

# Intercultural relations, nationalist orientation, collective threat, and accommodating attitudes toward ethnoreligious diversity in a sample of Canadian-born English and French speakers residing in Quebec

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Preliminary Results

## Abstract

Immigration is changing Quebec's cultural landscape. An immigration influx results in greater ethnoreligious diversity, challenging Western democracies invested in protecting secular values. Earlier, survey responses of 395 Estrie residents revealed that although Francophones perceived ethnic and religious targets as more open to social contact than did Anglophones, they were less accommodating of ethnoreligious diversity. Their accommodating intentions were predictable from their perceptions of religious target openness. In this study, perspectives from acculturation, national identity, and collective threat research help explain, by way of a Quebec-wide sample, French/English differences in accommodating orientations. We explore whether these differences reflect different nationalist orientations.

## Introduction

- Immigration is changing Quebec's cultural landscape, as is the growing secularization of beliefs, practices and values
- Within the 2012-2016 period, close to 260,000 immigrants were admitted to the province of Quebec, representing an average increase of 51,861 newcomers annually<sup>i</sup>
- An influx of immigration results in greater ethnoreligious diversity
- Identifying ethnic groups with stereotyped faith traditions may cast immigrants as challenging the ideals of secularism<sup>ii,iii</sup>
- Seeing the 'other' in religious terms and as a potential threat creates social distance and dampens motivation to meet accommodation requests
- Quebec provides a valuable context for examining intercultural relations given its recent history of open discussions and policy proposals for negotiating the accommodation of ethnoreligious minorities
- Recognizing religious freedom while enhancing social cohesion remains the paradoxical challenge of a secular society

## Previous Research and Poll Results

- An Angus-Reid 2013 poll focusing on the effects of accommodating minority requests found three-quarters of Quebecers (77%) agreeing that 'the values of Quebec society are at risk due to reasonable accommodation'. Only 23% agreed that 'reasonable accommodation enriches Quebec society' while 65% thought that 'laws and norms should not be modified to accommodate minorities'<sup>iv</sup>
- Tempers have flared in recent times in Quebec over niqab, hijab, and kirpan controversies, upping the demand for cultural minorities to conform to the majority and to give up their customs and traditions<sup>v,vi,vii</sup>
- Public opinion polls and research have converged in documenting greater resistance by French over non French mother-tongue Quebecers to questions of reasonable accommodation<sup>viii</sup>
- When asked to consider accommodating cultural and religious diversity within Quebec society, a recent study shows that Southeastern Quebec Francophones' conflation of immigrant ethnicity and religion tempers their willingness to accommodate immigrant special requests. Their accommodating attitudes were also predictable from their perceptions of religious target openness<sup>ix</sup>

## Present Study

### \*Theoretical Framework

- The study's theoretical basis stems from social identity theory and its framework has been the attitudinal research into intergroup relations. The social reciprocity hypothesis states that individuals will be less tolerant of those by whom they feel rejected<sup>x,xii</sup>
- Of theoretical relevance is J. Berry's Interactive Acculturation Model (IAM) which predicts that immigrants perceived to be accepting of the host culture are also seen in a more positive light, thereby generating more receptive attitudes toward accommodating their requests<sup>xiii,xiv,xv</sup>
- The study draws from research on national identity and collective threat to predict attitudes toward cultural diversity. Research on national identity orientations provides Canadian-based evidence (Quebec excluded) that civic nationalism is more accepting of cultural diversity than ethnic nationalism, though the relationship between ethnic-civic national identity and multicultural attitudes is mediated by collective threat<sup>xvi,xvii</sup>

### \*Objectives

- Replicate the main findings of the previous study
- Ascertain whether nationalist orientations differ along linguistic lines
- Ascertain whether differences in acceptance of ethnoreligious diversity along linguistic lines reflect different nationalist orientations
- Ascertain whether collective threat mediates the relationship between ethnic nationalism and openness to cultural diversity

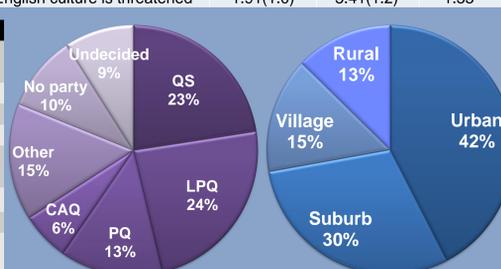
### \*Method

- Quebec-wide self-selected convenience sample of Canadian-born adult Anglophones and Francophones whose current and only place of residence is Quebec
- Online anonymous survey of Canadian-born participants living in one or other of the 17 Quebec administrative regions

### \*Sample

	Francophone	Anglophone	Effect size
<b>Items</b>	<b>M (SD)</b>	<b>M (SD)</b>	<b>d</b>
Importance of religions in one's life	1.75(1.1)	2.43(1.4)	-0.52***
Religious diversity enriches society	2.63(1.4)	3.51(1.2)	-0.68***
Identify as a Quebecer	4.38(0.9)	3.16(1.3)	1.05***
Identify as a Canadian	3.34(1.3)	4.78(0.7)	-1.38***
Extent to which Quebec French culture is threatened	3.27(1.2)	2.15(1.0)	1.02***
Extent to which Quebec English culture is threatened	1.91(1.0)	3.41(1.2)	-1.33***

Region	n	%	Region	n	%
Abitibi-Témiscamingue	4	1.6	Lanaudière	2	0.8
Bas-Saint-Laurent	2	0.8	Laurentides	3	1.2
Capitale-Nationale	8	3.1	Laval	5	1.9
Centre-du-Québec	14	5.4	Mauricie	4	1.6
Chaudière-Appalaches	3	1.2	Montréal	18	7.0
Côte-Nord	3	1.2	Montréal	56	21.8
Estrie	111	43.2	Outaouais	18	7.0
Gaspésie-Îles-de-la-Madeleine	2	0.8	Saguenay-Lac-Saint-Jean	1	0.4



## \*Measures

### a) modified Reverse Bogardus Scale<sup>viii</sup> (RB scores):

\*revised five-item scale reflects participants' perceptions of the extent to which Quebec ethnic/religious groups welcome close social contact with them (accept them). Targeted ethnic groups: French, Chinese, Anglophones, Congolese, Afghans, Haitians, Israelis, Moroccans, Syrians, Brazilians, Americans, Lebanese, Colombians, Iranians, East Indians, Francophones, Mexicans. Targeted religious groups: Christians, Muslims, Jews, Buddhists, Sikhs, Hindus

\*directs participants to a targeted group, say Chinese (ethnic) or Muslims (religious), and asks: example: 'Would Chinese (Muslims) living in Quebec mind you being a next door neighbor?'

\*high RB score = target group perceived as more open to close social contact (more accepting).

low RB score = target group perceived as less open to close social contact (less accepting).

### b) Reasonable accommodation<sup>xix</sup> (RA scores):

four-item Likert scale (1=strongly disagree, 6=strongly agree)

- Every immigrant should respect Quebec's rules and laws even though they may go against certain of their religious beliefs or cultural practices (reversed scored)
- It is necessary to alter the application of Quebec rules and laws in order to accommodate some of the religious and cultural practices of immigrants
- It is necessary for immigrants living in Quebec to adopt a Quebec lifestyle (reversed scored)

4. We should be tolerant concerning the conventions and customs of different ethnic communities in Quebec

\*high RA score = greater willingness to accommodate immigrant religious and cultural practices

low RA score = lesser willingness to accommodate immigrant religious and cultural practices

### c) modified National identity scale<sup>xx</sup> (NIS scores):

eight-item Likert scale (1=not important at all, 4=very important). Example of Ethnic form of national identity item: 'it is important for being truly a Quebecer to have lived in Quebec most of one's life'. Example of Civic form of national identity item: 'it is important for being truly a Quebecer to respect Quebec's political institutions and laws'

### d) modified Collective threat scale<sup>xxi</sup> (CT scores):

four-item Likert scale (1=disagree strongly, 5=agree strongly)

Example: 'Immigrants take jobs away from people who were born in Quebec'

\*high CT score = higher level of perceived outgroup collective threat

\*low CT score = lower level of perceived outgroup collective threat

### e) modified Multicultural ideology<sup>xxii,xxiii</sup> (MI scores):

five-item Likert scale (1=strongly disagree, 5=strongly agree)

Example: 'It is better for Quebec society if racial and ethnic groups adapt and blend into the larger society'

\*high MI score = greater preference for mutual acceptance and accommodation of cultural diversity

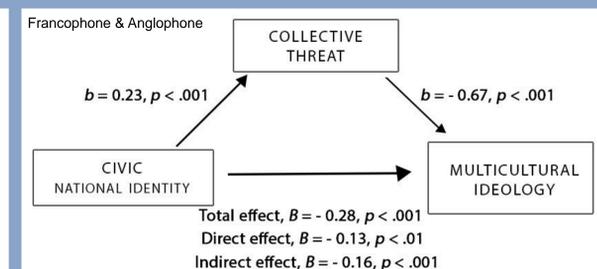
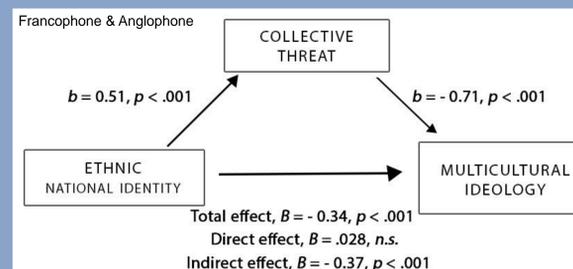
\*low MI score = lesser preference for mutual acceptance and accommodation of cultural diversity

	Francophone	Anglophone	Effect size
<b>Measure</b>	<b>M (SD)</b>	<b>M (SD)</b>	<b>d</b>
NIS-Civic	13.09(1.9)	11.67(2.2)	0.70***
NIS-Ethnic	7.44(2.8)	7.85(2.8)	n.s.
RA	11.17(4.2)	14.82(4.6)	-0.83***
MI	14.76(4.3)	16.93(4.6)	-0.48***
CT	7.96(3.5)	7.82(3.6)	n.s.

	Francophone		Anglophone	
<b>Regression (R)</b>	RA	MI	RA	MI
RB Ethnic & Religious	.376***	.396***	.605***	.600***

	Reasonable Accommodation		Multicultural Ideology	
	B	R <sup>2</sup>	B	R <sup>2</sup>
Francophone				
NIS-Ethnic	-.32***		-.42***	
NIS-Civic	-.25**		n.s.	
Total		.23***		.22***
Anglophone				
NIS-Ethnic	n.s.		n.s.	
NIS-Civic	n.s.		n.s.	
Total		.088*		.04n.s.

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



## Conclusion

- As predicted from our previous research findings, and as demonstrated in the majority of opinion polls, we find that Quebec's French-speaking majority are less open to cultural and religious diversity than are English speakers.
- The social reciprocity thesis guides both linguistic groups when asked about their openness toward immigrants: Francophones and Anglophones are less tolerant of those perceived to be less open towards the host communities. That Muslims and Sikhs are viewed as less open to close social contact than Buddhists and Christians suggests that, in terms of accommodation, head coverings and ceremonial knives are fighting a losing battle against crucifixes and spaces for meditation.
- Though religion is less important for French speakers, they still maintain to a higher degree than Anglophones that "being Christian" is important for being "truly Quebecois".
- In terms of nationalist identity orientations, both English and French speakers are more 'civic' than 'ethnic'. Although higher scores on 'ethnic' national identity predict less openness to cultural diversity for Francophones, collective threat mediates this relationship.

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<sup>v</sup>Athier, P. (2014). Charter hearings will be highly political. *The Montreal Gazette*. 14 January.

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<sup>xviii</sup>Bogardus, E.S. (1925). Measuring social distance. *Journal of Applied Sociology*, 9, 299-308.

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<sup>xx</sup>Kunovich, R.M. (2009). *Ibid.*

<sup>xxi</sup>Sumino, T. (2017). *Ibid.*

<sup>xxii</sup>Sumino, T. (2017). *Ibid.*

<sup>xxiii</sup>Kunovich, R.M. (2009). *Ibid.*