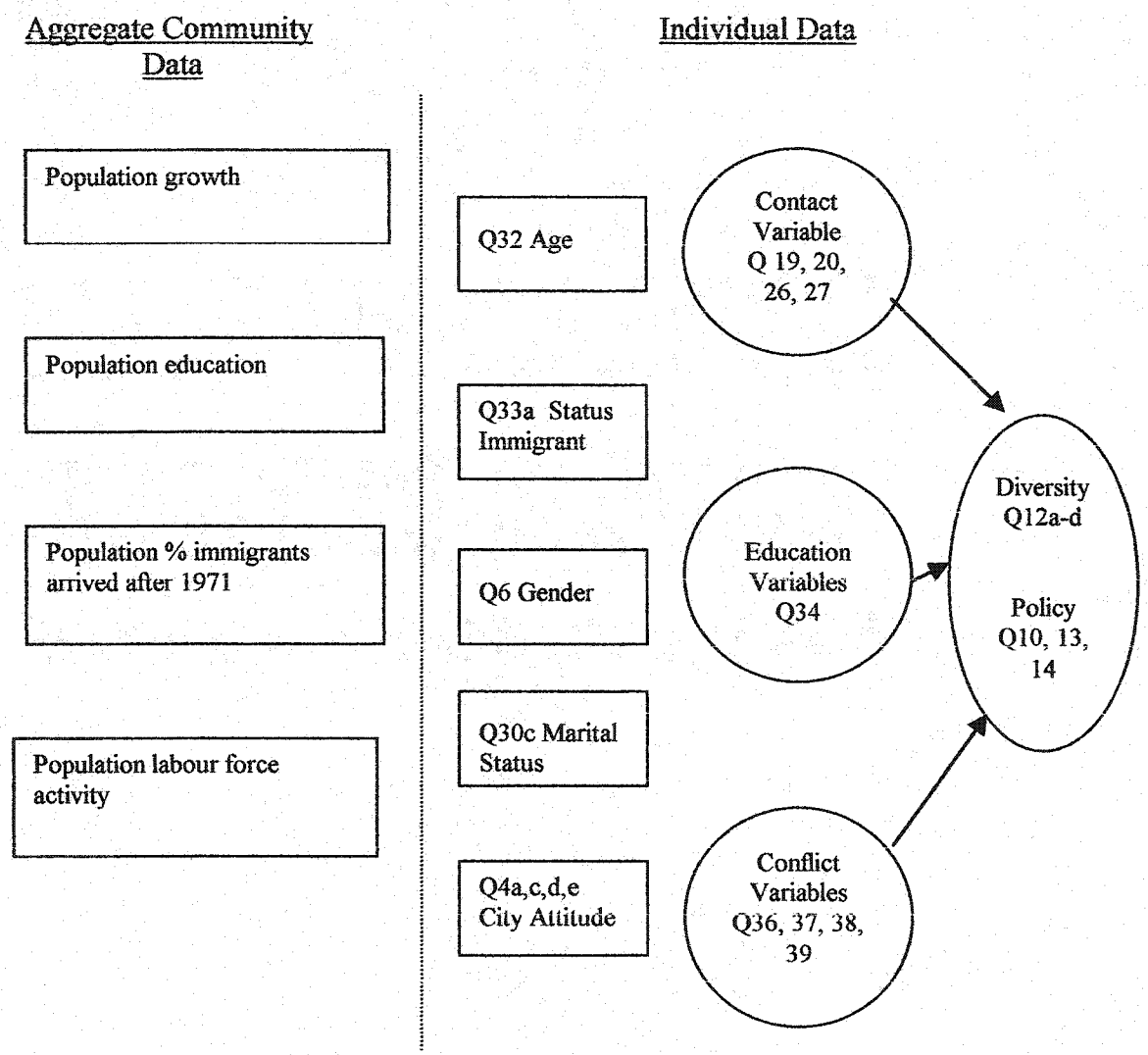
To test the education theory, only one variable measuring the level of education attained is used. The "education" hypothesis states that those who have attained higher levels of education are less likely to have negative attitudes towards immigration. Although levels of educational attainment are measured, with this data set it was not possible to identify specific fields of education attained.

The "contact" measurement comprises four variables measuring three areas of contact. The contact hypothesis states that those who have frequent and extensive contact with immigrants are less likely to have negative attitudes toward immigrants and/or immigration. Survey respondents were asked about "knowing of' and "personally knowing" immigrants and refugees. To measure the depth of contact, respondents were asked about their knowledge of the immigrants' status. Finally, to measure the breadth of contact, respondents were asked how many immigrants or refugees they knew personally. The quality of contact is important in determining conditions of positive or negative contact and for comparing these findings with Amir's (1969) and Palmer's (1991) work.

A number of exogenous independent variables were also constructed from the public opinion data. Four variables including respondent age, marital status, immigrant status, and gender were utilized. In addition, a fifth variable was constructed as an index of responses to four questions outlining various aspects of attitudes towards one's own community. These questions provide a good baseline from which to compare community differences in opinions about immigrants and immigration.

To get an even broader picture of determinants of variation in public opinion in each of the communities, four additional aggregated variables were constructed from 1991 and 1996 Census data. These variables measure the following community demographics: population growth, educational status, the recency of immigration, and labour force activity. Each variable contains seven values, one for each community represented in this study.

Figure 1: Analysis Model



Diversity Dependent Variable Index

To measure pubic opinion towards immigrants, responses to four scaled questions measuring the concept of "opinions about diversity" were used. Having four variables that measure opinions about a variety of aspects of diversity serves to create a more reliable and valid dependent variable than relying on a single question. The variables proposed for the diversity index each have five values. On a scale of one to five where "1" is "strongly disagree" and "5" is "strongly agree", respondents were asked to indicate their agreement or disagreement with the following statements:

Q12a. People who come to this city should change their ways to be more like other community members.
Q12b. I feel that there are too many immigrants coming to my city.
Q12c. A mixture of different lifestyles and cultures makes my city a more attractive place to live.
Q12d. I worry that the way of life in my city is being threatened by high levels of immigration.

Community comparisons reveal some differences although these differences are statistically significant ($p<.05$) for only question 12c (Table 10). In the largest centres of Edmonton and Calgary, where the largest proportions of more recent immigrants settle, just over four in ten respondents "agree" or "strongly agree" that people coming to their city should change their ways to be more like other community members. With regard to support for this statement, two of the smaller centres that have lower proportions of recent immigrants stand out, with Medicine Hat's support for change matching that of Edmonton and Calgary. However, only 16% of Grande Prairie residents agreed with this statement.

The proportion of responses in agreement that "there are too many immigrants coming to my city" increases with the proportion of immigrants in the city. The only

Table 10: Opinions about Immigrants Living in Respondent's City by City of Residence

	% Agree or Strongly Agree			
	12a. People who come to this city should change their ways to be more like other community members.	12b. I feel that there are too many immigrants coming to my city	12c. A mixture of different lifestyles and cultures makes my city a more attractive place to live. *	12d. I worry that the way of life in my city is being threatened by high levels of immigration.
Calgary	42	31	66	29
Edmonton	41	28	70	23
Red Deer	36	23	58	12
Lethbridge	31	18	75	8
Medicine Hat	43	14	57	16
Grande Prairie	16	15	63	7
Fort McMurray	32	16	75	12
Alberta	36	21	66	17

* Community differences are significant at the 0.05 level
Unweighted Sample

exception is Red Deer where there is an immigrant population of less than 10% while 23% of the respondents agree or strongly agree with the statement (Table 10).

In all of the selected communities, between one-half and three-quarters of respondents "agree" or "strongly agree" that "a mixture of different lifestyles and cultures makes my city a more attractive place to live". Cities most strongly in support of this statement were Lethbridge and Fort McMurray at 75%. Moreover, the respondents from these centres were also the least likely to worry that their way of life was being threatened by high levels of immigration. It is important to note that both communities have mid-range proportions of visible minority residents (8%), and immigrants (Fort McMurray, 10%; Lethbridge, 14%) (Table 4, Chapter 4).

Residents of Calgary, Edmonton and Medicine Hat most strongly support an assimilation model, with more than 4 in 10 respondents agreeing or strongly agreeing that

"people who come to this city should change their ways to be more like other community members". While this opinion may be partially attributed to a higher proportion of immigrants in Calgary and Edmonton (22% and 23%, respectively), as well as a higher proportion of visible minority residents (17% and 18%, respectively), this explanation would not be appropriate for Medicine Hat. Although Medicine Hat has a low proportion of immigrants (9%) and the lowest proportion of visible minority residents (3%), the respondents in this city were the most likely to support the assimilation of newcomers. However, the lowest proportion of residents from Medicine Hat felt that there are too many immigrants coming to their city.

The values for question 12c were re-coded to ensure a common direction for the four indexed measures, with positive opinions about diversity represented by a high score. The four variables are all significantly correlated (Table 11) and have an Alpha of .7577. An Alpha of this magnitude indicates a satisfactory level of inter-item reliability (Carmine and Zeller, 1979: 43-47).

In the construction of the diversity index, a number of missing cases were evident (Q12a =18; Q12b = 29; Q12c = 15; Q12d = 12). The missing cases were examined to determine any similarities or patterns in terms of respondent age, gender, education, residence outside of Canada, Canadian-born status, and employment status. Because patterns or similarities in missing cases were not found, the mean for each variable was determined and used to replace each missing case for that variable. Variable means were as follows: Q12a = 2.93; Q12b = 3.58; Q12c = 3.88; and Q12d = 3.82. The four variables were then added together to create an index with a minimum value of four and a maximum value of

20. The frequency distribution for the diversity index shows that the distribution largely fits within the normal range (See Figure 2).

Table 11: Correlation Matrix of Diversity Dependent Variable

	Q12a. Like other community members	Q12b.Too many immigrants coming	Q12c. Mix of cultures	Q12d. Life threatened by high immigration
Q12a. Like other community members	1.000	.415**	.283**	.364**
Q12b. Too many immigrants coming		1.000	.381**	.714**
Q12c. Mix of cultures			1.000	.399**
Q12d. Life threatened by high immigration				1.000

** Correlation is significant at the 0.01 level (2-tailed).

Policy Dependent Variable Index

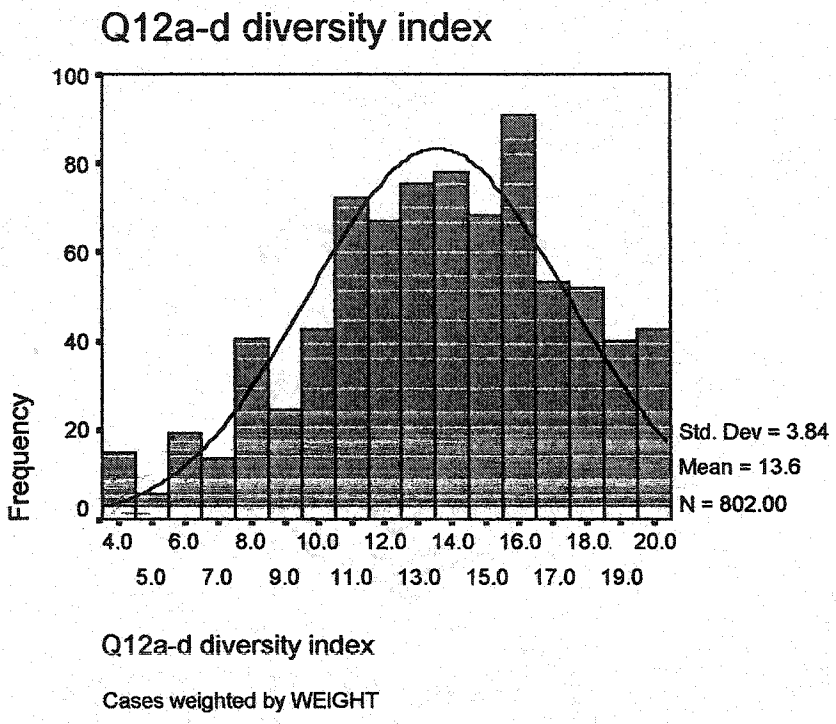
Five variables in the public opinion data set explore opinions about existing or suggested federal government policies regarding immigration. Three questions were prefaced by explanations of the existing policy to which the question pertained, thus preparing the respondent to consider the question in a more knowledgeable manner. The last two questions asked about hypothetical policies without providing background information. The questions are:

Q10. In your opinion, do you feel there are too many, too few, or about the right number of immigrants coming to Canada? (200,000 to 225,000 per year).

Q13. In your opinion, does Canada's immigration policy provide a good balance of people and backgrounds coming to Canada, or does it allow too many people of different races and cultures into Canada?

Q14. Under the current immigration policy, immigrants and refugees are allowed to sponsor immediate family members (spouses and children) who want to come to Canada. Do you think they should be able to sponsor such family members or not?

Figure 2: Diversity Frequency Distribution



Q15a. Not all immigrants or refugees can speak English or French. Do you think immigration should be restricted to only those who can speak either English or French or should we also accept individuals who can speak neither of the official languages?

Q15b. Should refugee or immigrant parents have to pay for "English as a second language" training for their children who cannot speak English?

Index preparation included re-coding the five variables to create binary variables with a value of "1" used for opinions that support policies that are open to and/or accepting of immigrants. All remaining responses were re-coded to a value of "0". Values coded with "1" include Q10 "The right number or too few"; Q13 "A good

balance"; Q14 "Yes, they should be allowed to sponsor"; Q15a "Admit others as well"; and Q15b "Neither immigrants nor refugees should pay".

Even though questions 10, 13 and 14 were preceded with information about the policy in question, the questions elicited many "don't know" or "no response" values (Q10 = 44; Q13 = 80; Q14 = 22; Q15a = 18; Q15b = 13). The explanation of existing policy preceding questions 10, 13 and 14 apparently did not serve to decrease the number of "don't know" and "no response" answers, since such answers were more frequent than those for questions 15a-b. In the following analysis, I am assuming that the "don't know" and "no response" answers mean non-support for the policy questioned. Thus, such answers are given a value of "0", along with answers indicating opposition to the policy.

Correlation coefficients for the five variables generate an Alpha of .5701, indicating a satisfactory level of inter-item reliability. Even though the Alpha dropped to .4605, because of the questionable face validity of questions 15a and 15b, I decided to drop these questions and keep only the three questions where respondents received information about the current policy prior to answering the question. The three variables have significant correlations with the strongest correlation of .394 between Q10 and Q13. (See Table 12). An index of the three variables added together forms the "policy" dependent variable in my analysis. This cumulative index has a minimum value of zero and a maximum of three.

Table 12: Correlation Matrix of Policy Dependent Variable

	Q10. Too many immigrants	Q13. Good Balance	Q14. Sponsor family members
Q10. Too many immigrants	1.000	.394**	.349**
Q13. Good Balance		1.000	.230**
Q14. Sponsor family members			1.000

** Correlation is significant at the 0.01 level (2-tailed)

Examination of the component variables in the policy index reveals some differences by city (Table 13) but none of these differences are statistically significant. In all centres, the majority of respondents felt that there are either too few or the right number of immigrants coming to Canada. However, residents of Lethbridge were most likely to support this statement (67%). This pattern of higher support for current immigration policies is also seen in Question 13 where 84% of the Lethbridge respondents agree that "immigration policy provides a good balance of people and backgrounds coming to Canada". Immigrants being able to sponsor family members was the most highly-supported policy, with the exception of Lethbridge where there is similarly high support for "immigration policy [that] provides a good balance of people and backgrounds coming to Canada". More than four out of five respondents in all centres agree that immigrants should be able to sponsor family members.

Table 13: Opinions about Immigration Policy by City of Residence

	% Agree		
	Q10. Too few or the right number of immigrants coming to Canada.	Q13. Immigration policy provides a good balance of people and backgrounds coming to Canada.	Q14. Immigrants should be able to sponsor family members
Calgary	56	71	80
Edmonton	59	66	80
Red Deer	62	76	85
Lethbridge	67	84	83
Medicine Hat	52	70	81
Grande Prairie	60	73	80
Fort McMurray	56	74	80
Total	59	73	81

No significant differences between communities
* Unweighted Sample

Dependent Variables: Community Variation

The two dependent variable index means are displayed in Table 14 below. With regard to public attitudes to diversity, respondents from Calgary were the least positive and those from Lethbridge and Fort McMurray were most positive. Respondents from Edmonton were the least supportive of federal immigration policy that is favourable to immigrants, followed closely by Medicine Hat. The highest support on the policy index was found in Lethbridge. However, no significant community differences were observed in this preliminary analysis.

Table 14: Dependent Variable Means by City of Residence

	Diversity Index	Policy Index
Calgary	13.31	1.98
Edmonton	13.46	1.89
Red Deer	14.42	2.11
Lethbridge	15.20	2.25
Medicine Hat	14.02	1.90
Grande Prairie	14.74	2.00
Fort McMurray	15.10	1.97
Total	13.57	1.96

No significant differences between communities
Unweighted Sample

Theoretical Independent Variables

The social psychological theories of attitudes towards immigrants and immigration were tested using appropriate variables from the survey data. As required, independent variables were prepared by recoding to dichotomous variables or by constructing indices.

Conflict Variables

The questions in the survey best suited for testing the conflict hypothesis are those concerning unemployment, income, and financial pessimism. The questions used to test the conflict hypothesis include:

Q36. Are you currently looking for a job?
Q37. What is the total income for all members of this household for this past year before taxes and deductions?
Q38. Would you say that you (and your family) are better off financially, just about the same, or worse off than you were a year ago?
Q39. Now looking ahead, do you think that a year from now you (and your family) will be better off financially, just about the same, or worse off than now?

Questions 36, 38 and 39 were re-coded to create dichotomous variables with values of "1" assigned as follows: Q36. Looking for a job; Q38. Worse off than last year; Q39. Worse off next year. In other words, a higher score or a score of "1" reflected unemployment or financial pessimism. The income question (38) included forced-choice responses where respondents were asked to select an income category. These categories included: 1. Under $20,000, 2. $20,000 - $39,999, 3. $40,000 - $59,999, 4. $60,000 - $79,999, and 5. $80,000 or more. Approximately one in eight respondents chose not to respond to the income question.

Examination of city differences in the conflict variables in Table 15 reveals these differences for all variables are statistically significant. None of the respondents from Grande Prairie or Fort McMurray were looking for a job at the time of the interview, although data from the 1996 Census indicates that the unemployment rate in both of these centres was approximately 8% (Table 8, Chapter 4). The highest level of unemployment was reported in Red Deer (6.5%); this finding is in consistent with the 1996 Census data where the highest unemployment is reported in Red Deer at 9.7%.

Table 15: Conflict Variables by City of Residence

	% of Respondents			
	Q 36. Unemployed*	Q 37. Less than $20,000 total household income*	Q38. Financially worse off than last year **	Q39. Expect to be financially worse off next year *
Calgary	2.1	13.4	9.4	4.9
Edmonton	5.9	21.4	24.2	12.3
Red Deer	6.5	14.4	20.4	8.1
Lethbridge	3.3	16.1	17.2	18.2
Medicine Hat	4.3	22.1	28.3	17.0
Grande Prairie	0	12.1	17.2	7.3
Fort McMurray	0	5.6	13.9	8.9
Total	3.7	15.2	18.4	10.6

*Community differences are significant at the p<.05 level

**Community differences are significant at the p<.01 level

Unweighted Sample

Medicine Hat has the highest proportion of respondents with a total household income of less than $20,000, with more than one in four respondents falling in this category, followed by Edmonton with 21% in this category. Respondents from these cities are also most likely to report being financially worse off than one year prior. Census data reveals the lowest mean income in Medicine Hat at $40,034 (Table 8, Chapter 4). Financial pessimism for the coming year is lowest in Calgary with fewer than five percent of respondents expecting to be worse off financially than the previous year.

In testing the potential of these four variables being used to create an index, the Alpha was found to be very low (.3075). While questions 38 and 39 were significantly correlated (r= .337), other combinations of variables were not. Because all four questions used to test conflict theory were not highly correlated, it was decided to use income and unemployment as single variables, and to index only the two financial pessimism variables. Furthermore, the number of missing cases in the household income variable would negatively affect the "N" in an index. Being unemployed and giving a higher score

on the financial pessimism index are expected to be associated with lower support for the diversity and immigration policy dependent variables. Conversely, household income is expected to be positively associated with the dependent variables.

Contact Variables

The variables related to contact with immigrants were constructed from answers to the following questions:

Q19. Do you know of any refugees or immigrants living in your city?
Q20. Do you know if they are refugees who were admitted to Canada because of life threatening problems in their country, or immigrants who applied to come to Canada?
Q26. Do you personally know any immigrants or refugees living in your city?
Q27. In total, counting both refugees and immigrants living in your city, approximately how many would you say you know personally?

Examination of these contact variables revealed no significant differences between communities. (Table 16). A large majority of respondents in every city knew of immigrants and refugees in their community. The highest proportion of respondents both knowing of and personally knowing immigrants and/or refugees came from Fort

Table 16: Contact Variables by City of Residence

	% of Respondents			
	Q19. Know immigrants	Q20. Know status of newcomers	Q26. Know immigrants personally	Q27. Know 10 or more immigrants
Calgary	85.3	76.0	87.5	28.7
Edmonton	80.7	68.0	86.8	19.3
Red Deer	75.0	63.0	73.3	25.0
Lethbridge	83.2	71.3	72.3	24.8
Medicine Hat	81.6	68.0	68.8	20.0
Grande Prairie	81.8	62.0	82.7	30.0
Fort McMurray	90.1	74.3	87.9	21.8
Total	82.6	69.3	81.0	24.2

No significant community differences
Unweighted Sample

McMurray. Medicine Hat has the lowest proportion of respondents who know immigrants and/or refugees personally. A majority of respondents in all communities declare knowledge of the refugee or immigrant status of the newcomers that they know. In all communities less than one-third of the respondents know more than 10 immigrants.

While both questions 19 and 26 ask about knowing refugees and immigrants, the first question (Q. 19) measures general knowledge while the second asks about more personal knowledge. Knowledge of immigrant status in question 20, and knowing a number of immigrants or refugees personally (Q. 26) were taken as indicators of more in-depth contact. The variables were re-coded into dichotomous variables where values of one reflect greater knowledge of immigrants and/or refugees. The variables are all correlated at significant levels with a correlation range of .199 for Questions 26 and 27 to .697 for questions 19 and 20. The Alpha for the four variables is .7758.

The four contact questions were used to construct a cumulative contact index, with a possible range of zero to four. Examination of the index frequencies revealed only 44 scores with a value of one, meaning that very few respondents reported knowing immigrants or refugees at the most superficial level (as measured in Question 19). In consideration of the small number of index scores with a value of one, and desiring a more normal frequency distribution, questions 19 and 26 were combined leaving the new index with a score range of one to three. A score of one means that the respondent had no contact with immigrants or refugees, two means having some contact, and a score of three means personal contact. Thus, a high score on the contact index means greater and more in-depth contact with immigrants and refugees.

Education Variable

A single variable is used to test the education hypothesis. The survey question asks about the highest level of education completed. Respondents were asked to choose one of five fixed-responses including: 1. Less than high school, 2. Completed high school, 3. Some post-secondary, 4. Post secondary diploma or certificate, and 5. University degree. There are four missing cases for this variable.

Non-significant city differences in levels of education are seen in Table 17. More than half of the respondents in Medicine Hat have a high school or less than high school education. In all other centres, more than half of the respondents have some post-secondary training. At the opposite end of the scale, Calgary has the highest proportion of respondents with a university degree (30%). Red Deer (16%) and Medicine Hat (11%) have the lowest proportion with university degrees. In looking at educational levels, it is important to also consider community age. Since older cohorts tend to be less educated

Table 17: Education Variable by City of Residence

	% of Population				
	Completed less than high school	Completed High School	Some Post Secondary Education	Post secondary diploma/ certificate	University degree
Calgary	9.4	27.5	13.4	20.1	29.5
Edmonton	16.8	26.2	14.1	20.8	22.1
Red Deer	20.0	29.0	10.0	25.0	16.0
Lethbridge	19.0	22.0	20.0	19.0	20.0
Medicine Hat	22.0	30.0	16.0	21.0	11.0
Grande Prairie	18.2	21.2	22.2	23.2	15.2
Fort McMurray	13.9	25.7	13.9	25.7	20.8
Total	16.5	26.1	15.4	21.9	20.1

Community differences are not significant
Unweighted Sample

this may be a factor in Medicine Hat which has one of the oldest populations (Table 3, Chapter 4). Although Lethbridge is like Medicine Hat in that it has a high proportion of older residents, having a university within the city may serve to increase the proportion of residents with university degrees.

Exogenous Independent Variables

A number of additional independent variables were selected for inclusion in the multiple regression analysis. In order to prepare these variables for regression analysis, many were re-coded to dichotomous variables.

Interval-level variables "years in city" and "age" measure the number of years the respondent has lived in his/her present city and his/her age. The "immigrant" variable was re-coded to create a dichotomous variable with a score of "0" for those who were born outside of Canada and a score of "1" for those born in Canada. The "married" variable was re-coded to create a dummy variable where "0" means not married and "1" means married. The gender variable was also re-coded to create a dummy variable where '0' means female and '1' means male.

Finally, a possible index of five variables pertaining to attitudes about one's city of residence was examined. On a scale of one to five where "1" means "strongly disagree" and "5" means "strongly agree", respondents were asked to indicate their level of agreement with statements about their city. While four of the statements (Q4a,c,d,e) pertain to the community in a general manner, one (Q4b) asks about individual job opportunities. Because of an increased Alpha (from .733 to .744) with the exclusion of this variable (which was only weakly correlated with the other three variables), the

decision was made not to use Q4b in the index. The index finally used in the regression is comprised of responses to the following statements:

4a. My city is a good place in which to live.
4c. My city is a good place in which to raise a family.
4d. The people in my city are friendly and welcoming.
4e. My city is very open to newcomers.

Responses to these four questions were added together to create an index with a possible range from 5 to 20.

These questions serve to gain insight on respondents' overall attitudes to their city of residence and to respondents' contentment with their city. While it may be argued that being content with one's community would make one more threatened by anything or anyone that could change the community, it may also be argued that if one is content in, and happy with, one's own community, she or he will be more open to and better able to accept change in the form of newcomers to the community. The city attitude index will allow insight into whether attitudes about one's own city have an influence on attitudes to diversity within that city, and also, more broadly to determine if city attitudes have an influence on opinions about federal immigration policy.

The exogenous independent variables reveal some interesting city differences (Table 18). The community differences in immigrant populations are significant with the proportion of immigrant respondents in the largest centres of Calgary (28%) and Edmonton (31%) being much larger than the other communities. Only Red Deer had less than one in ten immigrant respondents. With regard to attitudes about their own community, respondents across all centres were very positive and there is little variation. Out of a possible total score of 20, the mean score for the positive community attitude

index is 16.89, indicating that most respondents were very satisfied with their community of residence.

Table 18: Independent Variables by City of Residence

	% of Respondents			Mean	
	Married	Immigrant*	Male	City attitude	Age
Calgary	63%	28%	50%	17.19	43.5
Edmonton	57%	31%	49%	16.36	44.6
Red Deer	61%	7%	50%	16.89	40.6
Lethbridge	53%	19%	50%	16.85	41.8
Medicine Hat	59%	14%	49%	17.28	48.8
Grande Prairie	54%	13%	49%	17.03	42.4
Fort McMurray	74%	17%	50%	16.75	40.4
Total	60%	20%	50%	16.89	43.3

*Significant community differences at the p<.05 level
Unweighted Sample

Almost three-quarters of respondents in Fort McMurray were married (74%) as compared to just over half in Lethbridge (53%). Examination of age distributions in these cities reveals that a very low proportion of the population of Fort McMurray was over the age of 54 as compared to Lethbridge (Table 3, Chapter 4). These age distribution differences suggest that Lethbridge is far more likely to have residents who are widows or widowers. In addition, because Lethbridge is a university city, it would most likely have a higher population of single students. Although Fort McMurray is similar to Lethbridge in terms of the proportion of residents in this age cohort, it is likely that these residents have already begun their working careers and are hence more likely to be married.

A correlation matrix including all the independent variables discussed above, as well as the diversity and policy dependent variables, reveals a number of significant

correlations (Table 19). There is a high correlation (r=.596) between the diversity and policy variables meaning that if one sees diversity as a positive component of the community, he or she is also more likely to favour policies that support immigration.

Aggregate Community Variables

Four aggregate community variables were also constructed from 1991 and 1996 Census data (discussed in Chapter 3). Each aggregate variable was assigned a community value for a maximum of seven values. The limited number of values in each variable added to the potential for multi-collinearity in the multiple regression analysis. Hence the variables had to be carefully selected. The selected variables include population growth, less than high school education, immigrants arriving in Canada after 1970, and labour force activity.

The population growth variable was constructed using data from both the 1991 and 1996 Censuses. The percentage of population change from 1991 to 1996 was calculated for each community and the appropriate community value for percentage of population change was assigned to each case in the public opinion data set. The population growth ranged from a decrease of 4.8% in Fort McMurray to a gain of 10.1% in Grande Prairie (Table 1, Chapter 3).

The measure of 'less than high school education' was selected as the aggregate education variable, since using a specific type of post-secondary education as the aggregate measures could be strongly influenced by the type of economy in the community. Each community value represents the proportion of the population with less

Table 19: Correlation Matrix of Dependent and Independent Variables

	Diversity	Policy	Contact	Educ.	Income	Unemp.	Financ.	City	Age	Married	Immig.	Male
Diversity	1.000											
Policy	.596**	1.000										
Contact	.130**	.140**	1.000									
Education	.315**	.334**	.225**	1.000								
Household Income	.046	.059	.162**	.320**	1.000							
Unemployment	.038	-.002	.018	-.029	-.136**	1.000						
Financial Pessimism	-.055	-.089*	-.084*	-.090*	-.180**	.104**	1.000					
City Attitude	.055	.103**	-.003	-.076*	.112**	.004	-.072*	1.000				
Age	-.296**	-.204**	-.121**	-.242**	-.084*	-.055	.144**	.154**	1.000			
Married	-.049	-.041	-.042	.072*	.386**	-.079*	-.053	.143**	.128**	1.000		
Immigrant	-.024	.102**	-.104**	.023	.022	-.023	-.026	.120**	.111**	.098**	1.000	
Male	.067	.072*	.077*	.176**	.199**	-.082*	.050	-.053	-.040	.133**	.043	1.000

* Correlation is significant at the 0.05 level (2-tailed).
** Correlation is significant at the 0.01 level (2-tailed).

than a high school education. The proportions ranged from 27% in Calgary to a high of 42% in Medicine Hat (Table 3, Chapter 3).

The 'immigrants arriving after 1970' variable was selected because it measures the ethnic diversity of a community. The proportion of immigrants arriving after 1970 ranged from a minority of 37% of the immigrants in Medicine Hat to a majority of 74% of the immigrants in Fort McMurray (Table 4).

For the employment aggregate variable, labour force activity was selected over unemployment rate because of the very high correlation between unemployment and population growth (r=-.874). Again, seven values were assigned to the public opinion data cases, each representing the proportion of the population in the labour force. Labour force activity ranged from a low of 66% in Medicine Hat to a high of 80% in Grande Prairie (Table 7, Chapter 3) basically reflecting the different ages of the population in the seven cities.

Open-Ended Comments

The responses to one open-ended question are also utilized in my analysis: *Q.17 In your opinion, why do you thing immigrants and refugees from other countries want to come to Canada?* Although the question asks respondents about their perception of immigrant and refugee motivation for wanting to come to Canada, a significant proportion of respondents provided their own opinions about immigrants and refugees in Canada. It is responses that deviated from the original question that are utilized in my analysis in subsequent chapters.

Selecting an Appropriate Methodology

When selecting a methodology to study opinions and attitudes it is important to choose an approach that elicits real attitudes as opposed to politically correct or guarded responses. It may be argued that a qualitative approach would be better to research attitudes and opinions because it looks at the "what, how, when and where of a thing – concepts, definitions, characteristics, metaphors, symbols and descriptions of things" while quantitative research "counts and measures" (Berg 1998). In other words, a qualitative approach might be less prone to politically correct responses.

To determine whether the quantitative approach used in this study is a valid way to measure attitudes and opinions about immigration, the frequencies distributions were examined. If the diversity and policy responses were simply a context of the methodology, the majority of the frequencies would be clustered at the positive end of the distribution. Examination of the frequency distributions for the conflict and contact variables reveals near normal distributions, suggesting that respondents were considering the questions and giving thoughtful responses without particular attention political correctness.

Responses to the open-ended questions represented a diverse range of opinions, some of which addressed the question asked and others, which deviated. The data do not suggest that respondents attempted to be politically correct in their responses. Rather, the survey seems to have provided an environment where respondents felt free to express themselves.

Summary

Examination of the variables discussed in this chapter reveals a number of community differences and similarities. With regard to the questions in the diversity index, a majority of respondents held positive views regarding immigrants in their own communities, with few respondents feeling threatened by high levels of immigration. Significant community differences are evident in only one of the diversity questions, with three-quarters of the respondents in Lethbridge and Fort McMurray agreeing or strongly agreeing that "a mixture of different lifestyles and cultures makes my city a more attractive place to live", as compared to fewer that 60% in Red Deer and Medicine Hat. However, multivariate analysis (Chapter 6) may reveal additional differences.

Public opinion in these seven communities was generally favourable to immigration policy and most favourable with regard to allowing immigrants to sponsor family members. Four out of five respondents expressed support for this policy. Community differences in the policy questions were not significant. Again, multi-variate analysis may tell another story.

Examination of the theoretical independent variables reveals that community differences are significant only for the conflict variables where they are significant in all four areas tested. The unemployment rate of respondents ranged from zero in Grande Prairie and Fort McMurray to 6.5% in Red Deer. The proportion of respondents with a total household income of less than $20,000 varied from a low of 5.6% in Fort McMurray to a high of 22% in Medicine Hat. Furthermore, respondents from Medicine Hat, Edmonton and Red Deer were more financially pessimistic about the past year and respondents from Lethbridge and Medicine Hat were most pessimistic about their future.

With regard to both the contact and education variables, there were no significant differences across communities. A large majority of respondents knew fewer than ten immigrants on a personal level. A large minority of respondents had completed post-secondary diplomas, certificates or held university degrees.

With regard to the exogenous independent control variables, only with the "immigrant" variable were significant community differences evident. While the public opinion survey shows that three in ten residents in Edmonton and Calgary were immigrants, fewer than one in ten residents in Red Deer fell into this category. Attitudes towards ones' own city were positive throughout the sample with a mean attitude of 16.84 out of a possible score of 20. The highest mean age was found in Medicine Hat and the youngest residents in Red Deer and Fort McMurray.

Aggregate community variables, comprised from 1991 and 1996 Census data, will serve to provide another avenue to determine if community conditions affect opinions and attitudes toward diversity in the community and/or federal immigration policy.

The next chapter presents a multi-variate analysis of the public opinion data, utilizing the variables described in this chapter. Four regression equations are employed for both the diversity and policy variables, beginning with a regression of these two dependent variables on the central theoretical variables (contact, conflict, and education), followed by two further regression equations adding exogenous independent variables from the public opinion data set. The final regression equation adds four aggregate community variables to the individual-level variables from the public opinion survey.

6. Multivariate Analysis

The Alberta communities selected for this study have many unique features, both in their demographic characteristics and in public opinion towards community diversity and policies regarding immigration. Three hypotheses are drawn from the literature to provide a framework analysis of public opinion data. Multivariate analysis that includes individual characteristics and attitudes to the community in general, as well as aggregate community factors, allows for an examination of attitudes to diversity and policy within a context of the larger community, where the interplay of many factors is taken into consideration.

Based on conflict theory, the first hypothesis states that people who feel the most threatened are those who must compete with immigrants in the labour market. Consequently, they would be expected to be the least accepting of immigrants. As operationalized in this study, those who would feel most threatened are the unemployed, those who fall at the lower end of the earning scale, and those who have high financial pessimism in assessing both their past and future.

The second hypothesis regarding education is well established and is heavily supported by the literature. This hypothesis suggests that exposure to higher education has the effect of creating more liberal and accepting attitudes toward immigrants and visible minorities. Whether it is the education itself or the educational environment that influences these positive attitudes is undetermined, at least within the scope of this study.

Contact theory is grounded in general attitude change theory and leads to the third hypothesis, that experiences of contact with immigrants serve to positively change attitudes and behaviours towards immigrants as they become better known. Furthermore, those who have frequent and knowledgeable contact with immigrants have the experience of direct relationships that may serve to foster positive attitudes toward them.

For both the "diversity" and "policy" dependent variables, the following multivariate analysis is conducted in four stages, using four regression equations with each equation building in an additional set of prediction variables. The first regression equation includes only the independent variables that directly test the three theoretical perspectives. The second equation builds upon the first by adding a number of exogenous independent variables, while the third excludes the total household income variable. Exclusion of total household income serves to increase the number of cases by 106 or approximately one eighth of the total. The fourth equation adds a set of four binary variables measuring community characteristics.

Diversity

The four regression equations for the diversity dependent variable are presented in Table 20.

Diversity Equation #1

The first regression equation featuring the central theoretical variables and indices accounts for 7.4% of the variance in opinions regarding diversity (Adjusted R^2=.074). This equation is based on 690 cases or 86% of the sample. Only education shows a significant effect on attitudes toward diversity (beta = .266). The higher the achieved

Table 20: Diversity by Education, Conflict, Contact and Control Variables.

Independent Variable	Equation #1 Beta	Equation #2 Beta	Equation #3 Beta	Equation #4 Beta
Contact Index	.066	.047	.029	.037
Education	.266 **	.245 **	.273 **	.285 **
Household Income	-.046	-.058		
Unemployment	.063	.047	.027	.020
Financial Pessimism	-.028	-.002	-.002	-.018
Community Attitude Index		.133 **	.117 **	.123 **
Respondent Age		-.229 **	-.223 **	-.217 **
Married		-.028	-.072 *	-.071 *
Immigrant		-.004	-.002	.010
Male		.008	-.025	.023
Population Growth				-.153 *
Less than High School Education				-.017
Immigrants Arriving After 1970				-.182 **
Labour Force Activity				.139 *
Adjusted R2	.074	.131	.160	.176
N	690	685	791	791

Equation #1: Includes theoretical variables

Equation #2: Includes theoretical variables and independent data variables

Equation #3: Includes theoretical variables and independent data variables excludes household income

Equation #4: Includes theoretical variables, independent variables, aggregate community variables, excludes household income.

educational level, the higher the score on the diversity index, or the more positive the attitude to immigrants in one's own community. These findings support the hypothesis that higher education leads to more liberal and accepting attitudes towards immigrants and visible minorities, presumably because people learn to think differently and thus adopt more accepting attitudes.

The variables in this equation linked to conflict theory included household income and unemployment in addition to a financial pessimism index. These variables showed consistent results, but not in the predicted direction. Respondents with lower incomes and lower financial pessimism for the past and future, as well as those who were unemployed had slightly more positive opinions about immigrants in their communities, but not at statistically significant levels. Since none of the effects of the conflict variables were significant the null hypothesis was supported. In other words, the measures related to conflict theory as tested in this analysis had no effect on attitudes toward diversity.

The contact variable, a cumulative index, was used to measure both amount of contact and the depth of contact with newcomers. Although respondents who scored more highly on the contact index had slightly more positive opinions about immigrants in their cities, the coefficient (beta=.066) was not significant, thus supporting the null hypothesis that contact with immigrants has no effect on opinions about diversity.

Diversity Equation #2

Five exogenous independent variables from the public opinion data set were included in this regression with an adjusted R^2 of .131, meaning that 13.1% of the variance in opinions about diversity can be explained by the ten variables in this

equation. The explained variance is almost twice that of equation #1. Due to a number of missing cases, this equation includes 85% of the cases in the total sample.

The addition of the exogenous independent variables has the effect of making the betas for the theoretical independent variables slightly less powerful, with the exception of household income that increases slightly. As in equation #1, only education is significant with a beta of .245 ($p<.01$). Thus, the higher the level of attained education, the more favourable ones' attitudes on the diversity index. The exogenous variable that is comprised of an index of four questions measuring attitudes about own community is significant with a beta of .133 ($p<.01$). As respondents' attitudes towards their own communities become more positive, so do their attitudes about immigrants in their communities. Age is also significant at the $p<.01$ level, with a beta of -.229. Thus, the older the respondents, the less positive their opinions about diversity.

While both education and affirmative attitudes to one's own community positively affect attitudes to diversity, age has a negative effect. The greater opportunities for community contact that are afforded to students in post-secondary education may positively influence opinions or perhaps it is the learning that takes place in post-secondary programs. While it may be suggested that the effect of education is really part of having a higher socio-economic status, making better-educated respondents less threatened by newcomers in the labour market, this is unlikely since the effects of socio-economic status are being controlled in this equation with the inclusion of the conflict variables.

Diversity Equation #3

Although household income is one of the theoretical variables that were used to test the conflict hypothesis, given the non-significant effect of this variable in equation #1 and #2 and the number of cases to be gained, it was decided to exclude this variable from the third equation. Exclusion of the household income variable allows the "n" to increase to 791 or 99% of all cases in the public opinion data set. Furthermore, exclusion of the household income variable increased the adjusted R^2 to .160. If we consider the significant correlation between education and income (r=.320, Table 19) it is likely that part of the effect of income is being picked up by education. By excluding the income variable, the strength of the education measure increases.

In this equation, four variables have stronger effects than in the second equation. The exclusion of the household income variable strengthens the effect of education to a beta of .273 as noted above. The financial pessimism variable loses strength and the beta remains insignificant. Because married people tend to have higher earnings, removing the household income variable from the regression makes the effect of being married slightly more negative (b=-.072), bringing it to significance ($p<.05$). Thus, married respondents are more negative in their opinions about diversity than those who are not married. The gender relationship changes from negligibly positive to negligibly negative, but gender still has virtually no effect on attitudes toward diversity in the community.

Diversity Equation #4

In the final equation displayed in Table 20, four aggregate community variables are added to those from equation three, increasing the adjusted R^2 to .176. In other words,

the variables in equation four account for 17.6% of the variance in opinions regarding diversity.

The strength of the variables included in equation three changes only nominally in this equation and the variables with significant effects remain. The effect of living in a community with a higher proportion of immigrants who arrived in Canada after 1970 is significantly negative with a beta of -.182 ($p<.01$). Residents of communities with more recent and thus more ethnically diverse immigrants hold less favourable attitudes about diversity in their own community.

Population growth also has a negative effect (beta = -.153; $p<.05$). Respondents from communities with higher population growth in the previous five-year period held more negative attitudes to diversity. The labour force activity variable positively affected diversity with a beta of .139 ($p<.05$). Respondents from communities with higher proportions of their population in the labour force held more positive attitudes about diversity. The final variable measuring the proportion of the community with less than a high school education had a slightly negative but non-significant effect on opinions about diversity.

Policy

The four regression equations I employed to explain variation is support for immigration policy appear in Table 21. The analysis strategy employed is similar to that which was used for the diversity index.

Table 21: Policy by Theoretical and Control Variables.

Independent Variable	Equation #1 Beta	Equation #2 Beta	Equation #3 Beta	Equation #4 Beta
Contact Index	.035	.034	.053	.056
Education	.325 **	.328 **	.311 **	.317 **
Household Income	-.058	-.055		
Unemployment	.013	.000	-.004	-.005
Financial Pessimism	-.057	-.037	-.038	-.044
Community Attitude Index		.147 **	.140 **	.139 **
Respondent Age		-.105 **	-.125 **	-.122 **
Married		-.076	-.105 **	-.104 **
Immigrant		.106 **	.119 **	.127 **
Male		-.014	.025	.024
Population Growth				-.082
Less than High School Education				-.057
Immigrants Arriving After 1970				-.142 *
Labour Force Activity				.075
Adjusted R^2	.101	.147	.170	.172
N	690	685	791	791

Equation #1: Includes theoretical variables

Equation #2: Includes theoretical variables and independent data variables

Equation #3: Includes theoretical variables and independent data variables excludes household income

Equation #4: Includes theoretical variables, independent variables, aggregate community variables, excludes household income.

Policy Equation #1

The first equation includes only the core theoretical independent variables. The patterns in this equation are similar to those found in diversity regression equation #1. Education is strongly significant in a positive direction, with a beta of .325 ($p<.01$). These results support the hypothesis that higher education or being in an environment of higher education positively affects attitudes about immigration policy.

Although the contact index has a slightly positive effect on attitudes to immigration policy, the effect is not significant and thus supports the null hypothesis that contact with immigrants has no affect on attitudes towards federal immigration policy. The three measures used to test the conflict hypothesis have marginal effects. Those who are poorer, unemployed, and have lower financial pessimism tend to be slightly more positive on the policy index. But none of the conflict measures are significant, thus supporting the null hypothesis that income, employment status and financial pessimism do not affect attitudes toward federal immigration policy. The adjusted R^2 for this regression is .101 meaning that 10% of the difference in opinion to policy can be explained by the theoretical independent variables.

Policy Equation #2

In addition to the theoretical independent variables used in equation #1, the second equation includes five exogenous independent variables. When these variables are included in the regression the adjusted R^2 increases to .147. Affirmative attitudes to ones' own community positively and significantly affect attitudes toward immigration policy, with a beta of .147 ($p<.01$). Being an immigrant to Canada also has a significant positive

effect on opinions about immigration policy (beta = .106, $p<.01$). As age increases, positive attitudes to policy decline significantly with a beta of -.105 ($p<.01$).

Policy Equation #3

Although total household income is one of the conflict variables, it was decided to drop this variable from the equation to increase the sample size. Exclusion of the total household income variable not only serves to increase the "N" to 791 cases or 99% of the total sample, but also increases the adjusted R^2 by .022 to .170, meaning that 17% of the difference in opinion about immigration policy can be explained by the variables in this equation.

The effect of excluding total household income on the remaining theoretical independent variables is minimal with a very slight decrease in the positive effect of education (beta = .311) and a slight increase in the positive effect of the contact index (beta = .054). The effects of unemployment and the financial pessimism variables are virtually unchanged. As in equation #2, education is the only theoretical variable with a significant effect on opinions about policy.

With the exception of gender, all of the exogenous independent variables are significant at the $p<.01$ level. Because the income and marital status variables are strongly correlated ($r=.386$) excluding the income variable from the equation strengthened the negative effect of being married (beta = -.105, $p<.01$). More positive attitudes to one's own community had a positive effect on one's opinions with regard to immigration policy. Within the set of exogenous independent variables, positive attitudes about one's own community had the strongest positive effect in this equation with a beta of .140.

Even though many Canadians are second and third generation immigrants, not far removed from the immigration experience, a personal experience of immigration had a significantly positive effect on opinions about immigration policy (beta = .119). Exogenous independent variables that affect support for immigration policy in a negative manner include the "age" and "married" variables. The strongest negative effect comes with age (beta = -.125) where the older the respondent, the more negative his/her attitudes to immigration policy. In addition, those who are married have significantly more negative attitudes to immigration policy (beta = -.105).

Equation #4

Only one of the four aggregate community variables significantly affects attitudes towards federal immigration policy. Respondents who live in communities with a higher proportion of immigrants who arrived in Canada after 1970 have significantly less favourable attitudes to federal immigration policy (beta = -.142, $p<.05$). Attitudes towards policies that are supportive of immigration were slightly more negative in communities with rapid population growth or with a larger proportion of residents with less than a high school education, but not at significant levels. Finally, slightly more positive attitudes towards immigration policy were seen in communities with a higher proportion of their population in the labour force, but again not at significant levels.

Summary

The analyses of public opinion about diversity and immigration policy use the same regression models with the same independent variables in each equation. In both regression models, the fourth equation including the most variables explains the largest

percentage of the variance. The fourth equation in the diversity regression includes four variables that are significant at the $p<.01$ level and two that are significant at the $p<.05$ level. In the same equation for the policy regression, five variables are significant at the $p<.01$ level.

The positive significant effect of education in both the diversity and policy regression analysis leads me to reject the null hypothesis that education has no effect on the creation of more liberal attitudes towards immigrants and visible minorities. Evidence from this analysis suggests that education has a positive effect on both opinions about diversity in one's own community and about federal policies that favour immigration. As for the hypotheses pertaining to conflict and contact theories, the evidence supports the null hypotheses that people who must compete with immigrants are not more or less threatened by immigrants and that contact with immigrants does not change attitudes about immigrants.

Although the exogenous demographic independent variables display similar results in both regression models, only being married has a significant (negative) effect in both equations, being an immigrant has a significant (positive) effect in only the policy equation. Gender has no impact in either regression analysis.

More of the aggregate community variables in equation #4 have significant affects on attitudes to diversity than to policy. While a higher rate of population growth and a higher proportion of immigrants arriving since 1970 negatively affect attitudes to diversity, communities with a higher rate of labour force participation experience more positive attitudes towards diversity. Regarding attitudes towards immigration policy, only a higher proportion of immigrants arriving since 1970 has a significant affect.

7. Discussion

Introduction

The face of immigration to Canada has dramatically changed over the past three decades. As source countries of immigrants to Canada have changed, so has the cultural and racial profile of Canada where there is now a steadily increasing proportion of visible minority Canadians. The concept of the "other" as applied to new immigrants has come to be primarily racially determined and has become synonymous with "non-caucasian". The question of race and racial discrimination is crucial in examining attitudes to diversity and immigration policy and the selected theoretical frameworks must be approached through this lens.

Three research hypotheses examining how conflict, contact and education influence public opinions and attitudes toward community diversity and immigration policy were tested. The multivariate regression analysis described in chapter six assumes that the included theoretical concepts are interdependent and influenced by a number of external factors.

When controlling for theoretical and exogenous variables, we consistently find that education significantly and positively affects opinions about diversity in one's own community and opinions about the national immigration policy. While the parameters of this study do not allow us to more closely define the factors in education or the educational environment that serve to positively enhance opinions about diversity and immigration policy, we do know that a higher education leads to more positive attitudes.

Although the conflict variables did not have significant effects on public opinion in this study, it must be noted that the environment for conflict is subject to a number of external conditions. The unemployment rate in Alberta at the time of the survey was the lowest in the decade and had been dropping for eight years, conditions that could serve to lessen the probability of conflict arising between native-born and immigrant Albertans. Research on the effects of conflict on attitudes would best be served in a longitudinal study over a variety of economic climates.

The contact index variable was found not to significantly affect opinions and attitudes toward diversity and policy. As discussed in an earlier chapter, the set of questions included in this indexed variable may not have been particularly well-suited to the hypothesis; better measures for contact could be used in future studies. The conditions creating an environment for positive attitude formation makes this concept difficult to research with little progress in this area.

A number of variables pertaining to respondent characteristics and attitudes about community were also tested to determine their influence on opinions about community diversity and immigration policy. Age and marital status had significant negative effects on both the diversity and policy variables, while being an immigrant had a positive effect on attitudes about immigration policy. Having a positive attitude towards one's own community had a significant positive effect on both the diversity and policy variables.

Some community characteristics were also found to have a significant effect on the dependent variables. In centres with a higher proportion of immigrants who had arrived in Canada since 1970, respondents had significantly more negative attitudes about both community diversity and immigration policy. Furthermore, communities with a

higher rate of population growth displayed significantly more negative attitudes about community diversity. In addition, communities with higher labour force activity were significantly more positive about community diversity. These community findings serve to support conflict theory and bring two interesting dimensions to the labour force argument.

When analyzing the results of this study it is important to keep in mind the variable circumstances affecting the conditions under which people's opinions and attitudes are formed. While this study allowed for an examination across the space of seven Alberta communities, it is restricted to one Canadian province. However, the characteristics of the Alberta communities selected for this study can be found in communities across Canada allowing us to generalize findings while taking into consideration specific conditions and events. Although the utilization of 1991 and 1996 census data allowed for some comparisons over time, the public opinion data set provides only a snapshot of a specific period, marking attitudes and opinions formed under particular conditions. Conditions with global impact such as the 1999 war in Kosova or the September 11, 2001 bombing of the World Trade Centre in New York are expected to have an impact on opinions about immigration, as would local events such as a decision to close a major industry in a community. A longitudinal study would allow a more detailed examination of how attitudes change over time as demographic conditions change.

Conflict Theory

The conflict measures were based on a variety of individual-level variables: unemployment, total household income, and financial pessimism pertaining to the past

year and the next year. Analysis of these variables did not yield results that were supportive of the theory that attitudes towards diversity in one's own community and to policies pertaining to immigrants on a national level are affected by the conflict measures.

Although there were no significant effects of the conflict variables, the current study does not allow for measurement across time. It is important to consider the employment climate at the time preceding data collection. The unemployment rate in Alberta had dropped steadily from a high of 9.7% in 1993 to 5.7% in 1998, the year of data collection. Given the declining unemployment rate it is understandable that only a minority of respondents indicated financial pessimism. Unfortunately, data measuring these attitudes during a time of higher unemployment is not available for comparison. It must be noted that, at the time of data collection, the economic future for most Albertans was optimistic and most likely a factor in diffusing a climate for conflict and the threat of conflict in the labour market. While immigrants and visible minorities filled positions in the labour market that Canadians would not normally accept, the employment climate was such that Canadians did not feel particularly threatened in relationship to the labour market.

Although the individual-level data did not reveal significant findings in the relationship between conflict variables and attitudes towards diversity and policy, aggregate community data variables did show significant effects. Those residents residing in communities with higher labour force activity were more positive in their attitudes about diversity in their community. These findings support conflict theory in that if one lives in a community where a larger proportion of people are employed, they will be less

likely to see immigrants as a threat. Furthermore, the findings support the earlier work of Schissel, Wanner and Frideres (1974) who suggested that rate of population growth influences attitudes. Residents of communities with a higher rate of population growth tend to have significantly more negative attitudes to diversity. Problems in the areas of housing, access to services, and the labour market, that are traditionally associated with population growth may be exacerbated when newcomers require additional services related to settlement and integration.

However, neither community rate of population growth nor level of labour force activity had a significant influence on public attitudes towards federal immigration policy. It may be that respondents are looking at policy from a broader, more national perspective, where an impending decline in population is more of a concern than population growth. Moreover, we must keep in mind that the unemployment rate during this time frame was declining and at an eight-year low.

Since 1970 immigrants arriving in Canada have come from a more diverse range of countries than ever before, contributing to a growing visible minority population. In communities with higher proportions of these later immigrants, public opinion to both diversity in the community and support for positive immigration policy was significantly less favourable. These findings are supported by the polls where the largest immigrant receiving centres of Toronto, Vancouver and Montreal hold the most negative opinions about immigrants and visible minorities (Angus Reid, March, 1990). Given the labour market barriers that many newcomers face and the employment positions that newcomers typically attain, it may not be the reality of competition that invokes negative opinions from the public but the perception of competition (Fetzer 2000).

Within the open-ended responses from the data set, a common theme of immigrants as competitors in the labour market emerges: *I do not think that they should let them in. Too many are coming and are taking the jobs away from us. I feel that immigration laws should be linked to the unemployment levels. When the unemployment rate is high, the rate of immigration should be lowered. When the economy is good, it seems fine to have the refugees and immigrants in Grande Prairie. However, when the economy starts to turn bad, people in Grande Prairie seem to resent having them because they would compete with local people for jobs.*

Many respondents specified that admission criteria for newcomers should be based on labour market needs. Respondents saw immigrants as both assets and liabilities; some suggested entry criteria including both specific skill sets and preferred ethnicity: *Bring in immigrants that are trained in areas that are needed in Canada. Canada should look after Canadians first and leave the other countries alone. I believe that European trades people would be accepted into Canada very easily because their skills are needed and appreciated.* Other respondents saw immigrants as needed and contributing members of society: *I think Canada should extend the limits for the amount of people allowed into the country. We're getting older and we don't have enough population to look after the older population. There will be more people collecting pension than contributing. Generally we have to keep letting refugees and immigrants in, so we can grow. And immigrants create jobs, they don't take away jobs.*

The literature provides support for the theory that unemployment is the impetus for negative public opinion towards immigrants and visible minorities (Tienhaara, 1975; Palmer, 1996). In addition, a shift from positive media portrayals of immigrants as

hardworking, diligent and law-abiding in the post war years to an image of immigrants as economically draining security risks has served to influence Canadian attitudes. Polls reveal that a majority of Canadians favour shaping immigration to serve labour market needs exclusively. At the same time, many immigrants already residing in Canada face insurmountable barriers to having their credentials recognized so that they are able to work within their professions and respond to labour market shortages. Perhaps the focus on labour market issues is a factor in opinion formation and a force behind immigration policy development that serves to contribute to an atmosphere of xenophobia. When increasing numbers of new immigrants settle in centres with already growing populations, the labour market is indeed stretched to accommodate the population growth from both sectors; however, population growth is usually not presented as a factor and this issue is not seen in the media.

Contact Theory

Favourable conditions for the formation of positive attitudes to immigrants and visible minorities are both difficult to define and are ever-changing. While it is widely assumed that contact with newcomers plays a role in attitude formation about immigrants and visible minorities, questions pertaining to contact are generally not included in opinion poll surveys, thus national data regarding this aspect of attitude formation is lacking. Furthermore, the limited research in this area indicates that contact can yield both positive and negative results, and that contact that produces positive attitude outcomes is contingent on a number of precisely defined conditions (Amir 1969).

The type, depth and breadth of contact with immigrants all factor into the success of the interaction in terms of positive attitude formation. Fetzer (2000) points out that although policies that focus on ensuring equal opportunity and equal access serve to increase contact opportunities, it is unknown how these opportunities affect attitude formation. Furthermore, opportunities for contact and the conditions required for positive attitude formation vary across time and space. Contact with recent immigrants may be quite different than contact with those who have resided in Canada for many years.

Given a lack of detailed data, it is difficult to know if the contact index accurately measured the amount and quality of contact. The first question in the index asked if the respondent "knows of any refugees or immigrants living in your city". Another question asked whether the respondent knew immigrants or refugees personally, but did not set a criterion for this type of relationship. "Personally knowing" may mean having an acquaintance with an immigrant through the workplace but not having any kind of personal relationship. Given that just fewer than one-third of Albertans were immigrants (1991 Census data), it is likely that virtually everyone knows of immigrants or refugees. But these measures of knowing may not assess the contact required for positive attitude formation.

To determine the depth of contact, respondents were asked if they were aware if the immigrants they know are immigrants or refugees. While the respondents to this question may have known the status of the newcomers they are in contact with, it would be easy for them to have made an assumption about status based on knowing the newcomer's country of origin. Questions pertaining to the type of personal relationship,

reasons for contact, and frequency of contact may serve as better indicators of depth of contact.

Finally, if we look at the specific responses to the question pertaining to the number of immigrants and refugees known, the responses greater than five tend to be grouped in intervals of ten. This distribution of responses suggests that respondents are guessing rather than responding with accurate numbers. In addition, it is not known if the numbers reported are in relation to immigrants and refugees known personally or as acquaintances only.

Thus, the insignificant results for the contact hypothesis may have to do with the usefulness of these particular variables. However, given the complexity of the contact conditions required for positive attitude formation, I cannot conclude that other more detailed measures of contact would not be factors in the formation of attitudes towards immigrants and refugees.

It is interesting to note that the open-ended responses from the survey suggest attitude formation that had been based on hearsay and media rather than on lived experience. Although respondents in this study would most likely not have been personally involved in the case of the 1996 challenge to the RCMP dress-code in which a Sikh RCMP officer sought permission to wear a turban on the job. Many respondents deviated from the question to address the turban issue. When asked about the adjustment of immigrants into Canadian communities, comments relating to this issue included: *I feel they should adapt to our laws and rules rather than change ours to theirs. What really irrates me is the Mounties changed their rules about the hats and the turbans. As far as I'm concerned they should just stay home if they're not willing to change.*

Moreover, opinions are often grounded in misinformation: *Policy should be tightened up, we're becoming overpopulated. Also the crime rate is going up and I think that is due to the amount of immigrants that we're letting in. They are more inclined to commit killing crimes because of the way they live. I am fed up with them coming into the country and taking our jobs. They also do not have to pay their student loans. Government gives them a green card and sets them up with work and everything. I say take care of your own before immigrants.*

Those respondents who identified a specific ethnic group as the target for their comments, focussed exclusively on Asians and, more specifically, East Indians. Comments generally appeared to be based on hearsay or media reports rather than direct experience: *The East Indians do not get stopped for not driving with seat belts in B.C.I don't like to see immigrants coming in and not abide by our laws and I'm thinking particularly about the East Indian problem not wanting to abide by our cultures. If they want to live here they can abide by our laws and our cultures. I don't think it's right that some people like the Pakistanis have taken over some businesses like the taxis at the airport. I am a little prejudiced against these people. I don't want to sound prejudiced but I don't think East Indians give to the community.*

Respondents' comments reveal a diverse range of attitudes and approaches to attitude formation about immigrants. Attitudes are drawn from first-hand experience, second-hand information and hearsay, as well as media reportage, and are not necessarily based on complete and factual information. It is therefore important that measures be taken to present Canadians with factual information regarding diversity and immigration issues.

Education Theory

Throughout the larger body of research on attitudes to diversity and immigration, the effects of higher education are consistently a factor in positive attitude formation. Analysis of the public opinion data in this study supports these findings. However, the single measure for education does not serve to highlight which unique aspects of higher education promote positive attitudes. It is not known whether it is the educational environment, the process of study, the knowledge attained, or the influence of educators that contribute to the formation of attitudes. In the current research, I have not attempted to determine whether specific disciplines of study are factors in attitude change, nor have I looked at specific types of post-secondary education. While it can be concluded that some aspects of higher education serve to result in the reporting of more positive opinions about diversity in one's own community and about national immigration policy, it is unclear whether these attitudes are real or whether they are influenced by "political correctness" acquired during the higher education process.

Other Factors

In examining the data pertaining to respondents' attitudes about their communities it was decided to determine whether these attitudes were related to positive attitudes about newcomers and immigration policy. Perhaps a general positive attitude towards life plays a part in more specific attitude formation. This study showed that positive attitudes towards one's own community and a sense of well-being serve to foster positive attitudes about diversity in the community and attitudes that favour national policies in support of

immigration. Among the non-theoretical exogenous variables this general positive attitude had the strongest positive effect on opinion and, unlike aging, gender or immigrant status, this variable could be subject to change. Positive community initiatives that increase appreciation of and value for the community seem to have positive ripple effects on other attitudes, as measured in the diversity and policy indices. A sense of happiness and well-being may serve to help us feel less threatened by diversity and more accepting of newcomers.

Those who were older and/or married had less positive opinions towards diversity and policy while those who had first-hand immigration experiences had more positive attitudes. Older people, especially the retired living in residences where many services are provided onsite, may have less need to and/or be more limited in being able to access the community and thus develop contacts with immigrants. It is important to note that the age effect is not a result of less education, as education is controlled for in this analysis. Understandably, those who have experienced immigration first-hand are aware of their own settlement challenges and contributions to the new society, and have an appreciation for the benefits newcomers bring to Canada.

Three related aggregate community variables from 1996 Canadian Census data show significant effects on opinions about diversity in the community. Communities with higher proportions of immigrants who arrived after 1970 and a higher rate of population growth had more negative opinions about diversity in their community. In addition, those communities with a higher proportion of residents in the labour force have more positive attitudes about diversity. Although the widely recognized labour market variable of unemployment is a factor, the issue is more complex. The findings in this study related to

population growth as a factor in attitude formation support the earlier work of Schissel, Wanner and Frideres (1974) who found that respondents in cities with a higher rate of population growth had less tolerance for immigrants. A combination of community demographics including high population growth, low labour force activity, and a high proportion of immigrants who have arrived in the community since 1970 serve to negatively affect public opinion about diversity in the community.

Policy Recommendations

Public attitudes about diversity in the community and about federal immigration policy are developed in distinct environments. An examination of attitudes and contributing community factors in the seven Alberta communities in this study form the basis for the following policy recommendations.

1. Public Education Programs

While a majority of respondents held opinions that support diversity, a large minority (more than one-third) supported an assimilationist model of settlement. In addition, one-third of the respondents did not feel that a mixture of lifestyles and cultures adds to their community (Table 10, Chapter 5). With respect to immigration policy, only 6 in 10 respondents supported increasing immigration numbers or leaving them at present levels. Given a national government goal of annual immigration levels of 1% of the total population, it is desirable, from both political and practical perspectives, that Canadians demonstrate support for both diversity and policy that is favourable to immigration.

Informing and educating Canadians about the contributions made by immigrants and about how immigration benefits Canada may serve to generate more support and

supporters for diversity and positive immigration policy. For example, prior to and during the 1999 influx of Kosovar refugees, Canadian politicians publicly asked Canadians to accept and assist these refugees. Media coverage of this effort (Operation Parasol) was both positive and extensive, and it resulted in public awareness. Education programs designed to increase public awareness regarding the benefits of immigration and policies that support immigration may serve to foster positive and more accepting attitudes towards both diversity and current immigration policies.

2. Higher Education Opportunities

Higher education was found to have the most significant positive effect on opinions about diversity and immigration policy. A variety of higher educational opportunities widely accessible to Canadians serve to foster more positive attitudes toward diversity and immigration policy and may have the added benefit of helping newcomers feel more welcome, hence easing their transition to life in Canada. However, it is important to also consider the content of higher education programs since previous research has shown that attitudes towards immigrants do not necessarily become more positive in all types of post-secondary programs.

3. Focus on Placement of Immigrants

In promoting places in Canada for immigrants to settle, or considering destinations for government-sponsored refugees, Citizenship and Immigration should bear in mind a number of specific community demographics. In addition to the availability of housing, services and employment, the rate of population growth should also be considered. Settling immigrants into centres already experiencing high population growth where residents are already coping with competitive labour and housing markets

may only serve to exacerbate the situation and to foster negative attitudes to newcomers and the policies that allowed them to immigrate to Canada

Initiatives that inform newcomers about communities with declining or stagnant populations, where their particular skill-sets are needed, would serve to encourage movement to a more positive and perhaps more successful environment. Government-sponsored refugees could be placed in communities that have declining populations, if these communities had the necessary services for newcomers. Community conditions would thus serve to diminish conflict and provide opportunities for positive contact

4. Fostering Positive Community Attitudes

The funding, implementation and support of initiatives that foster a general sense of well-being and support for the community may serve to create an environment where there is more openness toward a diverse range of newcomers. Furthermore, helping Canadians to build positive attitudes toward their own communities has the added value of fostering positive attitudes toward immigrants and the benefits of immigration to Canada.

These initiatives may begin with public education to foster awareness of community services and benefits, and to provide information on how to participate in events and programs that benefit the community. Creating a stronger sense of belonging and participation in the community may also serve to foster positive contact opportunities with, and diminish the threat that newcomers may be perceived to pose.

Future Research

Four areas for future research have arisen out of this study. First, a growing federal interest in encouraging newcomers to settle in more diverse locations mandates learning about the distinctive characteristics within communities that serve to enhance or impede settlement. Although the distinct features and environments of the three main immigration cities of Toronto, Montreal and Vancouver are known, there is little understanding of the conditions in smaller centres across Canada and how immigrants to these communities fare.

Second, there is evidence that the rate of population growth is a factor in attitude formation. In addition, communities with a higher rate of immigrants who have arrived in recent years have greater community diversity. Both factors mark change in the community and need to be considered in conjunction with unemployment rate as factors in attitude formation.

Third, studies that compare attitudes toward immigrants and their conditions of settlement in mid-sized and smaller communities would provide valuable information to newcomers when choosing a community and to government in promoting communities to newcomers and selecting communities for incoming government sponsored refugees.

Four, higher education proved to be a strong influence in the development of positive opinions about community diversity and policy about immigration. Further research is needed to determine which aspects of education foster this positive attitude formation.

Finally, longitudinal studies that compare public opinion across space would promote an understanding of how changing demographic factors affect attitudes and thus create a climate for policy change.

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APPENDIX A

PUBLIC OPINION SURVEY QUESTIONNAIRE

REFUGEE SETTLEMENT STUDY

1. In what city do you live?

    1. Calgary
    2. Edmonton
    3. Red Deer
    4. Lethbridge
    5. Medicine Hat
    6. Grande Prairie
    7. Fort McMurray
    8. None of the above

2. How many years have you lived in _____?

3. Have you ever lived in a country other than Canada?

    1. Yes
    2. No

4. The next few questions ask about your city.

    For each of the following questions, please answer on a scale of 1 to 5 where 1 means "STRONGLY DISAGREE" and 5 means "STRONGLY AGREE." You can answer anywhere between 1 and 5.

	Strongly Disagree				Strongly Agree	DK	NR
4a. _____ is a good place in which to live.	1	2	3	4	5	6	0
4b. There are good job opportunities here for me.	1	2	3	4	5	6	0
4c. _____ is a good place in which to raise a family.	1	2	3	4	5	6	0
4d. The people in ____ are very friendly and welcoming.	1	2	3	4	5	6	0
4e. _____ is very open to newcomers.	1	2	3	4	5	6	0

9. The next questions are about people who moved from other places. We are interested in your opinion about HOW EASILY THESE NEWCOMERS BECOME PART OF your community after they arrive.

For each of the following questions, please answer on a scale of 1 to 5 where 1 means "WITH GREAT DIFFICULTY" and 5 means "VERY EASILY." Again, you can answer anywhere between 1 and 5.

		With Great Difficulty				Very Easily	DK	NR
9a	How easily do newcomers from other parts of Canada become part of your community after they arrive?	1	2	3	4	5	6	0
9b.	How easily do immigrants from western Europe (e.g. Germany, England) become part of your community after they arrive?	1	2	3	4	5	6	0
9c.	How about immigrants or refugees from eastern Europe (e.g., former Yugoslavia)?	1	2	3	4	5	6	0
9d.	How easily do immigrants or refugees from Central or South America (e.g., Nicaragua, Chile) become part of your community after they arrive?	1	2	3	4	5	6	0
9e.	How about immigrants or refugees from Africa (e.g., Somalia, Rwanda, Ethiopia)?	1	2	3	4	5	6	0
9f.	Immigrants or refugees from Asia (e.g., Philippines, India, Pakistan, China, Iran, Iraq)?	1	2	3	4	5	6	0

10. In your opinion, do you feel there are too many, too few, or about the right number of immigrants coming to Canada? (200,000 to 225,000 per year)

1. Too many
2. The right number
3. Too few
4. Don't know (volunteered)
0. NO RESPONSE

11a. Do you think refugees and other immigrants would ADJUST TO CANADA MORE EASILY in larger cities like Edmonton or Calgary, smaller cities, or smaller towns?

1. Larger cities
2. Smaller cities
3. Smaller towns
4. Larger cities like Toronto or Vancouver (volunteered)
5. It makes no difference (volunteered)
6. Other (volunteered) _____ (specify)
0. NO RESPONSE

11b. Why do you think they would adjust better in such communities?

12. The next questions ask about different cultural groups in _____.

Please answer using an "AGREE-DISAGREE" scale, where 1 means "STRONGLY DISAGREE" and 5 means "STRONGLY AGREE."

	Strongly Disagree				Strongly Agree	DK	NR
12a. People who come to this city should change their ways to be more like other community members.	1	2	3	4	5	6	0
12b. I feel that there are too many immigrants coming to _____.	1	2	3	4	5	6	0
12c. A mixture of different lifestyles and cultures makes a more attractive place to live.	1	2	3	4	5	6	0
12d. I worry that the way of life in _____is being threatened by high levels of immigration.	1	2	3	4	5	6	0

13. Here are a few more questions about Canada's immigration policy. In your opinion, does it provide a good balance of people and backgrounds coming to Canada, or does it allow too many people of different races and cultures into Canada? Would you say ... (READ)

1. Good balance
2. Too many different races/cultures
3. Don't know (volunteered)
0. NO RESPONSE

14. Under the current immigration policy, immigrants and refugees are allowed to SPONSOR IMMEDIATE FAMILY MEMBERS (spouses and children) who want to come to Canada. Do you think they should be able to sponsor such family members, or not? Would you say ... (READ)

    1. Yes, they should be allowed to sponsor
    2. No, they should NOT be allowed to sponsor
    3. Don't know (volunteered)
    0. NO RESPONSE

15a. Not all immigrants or refugees can speak English or French. Do you think immigration should be restricted to only those WHO CAN SPEAK EITHER ENGLISH OR FRENCH, or should we also accept individuals who speak neither of the official languages? Would you say ... (READ)

    1. Restrict to either English or French-speaking
    2. Admit others as well
    3. Restrict to only English-speaking (volunteered)
    4. Don't know (volunteered)
    0. NO RESPONSE

15b. Should refugee or immigrant parents have to pay for "English as a second language" training FOR THEIR CHILDREN who cannot speak English?

    1. YES, BOTH IMMIGRANTS & REFUGEES should pay
    2. IMMIGRANTS ONLY should pay (not refugees)
    3. REFUGEES ONLY should pay (not immigrants)
    4. YES, IF THEY CAN AFFORD IT
    5. NEITHER immigrants nor refugees should pay
    6. Don't know
    0. NO RESPONSE

16. As far as you know, from what part of the world (what country or region) do you think most refugees or immigrants come (generally)?

17. In your opinion, why do you think immigrants and refugees from other countries want to come to Canada?

18a. Do you think that immigrants and refugees value their Canadian citizenship after they get it?

    1. Yes (ASK 18b.)
    2. No (ASK 18c.)
    3. Some do, some don't (volunteered) (ASK 18b.)
    4. Don't know (volunteered)
    0. NO RESPONSE

18b. Why? 18c. Why not?

19. Do you know of any refugees or immigrants living in

1. Yes
2. No [GO TO Q.28]
0. NO RESPONSE

20. Do you know if they are REFUGEES who were admitted to Canada because of life threatening problems in their country, or IMMIGRANTS who applied to come to Canada? (READ)

1. Refugees
2. Immigrants
3. Both
4. Don't know (volunteered)
0. NO RESPONSE

21. How well do you think these newcomers (refugees and/or immigrants) are adjusting to life in _____ ? Would you say they are adjusting: [READ]

1. Very well
2. Reasonably well
3. Not very well
4. Very poorly
5. Don't know (volunteered)
0. NO RESPONSE

22a. Do you think refugees or immigrants need any special programs and services to help them adjust to Canada?

1. Yes
2. No [GO TO Q. 23]
3. Don't know
0. NO RESPONSE

22b. What kinds of programs or services do you think they need?
[RECORD FIRST THREE RESPONSES]

23. Do you think refugees and other immigrants are treated fairly when they LOOK FOR JOBS in _____.

1. Yes
2. No
3. Don't know (volunteered)
0. NO RESPONSE

24. Do you think they are treated fairly when they LOOK FOR HOUSING in

1. Yes
2. No
3. Don't know (volunteered)
0. NO RESPONSE

25. Do you think that most people in _____ ACCEPT THEIR CULTURAL DIFFERENCES?

1. Yes
2. No
4. Don't know (volunteered)
0. NO RESPONSE

26. Do you PERSONALLY KNOW any immigrants or refugees living in _____.

1. Yes 2. No [GO TO Q. 28]
0. NO RESPONSE

27. In total, counting both refugees and other immigrants living in _____, approximately, how many would you say you know personally?

_____ (number of refugees and immigrants)
98. 98 OR MORE
99. NO RESPONSE

28. Before we finish the interview by asking a few questions about yourself, are there any other comments you might have about refugees and other immigrants?

The next few questions will give us a better picture of the people who participated in our study.

29a. In total, how many people live in your household?

29b. How many are adults (18 and older)?

29c. How many are children?

30. What is your current marital status?

1. Married/living with partner
2. Divorced/separated
3. Widowed
4. Single
0. NO RESPONSE

31. How would you describe your ethnic (or cultural) identity? (Examples of ethnic or cultural groups would be: Ukrainian, British, Japanese, African, etc.)
(IF RESPONSE IS "CANADIAN," PROBE FOR MORE SPECIFIC ORIGIN)

32. How old are you? _____ (years)

33a. Were you born in Canada?

1. Yes [GO TO Q. 34]
2. No
0. NO RESPONSE

33b. How old were you when you came to Canada? _____ (years)

34. What is the highest level of education you have completed?

1. Less than high school
2. Completed high school
3. Some post-secondary
4. Post-sec. diploma/certificate
5. University degree
0. NO RESPONSE

35. Do you currently have a paying job?

1. Yes [GO TO Q. 37]
2. No
0. NO RESPONSE

36. Are you currently looking for a job (unemployed)?

1. Yes
2. No
0. NO RESPONSE

37. What is the total income of ALL the members of this HOUSEHOLD for this past year BEFORE taxes and deductions? (CHOOSE THE CORRESPONDING CATEGORY NUMBER)

1. Under $20,000
2. $20,000 - 39,999
3. $40,000 - 59,999
4. $60,000 - 79,999
5. $80,000 +
6. Don't Know (VOLUNTEERED)
0. NO RESPONSE

38. Would you say that you (and your family) are better off financially, just about the same, or worse off than you were a year ago?

    1. Better off
    2. Same
    3. Worse off
    4. Don't know (volunteered)
    0. NO RESPONSE

39. Now looking ahead - do you think that a year from now you (and your family) will be better off financially, just about the same, or worse off than now?

    1. Better off
    2. Same
    3. Worse off
    4. Don't know (volunteered)
    0. NO RESPONSE