

**Canadian Citizens' Beliefs about Diversity: Influence of Generation
Status, Multicultural Ideology and Cultural Identity on Immigration
Attitudes**

by

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ABSTRACT

CANADIAN CITIZENS' BELIEFS ABOUT DIVERSITY: INFLUENCE OF GENERATION STATUS, MULTICULTURAL IDEOLOGY AND CULTURAL IDENTITY ON IMMIGRATION ATTITUDES

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Traditionally, cross-cultural research tends to make comparisons between groups of people based on their ethnicity or citizenship. In the face of increasingly multicultural societies such as Canada, research suggests that it is necessary to re-evaluate the criteria by which we group people and make comparisons. The present study explores whether factors such as generation status, multicultural ideology, and cultural identity influence Canadian citizens' immigration attitudes. A community sample ($N=306$) of Canadian citizens completed an online survey. Results found no significant differences in participants' immigration attitudes based on their generation status or whether they were part of the ethnic majority/minority. However, there was a strong positive correlation between multicultural ideology and immigration attitudes, and a weak positive correlation between national identity and immigration attitudes. Multicultural ideology also mediated the relationship between generation status and immigration attitudes when comparing first and third generation participants.

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“It takes a village to raise a child.” –African proverb

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Introduction

Many Canadians boast about Canada's multicultural society and overall positive attitudes towards diversity (Kristof, 2017; Paris, 2018). Canada was the first country to establish explicit policies on multiculturalism and continues to lead as an example of a society in which people from many countries cohabitate (Kymlicka, 2011; Paris, 2018). As of 2016, census data suggests that 21.9% of Canada's total population were foreign-born individuals who immigrated to Canada. Population projections estimate that the foreign-born population could reach up to 30.0% by 2036 (Statistics Canada, 2017).

The term "multicultural" both highlights the differences between groups of people and suggests that there are—to some extent—common beliefs, practices and values that are shared among those within a group (Parekh, 2006). This term was originally popularized by the Canadian government in the 1970s as they campaigned to welcome immigrants from different countries and with different cultures and religions (Paris, 2018). With the global increase in immigration, use of terms such as multicultural, pluralistic and diverse have become common descriptions for many societies. Along with the increasing use of these terms over the past few decades, some scholars have pointed out the shifting definition of words like "multiculturalism" and the need to reassess its meaning in accordance with the changing cultural landscape in many countries and societies (Hong & Cheon, 2017; Poortinga, 2015).

The present study seeks to explore the relationship between Canadian citizens' generation status, their views about diversity (multicultural ideology and cultural identity), and their attitudes towards immigrants (collectively referred to as "immigration attitudes" henceforth). Previous literature suggests that immigrants who immigrate

within the same time period share similar experiences with adapting to life in Canada and being part of Canadian society regardless of their country of origin (Noels & Clement, 2015; Rumbaut, 2004; Waters, 2014). Therefore, the present study investigates whether a person's generation status is related to their views about diversity, and how these factors may influence immigration attitudes.

Previous research about immigration attitudes

It is only over the past few decades that a growing body of literature has looked at immigration trends and immigration-related challenges in different countries. As of November 13, 2019, a search on PsycINFO—one of the most commonly-used databases within the field of psychology—yielded 30,850 peer-reviewed and published articles in response to the search term “immigration”. Of that number, 17,950 articles were published between 2010-2019, 8873 from 2000-2009, 2420 articles between 1990-1999, 1072 articles from 1980-1989, and roughly 540 articles total before 1980. As the field of immigration research has advanced, some scholars have argued that there are some conceptual flaws in the design of studies, which are possibly a result of the continued use of outdated research assumptions (Duckitt, 1992; Meeusen, Abts, & Meuleman, 2019). To date, the majority of immigration research focuses on how immigrants are adapting to life in a new country. Fewer studies consider how the citizens of the country that newcomers immigrate to (often referred to as the ‘dominant’ or ‘larger society’) is affected by the changes that immigrants bring and how those societal shifts ultimately shape the environment that immigrants experience (e.g. Berry & Hou, 2016; Bourhis, Moïse, Perreault, & Sénécal, 1997; Guimond, de la Sablonnière, & Nugier, 2014; Ward & Masgoret, 2008).

Additionally, some scholars have pointed out that cross-cultural research involving immigrants is often limited to examining the perspective of ethnic majority members within the larger society in relation to incoming ethnic minority groups (Duckitt, 1992; Meeusen et al., 2019). This is potentially problematic in multicultural societies such as Canada because, despite Canada's multicultural population, the focus is on the perspective of European Canadians (and sometimes more specifically, Anglo-Canadians) as the larger society even though, proportionally, they represent less of the population than they did in previous decades (Statistics Canada, 2017). For example, Douglas Palmer (1996) used survey data to examine different determinants of Canadian attitudes towards immigration in a series of three very robust studies ($N=3000$, $N=7222$, and $N=1779$). While it would seem that such results would have high generalizability to Canadians, these studies excluded respondents "from third-world countries, or whose mother tongue was neither English nor French" (Palmer, 1996, p.186). While these restrictions only led to the exclusion of 200 participants at the time, it showcases how a subset of the Canadians—a subset which has been proportionally increasing over the past few decades—is being underrepresented in Canadian research.

Challenges with defining the larger society

Given the increasingly diverse population in many societies, research which continues to focus on the larger society as it was conceptualized decades ago run the risk of either over-specifying the population of interest or overgeneralizing the views of those within the society (Duckitt, 1992; Sarrasin, Green, Fasel, & Davidov, 2015). In the former case, to conceptualize culturally homogenous groups, some studies are conducted with only participants of the ethnic majority to represent the larger society.

Often when comparing cultural minorities within a multicultural society, researchers will include a group of “Anglo”, “White”, or “European” participants as a baseline comparison (e.g., Falk, Heine, Yuki, & Takemura, 2009; Kil, Noels, Vargas Lascano, & Schweickart, 2019; Kwak & Berry, 2001). In these studies, ethnic minority members—who proportionally represent the larger society—are excluded from analyses. In the latter case, some cross-cultural studies examine mean scores of participants within the same country in order to make comparisons with other country groups (e.g., Berry & Hou, 2016; Hainmueller & Hopkins, 2015; Leong, 2014). In this way, the studies do not account for differences between participants within a country. While this method is more inclusive of people who are not part of the ethnic majority, some scholars argue that making broad, country-based—or even ethnicity-based—comparisons overlooks differences that exist within those groups (Chirkov, 2016; Lalonde, Cila, Lou, & Giguère, 2013; Poortinga, 2015; Ruby, Falk, Heine, Villa, & Silberstein, 2012).

While it may be beyond the scope of many cross-cultural studies to conduct examinations of within-country differences before making between-country comparisons to test their specific hypotheses, I argue that by ignoring within-country differences, cross-cultural research is overlooking important influences within their samples. In an overview of the literature about immigrants and immigration, Dovidio and Esses (2001) argued that, the study of immigration “requires psychologists to consider the complexities of a diversity of real groups, involving meaningful cultures, histories, and contemporary political, social, and economic relations” (p.377). In accordance with this view, Lalonde and colleagues (2013) argue that, by assuming that cultural groups are homogenous, researchers overlook specific sociohistorical factors and may be led to

misleading conclusions from categorizations that are too broad. As highlighted in the two styles of participant sampling mentioned above, it is important for researchers to re-evaluate who is being included in their cultural group categories, and consider the extent to which they can assume homogeneity within each group (see Duckitt, 1992; Sarrasin, Green, Fasel, & Davidov, 2015). The present study aims to shift from examining immigration attitudes based on traditional categories such as ethnic majorities/minorities or different cultural groups within a society. Instead, it seeks to examine the relationship between immigration attitudes and other demographic variables and sociocultural constructs which may vary within different ethnic groups.

Generation status and immigration attitudes

Generation status is defined based on whether a person and their parents are born in Canada (Statistics Canada, 2011). “First-generation” (1g henceforth) refers to people who were born outside of Canada. In 2011 this group accounted for 22.0% of Canada’s total population. “Second-generation” (2g) refers to people who were born in Canada, who had one parent or both parents born outside of Canada. They accounted for 17.4% of the Canadian population in 2011. Taken together, this means that two out of five Canadians are first or second generation. The remaining 60.7%, “third-generation or more” (3g), consist of people were born in Canada to parents who were also born in Canada. To date, most immigration research focuses exclusively on 1g and 2g (e.g., Noels & Clement, 2015; Tonsing, 2014; Yazdiha, 2018) and few studies, if any, make distinctions beyond 3g because further generations are considered to have assimilated with the dominant society (Gooden-Jones, 2018; Wüthrich, 2017).

In recent decades, a growing body of literature has pointed out the importance of examining generation status as a variable of interest (Meeusen et al., 2019; Waters, 2014). For example, in Canada, it is well-documented in health research that 1g—regardless of their country of origin—have better mental health than the general Canadian population, but that these bolstered effects decrease with time spent in the new country and do not transfer to 2g (Kwak, 2016; Ng, 2011). Waters (2014) argues that generation status can be a useful concept with which to examine differences between different cohorts of immigrants. Through a historical review of the origins and function of generation status descriptions in Britain and the United States, Walters (2014) highlights how distinctions based on immigrant generation help explain social processes in American research. While she notes that classifications based on generation status still run the risk of homogenizing responses from immigrants who faced different political and historical upbringings, she maintains that considerations for generation status could further one's understanding of how immigrants are integrating in Britain. This suggests that, despite significant cultural and circumstantial differences between immigrants from different countries, there may be similarities regarding the experiences that they face based on generation status.

Previous research suggests that 1g and 2g are more exposed to both their ethnic and national cultures compared to 3g (Bartley & Spoonley, 2008; Berry, Phinney, Sam, & Vedder, 2006; Grant, 2007). It has also been documented within the literature that mere exposure to a particular person, group, or idea leads to preference for and liking of what one was exposed to (Sides & Citrin, 2007; Zajonc, 2001; Zebrowitz, White, & Wieneke, 2008). In a study about New Zealanders' immigration attitudes, Ward and

Masgoret (2008) found that exposure to and familiarity with people from different cultures reduces negative immigration attitudes and increases positive attitudes towards immigrants. Given that 1g and 2g are more exposed to more than one culture as well as people within those cultures, it could be argued that they would be more accepting of people from other cultures when compared to 3g.

Multicultural Ideology

Multicultural ideology refers to an individual's endorsement of cultural diversity within their society (Berry & Kalin, 1995; Dandy & Pe-Pua, 2010; Verkuyten, 2005). Since Canada officially became multicultural in 1971, many sociologists, anthropologists, political scientists, and psychologists have discussed the rise in support for multiculturalism among citizens in Canada. A recent survey at the end of 2016 found that, among the top 20 things that make Canadians proud of Canada, "multiculturalism" ranked 9th, while "open mindedness towards people who are different" ranked 2nd (Anderson & Coletto, 2016). Previous research suggests that people who support multiculturalism are more likely to have more positive views of immigrants and support policies for increased immigration (e.g., Arends-Tóth & Van de Vijver, 2003; Safdar, Calvez, & Lewis, 2012; Ward & Masgoret, 2008). Based on the support for multiculturalism in Canada and previous literature, it would follow that Canadian citizens would support a multicultural ideology (Berry & Kalin, 1995; Environics Institute, 2018).

In looking at multicultural ideology, one might wonder who is more or less likely to have a positive multicultural ideology. Although academic literature regarding this question is surprisingly scant, it has been suggested that, overall, ethnic minority immigrants are more supportive of multicultural sentiments compared to the larger

society (e.g., Arends-Tóth & Van de Vijver, 2003; Pelletier-Dumas, de la Sablonnière, & Guimond, 2017; Verkuyten, 2005). For example, Verkuyten (2005) conducted a multi-study analysis which explored the relationships between acculturation strategies, cultural identity, and the multiculturalism hypothesis. In comparing Turkish and Dutch participants in the Netherlands, he found that Turkish participants (ethnic minority) endorsed multiculturalism more strongly than Dutch participants. Furthermore, results showed that Turkish participants' endorsement of multiculturalism was related to stronger ethnic identity, whereas for Dutch participants, endorsement of multiculturalism was related to weaker ethnic identity. While many Canadian psychological studies have discussed the topic of multiculturalism and its shifts over the past few decades (e.g., Berry, 1999; Kil et al., 2019; Kymlicka, 2011; Winter, 2015), there has been little examination of how immigrants—regardless of their specific country of origin—who are part of the ethnic majority or minority might have slightly different views about multiculturalism and immigration.

Cultural Identity

Another variable which could be related to a person's multicultural ideology and their immigration attitudes is the way in which a person identifies with their ethnic background and their nation. Cultural identity refers to the extent to which an individual identifies both with their ethnic group and with the larger society to which they immigrate (Berry et al., 2006). This identification could be in terms of shared thoughts, feelings, customs, or connections between the individual and members of those groups. Cultural identity can be defined as consisting of two independent components: ethnic identity and national identity. Ethnic identity focuses on how individuals identify with their ethnic

group (Noels & Clement, 2015; Phinney, 1990), while national identity refers to the extent to which individuals identify with the larger society of which they are a part (Esses, Dovidio, Jackson, & Armstrong, 2001; Molina, Phillips, & Sidanius, 2015). Researchers often use measures of ethnic and national identity as two independent indicators of immigrants' sociocultural adaptation to their new environments (Berry & Sabatier, 2011; Sabatier, 2008; Safdar et al., 2012).

Ethnic identity. The earlier stated results by Verkuyten (2005) suggested that immigrants with high ethnic identity would be more supportive of multiculturalism. The researchers suggest that could be because those who come from ethnic minorities wish to maintain their ethnic cultures in their new country. From another perspective, other research suggests that immigrants who are high in ethnic identity and perceive themselves as marginalized by the larger society may feel a sense of solidarity with other minority groups (Just & Anderson, 2014). Given these results, the present study expects that immigrants with a strong ethnic identity would have more positive immigration attitudes compared to those with a weaker ethnic identity.

National identity. Existing literature presents mixed results regarding the connection between national identity and immigration attitudes. One reason for this may be because of the differing perspectives of national identity from country to country (Kymlicka, 2012; Leong, 2014). However, previous research with Canadians citizens (regardless of whether or not they have immigrant backgrounds) generally suggests that those who are more secure about their national identity are more confident about identifying with their ethnic culture, and also less hostile towards other cultural groups (Berry & Kalin, 1995; Grant, 2007; Sabatier, 2008). Building on the findings of previous

studies—which have included participant samples of first and second-generation immigrants, the present study also expect to find a positive relationship between national identity and immigration attitudes.

Present Study

Hypotheses

The present study explored whether generation status, multicultural ideology and cultural identity predict immigration attitudes. Using quantitative methods through a brief, online survey, the following hypotheses were tested:

1. Canadian citizens within the same generation group will not differ in their immigration attitudes (H1a) but will have different attitudes compared to those of other generations (H1b).
2. There is a relationship between multicultural ideology and cultural identity with immigration attitudes such that:
 - a. Participants who hold a stronger multicultural ideology will have more positive immigration attitudes (H2a).
 - b. Participants who have stronger ethnic identity will have more positive immigration attitudes (H2b).
 - c. Participants who have stronger national identity will have more positive immigration attitudes (H2c).
3. Multicultural ideology, ethnic identity and national identity will mediate the relationship between generation status and immigration attitudes.

Participants

G*Power, a statistical power analysis program, predicted the minimum sample size of $N = 279$ for an ANOVA with a priori power analysis (Faul, Erdfelder, Lang, & Buchner, 2007). From the 388 recorded responses to the online survey, 13 were excluded for not being Canadian citizens, 67 for incomplete data (56 as indicated by Qualtrics progress and 11 that were missing more than 3 standardized units of responses), and 2 for being completed in a suspicious amount of time (more or less than three standard units). The resulting sample consisted of 306 Canadian citizens (174 male, 128 female, 4 other) who ranged from 17-74 years old ($M = 30.61$, $SD = 9.78$). Most participants indicated that they reside in Ontario (51%), Alberta (34%), or British Columbia (9%). Table 1 shows the breakdown of participants by generation status and whether participants were part of the ethnic majority or ethnic minority¹. In accordance with the general perception that White-Europeans are the ethnic majority of Canada, participants who reported a single response as “White/European” were considered the ethnic majority, while those who reported a single response or multiple responses that included any of the other categories were considered the ethnic minority.

¹ Some research and popular press articles refer to those who immigrate in early childhood as generation 1.5 (Rumbaut, 2004). While the proposed study initially planned to examine generation 1.5 as an additional group which was separate from 1g, this was not possible due to the number of which resulted from the volunteer sampling method, hence for the purpose of this study, generation 1.5 participants were recategorized as 1g.

Table 1

Number of participants according to generation status and ethnic majority/minority.

Generation	1g	2g	3g
Majority	17	43	134
Minority	37	57	18
Total	54	100	152

Participants were recruited from a community sample, through recruitment flyers that were posted around the downtown areas of Guelph and Toronto (see Appendix A). An online version of the recruitment flyer (without tear-off tabs) was also circulated through social media websites including Facebook, Instagram, Reddit and an advertisement on Kijiji.

Methodology

Data was collected online through a survey using Qualtrics software, Version January 2019. After reading and agreeing to a consent form, participants completed a demographics questionnaire, which screened participants who were not Canadian citizens and determined generation status. Demographic variables (14-items; Appendix B) included gender, age, ethnic background, generation status (derived from the participant and their parents' country of birth), education and socioeconomic status were collected.

Next, they completed measures that assessed multicultural ideology, cultural identity and immigration attitudes. Upon completion of the questionnaires, participants

were directed to a separate Qualtrics survey in which they had the option to enter their email into the prize draw. Most participants finished in the questionnaire survey in under 10 minutes ($M = 9.5$ mins, Median = 7 mins).

Measures

Multicultural Ideology Scale (Berry & Kalin, 1995; 10-items; Appendix C). This measure included questions about how participants think immigrants should acculturate (e.g. 'Immigrant/ethnic parents must encourage their children to retain the culture and traditions of their homeland'), and how they themselves should change to accommodate other ethnic groups (e.g. 'We should recognize that cultural and racial diversity is a fundamental characteristic of Canadian society'). Answers were given on a 5-point Likert scale ranging from 'totally disagree' (1), to 'totally agree' (5). Items were averaged to create a single score for each participant, with higher values indicating greater support for multicultural ideology. Internal reliability of the scale was very good (Cronbach's $\alpha=0.92$).

Cultural Identity Scale (Berry et al., 2006; 13-items; Appendix D). This measure assessed the strength of two components: ethnic and national identity. Participants were asked 9 statements regarding their ethnic identity (e.g., 'I think of myself as a typical member of my ethnic group') and 4 regarding their national identity (e.g., 'I am proud to be Canadian'). Responses were recorded on a 5-point Likert-type scale, ranging from 'not at all' (1), to 'very much' (5). Items for ethnic and national identity were averaged separately, resulting in two scores for each participant. Higher scores for each component indicated stronger ethnic and national identity. Internal reliability for both ethnic and national identity were very good (Cronbach's $\alpha=0.85$ and 0.87 respectively).

Attitudes towards Ethnocultural Groups (adapted from Bourhis & Barrette, 2004; 13-items; Appendix E). Participants indicated how favourable their attitude was for different cultural and immigrant groups by moving a slider along a scale from 1 (extremely unfavourable) to 100 (extremely favourable). From the original 13 items in the measure, 4 items were excluded from analyses because they pertained to groups who were not immigrants (Canadians, First Nations, English Canadians and French Canadians). Internal reliability for this scale was very good (Cronbach's $\alpha=0.97$). For statistical completeness, the Pearson zero-order correlations between items within the scale along with the means and standard deviations of each item are displayed in Table 2. The table show large correlations between "immigrants in general" and each of the other listed immigrant groups (see Table 2). Thus, items were averaged to create a single score for each participant. Higher scores denote a more favourable attitude towards immigrants from different ethnocultural groups. This measure of immigration attitudes is referred to as "Ethnocultural Groups" henceforth.

Table 2

Pearson correlation matrix between responses to immigrant groups listed in the Attitudes towards Ethnocultural Groups scale.

	Mean	SD	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9
1. General	69.94	22.65	--								
2. British	72.85	22.45	.60	--							
3. Arab	61.72	27.39	.82	.56	--						
4. Chinese	66.55	25.60	.80	.61	.77	--					
5. Indian & Pakistani	64.50	25.78	.85	.53	.87	.79	--				
6. Latin American	69.50	23.29	.85	.70	.79	.78	.84	--			
7. East European	71.35	22.30	.70	.78	.63	.65	.65	.79	--		
8. East Asian	70.59	23.22	.82	.69	.73	.87	.81	.82	.75	--	
9. African	65.17	27.09	.83	.60	.88	.74	.88	.84	.66	.75	--

Note. $p < 0.01$ for all values

Attitudes towards Immigrants (Ward & Masgoret, 2008; 3-items; Appendix E).

The second measure of attitudes towards immigrants included three questions, measured on a 5-point Likert scale, ranging from Strongly Disagree (1) to Strongly Agree (5). Questions assessed participants' positivity towards immigrants in their society (e.g., 'Immigrants have made an important contribution to Canada'). Internal reliability for this scale was very good (Cronbach's $\alpha = 0.84$). Items were averaged to create a single score for each participant. Higher scores denote more positive attitudes

towards immigrants. This measure of immigration attitudes is referred to as “Attitudes towards Immigrants” henceforth.²

Results

Descriptive statistics and correlations

Participants’ generation status was identified based on their self-reported demographic responses about where they and their parents were born (see Appendix B). Table 3 shows the breakdown of means for each measure, separated by participants’ generation status. In general, the means across the three generation groups were similar for all variables. Overall, participants reported fairly high scores for multicultural ideology, ethnic identity, and a particularly strong sense of national identity. In terms of attitudes towards immigration, the mean ratings suggest moderately positive views about Ethnocultural Groups, and positive ratings in Attitudes towards Immigrants.

² The survey contained four additional thermometer questions from Bourhis & Barrette (2004) which were excluded from analyses. These questions assessed participants’ attitudes towards the current population of Canada, current number of immigrants, and whether they wished to see a higher population and more immigrants in the future.

Table 3

Mean and standard deviations of the five measures by generation status.

	1g	2g	3g	Total
Variables	M (SD)	M (SD)	M (SD)	M (SD)
Multicultural Ideology	3.67 (0.84)	3.73 (0.91)	3.34 (0.98)	3.55 (0.94)
Ethnic Identity	3.52 (0.72)	3.47 (0.77)	3.16 (0.67)	3.33 (0.73)
National Identity	4.40 (0.74)	4.46 (0.80)	4.43 (0.88)	4.43 (0.83)
Ethnocultural Groups	67.60 (18.00)	66.43 (21.89)	69.02 (22.61)	67.92 (21.59)
Attitudes towards Immigrants	4.20 (0.96)	4.26 (0.77)	4.16 (0.92)	4.20 (0.88)

Influence of ethnic majority/minority and generation status

In order to compare immigration attitudes between generation status groups (H1), a 2x4 factorial ANOVA with members of the ethnic majority and minority groups and four generation status groups was planned. However, the convenience sampling method (in which community members voluntarily took part in the study) yielded an unequal distribution of participants per cell, and thus the 1g and 1.5g groups were merged, and the analyses were run as a 2x3 factorial ANOVA instead (see Footnote 1). The Levene's test of equality of error variances for Ethnocultural Groups, $F(5,300)=1.00$, $p=0.417$, did not suggest that the ANOVA homogeneity of variance assumption was violated. Similarly, the Levene's test for Attitudes towards Immigrants $F(5,292)=2.14$, $p=0.06$, was not significant, and did not suggest that the homogeneity of variance assumption was violated. The Shapiro-Wilk test for normality with both measures of immigration attitudes yielded the results in Table 4. Taken together, almost

all of the values in the table are significant at the level $p < 0.05$ or smaller, suggesting that the assumption of normality was violated. Since the ANOVA is robust to the violation of normality, an ANOVA was conducted despite this violation, however the results should be interpreted with caution (Blanca, Alarcón, Arnau, Bono, & Bendayan, 2017).

Table 4

Shapiro-Wilk Test for Normality coefficient (W) per group.

	Ethnocultural Groups		Attitudes towards Immigrants	
	Majority	Minority	Majority	Minority
1g	0.875*	0.972	0.857*	0.761***
2g	0.948*	0.951*	0.778***	0.857***
3g	0.942***	0.934	0.827***	0.885*

*Note: * $p < 0.05$, *** $p < 0.001$*

The resulting 2x3 factorial ANOVA compared the main effect of ethnic majority/minority and generation status with Ethnocultural Groups. A second 2x3 factorial ANOVA compared the same groups with Attitudes towards Immigrants. The means and standard deviations for each group is reported below in Table 5 below.

Table 5

Means and standard deviations of immigration attitude ratings per group.

	Ethnocultural Groups		Attitudes towards Immigrants	
	Majority	Minority	Majority	Minority
	<i>M (SD)</i>	<i>M (SD)</i>	<i>M (SD)</i>	<i>M (SD)</i>
1g	65.88 (20.43)	68.38 (16.95)	3.88 (1.26)	4.33 (0.79)
2g	68.95 (21.32)	64.54 (22.30)	4.38 (0.75)	4.15 (0.78)
3g	70.00 (22.14)	61.44 (25.26)	4.18 (0.92)	3.98 (0.95)

In terms of Ethnocultural Groups, the main effect for ethnic majority/minority yielded a F ratio of $F(1,300)=1.245$, $p=0.265$, while the main effect for generation status was $F(2,300)=0.065$, $p=0.937$. The interaction effect was not significant, $F(2,300)=0.889$, $p=0.412$. In comparison, with the Attitudes towards Immigrants measure, the main effect for ethnic majority/minority yielded a F ratio of $F(1,292)=0.007$, $p=0.935$, while the main effect for generation status was $F(2,292)=1.007$, $p=0.366$. The interaction effect between ethnic majority/minority and generation status was not significant $F(2,292)=2.541$, $p=0.081$. Taken together, these results suggest that, contrary to H1, a person's status as a member of the ethnic majority/minority and their generation status did not indicate any differences in their immigration attitudes (H1b). The interaction effect between ethnic majority/minority and generation status was not significant for both measures of immigration attitudes, thus H1a was also not supported.

Correlations with multicultural ideology and cultural identity

To assess the relationship between multicultural ideology and cultural identity on immigration attitudes, a Pearson's correlation was conducted for each variable in relation to the two measures of immigration attitudes. Table 6 lists the correlation between these variables.

Table 6

Pearson's r between variables of interest.

	Ethnocultural Groups	Attitudes towards Immigrants
Multicultural Ideology	0.547**	0.733**
Ethnic Identity	0.173**	0.018
National Identity	0.251**	0.123*

*Note: * $p < 0.05$, ** $p < 0.01$*

Table 6 above shows a positive large correlation between multicultural ideology and both measures of immigration attitudes that is also statistically significant. Consistent with H2a, these results suggest that participants who had a stronger multicultural ideology had more positive attitudes towards Ethnocultural Groups ($r=0.547$, $p < 0.01$) and Attitudes towards Immigrants ($r=0.733$, $p < 0.001$). While there was a positive small correlation between ethnic identity and Ethnocultural Groups which was significant ($r=0.173$, $p=0.002$), the correlation between ethnic identity and Attitudes towards Immigrants was not significant ($r=0.018$, $p=0.761$). Taken together, these results do not provide consistent evidence of a relationship between ethnic identity and

immigration attitudes (H2b). The relationship between national identity and both measures of immigration attitudes was small. While the present results suggest that there may be a relationship between national identity and Ethnocultural Groups ($r=0.251$, $p<0.01$) and Attitudes towards Immigrants ($r=0.123$, $p=0.034$), due to the magnitude of the Pearson's correlation coefficient, a strong relationship cannot be concluded (H2c).

Despite the lack of large and significant correlations between cultural identity and immigration attitudes, something to note is that, overall, participants reported having a particularly strong sense of national identity regardless of their generation status. Referring back to the list of mean values in Table 3, participants in all three groups had mean scores near 4.40 on the 5-point Likert scale. This presents strong evidence that many Canadian citizens are quite proud of their nationality. The implications of the generally high scores for national identity are included in the discussion section which follows.

Multicultural ideology and cultural identity as mediators

Previous literature suggests that mediation analyses with multiple mediators can be done through examining the effect of each mediator separately or simultaneously (Kenny, 2018; VanderWeele & Vansteelandt, 2014; Zhao, Lynch, & Chen, 2010). In the latter case, it is recommended that mediators should be conceptually distinct and not strongly correlated, in order to avoid multicollinearity (Kenny, 2018; VanderWeele & Vansteelandt, 2014). Therefore, to test whether Multicultural Ideology and Cultural Identity mediate the relationship between generation status and immigration attitudes (H3), we first examined the correlation between the three mediating variables. The

Pearson's correlations showed that Multicultural Ideology was neither strongly correlated with Ethnic Identity ($r=0.117$, $p=0.041$) nor National Identity ($r=0.074$, $p=0.195$). There was only a medium correlation between Ethnic Identity and National Identity ($r=0.314$, $p<0.001$).

Given these correlations between mediating variables, we conducted a parallel multiple mediation (as described in Hayes, 2013) with the pathways shown in Figure 1 below.

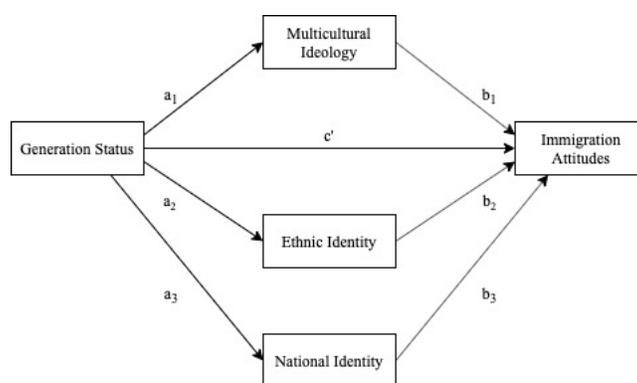


Figure 1. Conceptual diagram for mediation analysis with multiple mediators.

Using the PROCESS macro (version 3) developed by Andrew Hayes (2013), a parallel multiple mediation analysis was conducted to explore the effects of multicultural ideology (MULTI; M_1), ethnic identity (ETHI; M_2) and national identity (NATI; M_3) as potential mediators in the relationship between generation status (X) and immigrant attitudes as measured by Ethnocultural Groups and Attitudes towards Immigrants (ETHGROU; Y). Given that generation status is a categorical variable, the analysis was run using indicator coding—through which the three generation groups were dummy coded into two dummy variables, using 1g as the reference group (Hayes & Preacher, 2014). Figure 2 shows the labelled pathways in the model for the parallel mediator

analysis for Ethnocultural Groups. In the model, X_1 denotes 2g, while X_2 denotes 3g. As the reference group, 1g receives a code of 0. The same model was run for Attitudes towards Immigrants (IMMATT; Y).

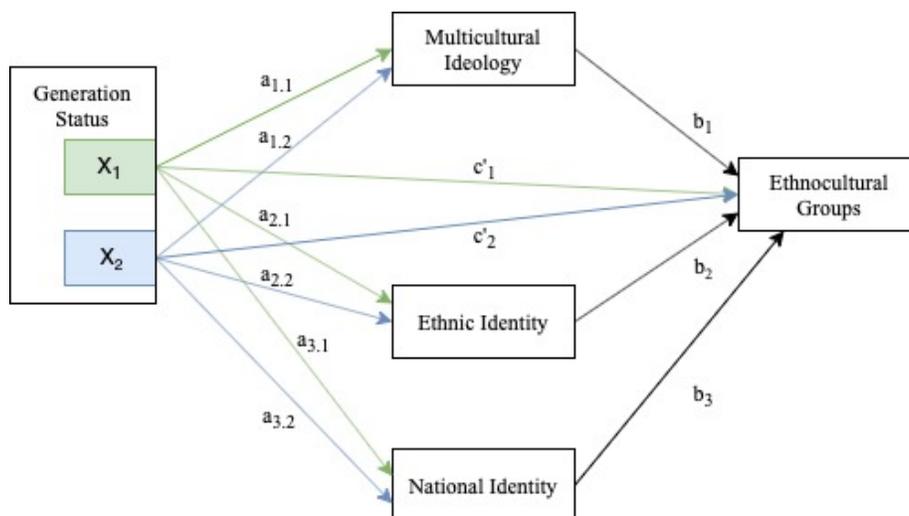


Figure 2. Labelled pathways for parallel multiple mediator analysis.

Table 7 and 8 below present the model summaries for both measures of immigration attitudes.

Table 7

Estimated regression coefficients, standard errors and model summary information for the model about attitudes towards Ethnocultural Groups, estimated in PROCESS using indicator coding.

Antecedent	Consequent															
	M ₁ (MULTI)			M ₂ (ETHI)			M ₃ (NATI)			Y (ETHGROU)						
	Coeff	SE	<i>p</i>	Coeff	SE	<i>p</i>	Coeff	SE	<i>p</i>	Coeff	SE	<i>p</i>				
X ₁	<i>a</i> _{1.1}	0.06	0.158	<.001	<i>a</i> _{2.1}	0.047	0.097	<.001	<i>a</i> _{3.1}	0.055	0.113	<.001	<i>c</i> ' ₁	-2.065	2.916	0.479
X ₂	<i>a</i> _{1.2}	-0.28	0.148	0.06	<i>a</i> _{2.2}	-0.36	0.113	0	<i>a</i> _{3.2}	0.023	0.132	0.86	<i>c</i> ' ₂	5.768	2.798	0.04
M ₁ (MULTI)													<i>b</i> ₁	12.604	1.066	<.001
M ₂ (ETHI)													<i>b</i> ₂	2.578	1.472	0.081
M ₃ (NATI)													<i>b</i> ₃	4.804	1.258	0.081
Constant	<i>iM</i> ₁	3.667	0.127	<.001	<i>iM</i> ₂	3.521	0.097	<.001	<i>iM</i> ₃	4.403	0.113	<.001	<i>iY</i>	-8.847	7.444	0.236
	R ² =0.29			R ² =0.052			R ² =0.001			R ² =0.372						
	<i>F</i> (2,303)=4.537, <i>p</i> =.011			<i>F</i> (2,303)=8.31, <i>p</i> <.001			<i>F</i> (2,303)=0.084, <i>p</i> =.919			<i>F</i> (5,300)=35.543, <i>p</i> <.001						

Table 8

Estimated regression coefficients, standard errors and model summary information for the model about Attitudes towards Immigrants, estimated in PROCESS using indicator coding.

Antecedent	Consequent															
	M ₁ (MULTI)			M ₂ (ETHI)			M ₃ (NATI)			Y (IMMATT)						
	Coeff.	SE	<i>p</i>	Coeff	SE	<i>p</i>	Coeff	SE	<i>p</i>	Coeff	SE	<i>p</i>				
X ₁	<i>a</i> _{1.1}	0.081	0.160	0.613	<i>a</i> _{2.1}	-0.008	0.096	<.001	<i>a</i> _{3.1}	0.087	0.140	0.532	<i>c</i> ' ₁	0.006	0.102	0.951
X ₂	<i>a</i> _{1.2}	-0.249	0.150	0.097	<i>a</i> _{2.2}	-0.349	0.112	0.002	<i>a</i> _{3.2}	0.037	0.130	0.777	<i>c</i> ' ₂	0.097	0.097	0.994
M ₁ (MULTI)													<i>b</i> ₁	0.697	0.037	<.001
M ₂ (ETHI)													<i>b</i> ₂	0.103	0.052	0.049
M ₃ (NATI)													<i>b</i> ₃	0.114	0.045	0.011
Constant	<i>iM</i> ₁	3.647	0.129	<.001	<i>iM</i> ₂	3.507	0.096	<.001	<i>iM</i> ₃	4.392	0.112	<.001	<i>iY</i>	1.512	0.264	<.001
		R ² =0.26				R ² =0.057					R ² =0.01				R ² =0.555	
		<i>F</i> (2,295)=3.989, <i>p</i> =.020				<i>F</i> (2,295)=8.930, <i>p</i> <.001				<i>F</i> (2,295)=0.217, <i>p</i> =.805				<i>F</i> (5,292)=72.959, <i>p</i> <.001		

Although some of the pathways show significance at the level of $p < 0.05$, further exploration of the indirect effect of the mediating variables is required. In order to determine whether the mediating variables had a significant effect on the relationship between generation status and immigration attitudes, PROCESS uses the bootstrapping method to generate confidence intervals to determine the indirect effect. Confidence intervals may be used as inferential statistics in NSHT such that if a 95% confidence interval does not include zero it suggests statistical significance at $p < .05$. Table 9 below lists the 95% confidence intervals for each group based on 5000 bootstrap samples. For the sake of brevity, only those which are significant are interpreted.

Table 9

95% confidence intervals for the indirect effects of the mediating variables (MULTI, ETHI, & NATI).

		X ₁		X ₂	
		LLCI	ULCI	LLCI	ULCI
	MULTI	-2.810	4.539	-7.247	-0.010
ETHGROU	ETHI	-1.056	0.587	-2.460	0.193
	NATI	-0.918	1.635	-1.122	1.338
	MULTI	-0.145	0.264	-0.358	0.020
IMMATT	ETHI	-0.030	0.031	0.000	0.086
	NATI	-0.019	0.052	-0.022	0.045

Multicultural Ideology as a Mediating Variable. Taken together, the results of the mediation analyses indicate that there was a significant indirect effect of multicultural ideology when comparing 1g and 3g on Ethnocultural Groups (X_2 indirect = -3.53, SE=1.84, 95%CI[-7.25,-0.01]). Although the confidence interval for the same group crossed zero for Attitudes towards Immigration (X_2 indirect = -0.17, SE=0.10, 95%CI[-0.36,0.02]), the confidence intervals were generated based on 5000 bootstrap samples, and hence another random sampling could easily produce an upper-level confidence interval that is below zero. Assuming that the indirect effect was significant for both measures of immigration attitudes, these results suggest that multicultural ideology mediated the effect of generation status on immigration attitudes. Specifically, 3g participants had less positive multicultural ideologies, which led to less positive attitudes towards immigrants when compared to 1g participants. However, this effect was not found in comparisons between 1g and 2g participants; as the confidence intervals for X_1 both included zero.

Ethnic and National Identity as Mediating Variables. Looking at the confidence intervals for the indirect effects of both ethnic and national identity, all of the confidence intervals included zero, suggesting that neither ethnic identity nor national identity are mediating variables. In only one case—the indirect effect of ethnic identity between 1g and 3g participants on the measure of Attitudes towards Immigrants—the lower-level confidence interval was 0.000, suggesting that another randomized bootstrap sample could possibly yield results that were significant. However, given that the indirect effect for the same group with Ethnocultural Attitudes was not significant, we conclude that

findings for the mediating effect of ethnic identity from this mediational analysis were inconclusive at best.

Discussion

To date, research regarding immigration attitudes within a country tends to focus on comparisons between different ethnic groups within a country. The present study explored the relationship between Canadian citizens' generation status, multicultural ideology, and cultural identity to their attitudes towards immigration, and the results and implications are discussed below.

Generation Status

Contrary to expectations, no significant relationship between generation status and immigration attitudes was found. Based on previous literature which involved comparisons between generation groups, it was predicted that first-generation Canadian citizens—having been immigrants to Canada themselves—would have different immigration attitudes compared to those whose family have been living in Canada for generations. Instead, evidence from the means presented in Table 3 suggests that Canadians have generally positive views towards immigrants and immigration regardless of their generation status. As shown in the table, the mean rating for Attitudes towards Immigrants for all three generation groups exceeded 4 on a 5-point scale, suggesting that many Canadians have largely positive views towards immigration. This finding is consistent with previous literature which has reported about the salience of support for immigrants among Canadian citizens (Environics Institute, 2019).

An alternate explanation for the lack of significant findings with generation status could be because other factors such as the number of years that a person lived in Canada, their province or city of residence within Canada, or other sociocultural factors influenced immigration attitudes more than generation status. It has already been established in previous literature that other factors such as socioeconomic status and level of education are highly correlated with immigration attitudes, suggesting that these factors play a larger role than generation status (Hainmueller, Hopkins, & Yamamoto, 2014; Sarrasin et al., 2015; Sides & Citrin, 2007). While some of these factors were included in the demographics section of the survey, detailed analyses are beyond the scope of the present study.

Multicultural Ideology

From the sociocultural variables that were observed in the present study, there was strong evidence for a relationship between multicultural ideology and both measures of immigration attitudes across analyses. In the case of H3, multicultural ideology was the only mediator of the relationship between generation status and immigration attitudes. Specifically, it suggests that 1g participants had more positive multicultural ideologies compared to 3g participants, and also had more favourable attitudes towards immigrants. This effect was not significant when comparing 1g and 2g participants. The support for both H2a and H3 is consistent with previous literature and suggests that those who endorse multiculturalism are more welcoming of immigrants (Ward & Masgoret, 2008). Notably, given that the scale on Attitudes towards Ethnocultural Groups assessed opinions about specific immigrant groups, the high correlations between items suggests that Canadians are not more supportive of specific

immigrant groups compared to others. Furthermore, findings from the mediational analysis provide interesting insight about the varying levels of support for multiculturalism among Canadian citizens. Although the mean ratings for multicultural ideology were high across all participants in the present study, echoing previous research which suggests that Canadians are generally supportive of multiculturalism (Environics Institute, 2019; Paris, 2018), the significant difference between 1g and 3g suggest that it is the first-generation Canadian citizens—having immigrated to Canada themselves—who hold the most positive attitudes towards multiculturalism and welcoming more immigrants to Canada.

Cultural Identity

In terms of cultural identity in relation to immigration attitudes, the present study found modest results. In H2b, ethnic identity was significantly correlated to only one measure of immigration attitudes, but this correlation was weak. While the correlation between national identity and both measures of immigration attitudes were significant (H2c), both were small correlations, suggesting that further investigation would be required to reach more conclusive results. The lack of large correlations are contrary to previous research on ethnic and national identity in Canada, which tends to suggest that there is a relationship between cultural identity and immigration attitudes (Environics Institute, 2019; Esses, Wagner, Wolf, Preiser, & Wilbur, 2006; Grant, 2007). However, this could be due to the way that ethnic identity and national identity were understood by the participants. Depending on the scales used and how cultural identity is framed, previous literature is inconclusive as to the direction in which immigrants' ethnic and national identities influences their immigration attitudes (Donnelly, 2017; Harell, Soroka,

Iyengar, & Valentino, 2012; Levin et al., 2012). Some research suggests that this could be because cultural identity may influence people differently depending on whether they are part of the ethnic majority or minority within a country (Molina et al., 2015).

Limitations and Future Directions

The present study provides some evidence for a connection between Canadian support for multiculturalism and positive attitudes towards immigration. Contrary to expectations, it did not find evidence of any significant effects of generation status on immigration attitudes, suggesting that Canadian citizens' views of immigration do not differ whether they were born to a family who have lived in Canada for generations, or have recently immigrated to Canada themselves. Results from the present study must be interpreted with caution due to several key limitations.

Given the nature of convenience sampling recruitment, the number of participants per group for generation status and whether participants were part of the ethnic majority/minority were highly unequal, making it difficult to run analyses to compare differences across groups. Even when participants who identified as 1g or 1.5g were collapsed into one group (see footnote 1), the smallest cell had only 17 participants, compared to a cell that had 134 participants (see Table 1). Due to time limitations, it was not possible to target recruit more participants to balance out groups which had too few participants. Although a study with more even numbers of participants across groups may still find no relationship between generation status and immigration attitudes, it would enable researchers to further examine the relationship between the present variables of interest and immigration attitudes. In particular, given that the present study included two measures of immigration attitudes, the analyses

involving cultural identity were inconclusive due to significance with one measure but not with the other.

In terms of drawing comparisons between participants within the same generation status group and between generation status groups, the present study did not include a self-report question to asked participants whether they identified as part of the ethnic majority/minority. Instead, participants who self-identified as *White/European* as the ethnic majority and grouped all other participants who identified with any other ethnic category—or multiple categories—as ethnic minority. While this is consistent with general public perceptions about who constitutes the ethnic majority of Canada and is statistically accurate given the percentage of the population who originate from European countries (Sawe, 2019), some researchers argue that it is not exactly clear whether immigrants from all European countries can or should be considered as a majority and in the same way (Lalonde et al., 2013; Verkuyten, 2005).

The relationships tested in this study were mostly correlational, hence causality could not be determined. Since there was strong correlation between multicultural ideology and immigration attitudes, future research could seek to test for causational effects. One way to test for causation could be through a study in which a manipulation or intervention primed participants to have more positive or negative multicultural ideologies before assessing their immigration attitudes.

The present study also did not find any conclusive evidence of a correlation between ethnic nor national identity and immigration attitudes. Given the inconclusive literature about the connection between ethnic identity and immigration attitudes, it could be that an individual's reasons or the ways in which they identify with their

heritage culture could be unrelated to their immigration attitudes. In two studies conducted with undergraduate students in the United States, researchers found that perceived discrimination is related to higher ethnic identity among ethnic minority members, but has no effect on ethnic majority members (Molina et al., 2015). The present study did not compare differences in ethnic identification among ethnic majority and minority members in Canada, hence it is uncertain whether there were any differences which influenced the results. Despite the fact that ethnic identity has been used by many researchers across a wide range of studies, literature regarding how members of homogenized groups in Western societies, such as third-generation Euro-Canadians, perceive their ethnic identity is scant. A future qualitative study which examines participants' self-description about their ethnic identity and their attitudes towards immigration policies and different groups of immigrants would provide a better sense of whether a relationship exists between the two constructs.

Similarly, relationships between national identity and both measures of immigration attitudes were also inconclusive. As previously mentioned, several studies have highlighted Canadians' self-reported acceptance of diversity and multiculturalism (Environics Institute, 2019; Paris, 2018). A possible future study could examine the nuances behind what Canadians consider to be national identity, and what their conceptualizations of multiculturalism are in relation to national identity.

Conclusion

The present study supports previous literature in highlighting the importance of examining the range of perspectives that are present within diverse societies before making cross-cultural comparisons (e.g. Dovidio & Esses, 2001; Lalonde et al., 2013;

Meeusen et al., 2019). In terms of attitudes towards immigration, outcomes from the present study suggest that a Canadian citizen's immigration attitudes may be influenced by factors beyond their ethnic background or the ethnicity of prospective immigrants to Canada. It also suggests that those who support multicultural ideologies might also be more welcoming to immigrants from a diverse range of ethnic backgrounds.

Findings from the present study present some evidence which could inform policy makers and immigrant service providers about potential ways to increase support for immigration. Specifically, communities with an influx of incoming immigrants may benefit most from supporting community initiatives which promote multicultural ideologies for both immigrants and members of the larger society in order to promote positive attitudes towards immigrants. Given that acceptance of diversity and support for multiculturalism is a large part of Canadian national identity, as well as the connections between multicultural ideology and immigration attitudes, programming that promotes national identity may also increase acceptance of immigration.

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Appendix C: Multicultural Ideology Scale

Please indicate the extent to which you agree or disagree with each of the following statements:

	Strongly Agree	Somewhat Agree	Neutral	Somewhat Disagree	Strongly Disagree
We should recognize that cultural and racial diversity is a fundamental characteristic of Canadian society.	<input type="radio"/>				
We should help ethnic and racial minorities preserve their cultural heritages in Canada.	<input type="radio"/>				
It is best for Canada if all people forget their different ethnic and cultural backgrounds as soon as possible.	<input type="radio"/>				
A society that has a variety of ethnic and cultural groups is more able to tackle new problems as they occur.	<input type="radio"/>				
The unity of this country is weakened by people of different ethnic and cultural backgrounds sticking to their old ways.	<input type="radio"/>				
If people of different ethnic and cultural origins want to keep their own culture, they should keep it to themselves.	<input type="radio"/>				
A society that has a variety of ethnic or cultural groups has more problems with national unity than societies with one or two basic cultural groups.	<input type="radio"/>				
We should do more to learn about the customs and heritage of different ethnic and cultural groups in this country.	<input type="radio"/>				
Immigrant/ethnic parents must encourage their children to retain the culture and traditions of their homeland.	<input type="radio"/>				
People who come to Canada should change their behaviour to be more like us.	<input type="radio"/>				

Appendix D: Cultural Identity Scale

People can think of themselves in various ways. For example, they may feel that they are members of various ethnic groups (e.g. Vietnamese, Irish, etc.), and that they are part of the larger society (Canada). How do you think of yourself?:

	Not at all	Somewhat	A little	Quite a bit	Very much
I think of myself as part of my ethnic group.	<input type="radio"/>				
I think of myself as Canadian.	<input type="radio"/>				
I think of myself as part of another ethnic group.	<input type="radio"/>				
	Strongly Agree	Somewhat Agree	Neutral	Somewhat Disagree	Strongly Disagree
I feel that I am part of my ethnic group's culture.	<input type="radio"/>				
I am proud of my ethnicity.	<input type="radio"/>				
I am happy about my ethnicity.	<input type="radio"/>				
I feel that I am part of Canadian culture.	<input type="radio"/>				
I am proud of being Canadian.	<input type="radio"/>				
I am happy to be Canadian.	<input type="radio"/>				
Being part of my ethnic group is embarrassing to me.	<input type="radio"/>				
Having my ethnicity makes me uncomfortable.	<input type="radio"/>				
Being part of my ethnic group makes me feel happy.	<input type="radio"/>				
Having my ethnicity makes me feel good	<input type="radio"/>				

