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**ATTITUDES TOWARD ETHNOCULTURAL DIVERSITY IN MULTILEVEL
POLITICAL COMMUNITIES: COMPARING THE EFFECT OF NATIONAL AND
SUBNATIONAL ATTACHMENTS IN CANADA**

ABSTRACT: It is well documented that the strength of national attachment relates to attitudes toward ethnocultural diversity, and that the direction of the relationship varies across national contexts. Yet, little attention has been given to the fact that attachments may not be expressed solely at the national level. In federal and multinational states, individuals can express attachment to the country and to its territorial units. This study investigates the relationship between (national and provincial) attachments and attitudes toward ethnocultural diversity in the Canadian federation. Our findings indicate that stronger attachments to Canada lead to more positive attitudes toward ethnocultural diversity in all provinces. They also demonstrate that provincial attachments relate to attitudes toward ethnocultural diversity both in a minority nation provincial context (Quebec) and in other provinces (Alberta and Saskatchewan), but that the direction of this relationship can be of opposite direction than that for attachment to Canada.

It is well documented that the strength of national attachment relates to attitudes toward ethnocultural diversity, and that the direction of the relationship varies across national contexts (Raijman et al. 2008; Citrin, Johnston, and Wright 2012). Although there has been a great deal of work on the topic, little attention has been given to the fact that attachments may not be expressed solely at the national level (see Moreno 1999). In federal states, individuals can express attachment to the country and to its territorial units (for example, states, provinces, or lander). Similarly, “competitive nation-building” in some multinational states generates different, and oftentimes conflicting, attachments to minority nations and to the country (Banting 2005). Accordingly, this study investigates the relationship between attachment and attitudes toward ethnocultural diversity in contexts of multilevel political communities. We argue that in order to better account for the relationship between the strength of attachment and attitudes toward ethnocultural diversity in multilevel political communities, scholars must consider the dual expression of attachments to the country (national) and to its territorial units (subnational).¹

Relying on a survey of 6400 respondents stratified by province, the study examines the case of Canada. It compares the strength and direction of the relationship of attachment to Canada and of attachment to the province of residence with attitudes toward ethnocultural diversity in all ten Canadian provinces. One of the key advantages of investigating Canada is that it is a federal state where one province (Quebec) claims to host a historical minority nation; it thus provides the opportunity to examine whether and how subnational attachments relate to attitudes toward ethnocultural diversity and to examine whether the strength and the direction of that relationship differ across territorial units, more specifically comparing Quebec and other provinces.

This research is of particular importance considering the increasing salience of identity politics in the shaping of political debates in Western democracies. Indeed, scholars explain the growth of support for far-right and populist parties in many societies by the increasing proportion

of individuals believing their national identity and ways of life are threatened by the presence of immigrants (Eatwell and Goodwin 2018). The salience of anxieties about national identities and fear of ethnocultural diversity are such that they could result in electoral realignments and in a redefinition of ideological polarization that structure Western political landscapes (Norris and Inglehart 2019). We push further this line of research by highlighting the role of subnational identities in structuring attitudes toward immigration and ethnocultural diversity. More specifically, by comparing the relationship between attachment (to Canada and to the province) and attitudes toward ethnocultural diversity in Quebec and in the rest of Canada, we aim to make contributions relating to immigration and ethnocultural diversity in the fields of federalism, minority nations, and Canadian politics.

First, although the role of subnational units in handling immigration is increasingly studied by federalism scholars (Joppke and Seidle 2012), we know much less about how federalism affects the ways in which immigrants are able to exercise citizenship. Beyond the formal rights and legal status conferred by citizenship, broader recognition as a legitimate member of the political community is an important feature of “informal,” “cultural,” or “performative” citizenship (Bloemraad 2018). That is, the capacity “to speak and be heard as a member of the community” also comprises citizenship (Hopkins et al. 2015, 84). This more expansive citizenship requires the sort of social, cultural, and economic resources that give voice to immigrants’ claims as members of the political community. In Canada, a number of studies investigate provinces’ approaches to engaging with issues of immigrant selection and immigrant integration (Banting 2012; Leo and August 2009; Paquet 2019; 2014), but also with issues of multiculturalism (Garcea 2006). These policy differences across subnational units undoubtedly affect immigrants’ capacity to act as full citizens.

However, as Bloemraad (2018, 14) observes, claiming membership “is a relational process of recognition”: immigrants need social institutions and other citizens to see their claims as legitimate, which depends on prevailing conceptions of community membership. The extent to which attitudes toward ethnocultural diversity vary across subnational units in a federation is critical to understanding how federalism affects immigrants and ethnic minorities’ capacity to be heard as citizens, but it has received scant attention (see Bilodeau, Turgeon and Karakoç 2012). Our first contribution is thus to help better understand whether and how attitudes toward ethnocultural diversity vary across subnational units of a federal state and the specific role of subnational attachments in structuring those attitudes.

Second, this study advances our understanding of minority nations’ attitudes toward ethnocultural diversity, and the role that subnational attachments play in minority national contexts. Although research on this topic has examined minority nations in Spain (Escandell and Ceobanu 2010) and Belgium (Billiet, Maddens, and Beerten 2003), little is known about Quebec.² Moreover, we explicitly compare the relationship between subnational attachments and attitudes toward ethnocultural diversity in a territorial unit that claims to be a minority nation (Quebec) to other units of a federal state in which no such claim is made. Our analyses pay particular attention to Alberta and Saskatchewan, two Canadian provinces which appear to have their own unique relationship with ethnocultural diversity and immigration.

Finally, our study contributes to ongoing debates about national and provincial identities in Canada, Quebec, and other provinces. Building on Citrin et al.’s study (2012), we investigate the extent to which ethnocultural diversity is associated with Canadian identity, not only at the policy level, but also in the minds of publics in all provinces. Our aim is to provide a better account of provincial narratives about ethnocultural diversity by examining public opinion, and to highlight the extent to which pan-Canadian and provincial narratives converge or diverge.

SUBNATIONAL ATTACHMENTS AND ATTITUDES TOWARD ETHNOCULTURAL DIVERSITY

Why would subnational attachments be important to understand attitudes toward ethnocultural diversity? The answer to this question necessitates a discussion about the salience of community membership conceptions and political cultures both for national and subnational political communities.

Scholars hypothesize that differences in the prevailing conception of national identity is the likely explanation for observed cross-national variations in the direction of the relationship between the strength of national attachment and attitudes toward ethnocultural diversity (Raijman et al. 2008). Hence, for example, Citrin, Johnston, and Wright (2012, 533) propose that differences in the relationship between the strength of national attachment and support for immigration and multiculturalism observed in the United States and Canada are associated with key differences in the “normative content of (...) how people define the meaning of patriotism in their country.” National attachment is associated with opposition to immigration and multiculturalism in the United States, where citizens are more likely to see their nation as an assimilationist melting pot, but is associated with support for immigration and multiculturalism in Canada, where citizens are more likely to view their country as a multicultural mosaic (Citrin, Johnston, and Wright 2012; also see Breton 2015). Consistent with this explanation is a body of research contrasting attitudes toward ethnocultural diversity among people holding more rigid and exclusive conceptions of national identity with those with more flexible and inclusive criteria for national belonging (Hjerm 1998; Wright 2011; Simonsen 2016): the former are more likely to express negative attitudes concerning diversity (Kunovich 2009; Wright 2011). By the same token, research that contrasts constructive patriotism, involving an attachment to the country based on critical loyalty and

openness to different ideas, and blind patriotism, characterized by an uncritical conformity that goes in hand with perceptions of national superiority (Schatz, Staub, and Lavine 1999), finds that individuals expressing blind patriotism would also express more negative attitudes toward multiculturalism and immigration (Spry and Hornsey 2007).

Empirical examinations of patriotism, political community attachments, and the ways in which community membership is conceived, like those above, typically take place in context of national political communities, but these are also salient considerations with respect to subnational political communities. Like national political communities, subnational ones are marked by their own local political cultures that influence the way people think and behave (Pye and Verba 2015; Putnam 1993; Almond and Verba 1963). Hence, whether it is in Spain (Linz and de Miguel 1966), the United States (Elazar 1972; Sharkansky 1969; Schiltz and Rainey 1978), the United Kingdom (Curtice 1988, 1992), Belgium (Billiet, Maddens, and Frogner 2006), Germany (Yoder 1998), Switzerland (Green, Sarrasin, Fasel and Staerklé 2011), or Canada (Elkins and Simeon 1980; Henderson 2010; Bilodeau, Turgeon, and Karakoç 2012; McGrane and Berdahl 2013), scholars have documented variations in attitudes and behaviours across territorial units within countries.

It is therefore reasonable to suppose that the conception of community membership and patriotism might vary across territorial units within federations or multinational states the same way it varies across national contexts, and that such variations might result in different relationships between subnational attachments and attitudes toward ethnocultural diversity. In some subnational political communities, the prevailing conception of community membership may converge with that of the national political community, and be based on a similar set of inclusive and/or exclusive criteria. In those cases, the direction of the relationship between attachment and ethnocultural diversity should be the same for both subnational and national attachments. In other subnational political communities, however, the conception of community membership might diverge from

that prevailing for the national political community and be based on a dissimilar set of criteria. In those cases, subnational and national attachments could well have opposing effects on attitudes toward ethnocultural diversity.

The divergence in conceptions of national and subnational community membership, and their relationship to attitudes toward ethnocultural diversity, might be more likely to occur in the case of minority nations. Indeed, there are long-standing debates about immigration and diversity in minority nation contexts. As Barker (2010) explains, the challenge of responding to diversity is particularly complex in societies where the sense of belonging is already contested. The complexity for minority nations stems from the challenge of balancing unity and diversity in contexts in which minority nations claim a distinct culture and language. Immigrants can therefore be perceived as posing a challenge to the pursuit of these claims, as their presence can alter the demographic setting of the territory (Hepburn 2009) and as they tend to integrate into the majority political culture more than the minority one (Bilodeau et al. 2015; Bilodeau et al. 2010; Zapata-Barrero 2009, 26). As such, minority nations are sometimes assumed to have more exclusive conceptions of community membership, and a stronger opposition to ethnocultural diversity, than majority nations (Kymlicka 2001, 276; McGarry and Keating 2006, 1-7). The evidence, however, suggests minority nations respond to diversity in a variety of ways. For instance, while autonomist parties in Scotland and Catalonia welcome immigration as a source of enrichment for their societies and economies, those in Northern Italy and Bavaria tend to reject immigration and perceive it as a threat to the national community (Hepburn 2009). The important point is that conceptions of national and subnational community membership are more likely to diverge within minority national communities, and that these attachments are more likely to be salient in minority national communities than in other subnational territorial units, where the subnational political community may be more likely to be seen as an administrative entity (Rocher 2006).

To our knowledge, very few studies examine the relationship between attachment and attitudes toward ethnocultural diversity in minority nations. Nevertheless, at least two lessons can be drawn from these studies. First, the pole of identification most important for individual members in minority nations is key to understanding attitudes toward ethnocultural diversity. To that effect, Escandell and Ceobanu (2010) observe that those identifying predominantly as Basque, Catalan or Galician express more negative attitudes toward ethnocultural diversity than those identifying as Spaniard. Second, as in other political communities, the direction of the relationship between attachment and attitudes toward ethnocultural diversity is dependent on the conception of community membership. To that effect, Billiet, Maddens, and Beerten (2003) observe that in Flanders (Belgium), where an ethnocultural conception predominates, individuals with a strong Flemish identification tend to have more negative attitudes toward foreigners, whereas the reverse is observed in Wallonia, where a civic conception of the community membership predominates. This highlights the importance of subnational political community attachments in understanding attitudes toward ethnocultural diversity, and prompts a more systematic consideration of those subnational attachments.

As informative as these studies are, however, they do not explicitly consider the possibility of dual attachments, and instead focus exclusively on individuals' dominant pole of identification. Moreover, beyond these studies on minority nations, we cannot identify a single study that examines federal states and compares the relationship between attachment and attitudes toward ethnocultural diversity at the national and subnational level, nor a study that compares the different territorial units of a federation. To address this gap in our knowledge, we examine how attachments to the national and subnational political communities relate to attitudes toward ethnocultural diversity in Canada, where we can contrast the strength and direction of the relationships in Quebec

to that in the nine other Canadian provinces. In the next section, we present our empirical expectations regarding those relationships.

EMPIRICAL EXPECTATIONS

We elaborate distinct hypotheses about the ways in which attachment to Canada and attachment to Quebec/the province relate to attitudes toward ethnocultural diversity. In terms of attachment to Canada, we expect stronger attachment to be associated with positive attitudes toward ethnocultural diversity in all provinces, including Quebec. At the heart of the relationship between national attachment and ethnocultural diversity in Canada lies the development of a modern Canadian identity that promotes an inclusive conception of the national ingroup (Esses et al. 2006). Indeed, since the 1970s, Canada has viewed immigration as an integral part of its development as a nation, and multiculturalism, as both a public policy and ideology that endorses the accommodation of cultural differences, is a strong part of the contemporary Canadian identity (Mann 2016). Quebecers are likely to have been marked, like other Canadians, by this transformation in the conception of Canadian identity and its relationship with ethnocultural diversity. The work of Citrin, Johnston, and Wright (2012) confirms that Quebecers' attitudes, like those of other Canadians, have been shaped by this conception of Canadian identity: stronger feelings toward Canada correlate positively with more positive views of immigration and multiculturalism, and this relationship extends to Quebecers and other Canadians equally. Accordingly, we expect that stronger attachments to Canada will be associated with more positive attitudes toward ethnocultural diversity, and we expect this positive relationship to hold in all provinces, including Quebec.

H₁. Canadians more strongly attached to Canada, whether they live in Quebec or in another province, will express more positive attitudes toward ethnocultural diversity.

However, we anticipate the influence of attachment to the province to be more complex, with different effects in Quebec compared to other provinces. On the one hand, up to the 1960s, Quebec nationalism was oriented toward ensuring the survival of the community, conceived primarily through its religion, language, and cultural traditions; by and large, immigration was seen as a threat to Quebec's cultural survival (Bouchard 2001). However, broader societal changes brought about a transformation of Quebec nationalism (Taylor 1993; Bouchard 2001). The Quiet Revolution, a period of important socio-political and socio-cultural change in Quebec in the 1960s, led to a major reconstruction of Quebec identity: Quebec national identity gradually stopped being conceived in terms of ethno-cultural attributes, and instead became articulated in terms of citizenship and in relation to the Quebec state and territory (Breton 1988; Kalin and Berry 1995). Accordingly, like attachment to Canada, we might anticipate a positive association between attachment to Quebec and views about ethnocultural diversity:

H_{2A}. Quebecers more strongly attached to Quebec will express more positive attitudes toward ethnocultural diversity.

On the other hand, there is another side to the story about Quebec identity and its relationship with ethnocultural diversity. First, since the 1960s, the government of Quebec has followed its own process of national identity construction in competition, and sometimes in conflict, with the federal government's nation-building project (Banting 2005). For instance, since 1991, Quebec has acquired powers over the selection, recruitment, reception, and settlement of

new immigrants through the Canada-Quebec Accord – powers extending beyond those of any other province (Kostov 2008). This “competitive nation-building” between Quebec and federal governments is also evident in political conflicts related to ethnocultural diversity (Barker 2010). Political elites in Quebec have often perceived the policy of multiculturalism (and to some extent immigration policy) as an attempt by the federal government to weaken the legitimacy of Quebec’s national aspirations (Kymlicka 2003: 3; Banting and Kymlicka 2010: 64; Taylor 2012; Laforest 1995; McRoberts 1999). As such, Quebec developed, although not formally yet, its own “interculturalism” model for managing ethnocultural diversity, which among other things articulates the need to protect and prioritize the French language (Bouchard 2011). Scholars debate whether Quebec interculturalism is less inclusive than the Canadian model of multiculturalism, or whether the two models are not fundamentally different from each other (Taylor 2012; Winter 2011; Meer, Modood, and Zapata-Barrero 2016). Second, since the early 2000s, issues related to ethnocultural diversity have been at the centre of political debates in Quebec more than they have in the rest of Canada. These debates have concerned the accommodation of religious minorities in Quebec, legislative bills to restrict the right of certain Quebec public servants to display religious symbols, and, more recently, annual immigration intakes and the immigrant selection process. In these debates, Quebec has often appeared at odds with the rest of Canada. In some instances, such as the Quebec government Bill 21 concerning religious symbols for public servants, Quebec’s approach has been criticized by politicians both in the federal government and in other provincial governments, as well as by media commentators across the country (Ménard, Girard and Barbeau 2019; Jolin-Dahel 2019; Lamoureux 2019). Accordingly, we might expect a very different relationship between the strength of attachment to Quebec and attitudes toward ethnocultural diversity:

H_{2B}. Quebecers more strongly attached to Quebec will express more negative attitudes toward ethnocultural diversity.

What about the other nine provinces in Canada? Certainly, since the 1950s, other provincial governments have engaged in province-building projects; in contrast to Quebec's nation-building project, however, these efforts to construct provincial identities have rarely challenged the Canadian identity (see Wilder and Howlett 2015). Moreover, unlike Quebec, other provinces have not deviated from the federal government's approach to ethnocultural diversity. Indeed, other provinces have to various extents adopted multiculturalism as both a policy and an ideology (Garcea 2006). Accordingly, in all other provinces, we expect that attachment to the province will relate positively with attitudes toward ethnocultural diversity as we expect for attachment to Canada:

H_{3A}. Canadians living in provinces other than Quebec who are more strongly attached to their province will express more positive attitudes toward ethnocultural diversity.

The preceding reasoning, however, might over-simplify the reality and over-estimate the homogeneity of other provinces in Canada. Beyond research focusing on Quebec, research on Canadian regionalism shows significant variations in regional political cultures across other provinces (Elkins and Simeon 1980; Wiseman 2008). Perhaps most notable have been studies on the unique political and cultural dynamics in Alberta, depicted as being exceptionally influenced by the province's early American settlers and their ideologies – as opposed to the more robust influence that British settlers had in the rest of English Canada (Wiseman 2011; Flanagan 2001). As such, Albertans have long been thought to hold distinct political preferences and outlooks from

those of other Canadians. For instance, populism, as well as federal and provincial conservative parties, have been stronger in Alberta than elsewhere in Canada (Pickup et al. 2004; Wiseman 2011). Moreover, Alberta provincial governments have often adopted more conservative stances and policies than other provinces in relation to various issues, including multiculturalism (Alcantara, Levine, and Walz 2014; Aunger 2005).

Alberta, however, is not the only province that is viewed as holding distinct political preferences. More recently, calls in Saskatchewan for limits on immigration and increasing assimilation have been characterized as consistent with a deeply-rooted conservatism in that province (Brown 2019). Moreover, in their exploration of public opinion in Saskatchewan, McGrane and Berdahl (2015) show that the province is not as social democratic as its reputation suggests. Instead, Saskatchewan residents hold mixed ideologies, with more right wing positions concerning immigration policy. McGrane (2011) also demonstrates that Saskatchewan's multiculturalism policies are moving incrementally toward civic republicanism, which emphasizes integration, participation and shared values rather than immigrants' own cultural preservation and intercultural exchange. Accordingly, although our empirical investigation considers dynamics within every province, we propose a hypothesis specifically for Alberta and Saskatchewan:

H_{3B}. Albertans and Saskatchewanians more strongly attached to their province will express more negative attitudes toward ethnocultural diversity.

DATA, METHODS AND DESCRIPTIVE FINDINGS

Our analyses rely on data from the *Provincial Diversity Project* (PDP), a survey of 6400 respondents conducted online in the Winter of 2014. The survey, stratified by province, provides samples of 1000 respondents in each of Quebec, Ontario, Alberta and British Columbia; 500

respondents in Manitoba, Saskatchewan, New Brunswick, and Nova Scotia; and 400 respondents for Prince Edward Island and Newfoundland and Labrador combined.³

The strength of attachment to Canada and to the province of residence is measured using a question asking respondents to evaluate their attachment on a 0 to 10 scale, where 0 means they are not attached at all and 10 means they are strongly attached. Table 1 presents the mean attachment scores in each province. As others have shown, Quebecers appear to be less attached to Canada than are other Canadians, but are just as attached to their home province as are residents in other provinces (Henderson 1999; Mendelsohn 2002). With the exception of Quebec residents, Canadians are either more attached to Canada than to their province, or they are equally attached to both. Table 1 also reports the Pearson correlation coefficient between attachment to Canada and to the province in each province. The correlations are positive in all provinces except Quebec ($r = -.15$), ranging from .37 in Newfoundland and Labrador to .76 in Nova Scotia. The variation across provinces in the strength of the correlation between Canadian and provincial attachments supports our decision to investigate each province separately.

[Insert Table 1 about here]

We investigate three expressions of ethnocultural diversity, namely attitudes toward 1) immigration, 2) multiculturalism, and 3) restrictions on minority religious symbols. Each of these three dimensions comprises three distinct indicators (see Appendix A1), with each dependent variable forming a 0 to 10 index, where 10 indicates more positive attitudes toward immigration or multiculturalism, and stronger support for restrictions on minority religious symbols.⁴ The data reported in Table 1 show modest variation across provinces in attitudes toward immigration and multiculturalism. Nova Scotians hold the most positive mean views about immigration (6.3) and

Ontarians the least positive mean views (5.3); the mean score in Quebec is 5.4. In Quebec and Saskatchewan, however, mean attitudes about multiculturalism are the least positive (5.2), and it is in Nova Scotia they are most positive (6.6). Quebec stands out most in terms of mean support for restrictions for minority religious symbols (5.7); support in other provinces fluctuates around a score of 3 (except in New Brunswick, 4.3). The findings with respect to Quebec are consistent with other research on attitudes toward immigration (Bilodeau, Turgeon, and Karakoç 2012), multiculturalism (Soroka and Robertson 2010, 3), and restrictions for minority religious symbols (see Dufresne et al. 2019).

For each dependent variable, we performed an OLS regression in which the main predictors are the strength of attachment to Canada and to the province. In a first step, we examine only how the relationships in Quebec contrast with those in the rest of Canada, with interactions testing the impact of attachment to Canada and to the province for Quebec respondents only. In a second step, we examine the possibility of unique relationships in each of the provinces. We include interaction terms measuring the distinct effects of attachment to Canada, and the province, for each province (except Ontario, our reference category). The model includes controls for age, sex, education, employment status, mother tongue, immigrant status, and non-white status – variables that have been shown to correlate with attitudes toward ethnocultural diversity (see O’Rourke and Sinnott 2006; Mayda 2006; Hainmueller and Hiscox 2007).

ATTACHMENTS AND ATTITUDES TOWARD ETHNOCULTURAL DIVERSITY

Contrasting Quebec and the Rest of Canada

We begin with a discussion of the control variables reported in Table 2. First, as others have observed (Mayda 2006; Scheve and Slaughter 2001), more educated and non-white respondents

hold more positive attitudes on all three dimensions of ethnocultural diversity. Moreover, immigrants express more positive views toward immigration and multiculturalism; however, immigrants also appear somewhat more supportive of restrictions on minority religious symbols than other Canadians. Furthermore, there is no consistent pattern of differences between men and women; whereas women tend to be less positive toward immigration than men, they are marginally less restrictive when it comes to religious symbols, and no significant difference is observed on the multiculturalism dimension. Finally, older respondents are less supportive of multiculturalism and more supportive of restrictions on minority religious symbols.

[Insert Table 2 about here]

With regard to attachments to Canada, as expected, we observe a positive relationship with all three dimensions of ethnocultural diversity. The results hold both for Canadians outside Quebec and Quebecers. Like other Canadians, Quebecers expressing stronger attachment to Canada exhibit more positive views about immigration and multiculturalism, and are less likely to support restrictions on minority religious symbols. The relationship between attachment to Canada and attitudes toward multiculturalism is even stronger in Quebec than in the rest of Canada. Figure 1 presents the predicted scores for the strength of attachment to Canada for Quebecers and other Canadians. These predicted scores are obtained by varying the intensity of attachment to Canada while holding all other variables in the model at their sample mean. Those who are strongly attached to Canada are positively inclined toward ethnocultural diversity, both in Quebec and the rest of Canada; this supports hypothesis H₁ and is consistent with Citrin, Johnston, and Wright's conclusions (2012).

[Insert Figure 1 about here]

By comparison, attachment to the province of residence is not systematically related to attitudes toward ethnocultural diversity. First, we find no significant association between provincial attachment and attitudes toward immigration in Quebec or the rest of Canada. Second, with regard to attitudes toward multiculturalism, we observe a positive relationship, but only outside Quebec. The coefficient for the Quebec interaction term is negative and significant at the .10-level, indicating that the relationship is weaker than in the rest of Canada. In fact, there is effectively no relationship among Quebec residents, according to our estimates. Finally, with regard to restrictions on minority religious symbols, we observe no relationship among Canadians outside Quebec. In Quebec, however, the interaction term is significant and positive; Quebecers expressing stronger attachment to the province express greater support for restrictions to minority religious symbols. Figure 2 presents the predicted scores for Quebec and the rest of Canada.

[Insert Figure 2 about here]

These results provide mixed results in support of our hypotheses. On the one hand, the findings lend no support for H_{2A}; stronger attachment to Quebec is not positively related to any of the three attitudes toward ethnocultural diversity. On the other hand, the results only lend limited support for H_{2B}; stronger attachment to Quebec is associated with greater rejection of ethnocultural diversity, but only with regard to restrictions to minority religious symbols. These mixed results nevertheless demonstrate significantly different dynamics in the province of Quebec than in other provinces. For two of the three types of attitudes toward ethnocultural diversity, attachment to Quebec has significantly different consequences than provincial attachments in the rest of the

country. In the next section, we expand the investigation by examining provincial differences outside Quebec.

Examining All Ten Canadian Provinces

To examine province-specific effects both for attachment to Canada and for the province of residence, we apply the same analytical strategy employed in the previous multivariate model but add interaction terms for each province (Ontario is the reference category). The results are presented in Table 3, but the most relevant findings are illustrated in Figures 3 and 4.⁵ Figure 3 presents the net effect of change in attitudes toward ethnocultural diversity in each province when attachment to Canada increases by one point on the 0 to 10 scale. The estimates for Alberta are most striking. Just as we observed among Quebec residents, attachment to Canada in Alberta relates to attitudes toward multiculturalism in a positive and stronger fashion than it does in comparison to Ontario. The same pattern holds for attitudes toward immigration, but the relationship is significant only at the .10-level. Otherwise, the effect of attachment to Canada in other provinces does not appear to differ significantly from that in Ontario. The only exception is Nova Scotia, where strong attachment to Canada is associated with support for restrictions on minority religious symbol, a finding for which we cannot offer an account. Overall, then, the findings are consistent with H₁.

[Insert Table 3 about here]

[Insert Figure 3 about here]

Finally, Figure 4 presents the net effect of provincial attachments on attitudes toward ethnocultural diversity in each province. Alberta stands out again; a stronger attachment to Alberta is associated with more negative attitudes toward both immigration and multiculturalism. The

interaction terms for attachment to the province (in relation to immigration and multiculturalism) in Alberta are both significant and negative, resulting in a net negative effect. These findings are consistent with H_{3B}; attachments to Alberta and Canada are countervailing forces, pushing attitudes toward immigration and multiculturalism in opposite directions.

[Insert Figure 4 about here]

The analyses also reveal significant negative interaction effects for attachment to Saskatchewan, for attitudes toward both immigration and multiculturalism. In both cases, the net effect is negative and significantly different from Ontario, our reference category: a stronger attachment to Saskatchewan is associated with more negative attitudes toward immigration and multiculturalism. For all other provinces, the effect of provincial attachment on attitudes toward ethnocultural diversity is not statistically significant from that observed in Ontario.

Quebec is not the only province where attachment to the province plays a significant role in explaining attitudes toward ethnocultural diversity; if anything, both in Alberta and Saskatchewan, attachment to the province exerts a more systematic negative effect than in Quebec. Strong “provincial patriots” in Alberta and Saskatchewan do not appear as enthusiastic about immigration and multiculturalism as are those in other provinces.

CONCLUSION

This study assessed the relationship between attachments (at the national and subnational levels) and attitudes toward ethnocultural diversity across Canadian provinces. It demonstrates that in assessing the relationship between attachments and attitudes toward ethnocultural diversity, a more complete and nuanced portrait of public opinion dynamics emerges when both national and subnational attachments are taken into account.

At one level, our study contributes to ongoing debates about national and provincial identities in Canada, Quebec and other provinces. First, our findings are consistent with the view that ethnocultural diversity is associated with Canadian identity, not only at the policy level, but also in the minds of publics in all Canadian provinces (Parkin and Mendelsohn 2003). To that effect, our findings support the conclusions of Citrin, Johnston, and Wright (2012), who observed a positive relationship between stronger attachment to Canada and views toward ethnocultural diversity. Our analyses indicate that this positive relationship holds in all provinces, including Quebec, and extends to three distinct expressions of ethnocultural diversity, namely immigration, multiculturalism, and restrictions on minority religious symbols.

Second, the findings indicate that in most provinces either the direction of the relationship between attachment and ethnocultural diversity is the same for both national and subnational attachments, or including attachment to the province adds little value to our understanding. In those cases, the evidence suggests that attachment at the national and subnational levels are congruent. In some provinces, however, the direction of the relationship between attachment and ethnocultural diversity is opposite for national and subnational attachments. These findings allow us to add important nuances to Citrin et al's conclusions (2012) and they echo a growing body of research that demonstrates the complexity and multiplicity of attachments and identities in federal and multinational states (Henderson 2007).

To that effect, we observe some divergence between the effect of attachment to the province and attachment to Canada in Quebec, and those findings appear in line with historical events and current public debates. It is perhaps unsurprising that attachment to Quebec is unrelated to views about multiculturalism. While multiculturalism is considered a symbol of Canadian identity, it has a distinctively different connotation in Quebec, where it is often viewed as a repudiation of the narrative of two founding nations – French and English (Kymlicka 2003, 3; Banting et Kymlicka

2010, 64; Taylor 2012; Laforest 1995; see also McRoberts 1999). Moreover, claiming the status of minority nation, Quebec has pursued its own nation-building project and has developed its own somewhat distinctive approach to manage ethnocultural diversity. Hence, the lack of enthusiasm for multiculturalism among Quebecers most attached to the province might reflect a longstanding ambivalence to “pan-Canadian” multiculturalism policies.

Moreover, with regard to support for restrictions to minority religious symbols, while xenophobia is unambiguously associated with support for restrictions on minority religious symbols in Quebec and the rest of Canada (Dufresne et al. 2019; Turgeon et al. 2019) and elsewhere in the world (Helbling 2014), research also indicates that a rejection of religions (Dufresne et al. 2019) and a distinctive form of liberalism (Turgeon et al. 2019) also account for greater support for such restrictions in Quebec. Hence, it remains to be seen whether the positive relationship between a strong attachment to Quebec and support for restrictions on minority religious symbols is rooted in one of the above explanations.

Quebec is not the only province, however, in which we observed divergence between the provincial and pan-Canadian narratives. In the provinces of Alberta and Saskatchewan, strong provincial attachments are associated with significantly less positive attitudes toward both immigration and multiculturalism. If anything, the effect of subnational attachments is greater in Alberta and Saskatchewan than in Quebec. Although the precise reasons for these cross-provincial variations cannot be verified empirically in this study, we suggest they are linked to how membership to the political community or patriotism is conceived (Raijman et al. 2008; Citrin, Johnston, and Wright 2012; Wright 2011).

The evidence with respect to Alberta and Saskatchewan could be explained by those provinces’ unique political cultures. While we anticipated differences between Alberta, Saskatchewan and other provinces, further research should deepen our understanding of why

provincial “patriots” living in these provinces seem more hesitant to embrace ethnocultural diversity. Moreover, one should investigate what these findings tell us about current politics in Alberta and Saskatchewan. For instance, is there a relationship between Albertans and Saskatchewanians opinion about immigration and multiculturalism and the dominance of the Conservative Party of Canada, the United Conservative Party in Alberta and the Saskatchewan Party? Our results are consistent with research on political culture and national identities in these national and subnational political communities. The task for future research is to empirically measure and verify precisely how meanings of national and provincial identities vary – whether they concern Canada, Quebec, Alberta or Saskatchewan.

At another level, our study contributes to a better understanding of minority nations’ relationship with ethnocultural diversity. Our study suggests that subnational attachments do appear salient for understanding attitudes toward ethnocultural diversity in the context of minority nations (i.e. Quebec). Here, our findings are consistent with existing evidence from Spain (Escandell and Ceobanu 2010) and Belgium (Billiet, Maddens, and Beerten 2003). Our study, however, also clearly demonstrates the salient role of subnational attachments in other subnational units as well.

Finally, the above findings contribute to a better understanding of federalism and its impact on immigrant citizenship more broadly. The study enriches the growing number of studies that examine the role of subnational units in immigrant selection, immigrant integration and multiculturalism (Banting 2012; Leo and August 2009; Paquet 2019; 2014; Garcea, 2006). Our contribution is to move beyond the examination of various policy approaches adopted by subnational units of federations and to examine patterns of attitudes toward ethnocultural diversity across subnational units. Hence, our findings highlight that in a context where subnational units are becoming front-line actors in the fields of immigration and integration, we observe variations

in public opinion and narratives about ethnocultural diversity across provinces. Those differences in attitudes are critical in understanding how immigrants are able to exercise citizenship in different provinces, and help us understand where cross provincial variations in policy responses might come from. Our findings demonstrate that federalism scholars will increasingly need to pay attention to how subnational units respond to issues relating to immigrant selection, immigrant integration and multiculturalism, not only from a policy perspective, but also from a public opinion perspective.

APPENDIX A1. CONSTRUCTION OF VARIABLES

Attitudes toward immigration	0-10 scale, composed of responses to the following three items, and where 10 means very positive attitudes. Immigration has positive/neutral/negative impact on economy of province Immigration has positive/neutral/negative impact on culture of province Province should admit more/about the same/fewer immigrants
Attitudes toward multiculturalism	0-10 scale, composed of responses to the following three items, and where 10 means very positive attitudes. Policy of multiculturalism has positive/neutral/negative impact on: 1) Canadian identity, 2) tolerance, 3) immigrant integration
Attitudes toward restrictions for minority religious symbols	0-10 scale, composed of responses to the following three items, and where 10 means very positive attitudes. Is it acceptable/unacceptable to wear a religious sign such as hijab or turban for 1) police officer on duty, 2) teacher in a public school, 3) student in a public school.
Attachment to Canada	0-10 scale, indicating the strength of attachment to Canada, and where 10 means very attached.
Attachment to province	0-10 scale, indicating the strength of attachment to the province, and where 10 means very attached.
Age	Age in years
Immigrant	1 = born outside Canada, 0 = born in Canada
Non-white	1= respondent belongs to a non-white group
Women	1=female, 0=male
Francophone	1 = mother tongue is French; 0=otherwise
Education (highest degree completed)	1 = completed high school; 2 =completed college (CEGEP); 3 =completed undergraduate degree; 4 =completed post-graduate degree
Unemployed	1 = unemployed, 0 = all others

APPENDIX A2. FACTOR ANALYSIS (WITH VARIMAX ROTATION)

	Factor 1. Restrictions to mino. religious symbols (Factor loading)	Factor 2. Multiculturalism (Factor loading)	Factor 3. Immigration (Factor loading)
Immigration (level)	.18	.23	.69
Immigration (impact on economy)	.12	.23	.70
Immigration (impact on culture)	.25	.41	.56
Multiculturalism (impact on integration)	.14	.68	.26
Multiculturalism (impact on tolerance)	.19	.66	.20
Multiculturalism (impact on Canadian identity)	.20	.67	.28
Religious symbols (restrictions for students)	.72	.13	.13
Religious symbols (restrictions for teachers)	.84	.13	.12
Religious symbols (restrictions for police officers)	.69	.20	.16
Variance	1.91	1.70	1.52
Alpha	.84	.79	.81

Table reports results from factor analysis using principal component analysis with varimax rotation.

TABLES

Table 1. Attitudes Toward Ethnocultural Diversity and Strength of Attachment

	NFLD	PEI	NS	NB	QC	ON	MB	SK	AB	BC
Strength of Attachment (mean score, 0-10)										
Canada (n=6275)	8.2	8.4	8.7	8.5	6.3	8.5	8.5	8.6	8.6	8.3
Province (n=6285)	8.6	7.7	8.0	7.6	7.6	7.7	7.5	8.1	7.6	8.0
Correlation Canada-province (Pearson's <i>r</i>)	.37	.62	.76	.58	-.15	.75	.69	.66	.57	.73
Attitudes toward Ethnocultural Diversity (mean score, 0-10)										
Immigration (n=6277)	5.9	5.6	6.3	5.8	5.4	5.3	5.8	5.4	5.7	5.6
multiculturalism (n=6378)	6.6	5.6	5.8	5.5	5.2	5.7	5.7	5.2	5.4	5.7
Restrictions on min. rel. symbols (n=6341)	3.0	2.8	3.2	4.2	5.7	3.2	2.8	3.7	3.2	2.8

Source: 2014 Provincial Diversity Project

Table 2. Strength of Attachments and Attitudes Toward Ethnocultural Diversity

	Immigration		Multiculturalism		Restrictions on Minority Religious Symbols	
	B	SE	B	SE	B	SE
Attachment to Canada	0.19***	(0.04)	0.16***	(0.04)	-0.17***	(0.05)
Interaction - QC	-0.09	(0.06)	0.12*	(0.05)	-0.05	(0.06)
Attachment to province	-0.01	(0.04)	0.07*	(0.04)	0.00	(0.04)
Interaction - QC	0.08	(0.06)	-0.10c	(0.05)	0.22***	(0.06)
Age	-0.01	(0.00)	-0.04***	(0.00)	0.05***	(0.00)
Unemployed	-0.14	(0.32)	0.07	(0.26)	-0.58*	(0.25)
Education	0.95***	(0.06)	0.45***	(0.06)	-0.60***	(0.07)
Female	-0.59***	(0.12)	0.14	(0.11)	-0.26*	(0.13)
Francophone	-0.26	(0.22)	-0.29	(0.23)	2.16***	(0.28)
Immigrant	0.61***	(0.18)	0.37*	(0.18)	0.35c	(0.22)
Non-white	1.39***	(0.22)	1.65***	(0.20)	-0.76**	(0.25)
Provinces (Ref. Cat. ON)						
NFLD	1.27***	(0.26)	1.47***	(0.24)	-0.32	(0.31)
PEI	1.14***	(0.33)	0.55c	(0.31)	-0.62	(0.41)
NS	1.47***	(0.22)	0.50**	(0.19)	-0.17	(0.24)
NB	1.23***	(0.23)	0.52*	(0.20)	0.25	(0.27)
QC	1.05*	(0.52)	0.32	(0.47)	-0.94	(0.61)
MB	0.90***	(0.20)	0.30	(0.19)	-0.53*	(0.21)
SK	0.65**	(0.22)	-0.05	(0.22)	0.48c	(0.25)
AB	0.56***	(0.17)	-0.22	(0.16)	0.13	(0.18)
BC	0.32c	(0.17)	0.01	(0.16)	-0.42*	(0.19)
Constant	1.42***	(0.35)	4.03***	(0.33)	4.03***	(0.46)
Observations	5932		5988		5964	
Adjusted R ²	0.13		0.15		0.19	

Understandized B coefficients and standard errors in parentheses

Source: PDP

* p<0.05, ** p<0.01, *** p<0.001

Table 3. Strength of Attachments and Attitudes Toward Ethnocultural Diversity

	Immigration		Multiculturalism		Restrictions on Minority Religious Symbols	
	B	SE	B	SE	B	SE
Attachment to Canada (Ref. Cat. ON)	0.16*	(0.08)	0.11	(0.07)	-0.21*	(0.09)
Interaction - NFLD	0.11	(0.15)	0.08	(0.12)	-0.07	(0.16)
Interaction - PEI	0.02	(0.19)	-0.15	(0.17)	0.19	(0.23)
Interaction - NS	-0.12	(0.16)	-0.14	(0.14)	0.44*	(0.18)
Interaction - NB	-0.12	(0.13)	0.06	(0.11)	0.07	(0.15)
Interaction - QC	-0.06	(0.09)	0.17*	(0.08)	-0.00	(0.10)
Interaction - MB	0.16	(0.13)	0.10	(0.12)	0.18	(0.16)
Interaction - SK	0.05	(0.15)	-0.10	(0.14)	0.30c	(0.15)
Interaction - AB	0.18c	(0.11)	0.23*	(0.10)	-0.03	(0.13)
Interaction - BC	-0.11	(0.11)	-0.04	(0.11)	0.07	(0.12)
Attachment to province (Ref. Cat. ON)	0.05	(0.07)	0.15*	(0.07)	0.03	(0.08)
Interaction - NFLD	-0.01	(0.16)	-0.17	(0.12)	0.20	(0.19)
Interaction - PEI	-0.13	(0.15)	-0.04	(0.13)	-0.21	(0.18)
Interaction - NS	-0.02	(0.14)	0.03	(0.13)	-0.24	(0.15)
Interaction - NB	0.02	(0.11)	-0.06	(0.11)	-0.11	(0.13)
Interaction - QC	0.03	(0.09)	-0.18*	(0.08)	0.19*	(0.09)
Interaction - MB	0.02	(0.10)	-0.03	(0.11)	-0.11	(0.12)
Interaction - SK	-0.39**	(0.14)	-0.25*	(0.13)	0.06	(0.15)
Interaction - AB	-0.26**	(0.09)	-0.34***	(0.09)	0.06	(0.10)
Interaction - BC	0.10	(0.11)	-0.00	(0.10)	-0.11	(0.12)
Age	-0.01	(0.00)	-0.04***	(0.00)	0.05***	(0.00)
Unemployed	-0.14	(0.32)	0.06	(0.26)	-0.59*	(0.24)
Education	0.94***	(0.06)	0.45***	(0.06)	-0.60***	(0.07)
Female	-0.59***	(0.12)	0.14	(0.11)	-0.27*	(0.13)
Francophone	-0.28	(0.22)	-0.30	(0.23)	2.17***	(0.28)
Immigrant	0.61***	(0.18)	0.36*	(0.18)	0.35	(0.22)
Non-white	1.38***	(0.22)	1.62***	(0.20)	-0.77**	(0.25)
Provinces (Ref. Cat. ON)						
NFLD	0.38	(1.28)	2.19*	(1.11)	-1.51	(1.55)
PEI	2.00	(1.47)	2.11	(1.40)	-0.59	(1.70)
NS	2.71*	(1.10)	1.46*	(0.72)	-2.10*	(1.03)
NB	2.14*	(0.94)	0.50	(0.69)	0.46	(1.17)
QC	1.26*	(0.63)	0.61	(0.56)	-1.15	(0.78)
MB	-0.60	(0.77)	-0.32	(0.78)	-1.21	(1.09)
SK	3.35***	(0.98)	2.86**	(0.98)	-2.63**	(1.00)
AB	0.99	(0.68)	0.36	(0.62)	-0.07	(0.99)
BC	0.39	(0.69)	0.37	(0.62)	-0.19	(0.88)
Constant	1.23*	(0.50)	3.75***	(0.45)	4.25***	(0.67)
Observations	5932		5988		5964	
Adjusted R ²	0.14		0.16		0.19	

Understandized B coefficients and standard errors in parentheses

Source: PDP

* p<0.05, ** p<0.01, *** p<0.001

FIGURES

FIGURE 1. ATTACHMENT TO CANADA AND ATTITUDES TOWARD ETHNOCULTURAL DIVERSITY (QUEBEC VS ROC)

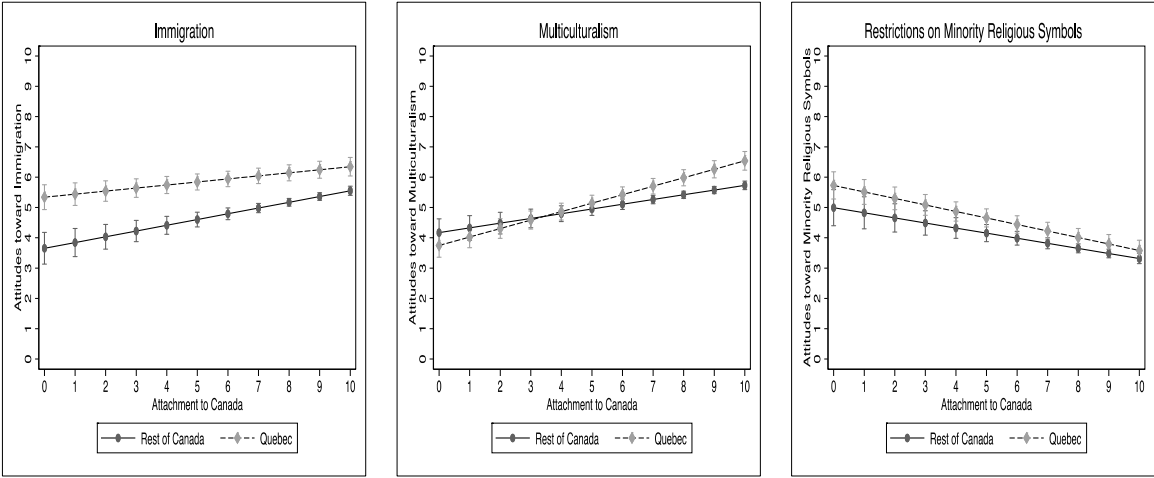


FIGURE 2. ATTACHMENT TO PROVINCE AND ATTITUDES TOWARD ETHNOCULTURAL DIVERSITY (QUEBEC VS ROC)

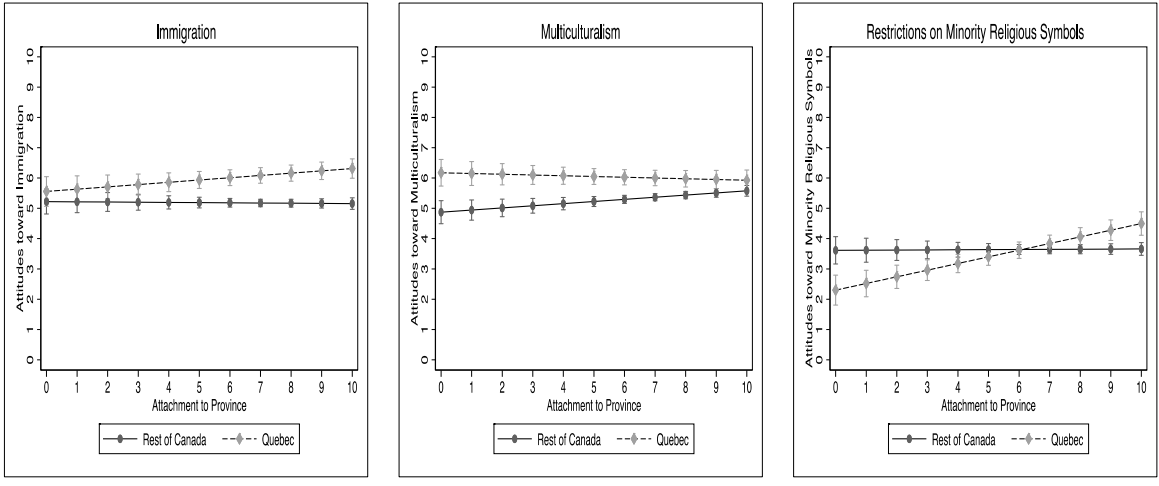


FIGURE 3. ATTACHMENT TO CANADA AND ATTITUDES TOWARD ETHNOCULTURAL DIVERSITY (ALL PROVINCES)

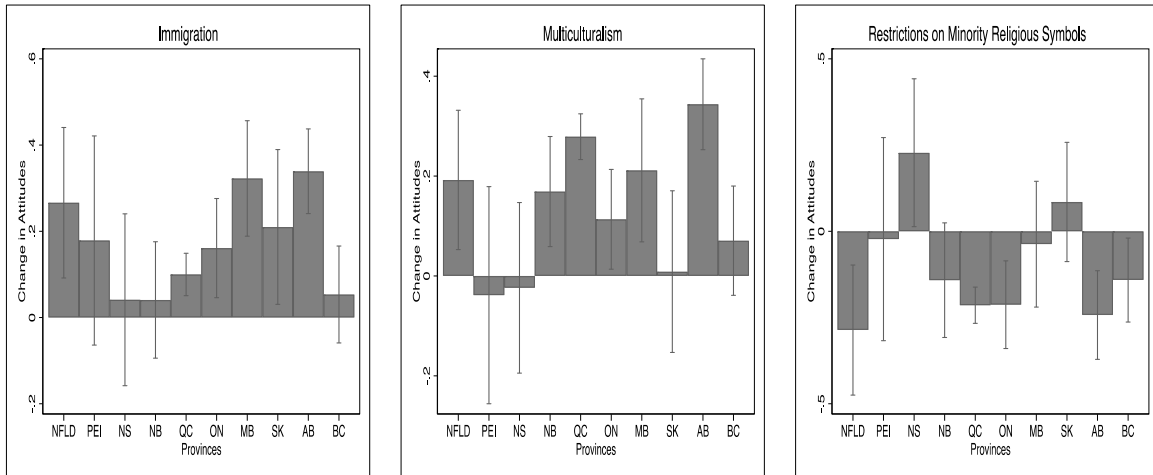
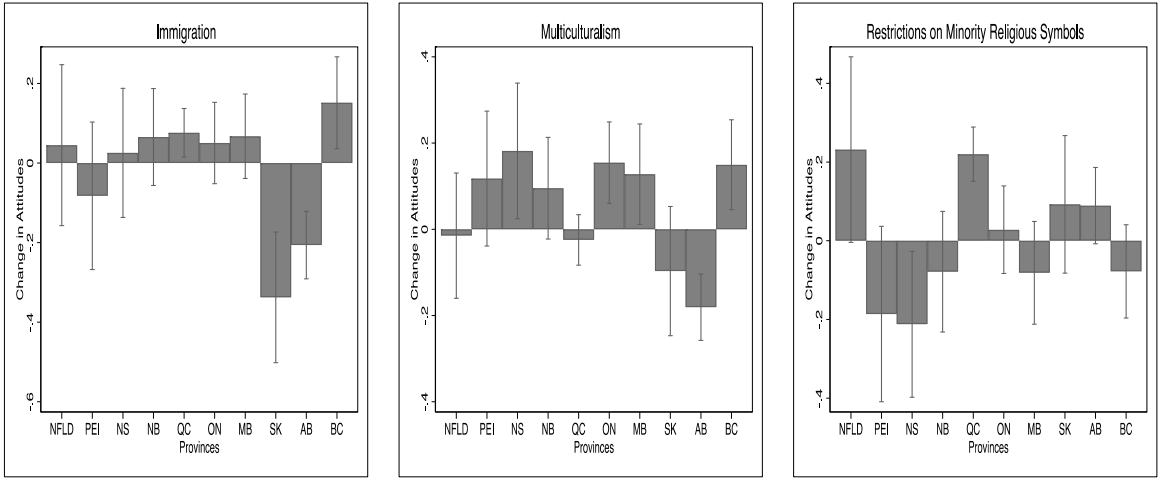


FIGURE 4. ATTACHMENT TO PROVINCE AND ATTITUDES TOWARD ETHNOCULTURAL DIVERSITY (ALL PROVINCES)



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NOTES

¹ In order to simplify the discussion, we refer to “national” and “subnational” attachments even though we recognize that the expression “national” may not be apply or be appropriate in all contexts.

² If Citrin et al. observed that the positive relationship between the strength of attachment and ethnocultural diversity did extend to Quebecers, their study was limited to *Canadian attachment* and did not consider how the strength of *Quebec attachment* relates to ethnocultural diversity.

³ The survey was commissioned by the authors (REF TO BE ADDED). It contains questions on several topics, including ethnocultural diversity, immigration, multiculturalism, national and provincial identities, as well as several other topics concerning public debates or the working of the Canadian federation. The survey took about twenty-five minutes to complete online. Respondents received an e-mail invitation to participate in the survey. Each invitation e-mail contained a unique link (URL) that could only be used once. Respondents were all members of the Léger Internet panel of more than 400,000 people currently living in Canada who were recruited randomly over the phone (61 percent) or through various other means. Léger’s annual recruitment rate for the panel is approximately 15,000 new members a year, while about 10,000 to 12,000 panelists are removed from the panel or opt out each year. Panelists are rewarded for their participation over time with a series of financial incentives. No specific response rate can be calculated for an online survey because, unlike telephone surveys, it is not possible to evaluate whether people refused to participate or did not read or receive the invitation. The survey contains the general sample stratified by province (used for this paper) as well as a youth sample aged

eighteen to thirty-five (not used for this project). Together for the general sample and the youth sample, a total of 76,700 invitations were sent and 8,350 respondents completed the survey, or about 11 percent of people who were invited to participate; unfortunately, we cannot distinguish the percentages of response for the general sample and the youth sample. To rectify possible imbalances and render the sample representative of the entire adult population, the data is weighted according to the actual distribution of the population based on the gender, age, mother tongue, and ethnicity (visible minorities or not) of Quebecers. Results were weighted using data from the 2011 Census from Statistics Canada.

⁴ We conducted a factor analysis (with Varimax rotation) including all nine indicators. The result indicate that these nine indicators appear to capture three underlying factors that correspond to the three dimensions we now investigate. See Appendix A2.

⁵ The findings reported for Quebec in Table 3 replicate those in Table 2.