



Understanding Attitudes Toward Immigrants and Immigration: The Role of Perceived Group Competition and National Identity

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Overview

Setting the Context

- Background Information on Immigration to Canada

Three Beliefs that Promote Negative Attitudes Toward Immigrants and Immigration

- Overview and Examples
- Correlational Research
- Experimental Research

Combating These Beliefs

- Challenging Zero-Sum Thinking
- The Role of National Identity

2007 Immigration Plan

Immigrant Category

Range

Economic

(Skilled Workers, Business,
Provincial Nominees)

141,000 - 158,000

Family

(Spouses, Partners, Children,
Parents, Grandparents)

67,000 - 69,000

Protected Persons

(Refugees)

25,900 - 30,800

Other

6,100 - 7,200

Total

240,000 - 265,000

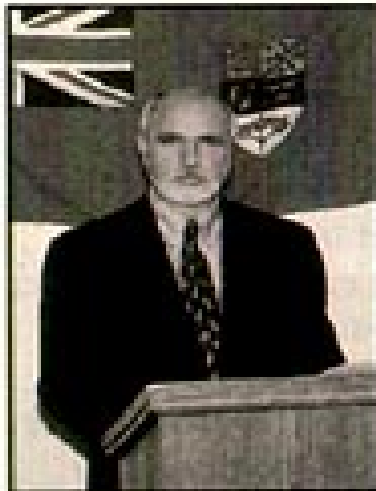
Primary Source Countries For Immigrants To Canada In 2005

| <u>Country</u> | <u>Percentage</u> |
|----------------|-------------------|
| China | 16% |
| India | 13% |
| Philippines | 7% |
| Pakistan | 5% |
| United States | 4% |

Three Beliefs that Promote Negative Attitudes Toward Immigrants and Immigration

- Immigrants compete with members of the host population for economic resources, such as jobs
- Immigrants compete with members of the host population for value and cultural dominance
- Immigrants are different from the host population in fundamental ways and are not part of the national ingroup

The TRUTH About Immigration



Mike Taylor

A new book
by a former
immigration
investigator
exposes the
truth about
immigration
policy:

- Elites want high unemployment and low wages. So they boost immigration
- Whites will become a minority in Canada's major cities.
- "The religion of "tolerance" is the epitomy of intolerance."

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High Immigration = High Unemployment

| COUNTRY fertility rate (children per female) | NET MIGRATION (immigrants per thousand population) | UN- EMPLOYMENT |
|---|---|-------------------|
| Australia 1.83 | 2.71 /1,000 (1997) | 8.5% (1996) |
| Canada 1.66 | 6.1 /1,000 (1997) | 9.7% (1996) |
| Netherlands 1.5 | 2.18 /1,000 (1997) | 6.5% (1996) |
| New Zealand 1.86 | 3.12 /1,000 (1997) | 5.9% (1996) |
| U.K. 1.65 | 1.32 /1,000 (1997) | 6.7% (1996) |
| United States 2.06 | 3.1 /1,000 (1997) | 5.4% (1996) |

Figures from Central Intelligence Agency's 1997 World Factbook

THE MESSAGE IS CLEAR:

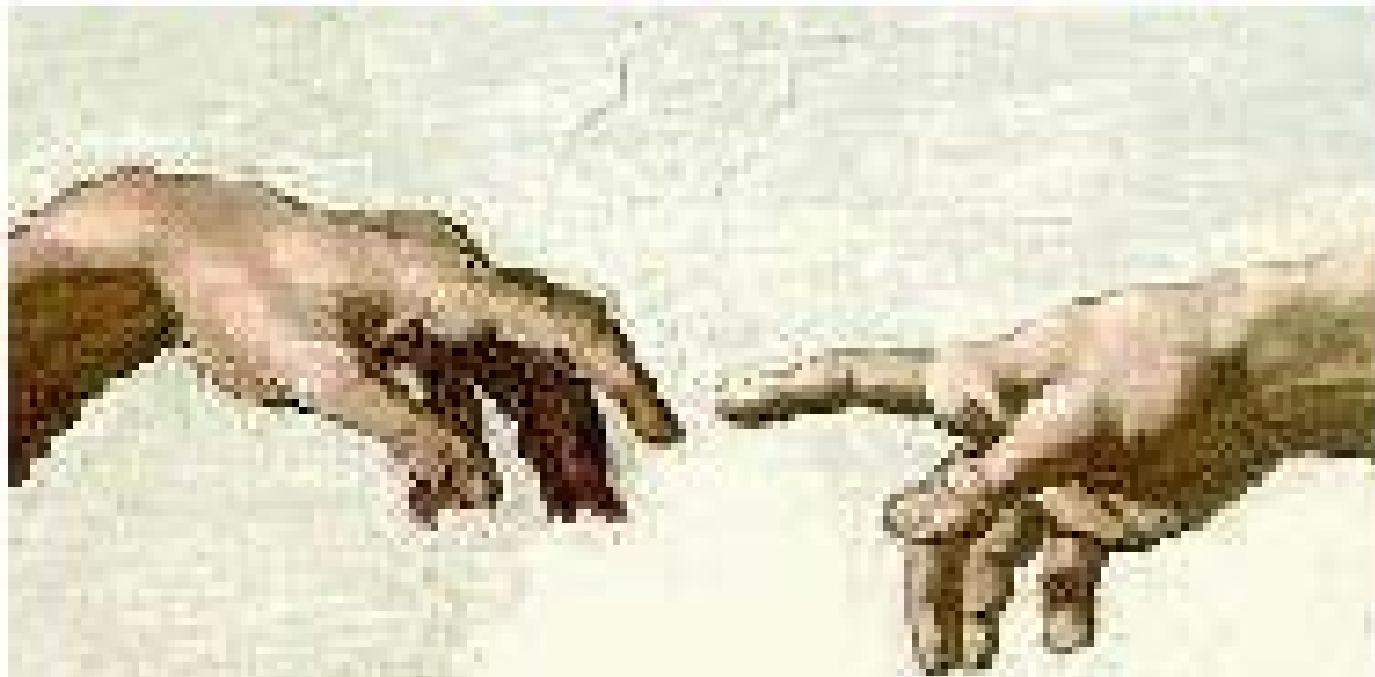
High immigration levels
mean high unemployment.
Here's another thing Canada's
immigration meisters haven't told us:

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immigration intake of all the
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Whose country is this anyway?

The strategy of divide and conquer has served malevolent purposes since the dawn of conflict, but for sheer efficiency, post-Freudian Canada has discovered that a little alienation goes a long way. Canada's current population may be of overwhelmingly European derivation, but disheartened, guilt-ridden, downtrodden people become automatic minorities, regardless of numbers. And so it is with Canadians, born, bred, and betrayed. Our numbers can't and, more importantly, won't help us, not while we remain ignorant and guilty and stupid and intimidated and distracted enough.

If this condition persists, we'll never properly understand what's been done to us. By the time we wake up to realize we really are a minority in our own nation, no one will be very interested in examining or staunching our self-inflicted wounds. Anyone who imagines that the new inheritors (growing fat on a steady diet of anti-white rhetoric) will offer a handkerchief, is due for some hard lessons in human nature and the distemper of long-cherished resentments.

*Canada First Immigration Reform Committee
It's time to put Canada and Canadians First!*

Study One

Immigration Attitudes

- Attitudes toward Immigration
- Attitudes toward Immigrants

Beliefs

- Zero-Sum Resources
- Zero-Sum Values/Culture
- One Group Representation

Personality Measure

- Social Dominance Orientation

Attitudes toward Immigration

- Do you agree or disagree that immigration to Canada should be encouraged?
- If it were your job to plan Canada's immigration policy, would you: decrease the number of immigrants --- increase the number of immigrants?

Attitudes toward Immigrants

- What is your overall attitude toward immigrants to Canada?
- How positive or negative do you feel toward immigrants to Canada?

Zero-sum Resources

- More good jobs for immigrants does not mean fewer good jobs for Canadians already living here. (*reverse scored*)
- Canadians already living here lose out when immigrants make political and economic gains.

Zero-sum Values/Culture

- Immigrant and Canadian cultures can co-exist in this country and each remain strong. (*reverse scored*)
- When immigrants promote their own values, it is at the expense of Canadian values.

One Group Representation

- The distinction between immigrants and non-immigrants is artificial. We are all Canadians.
- I don't think of people in terms of being immigrants or non-immigrants, only as people who are now part of one group – Canadians.

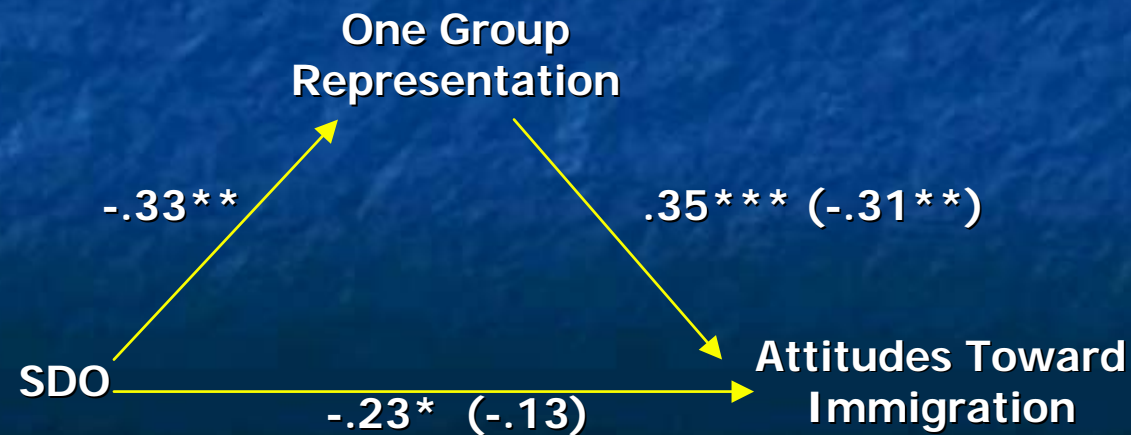
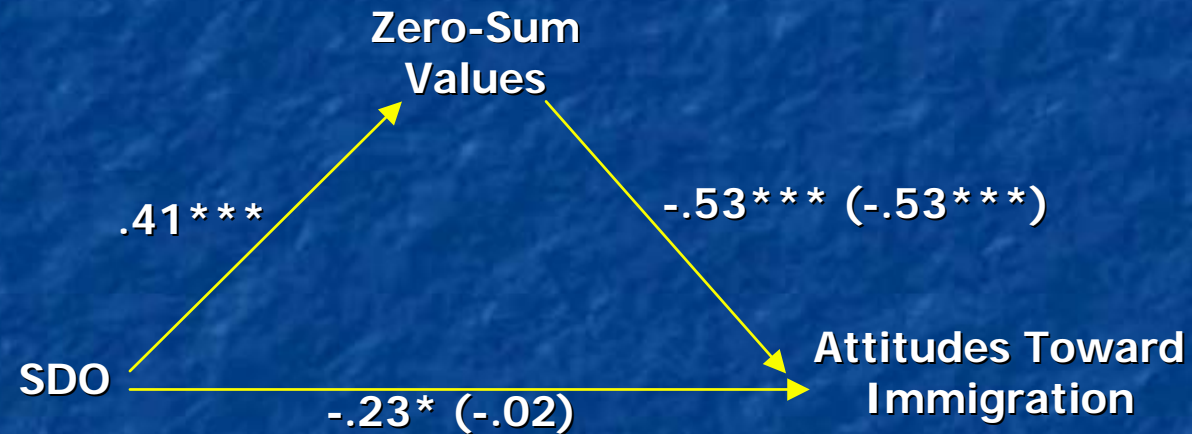
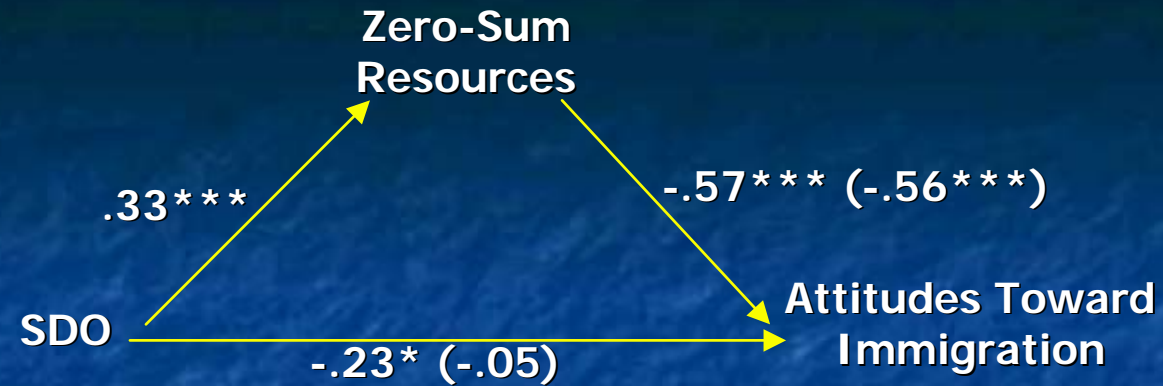
Social Dominance Orientation

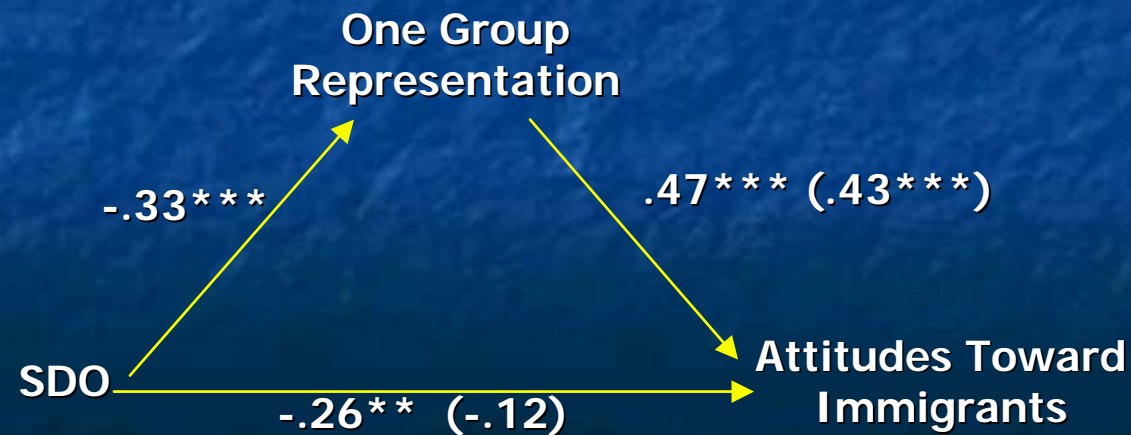
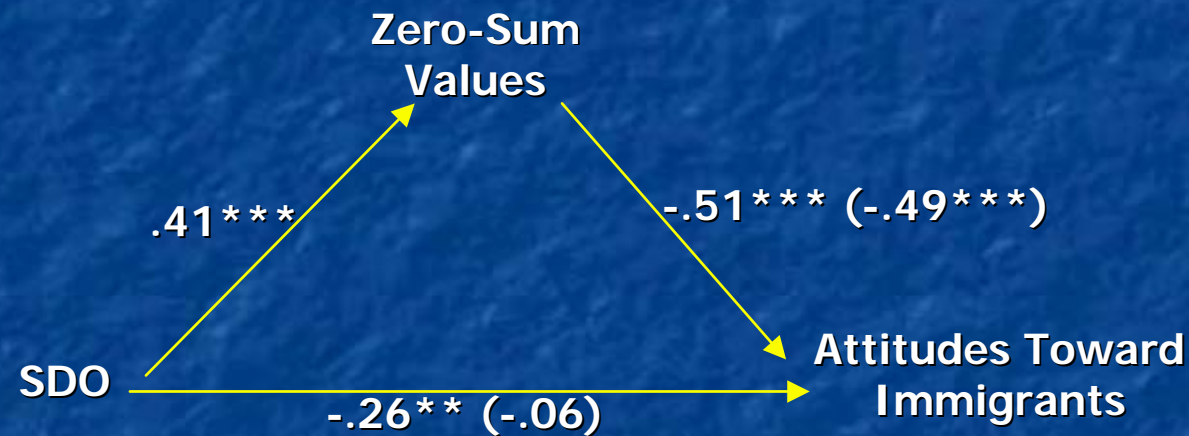
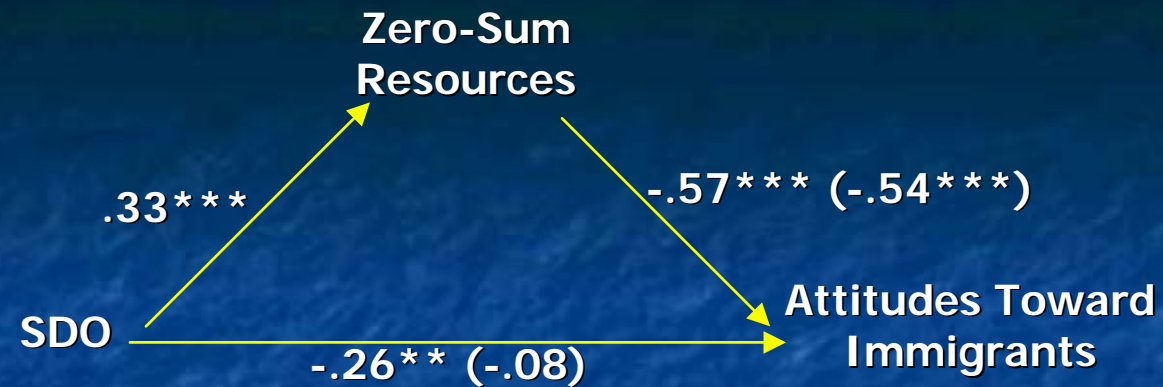
- Some groups of people are just more worthy than others.
- We would have fewer problems if we treated different groups more equally. (*reverse scored*)
- In getting what your group wants, it is sometimes necessary to use force against other groups.

(Pratto, Sidanius, Stallworth, & Malle, 1994)

| | Attitudes Toward Immigration | Attitudes Toward Immigrants |
|------------------------------------|------------------------------------|-----------------------------------|
| Zero-Sum Resources | -.57*** | -.57*** |
| Zero-Sum Values | -.53*** | -.51*** |
| One Group Representation | .35*** | .47*** |
| Social Dominance Orientation | -.23* | -.26** |

* $p < .05$, ** $p < .01$, *** $p < .001$





Study 2

Editorial About Immigration to Canada

- Neutral versus Economic Competition
- Description of Fictitious Immigrant Group ("Sandirians"): Ambitious, Hard-Working, Smart, Family-Oriented, Religious, Spiritual

Dependent Measures

- Attitudes Toward Sandirians and Toward their Immigration to Canada
- Attitudes Toward Immigrants and Toward Immigration to Canada

Personality Measure

- Social Dominance Orientation

Sample Passages From Editorials

Neutral

- In Canada, immigration patterns during the period 1990-1999 were reflections of changes observed internationally.
- Neither patterns nor numbers of immigrant movements could be predicted from the information available from the period 1980-1990.

Economic Competition

- Recently, immigrants have been able to successfully compete in our labour market and take part in the many economic opportunities that Canada has to offer.
- People looking for jobs face fierce competition from a large pool of applicants, including well qualified immigrants.

FROM THE EDITOR

TODAY'S IMMIGRANTS

Immigrants to Canada usually see our country as a land of opportunity. Is our nation really a land of opportunity for immigrants? Recent trends over the last decade would suggest so. Recent evidence suggests that immigrants to Canada are representative of immigrants to many western countries. They do not differ substantially from immigrants to our neighbour to the south. Some immigrants to Canada live in urban centres, whereas others take up residence in rural areas. Many are between the ages of 12 and 65 at the time of their arrival in Canada, with a relatively even balance of males and females.



In Canada, immigration patterns during the period 1990-1999 were reflections of changes observed internationally. That is, as immigration rates increased and decreased in Canada, they were representative of fluctuations experienced in host-countries world-wide. However, neither patterns nor numbers of immigrant movements could be predicted from the information available from the period 1980-1990.

In recent years, worldwide patterns of human migration clearly reflect economic and political realignments, both in countries of origin and in countries of settlement. It is clear that people immigrate into Canada for a number of reasons. In Canada, there are several categories of immigration which have very different criteria. In addition, although we still think of immigrants arriving "off the boat," a large number of immigrants today arrive by air, although one should not discount land travel.

Director of Citizenship and Immigration, Ralph Timmins, has stated that "Immigrants to Canada are so diverse that it is difficult to make generalizations about them." There has been a great deal written about immigrants and immigration but, in fact, few conclusions have been drawn. Thus, one person's opinions are as valid as the next's.

One immigrant group that has recently begun to take advantage of all that Canada has to offer is Sandirians. Sandir, a small country once known for its prosperity, has recently faced devastation from national disaster. Prior to 1998, Sandir was a relatively self-sufficient country. The tiny nation of Sandir kept its competitive economic edge with a high level of productivity. It has also maintained a vibrant culture. This is likely due to the characteristics of Sandirian people. The country's residents pride themselves on their ethic of being ambitious, hard-working, and smart. They place a strong emphasis on striving for success, they work long hours, and they are known for their keen business sense and ability to manage money. Sandirians are also family-oriented, religious, and spiritual. Residents of Sandir prefer to live with family members. A high proportion of Sandirians are actively involved in the nation-wide religion, and many of their cultural practices have a distinct quality. On the basis of this information, it is likely that Sandirians will fit in well with the rest of Canada's immigrant groups and prosper in Canada.

Daniel Lewis

Effect Of Competition Manipulation

| | Neutral | Economic Competition |
|---|---------|----------------------|
| Attitudes Toward Sandirians (0 to 100) | 73.97 | 66.92 |
| Sandirian Immigration (-4 to +4) | 1.33 | .53 |
| Attitudes Toward Immigrants in General (-2 to +2) | .52 | .55 |
| Immigration in General (-2 to +2) | -.09 | -.36 |

Social Dominance Orientation

| | r | (Median Split) | |
|---|--------|----------------|-------|
| | | Low | High |
| Attitudes Toward Sandirians (0 to 100) | -.39** | 75.38 | 65.44 |
| Sandirian Immigration (-4 to +4) | -.31** | 1.35 | .51 |
| Immigrants in General (-2 to +2) | -.45** | .93 | .12 |
| Immigration in General (-2 to +2) | -.32** | .02 | -.48 |

**p<.01

Study 3

Editorial About Immigration to Canada

- Neutral versus Economic Competition versus Value/Culture Competition
- Description of Fictitious Immigrant Group ("Sandirians"): Ambitious, Hard-Working, Smart, Family-Oriented, Religious, Spiritual

Dependent Measures

- Attitudes Toward Sandirians
- Attitudes Toward Sandirian Immigration

Personality Measure

- Social Dominance Orientation

Sample Passages From Editorials

Value/Culture Competition

- Religious schools and ethnically segmented city districts seem to suggest that immigrant groups are not fully integrating into Canadian society.
- Canadians are beginning to suspect that institutions and policies established to ensure immigrant rights and freedoms in Canada are reducing the rights and freedoms of Canadians.

Effect of Manipulation

| | Neutral | Economic Competition | Value/Culture Competition |
|--|---------|-------------------------|------------------------------|
| Attitudes Toward Sandirians (-4 to +4) | 1.48 | 0.63 | 0.76 |
| Sandirian Immigration (-4 to +4) | 1.03 | 0.67 | 1.00 |

Social Dominance Orientation

(Median Split)

| | r | Low | High |
|--|--------|------|------|
| Attitudes Toward Sandirians (-4 to +4) | -.26** | 1.25 | .067 |
| Sandirian Immigration (-4 to +4) | -.23** | 1.23 | 0.57 |

Combating These Beliefs

- **Challenging Zero-Sum Beliefs**
- **The Role of National Identity**

Wanted: More young immigrants

Falling birth rate,
aging population
worry the experts

BY ELAINE CAREY
DEMOGRAPHICS REPORTER

Without youthful immigrants, Canada will have far too few young people to support a rapidly aging society, demographers say.

That warning comes in the wake of the latest volume of the Canada Year Book, an encyclopedic look at Canadians and how they're faring.

"We're in a bind. Demographi-

cally, we're addicted to immigration and we can't kick the habit," says David Baxter, executive director of the Vancouver-based research firm Urban Futures Institute.

A demographic teeter-totter — on one side Canadians are aging, on the other, they're having fewer babies — will change the way our cities look and the jobs and services they provide in the next 20 years, the 1999 yearbook says. And without immigration, the balance would be hopelessly lost, demographers say.

But Canada has never had a policy that focuses on the need to

keep a certain proportion of the population young, says demographer Baxter.

"Nowhere do we have the coherence of a policy that acknowledges we need to import young people. We're on the bow of the Titanic, but we're not looking at the iceberg out there."

Among the facts:

■ Every day, 1,000 babies are born in Canada. That may sound healthy, but in fact, it's a historic low. Only 366,200 infants were born in 1996 — down 3.1 per cent from the year before, the largest decline in 26 years, to a rate of 12.7 babies for every 1,000 people.

■ The number of births in Canada has increased 42 per cent since 1921, but three provinces — British Columbia, Alberta and Ontario — accounted for all the growth.

"In every other province in Canada, there were fewer births in 1996 than there were in 1921," according to an Urban Futures Institute report. "It is somewhat staggering to think there are fewer children born in the seven remaining provinces now than there were three-quarters of a century ago."

■ The 5.9 million children in Can-

➤ Please see Economic, A18

Contrary to popular myth, immigrants are not a drain on the system, but contribute more to the economy than they receive, according to a report for the city of Toronto.

That report found that all post-1951 immigrants have in fact "subsidized the Canadian-born population," and they have done better economically than their Canadian-born counterparts, "not by taking away jobs, but through their own initiative."

Study 4

Editorial About Immigration to Canada

- Neutral versus Positive versus Not Zero-Sum

Dependent Measures

- Attitudes Toward Immigrants
- Attitudes Toward Immigration

Personality Measure

- Social Dominance Orientation

Sample Passages From Editorials

Neutral

- In Canada, immigration patterns during the period 1990-1999 were reflections of changes observed internationally.
- Neither patterns nor numbers of immigrant movements could be predicted from the information available from the period 1980-1990.

Positive

- In recent years, immigrants have opened up many new businesses in Canada, and have been willing to provide competitive wages to their employees.
- Many of the positions that have become available through these new enterprises are filled by young Canadians, who can look forward to job security and financial prosperity.

Not a Zero-Sum Game

- An international team of economists has recently concluded that, contrary to popular belief, a country's economy does not follow a zero-sum game.
- It is not the case that when immigrants make gains in employment, it is at the expense of Canadians already living here.
- Rather, more good jobs for immigrants means more good jobs for Canadians already living here.

Attitudes Toward Immigration

| <u>Social Dominance</u> | <u>Message</u> | | |
|-----------------------------|----------------|----------|--------------|
| | Neutral | Positive | Not Zero-Sum |
| Low | 0.48 | 1.96 | 1.92 |
| High | 0.64 | 1.06 | 0.00 |

Possible range = -4 to +4

Attitudes Toward Immigrants

| <u>Social Dominance</u> | <u>Message</u> | | |
|-----------------------------|----------------|----------|--------------|
| | Neutral | Positive | Not Zero-Sum |
| Low | 1.70 | 2.90 | 2.58 |
| High | 1.36 | 1.44 | 0.67 |

Possible range = -4 to +4

Study 5

Editorial About Immigration to Canada

- Neutral versus Common Canadian Identity

Dependent Measures

- Attitudes toward Immigrants
- Attitudes toward Immigration

Personality Measure

- Social Dominance Orientation

Forms Of National Identity

- **Nativist National Identity:** Belief that national identity is based on birth, kinship
- **Civic/Cultural National Identity:** Belief that national identity is based on voluntary commitment to national laws and institutions

Sample Passages From Editorials

Common Canadian Identity

- Whether we immigrated to Canada yesterday or many generations ago, we are all united today in our common Canadian identity.
- Today's immigrants are tomorrow's Canadians.
- We must include both native-born individuals and immigrants in what it means to be Canadian.
- We must work together toward a bright future for our nation.

Attitudes Toward Immigrants

| <u>Social Dominance</u> | <u>Message</u> | |
|-----------------------------|----------------|--------------------------|
| | Neutral | Common Canadian Identity |
| Low | 1.77 | 2.28 |
| High | 1.28 | 2.12 |

Possible range = -4 to +4

Conclusions

- Zero-sum beliefs can cause negative attitudes toward immigrants and immigration
- Individuals who are high in Social Dominance Orientation are especially likely to hold these beliefs
- Directly targeting these beliefs may not be effective
- Framing of national identity to include immigrants in the national ingroup may be most effective way of ensuring positive attitudes

Immigration has been a defining characteristic of Canada. From our earliest days as a nation through to the global transformations of recent decades, it has been vital to our social, economic and cultural development. Today, our immigration and refugee protection programs are widely regarded, both at home and abroad, as the very measure of our values and of our maturity as a nation. Immigrants and refugees built our country, and they will continue to do so if we are to grow and prosper in the future.

Elinor Caplan

Former Minister of Citizenship and Immigration