

Behind New Eyes: The Expression of Dual Loyalties Among
Young Canadians & Newcomers

L. Logan Churchill

A Thesis
In the Department of Political Science

Presented in Partial Fulfillment of the Requirements
For the Degree of
Master of Arts (Political Science) at
Concordia University
Montreal, Québec, Canada

May 2021

Concordia University

© Logan Churchill, 2021

CONCORDIA UNIVERSITY
School of Graduate Studies

This is to certify that the thesis prepared

By: L. Logan Churchill

Entitled: Behind New Eyes: The Expression of Dual Loyalties Among
Young Canadians & Newcomers

and submitted in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of

Master of Arts (Political Science)

complies with the regulations of the University and meets the accepted standards with respect to
originality and quality.

Signed by the final Examining Committee

Chair Graham Dodds

Examiner Daniel Salée

Supervisor Antoine Bilodeau

Approved by

Daniel Salée, Graduate Program Director

May 7 2021

André G. Roy, Dean of Faculty of Arts and Science

ABSTRACT

Behind New Eyes: The Expression of Dual Loyalties Among Young Canadians & Newcomers

L. Logan Churchill
Concordia University, 2021

Using survey data drawn from the 2014 *Provincial Diversity Project*, this thesis provides a look at how the 1982 Constitution Act and the Charter of Rights and Freedoms shaped the political identities of Canadians and their understanding of the federation. More specifically, it examines how native-born Canadians and first-generation immigrants balance provincial and federal identities. My findings show that those introduced to Canada following the enactment of the 1982 Constitution have a stronger pro-Canada balancing of identity and weaker feelings of regional alienation relative to those introduced before 1982.

Additionally, this thesis explores the limits of institutional learning theory by examining how the strength of Canadian identity may predict the levels of support for national policies: multiculturalism, bilingualism, the equalization payments program, and feelings of regional alienation. My findings show that generally, the relationship between strength of Canadian identity and support for national policies is of equal strength among pre-, peri-, and post-Charter generations. Ultimately this thesis concludes that while it cannot demonstrate a clear generational break in the political behaviour of native-born Canadians and first-generation immigrants, the observed differences between Charter relative generations can be attributed to the enactment of the 1982 Constitution.

Acknowledgements

This thesis is dedicated to everyone who both encouraged and helped me in the process of writing a master's thesis, and to those who helped me with my work. Writing a master's thesis is tough to begin with, not to mention during the course of a pandemic. This process has been both challenging and rewarding, and it would not have been possible without an incredible network of support around me.

First and foremost, I would like to thank my supervisor Dr. Antoine Bilodeau for pushing me to produce strong work, guiding me through the ups and downs of graduate school, and his overall patience with me as a student and a research assistant. I would also like to thank Dr. Daniel Salée for serving as my second reader and providing me with support through time in the program.

Although he was not a member of my thesis committee, I would still be learning STATA if it were not for the wizardry of Jean-Philippe Gauvin. JP's time, patience, and willingness to help me out of any situation was instrumental in my completion of this project.

I would also like to thank Dr. Tina Rucpic, who served as a mentor to me throughout my graduate school experience.

Outside of the department, I would like to thank my parents, Jenn and Len, and my sister Mackenzie, for their overwhelming and continuing support. Also, my Montréal friends Samuel, Catherine, and Marc, my Markham squad, Christian, Mitch, Dimitri, Zoum, Peter, Jeremy, Luke, Stacey, and Krystyne, my British Columbia band of Pa, Patrick, Maddy, Braden and Emily. Every one of these incredible people has made this project possible through generously offering their feedback, space to work, and most importantly their time in listening to me riff ideas or complain about everything I possibly could. Thank you, I love you all.

This page is dedicated just to me.

Table of Contents

List of Tables & Figures – vii

Introduction – 1

Chapter 1: Canadian Federalism, a Vehicle for Identity Transmission? Theoretical Framework and Objectives – 4

Chapter 2: Methodology - 17

Chapter 3: Harder, Better, Faster, Stronger? Provincial & Canadian Identity Strength Across Generations – 22

Chapter 4: Feel the Effect: Predicting Policy Support with the Strength of Canadian Identity Across Generations - 47

Chapter 5: Behind New Eyes: Theoretical Implications & Limitations – 66

Works Cited – 72

Appendix A – 76

List of Tables & Figures

- Table 1. Attachments & Identification Mean Scores: Native-Born Canadians - 23
- Table 2. ROC respondents' strength indicators, controlling for socio-demographic factors - 26
- Table 3. Québec respondents' strength indicators, controlling for socio-demographic factors - 28
- Table 4. Policy Support Mean Scores: Native-Born Canadians - 30
- Table 5. ROC respondents' policy support, controlling for socio-demographic factors - 32
- Table 6. Québec respondents' policy support, controlling for socio-demographic factors - 36
- Table 7. Attachments & Identification Mean Scores: First-Generation Immigrants - 39
- Table 8. Migrant respondents' strength indicators, controlling for socio-demographic factors - 40
- Table 9. Policy Support Mean Scores: First-Generation Immigrants - 42
- Table 10. Migrant respondents' policy support, controlling for socio-demographic factors - 43
- Table 11. ROC respondents' policy support, controlling for socio-demographic factors (with Canadian attachment interaction effect) - 48
- Table 12. Québec respondents' policy support, controlling for socio-demographic factors (with Canadian attachment interaction effect) - 49
- Table 13. ROC respondents' policy support, controlling for socio-demographic factors (with attachment difference interaction effect) - 52
- Table 14. Québec respondents' policy support, controlling for socio-demographic factors (with attachment difference interaction effect) - 53
- Table 15. ROC respondents' policy support, controlling for socio-demographic factors (with self-identification interaction effect) - 55
- Table 16. Québec respondents' policy support, controlling for socio-demographic factors (with self-identification interaction effect) - 56
- Table 17. Migrant respondents' policy support, controlling for socio-demographic factors (with Canadian attachment interaction effect) - 59
- Table 18. Migrant respondents' policy support, controlling for socio-demographic factors (with attachment difference interaction effect) - 60
- Table 19. Migrant respondents' policy support, controlling for socio-demographic factors (with self-identification interaction effect) - 63

Figures:

Figure 1. The interaction effect between Canadian attachment and generation on support for multiculturalism among respondents in Québec - 50

Figure 2. The interaction effect between attachment difference and generation on support for the equalization payments program among respondents in Québec - 54

Figure 3. The interaction effect between self-identification and generation on support for the equalization payments program among respondents in Québec - 57

Figure 4. The interaction effect between attachment difference and generation on feelings of regional alienation among migrant respondents - 61

Figure 5. The interaction effect between self-identification and generation on support for multiculturalism among migrant respondents - 64

Introduction

Canadian federalism is founded on the balancing of “a will to live together and a will to live apart” (LaSelva 1996), as well as balancing provincial and federal identities. The 1982 Constitution Act shifted the balance between centralizing and decentralizing forces by promoting national standards and the development of a stronger “Canadian” identity. As a result, tensions between Canada’s provincial and federal governments were amplified following 1982, as the division of powers outlined in the Constitution Act limited goals of provincial autonomy originally vital to Canada’s confederation (LaSelva 1996, 39). The institutional tensions were mirrored among the Canadian public as the aforementioned goal of developing a stronger Canadian identity left less space for reinforcing existing regional identities, especially in Québec. The tensions spurred by this shift from an “old” to “new” Canada are apparent, like the Meech Lake and Charlottetown accords, as well as the 1995 Québec referendum. Almost forty years after the signing of the 1982 Constitution Act the question remains, is it worth considering what effect this institutional change has had on the shaping of identity among Canadians?

The enactment of the 1982 Constitution is so significant that some scholars suggest that it demarcates a shift from an “old” to “new” Canada (LaSelva 1996; Manning 1992). The “old” Canada was founded on significant regional distinctions as well as the division between anglophones and francophones (Manning 1992, 51). Provincial governments were understood as key members of Canada’s political arena, and their significance highlighted Canadians’ will to live “together” and “apart” (LaSelva 1996; Manning 1992). The centralization of power following 1982 created new tensions and ignored longstanding regional grievances across Canada. This “new” Canada was founded on official policies promoting a “Canadian way of life,” which ultimately challenge the notion of living “apart” (LaSelva 1996).

It is often presumed that the development of political identity is influenced by intergenerational transmission, but institutional learning research suggests institutions and social milieu also play a central role (Dalton 1982; Rohrschneider 1999). With the well-established understanding of a shift from an “old” to “new” Canada following 1982 in mind, this project investigates how the development of Canadian and provincial identities is impacted by Canada’s significant evolution, and if such learning has amplified existing tensions. More specifically, it examines how two distinct groups of Canadians balance their “dual loyalties” (Bilodeau et al. 2015). By building on the works by Bilodeau et al. (2010, 2015) I examine how both native-born Canadians and first-generation immigrants balance provincial and federal identities, and if there are any generational differences in the balancing of these identities within these two distinct groups. For native-born Canadians, this entails the division of respondents based on their birth year relative to 1982, while for immigrant respondents this entails arrival to Canada before and after 1982. While existing research focuses on the institutional shift away from an “old” Canada, and towards a federation founded on multiculturalism, racial diversity, and the “equality and uniqueness of all citizens and provinces,” there remains insufficient works on the impact the “new Canada” has on the balancing of these dual loyalties among contemporary Canadians (Bilodeau et al. 2015, 3; Manning 1992, viii).

This research project therefore asks, is it possible that those new to Canada after the enactment of the 1982 Constitution Act and the Charter of Rights and Freedoms balance

provincial and federal identities differently than those who knew Canada before 1982? As “new” Canadians, do pre- and post-Charter Canadians relate similarly to the contemporary Canadian federation? In congruence with the existing literature regarding Canadian federalism, political socialization, and the balancing of political identities in contemporary Canada, those introduced to Canada after 1982 are expected to have stronger Canadian balancing of identities than those introduced before 1982.

In recent research on Canadian federalism, the focus on situating identity politics in Canada’s nation building process is apparent (Bilodeau et al. 2015, 14; LaSelva 1996; Lajoie 2009; Manning 1992; Rocher 2009; Seymour 2009). Policies like bilingualism, multiculturalism, and the equalization program are foundations of this nation building project, aimed at creating the “Canadian way of life”, and ultimately realizing a dream of “one Canada” (Bilodeau et al. 2010; LaSelva 1996). A crucial aspect of this “one Canada” is the development of a Canadian political identity for generations to come. However, the development of political identity is complex, as the socialization of political identities are not determined by policy alone (Dalton 1982; Dawson & Prewitt 1969). A key aspect of the 1982 Constitution is the Canadian Charter of Rights and Freedoms, which was intended as a vehicle for Canadian nation-building, with a focus on centralizing power and identity within Canada and serves as a symbol of what it means to be Canadian (Uberoi 2009; Woehrling 2009). Along with the policies of bilingualism, multiculturalism, and the equalization program, the establishment of the Charter and the enactment of the Constitution in 1982 can be understood as the pivotal moment where the “old” Canada became new.

With this clear shift in mind, and an understanding of the federal government’s intentional focus on developing a Canadian identity, I aim to understand how “new” Canadians develop their political identities in comparison their “older” counterparts. Recent scholarly literature regarding political socialization and identity creation emphasizes “institutional learning theory,” and highlights the salience of social milieu, geographic location, and specific values promoted by governing bodies (Bilodeau et al. 2010; Bilodeau et al. 2015; Rico & Jennings 2016; Rohrschneider 1999). Specifically, in Canadian research, recent works analyze how immigrants balance the dual loyalties of Canadian identity on top of their previously understood identities as newcomers (Bilodeau et al. 2010; Bilodeau et al. 2015; Iacovino & Léger 2013; Iacovino 2014). The work of Bilodeau et al., 2015 is integral to this project, for it serves as the roadmap to exploring the balancing of loyalties and identities in contemporary Canada. However, their study focused on visible minorities. In addition to investigating first-generation immigrants, I further the work of Bilodeau et al. by analyzing post-Charter native-born Canadians, and using respondents introduced before the enactment of the 1982 Constitution and Charter as a benchmark to compare “new” Canadians to. Robert Rohrschneider’s 1999 work *Learning Democracy* provides the framework for institutional learning theory, which this project heavily relies on. Rohrschneider analyzed the development of democratic values among former citizens of East Germany following the collapse of the Berlin Wall, and the institutional shift toward unified democratic Germany (1999). This project uses Rohrschneider’s intranational comparative approach as a foundation and measures the influence of the institutional learning and values “axiom” in the Canadian context. Beyond this, Rohrschneider studied how a significant political event impacted peoples’ political attachments (1999), and I replicate this approach by understanding the enactment of the 1982 Constitution as a similarly significant political event.

By comparing those born and arrived in Canada after 1982 Canadians with those born or arrived before 1982, this project will shed light on the impact of Canada's institutionally founded nation building project. By comparing the development of provincial and federal identities between "new" Canadians and those introduced before 1982, this project ultimately contributes to the growing body of research focused on the continued development Canadian federalism. In order to understand the socializing impact of the 1982 Constitution on the shaping of Canadian identities, this project operationalizes the concepts of Canadian identity, provincial identity, and political generations through the use of the 2014 Provincial Diversity Project (PDP). This survey consists of a sample of just under 10,000 Canadians and is divided into three components. These three components are a general population component, an oversample of youth respondents aged 18 to 34, and an oversample of respondents who identify as non-white visible minorities.

Chapter 1 - Canadian Federalism, a Vehicle for Identity Transmission?

Theoretical Framework & Objectives

Federalism in Canada is complex, especially with the establishment of the 1982 Constitution Act. Centered around the power dynamics between the federal government and provincial governments, the centralization of federal power at the expense of the provinces creates substantial tensions between provincial and federal governments (Bilodeau et al. 2010; LaSelva 1996; Lajoie 2009; Manning 1992; Rocher 2009; Seymour 2009). Even with Québec refusing to enact the Constitution in 1982, its implementation marks the most significant transition in Canadian federalism discourse and practice, as it enabled the federal government to strengthen its hold over the future of this country. The enactment of the Constitution Act is at the foundation of Canada's current nation building project, and this project can be understood as the "dream of one Canada" (LaSelva 1996, 108). The institutional shift toward a unified nation directly contradicts the historical foundations of Canada being a nation in which "multiple loyalties and identities" could flourish (Bilodeau et al. 2010, 515; LaSelva 1996, 39). This shift is the cornerstone of political identity tensions in contemporary Canada, as non-federal values are consistently neglected.

As previously mentioned, a significant aspect of the 1982 Constitution Act is the establishment of the Charter of Rights and Freedoms. The Canadian Charter explicitly outlines democratic values in which contemporary Canada is founded on and embodies what it means to be "Canadian" (Uberoi 2009; Woehrling 2009). By codifying the rights of Canadians and defining Canadian identity, the establishment of the Charter promoted the idea that federal values were more important than provincial values (Uberoi 2009, 807). More specifically, aspects of the Canadian Charter directly contradicted fundamental aspects of Québec's Charter of Human Rights and Freedoms, and Québec's Charter of the French Language, also known as Bill 101 (Petter 1989; Uberoi 2009; Woehrling 2009). The Canadian Charter enshrined "a conception of Canada" that conflicted with the recent development of Québec as a distinct society and combined with the Constitution further dispelled the powers all provincial governments, for the Constitution would have precedence over all existing provincial laws (Uberoi 2009, 821). Québec's immediate opposition to both the Charter and the Constitution portrayed the significant tensions that can appear between the protection for minorities through the "creation of territory-based political autonomy" and protection of human rights through anti-majority judicial processes" (Woehrling 2009, 243). Ultimately, by adding to historically established regional grievances between provinces and the Canadian federal government, the enactment of the 1982 Constitution resulted in further dividing the Canadian federation.

Similar to the tensions which arose from the Canadian Charter, the heralding of multiculturalism, bilingualism, and the equalization payments program as pillars of Canadian identity are also sources of tensions between provincial and federal governments (Bilodeau et al. 2015; Citrin et al. 2012; Courchene 2004; Citrin et al. 2012; Kymlicka 2012; Seymour 2009). Furthermore, there exists significant interprovincial strain at both the governmental and public levels with regard to the equalization payments program (Courchene 2004). Although bilingualism, multiculturalism, and the equalization payments program predate the Canadian Constitution and the Charter, sections 16, 23, and 27 explicitly solidify bilingualism and multiculturalism as values which make up Canadian identity.

Although bilingualism in Canada was established with the Official Languages Act in 1969, section 16 of the Charter re-solidified that both French and English have equal status and rights as to their use in all institutions of Parliament and Government in Canada. While this section is not a point of contention, it sets up Section 23.2 of the Charter, which gives the right to Canadian children to be educated in either French or English at the primary and secondary level. This is dependent on the child's parent receiving primary and secondary instruction in either French or English, as each child has the right to receive instruction in the same language their parent had, limited to French or English. This directly challenged a key aspect of Québec's Bill 101, which enforced that instruction from kindergarten to secondary school will be in French (Woehrling 2009, 230). While Canada's policy of bilingualism is generally accepted, section 23.2 of the Charter can be understood as a clear example of how provincial governments lost some power following the enactment of the 1982 Constitution. Despite the attempt of the Charter to promote the "dream of one Canada," its establishment resulted in a substantial shift in how provincial governments functioned, thus causing tensions between provincial governments and the Canadian federal government.

The Canadian Charter also explicitly highlighted multiculturalism as a value that is integral to Canadian Identity. Section 27 of the Charter outlines that "this Charter" must be interpreted in a manner that both preserves and enhances Canada's "multicultural" heritage. Although multiculturalism was adopted as a policy to further "cultural harmony," longstanding research on Canadian politics reveals that many Québécois view multicultural policy as a threat to their culture (LaSelva 1996, 108). Multiculturalism was promoted by the Canadian federal government in the 1970s as the celebration of existing national identities within Canada, however such policies are argued to undermine non-Canadian identities instead (Lajoie 2009; LaSelva 1996; Seymour 2009; Uberoi 2009). The nationalist foundations of multicultural policies were contentious, and the inclusion of the explicit aim to foster multiculturalism in the Canadian Charter can also be understood as a source of tension. The Charter outlines that national identities which exist outside of "Canadian" are second to federal identity, thus causing grievances for contexts like Québec, a distinct society.

In addition to the official policies of the Charter which address Canadian values and identity, Canada's equalization program has also been a point of inter-provincial tension. Canada's equalization payments program was first introduced in 1957 and entails the distribution of payment from the federal government to provincial governments to counter fiscal disparities (Courchene 2004). Section 36.2 of the Canadian Charter also outlines that the federal government is committed to continuing equalization payments to poorer provinces in order for each province to have fiscal room to maneuver (Seymour 2009). In theory this policy should not cause tension between the federal government and provincial governments, as poorer provinces receive funding while more fiscally stable provinces do not require assistance. However, similar to the policies of bilingualism and multiculturalism, the debates surrounding equalization in Canada are complex. Despite not signing the 1982 Constitution, Québec receives the "lion's share of aggregate equalization payments" (Courchene 2004, 16). This causes dissent from other provinces who request fiscal support and have also agreed to the enactment of the 1982 Constitution. The tensions surrounding by the equalization payments program are not solely between provincial governments and the federal government, but also between provincial governments themselves (Courchene 2004; Seymour 2009). Furthermore, the functioning of the

equalization payment has become a partisan issue and has also resulted in calls for complete program reform (Courchene 2004; Seymour 2009). In congruence with bilingualism and multiculturalism, the equalization payments program can be understood as another policy directed at centralizing the values and practices of Canadian governance only to further divide the contemporary Canadian federation.

The centralization of values, practices, and power following the enactment of the 1982 Constitution can be understood as the shift away from the “old” Canada to a “new” federation. This “old” Canada was founded on both clear regional divisions between the West, the North, Atlantic Canada, Northern Ontario, Southern Ontario, and Québec, as well as the division between anglophones and francophones (Manning 1992, 51). Canada was a nation “divided against itself,” where local and provincial governments were significant members of Canada’s political arena (Manning 1992). The significance of provincial governing bodies highlighted Canadians’ will to live together and will to live apart, as distinct contexts intra-nationally were heavily focused on regional agendas (LaSelva 1996; Manning 1992). Provincial governments were also regarded as “the State,” and provincial governments continuously fought for more autonomy over language, education, natural resources, and land ownership, which resulted in the enactment of various provincial constitutions (Manning 1992, 118). Equality in the “old” Canada meant granting provincial governments more autonomy within their geographic boundaries, allowing these governments to settle key issues in accordance with the wishes of their own people, rather than in accordance with “some formula” prescribed by the federal government (Manning 1992, 118). The Québécois government wanted to be “maîtres chez nous;” master’s in our own house, and provinces in Atlantic Canada and the West wanted to strengthen provincial powers with regard to language, culture, and the ownership of resources in order to recognize and preserve regional distinctions without sacrificing national unity (Manning 1992, 303, 318). Understanding the significance of regional grievances and the push for provincial autonomy is vital to understanding the Canada before a new federation was promoted by the 1982 Constitution.

The aforementioned “dream of one Canada” promoted by the 1982 Constitution embraced the notion of Canada having centralized values and governance stemming from the federal government in Ottawa (LaSelva 1996; Manning 1992, 120), which did not curtail longstanding feelings of regional alienation experienced by the West, the North, Atlantic Canada, and Northern Ontario. Despite the shift spurred by the enactment of the 1982 Constitution, these regional tensions continued beyond 1982, like the Meech Lake and Charlottetown accords, the 1995 Québec referendum, and the current rise of the #Wexit movement which calls for the separation of the West from Canada (Kazt-Rosene 2020, 79).

While these tensions are apparent at the institutional level among Canadian federalism research, there remains a gap in the literature regarding how these tensions are transposed at the individual level. Canada’s nation-building project is apparent through the establishment of the Charter and the enactment of the Constitution in 1982, as the institutional push toward the “dream of one Canada” is made clear through the review of some of the existing literature on Canadian federalism. This project will contribute to this literature by analyzing the differences in the development of political identities and feelings of regional alienation between generations relative to the enactment of the 1982 Constitution and the Charter. In the post-Charter context,

Canadians are governed by a federation intent on promoting Canadian values, which may have an impact on feelings of regional alienation, or intranational tensions. To further understand the impact of the “dream of one Canada,” we must examine how Canadians are developing their political identities in the post-Charter generation.

Political Socialization & Identity Development

The political self can be understood as one’s entire complex of orientations regarding their political world (Dawson & Prewitt 1969, 17). In relation to Canadian identity, this can entail feelings of nationalism, provincial loyalty, identification with partisan groups, provincial grievances, regional alienation, attitudes toward specific political issues, perception of the rights and responsibilities of oneself in the Canadian federation. The identification of one’s political self is often expressed by an individual in a self-labelling fashion like, “I am Canadian,” or “I am Québécois” (Dawson & Prewitt 1969; Groff et al. 2016). The basic foundation of one’s political identities are attachments and loyalties to signifiers of identity like national or provincial loyalty, or which language someone speaks at home (Dawson & Prewitt 1969; Groff et al. 2016). Although the foundations of political identity may seem simple, the attachments and loyalties of Canadians is complex, as the labels individuals give themselves are ultimately subjective (Huddy 2001). What it means to be “Canadian” is ultimately in flux. Through the enactment of the 1982 Constitution Act, the federal government tried promoting a singular Canadian identity (Bilodeau et al. 2015, 14; Manning 1992). Considering the existing literature on political identity and socialization, specifically with regard to the development of the political self, such an attempt is challenging as political learning is not found to be solely determined by institutional influences.

Scholarly research explores the concept of social learning theory as one of the foundations for the development of political identity (Dalton 1982; Dawson & Prewitt 1969; Huddy 2001; Jennings et al. 2009; Rico & Jennings 2016). More specifically, the influence of the family is understood as significant in the creation of “intergenerational ideological continuity” (Rico & Jennings 2016, 249). Both the social milieu of the individual and their parent is integral to the shaping of political identity from childhood, as one’s social context is defined by parental and family characteristics, leading to specific understandings of political self (Dalton 1982). The results across the existing research on political socialization reveal that the political identities of parents are often imitated by their children and continued into their own adulthood (Dalton 1982; Dawson & Prewitt 1969; Groff et al. 2016; Torney-Purta 1995). In addition to the family context, social learning theory is also apparent within institutional channels like schools and extracurricular organizations, where discourses relevant for identity creation are heavily influenced (Dalton 1982; Dawson & Prewitt 1969; Groff et al. 2016). Both direct and indirect influencers on political socialization can be traced to interpersonal transmission hence fluctuating understandings of what it means to be “Canadian.”

Another foundational theory for understanding how the political identity is developed is called institutional learning theory. While recent research does not divorce social learning theory from institutional influence in the development of political identity, this theory looks to factors outside of the household as key contributors to identity development (Rohrschneider 1999; Torney-Purta 1995). This theoretical framework is what I utilize and test the limits of in this project.

Policies like bilingualism, multiculturalism, and equalization in Canada can have discursive power with regard to political identity creation (Carpentier & de La Sablonniere 2013; Groff et al. 2016). As highlighted by Rohrschneider, official policies and practices put forward by governing institutions “substantially shape” the development of civic performance and values fundamental to political identity (1999, 20). When political institutions promote certain ideological values, these values are often transmitted to and accepted by the general public if they are easy to adopt (Rohrschneider 1999, 24). Through the establishment of the Charter and the enactment of the Constitution, the Canadian federal government promoted these policies of bilingualism, multiculturalism, and the equalization program as fundamental to Canadian values, a process similar to the promotion of democratic values by Germany following reunification (Rohrschneider 1999).

In Canada, the development of political identity is also dependent on one’s province of residence. The enactment of the 1982 Constitution furthered divides, especially between the Canadian federal government and Québec. There exists a contentious history of power imbalance between Canada and Québec, as the centralization of Canadian power and identity has directly challenged the development of Québec’s status as a distinct society (Uberoi 2009). A key aspect of this imbalance between Canadian and Québécois values is linguistic identity and the politics of language in education systems. The cleavages between Québec and the rest of Canada regarding linguistic identity have developed into vital aspects of what it means to be either Québécois or Canadian, and the push toward unified Canadian policies, practices, and values, diminishes the aforementioned functioning of Canadian federalism (Bilodeau et al. 2015; Carpentier & de La Sablonniere 2013; Groff et al. 2016). Situating the development of political identity in Canada becomes more complex when considering the contemporary nation building project focuses on a unified identity, while contexts like Québec highlight the varying identities within the federation. The influence of the 1982 Constitution Act is apparent in the institutional shift toward a “new” Canada, but its impact on intergenerational ideological continuity remains unclear. This project aims to better understand whether political identities of those new to Canada after 1982 mimic the identities of the pre-Charter generation, or, if they follow a more Canadian balancing of identity.

It is safe to say that the shift toward a “new” Canada has impacted socio-political landscapes, and one can assume this influences the interpersonal transmission of political self. The contemporary Canadian federation looks vastly different than it did before 1982, which enables us to assume that the continuation of intergenerational ideology has been impacted. Are the more recent members of this “new” Canada seeing the same Canada as their predecessors? By exploring how the federation has developed since 1982, this proposed research project will also examine its impact on how new Canadians are creating their political identities.

Social & Institutional Learning Theories

This project is founded upon the theoretical frameworks of both social learning theory and institutional learning theory. Given the data-based restrictions, I specifically test the limits of institutional learning theory, to understand the realized influence of Canada’s nation building project following 1982 and consider the existing framework of social learning theory as a fallback in the event that results are null. In political science social learning theory is understood as a determinant for various forms of political engagement, including the development of

political identity (Dawson & Prewitt 1969; Pauwels & Schils 2016; Rico & Jennings 2016). According to social learning theory, children acquire core attitudes through observing, modeling, imitating, identifying with, and internalizing the behavior and attitudes of those immediately surrounding them (Rico & Jennings 2016; 238). It is accepted throughout the existing body of literature the family is considered the most influential in the development of a child's attitudes, including political behaviour (Dawson & Prewitt 1969; Jennings et al. 2009; Pauwels & Schils 2016; Rico & Jennings 2016).

In contrast, institutional learning theory argues that the ideological foundations and operating procedures of a nation's institutional framework shape individuals' ideological values, performance, and development of political identity (Rohrschneider 1999, 10). Ideological transmission is indirect, as citizens acquire their qualities from the rhetoric and practices promoted by the state (Rohrschneider 1999). Rohrschneider identifies three axioms in which institutional learning happens: the institutional learning axiom, the diffusion axiom, and the ideological-performance axiom (Rohrschneider 1999). Within this framework citizens learn, internalize, and practice specific behaviour as a response to the ideals promoted by the state.

The institutional learning axiom can be understood as the political and economic processes which shape citizenship qualities vital to the development of political identity (Rohrschneider 1999). The diffusion axiom explains that following a substantial ideological shift at the institutional level, citizens are more likely to accept and internalize values that require little restraint or unlearning at the individual level (Rohrschneider 1999, 24). The ideological-performance axiom entails how the combination of the ideological values of a citizen with their evaluation of an institutions' performance influences their support for existing institutional arrangements and policies (Rohrschneider 1999, 28). The citizen response to values promoted by the state can therefore be understood as the indirect ideological transmission.

By focusing on the development of political identity and feelings of attachment to or tension towards the many loyalties in contemporary Canada, this project will test effectiveness of institutional learning theory. Analyzing Canada's substantial institutional shift in 1982 mirrors the research of Robert Rohrschneider in 1999, but the comparative analysis of generations is substituted for Rohrschneider's comparison of Germans formerly divided by regime. In order to effectively test the effectiveness of social learning theory, the analysis of respondents from the same household would be required. However, a limit of this project is the inability to analyze respondents on a such a household level, and therefore social learning theory cannot be tested to the same degree as institutional learning theory. Instead, it will be used as a possible explanation for the transmission of political behaviour in the event that institutional learning theory cannot be supported.

Political Generations

The cross-generational analysis that will take place in this project relies on existing research exploring the fluidity of values between generations (Delli Carpini 1989; Inglehart & Abramson 1994; Sears & Valentino 1997). Political generations are more complex than simple birth cohorts, as they hinge on key shifts in socio-political environments which can influence opinions, beliefs, and values. These shifts are conceptualized as "political events," and the division between political generations are created before and after such influential events (Delli

Carpini 1989; Inlgehart & Abramson 1994; Sears & Valentino 1997). To test the validity of the creation of political generations, existing research explores the limits of generational replacement, the significance of political events, and the realized change in opinions, beliefs, and values (Delli Carpini 1989; Inlgehart & Abramson 1994; Sears & Valentino 1997). This project relies on this existing research to dissect the potential replacement of values between Canadians who were introduced to Canada before and after 1982, the significance of the enactment of the Canadian Constitution and the Charter of Rights and Freedoms, and if there is a realized shift between the Canadians studied.

Generational replacement involves the majority values of a younger generation being different from the values of the previous generation (Delli Carpini 1989; Inlgehart & Abramson 1994). Considering the aforementioned literature on political socialization, political generations are created when the transmission of “new” values is clear and such values do not match the pre-existing norm. While the ideals explored in some of the existing literature include postmaterialist values, feminist ideals, and partisan preferences, there is a limited amount of political generation literature focused on changing identities (Delli Carpini 1989; Inlgehart & Abramson 1994; Johnston 1992; Sears & Valentino 1997). Generational replacement is the foundation for understanding political generations, as inter-generational differences with regard to opinions, beliefs, and values are easy to measure.

However, it is understood throughout the reviewed literature that generational replacement is not the only factor in influencing value change. Regardless of the presence or absence of key political events, replicating exact orientations through direct or indirect socialization is seldom possible (Delli Carpini 1989, 13). While the incremental change between temporal generations is unavoidable, the boundaries between political generations are much clearer due to the influence of significant political events (Delli Carpini 1989, 15; Inglehart & Abramson 1994). Political events are understood as drastic shifts in a socio, economic, or political context that directly trigger value change (Sears & Valentino 1997). Some events include the world wars, the Great Depression, and the fall of the Berlin Wall, and are understood as signifiers of episodic change (Delli Carpini 1989; Inlgehart & Abramson 1994; Johnston 1992; Sears & Valentino 1997). In contrast to incremental change, episodic change can be traced back to an overarching break in societal habitus, and can introduce and shape opinions, beliefs, and values. The episodic change of a significant political event leads to the creation of a new political generation. In accordance with the reviewed literature, this project understands the enactment of the Constitution and the establishment of the Charter of Rights and Freedoms as a key political event in Canadian history, which produced episodic change and therefore a new political generation.

By using this model for understanding the different modes of change, this project will understand the enactment of the 1982 Constitution as a key political event which spurred episodic restructuring. The institutional development promoted by the Canadian Federal Government following 1982 did not explicitly reject pre-1982 values but focused on the transmission of altered behaviour for future Canadians.

Two Case Studies

With the theoretical framework of institutional learning theory in mind, I conduct two case studies comparing the strength of identity between native-born Canadians and first-generation immigrants. The first case I examine consists of respondents born in Canada. The second case are respondents who are first generation immigrants. Evaluating the shaping of identities for first-generation immigrants separately from those born in Canada relies on the notion that immigrants balance loyalties and identities differently than native-born Canadians (Bilodeau et al. 2015).

Case #1: Post-Charter Canadians born after 1990

While there is a vast body of literature focused on situating young people within society, there is a clear focus on young people's electoral participation and partisan identities (Andolina et al. 2003; Dinas 2012; Groff et al. 2016; Jennings et al. 2009; Pauwels & Schils 2016; Rico & Jennings 2016). Within the Canadian context, recent scholarly literature explores linguistic identity within Québécois youth (Groff et al. 2016), but there remains a gap in understanding the overarching political identities of young Canadians. Research aimed at understanding the transmission of political behaviour to young people focuses on comparing electoral participation and partisanship between children and their parents yet does not explore the transmission of non-partisan political identities (Dalton 1982; Jennings et al. 2009; Pauwels & Schils 2016; Rico & Jennings 2016). This project will contribute to literature surrounding young Canadians as active members of political society by attempting to understand how post-Charter Canadians balance their dual loyalties between provincial and Canadian identities. Furthermore, by testing the limits of institutional learning theory this project furthers research on transmission by dissecting how the shaping of identities is influenced for new generations of Canadians.

Despite the small amount of existing research exploring the transmission of non-partisan identities on a national scale, there is one significant study which dissects the continuation of tensions between linguistic identities in contemporary Québec. In Groff et al.'s 2016 study of young francophones and anglophones, respondents exhibit historically present tensions between linguistic groups in Québec (2016, 95; LaSelva 1996). In this study, the young respondents distinguished clear boundaries around groups based on linguistic identities, anglophones, francophones, and allophones (Groff et al. 2016). Yet, despite French being the official language spoken by the majority in Québec, some respondents self-identified as "non-francophone," but rejected the notion that they were "linguistic minorities" in the Québec context (Groff et al. 2016; 96). This nuanced navigation of identity which happens simultaneously with the maintenance of historical tensions surrounding linguistic identity in Québec suggests that while younger generations mimic the political behaviour of their older counterparts, exact imitation is unlikely. Furthermore, these findings support the notion of parent-to-child transmission for non-partisan identities and behaviour. My project aims to explore the limits of transmission, working within the framework of institutional learning theory to understand if provincial and Canadian identities can be transmitted inter-generationally.

Through the review of some of the existing literature regarding how Canadians navigate society it becomes clear that in order to test the limits of institutional learning theory, my project must make clear divisions among the native-born sample. The first division I make is between generation relative to the enactment of the 1982 Constitution and the Charter of Rights and

Freedoms. The three generations I propose are named the pre-Charter, the peri-Charter, and the post-Charter generations. Those who were born before 1970 are considered the pre-Charter generation, as they were introduced and socialized in the “old” Canada. Those born between 1970 and 1990 are categorized as the peri-Charter generation. While these vary between being born before and after the enactment of the Constitution, their socialization occurred in the transition phase between the “old” and “new” Canada. The final generation of native-born respondents are those born after 1990 and are labeled as the post-Charter generation. These respondents were born in the contemporary Canadian federation, thus making them the main target of analysis for identifying any shift in the shaping of political identities following the enactment of the 1982 Constitution and the Charter. The shaping of post-Charter Canadians’ political identity is mostly unexplored, and the division of the native-born Canadian case enables this project to properly investigate the transmission of political behaviour. This division between pre, peri, and post-Charter Canadians is also necessary to effectively analyze the potential difference between political generations in Canada, in order to understand the significance of the 1982 Constitution as an influential political event in Canadian history.

The second division of native-born respondents is between those inside and outside of Québec. It is clear that through the review of both Canadian federalism, political socialization, and youth political engagement literature that Québec and the rest of Canada have significantly different political contexts (LaSelva 1996). The longstanding history of balancing provincial and federal identities within Québec is complex and increased in complexity with Québec’s refusal to sign the 1982 Constitution Act, the Meech Lake and Charlottetown accords, and the 1995 Québec referendum. Keeping this historical variance in the relationship between Québec and the federal government relative to the other provinces in Canada in mind, it becomes clear that the native-born sample must be divided between respondents from Québec and respondents from the rest of Canada (ROC) in order to effectively understand the socializing impact of the 1982 Constitution and the Charter on the shaping of identity among post-Charter Canadians.

Case #2: Post-Charter migrant respondents who arrived after 1982

Unlike the field of research on the political identity of young Canadians, there exists ongoing research which recognizes a clear distinction between first-generation immigrants and native-born Canadians with regard to the shaping of identity, and the balancing of loyalties (Bilodeau et al. 2010; Bilodeau et al. 2015; Carpentier & de La Sablonniere 2013). In contrast to native-born Canadians, first-generation immigrants experience different conditions for the transmission of behaviour in the Canadian political context, have different relationships to histories of regional grievances in Canada, and balance different loyalties than merely provincial and Canadian identities (Bilodeau et al. 2010; Carpentier & de La Sablonniere 2013). This results in different identity shaping for immigrants, as there is the influence of integration into Canadian society as a whole (Iacovino 2014; Nangia 2013; Reitz et al. 2009; Wright 2011).

The first difference in the conditions for transmission between first-generation immigrants and native-born Canadians is the context of the household. Intergenerational ideological continuity for first-generation immigrants is not founded in the historical contexts of a host nation. Simply put, first-generation immigrants generally did not grow up in a household where regional identities and grievances specific to Canada could be transmitted by older family members. While older family members of first-generation immigrants are not incapable of

passing down certain ideologies, any transmission of values or behaviour is not rooted in the Canadian context. This is a justification for testing the limits of institutional learning theory in this project, as exposure to provincial and Canadian identity discourse among migrants is more likely to come from the immigration process than it is from the household.

Another difference in the shaping of identity between native-born Canadians and migrants is the implication of such identity balancing with regard to integration into the host countries' society (Kunovich 2009; Nangia 2013; Reitz et al. 2009; Wright 2011). Within the context of Canada concerns about integration are significant for newcomers, as developing achievable social characteristics to successfully integrate and avoid discrimination might outweigh situating oneself in longstanding regional grievances (Bilodeau et al. 2015; Carpentier & de La Sablonniere 2013). Furthermore, first-generation immigrants balance more loyalties than most native-born Canadians, as they also navigate the expression of their existing identity associated with their home country on top of regional and Canadian identities upon arrival (Bilodeau et al. 2015; Carpentier & de La Sablonniere 2013).

On top of these considerations of integration and having to balance numerous loyalties, existing research also suggests that immigrants in Canada generally exhibit more federally oriented views than their native-born counterparts (Bilodeau et al. 2015, 17). Keeping the findings of this research in mind, as well as the different experience of loyalty balancing faced by migrants, I propose to analyze first-generation respondents separately from native-born Canadians. These existing works suggest that the identities of first-generation immigrants are shaped and expressed differently than native-born Canadians, and therefore must be analyzed separately (Bilodeau et al. 2010; Carpentier & de La Sablonniere 2013).

In addition to the differences in identity development between the two groups analyzed in my project, it is important to recognize the impact of multiculturalism on immigrant integration, and how this policy promotes pan-Canadian values (Bilodeau et al. 2010, 533). Canada's commitment to multiculturalism is also targeted at native-born Canadians, as in the Charter of Rights and Freedoms expresses the intent to preserve and enhance Canada's multicultural heritage. This means promoting feelings of acceptance toward first-generation immigrants among the native-born Canadian population (Citrin et al. 2012). Recent research argues that anti-immigrant sentiment has diminished over the last twenty years in Canada, and the contemporary majority does not demand the decreased flow of immigrants into the country (Citrin et al. 2012, 546). The pairing of Canadian identity and multiculturalism thus creates a pathway for improved immigrant integration, and enhancement of Canada's multicultural heritage (Bilodeau et al. 2015, 5; Citrin et al. 2012). While the existing literature highlights that the federal policy of multiculturalism positively impacts immigrant integration, this project is not claiming that there is an absence of discrimination toward immigrants in contemporary Canada (Bilodeau et al. 2015, 5; Citrin et al. 2012). Instead, that Canada's commitment to preserving and enhancing its multicultural heritage for all Canadians, as outlined in section 27 of the Charter of Rights and Freedoms, suggests that the enactment of the 1982 Constitution could be a key political event for first-generation immigrants in Canada. Therefore, understanding the consequences of the enactment of the 1982 Constitution and the Charter of Rights and Freedoms specifically for migrants in Canada will provide a deeper insight on the effect of Canada's nation-building

project on the shaping of political identities.

While regional grievances and local contexts are not as significant pull factors as Canada's national political climate (Harles 1997, 726), first-generation immigrants are not impervious to local identities and often reproduce regional grievances (Bilodeau et al. 2010, 533). Therefore, my project divides first-generation immigrant respondents into those who arrived in Canada before and after 1982. Similar to the native-born respondents, the division of immigrant respondents based on one's knowing of Canada pre- and post-1982 will illuminate the differences between generations and between influential groups of Canadians. However, migrant respondents are divided into two categories based on arrival before and after 1982 due to the inadequate sample sizes yielded result from dividing into pre, peri, and post-Charter generations as done with the native-born sample.

Additionally, this cross-generational division among first-generation immigrants allows my project to challenge the works of Bilodeau et al., from 2015 supporting the notion that immigrants are more "federally oriented" with regard to identity than native-born Canadians (Bilodeau et al. 2015, 20). This finding of Bilodeau et al., may be a result of the majority of immigrant respondents in their project are those who were introduced to Canada following 1982. By dividing respondents by date of arriving with relation to 1982, my project may reveal that the federal orientation of migrants can be attributed to the socializing effect of the 1982 Constitution and the Charter of Rights and Freedoms instead of the fact that they are migrants.

Objectives

The main objective of this project is to understand the socialization impact of the 1982 Constitution and the Charter of Rights and Freedoms on the shaping of Canadian identities. Keeping in mind the existing body of literature on political socialization, Canadian federalism, young Canadians, and newcomers, my project asks, do Canadians introduced after the 1982 Constitution Act balance provincial and federal identities differently than those who knew Canada before 1982? First and foremost, I believe that by answering this question I will help fill the gap in our knowledge regarding the political identities of young Canadians, challenge existing knowledge on how immigrants balance identities in Canada, as well as test the explanatory power of institutional learning theory in the Canadian context. Additionally, this project will shed light on the influence of Canada's nation-building project on new Canadians and contribute to the better understanding of the continuing development of the Canadian federation. I test both the limits of institutional learning theory and the socializing impact of the 1982 Constitution and the Charter first through the measurement of respondents' levels of strength of provincial and Canadian identity. Second, through the evaluation of salience of Canadian identity on the support for national policies.

In accordance with existing literature, this project expects to find that respondents who arrived or were introduced after 1982 will have stronger ties to their Canadian identity relative to their provincial identity. Furthermore, the previously highlighted imbalances and tensions between Québec and Canada leads this project to expect that regardless of generation, respondents from Québec will have stronger ties to their provincial identity than Canadian identity in comparison to other provinces.

H1: Respondents introduced to Canada after 1982 will have a stronger pro-Canada identity relative to their provincial identity.

This hypothesis tests the *institutional learning* and *diffusion* axioms of institutional learning theory. Should the results of my project support H1, institutional learning theory will be supported, as the enactment of the 1982 Constitution and the establishment of the Charter will have impacted the shaping of identities among a new generation of Canadians. This would suggest that institutional learning through the diffusion of values from State to individual has occurred. However, should the results of my project fail to support H1, institutional learning theory will be rejected, as it will be clear that the transmission of political behaviour and the shaping of identities is determined elsewhere. This would suggest a greater significance in intergenerational ideological continuity, or that there could also be other socializing forces like parental transmission, as well as other unknown counter forces.

Beyond measuring the shift in *strength* of Canadian and provincial identities between generations, my second hypothesis evaluates the *salience* of Canadian identity with regard to support for the aforementioned policies integral to the “Canadian way of life.”

H2: A stronger Canadian Identity predicts a stronger support for national policies, this relationship is stronger among respondents in the post-Charter generation.

In Canadian federalism literature there is an emphasis on the support for national policies going hand in hand with the pan-Canadian identity outlined in the Charter of Rights and Freedoms. (Bilodeau et al. 2015, 14; LaSelva 1996; Lajoie 2009; Manning 1992; Rocher 2009; Seymour 2009). The inclusion of support for national policies in the Charter of Rights and Freedoms suggests that the support for specific policies is synonymous with one’s Canadian identity, which leads us to expect that there is a relationship between one’s strength of identity and their level of support for specific policies. Therefore, I investigate the effect to which one’s strength of Canadian identity predicts their support for the specific policies of multiculturalism, bilingualism, and the equalization payments program, as well as feelings of regional alienation.

The measurement of salience also allows for the testing of the ideological-performance axiom within institutional learning theory (Rohrschneider 1999). When citizens recreate the values promoted by the state, like strong support for national policies tied to Canadian identity, we can understand such an effect as “ideological-performance” (Rohrschneider 1999, 28). Should the recreation of such values intensify across generations, we can better understand the effect of institutional learning theory in the Canadian context.

By testing for the *salience* of Canadian identity on support for policy support, I verify if the effect of institutional learning theory is stronger for respondents introduced to Canada following 1982. Keeping in mind the expectation that post-Charter respondents will have a stronger pro-Canada identity relative to their provincial identity compared to their pre-Charter counterparts, I expect to uncover two key findings with regard to Canada’s nation-building project. First, should post-Charter respondents who exhibit strong Canadian identities exhibit stronger support for national policies relative to their pro-Canada pre-Charter counterparts, then the “dream of one Canada” promoted by the 1982 Constitution Act and the Charter has been realized. Second, such

a realization would signify a clear cleavage between political generations and support the notion that a post-Charter Canada is new fact “new.”

Therefore, should H2 be supported, then so is the notion that institutional learning has occurred for Post-Charter Canadians on the axiom of ideological-performance. If the values transmitted from institution to citizen result in the stronger support for specific policies promoted by the federal government, then this aspect institutional learning theory is supported. If my results fail to support H2, then the ideological-performance axiom within institutional learning theory can be rejected, as a stronger sense of Canadian identity will not predict the stronger support for Post-Charter Canadians relative to their pre-Charter counterparts.

Through the testing of these two hypotheses, the socializing impact of the Constitution and the Charter on identity will be assessed for both native-born Canadians and first-generation immigrants. Additionally, it will contribute to the understanding of how identity is shaped across geographical contexts within Canada.

Chapter 2 – Methodology

In order to understand the socializing impact of the 1982 Constitution on the shaping of Canadian identities, this project operationalizes the concepts of Canadian identity, provincial identity, and political generations through the use of the 2014 Provincial Diversity Project (PDP). The PDP provides insight into the provincial realities in Canada in terms of identity and attachment, views about federalism, attitudes toward ethnocultural diversity and immigration and views on social, economic and political issues (Bilodeau et al. 2015). The PDP survey was conducted in January and February 2014 and consists of a sample of just under 10,000 Canadians. Of these 10,000 respondents this survey is divided into three separate components. The first component includes a special oversample of just over 1,900 respondents aged 18 to 35 interviewed across every province. The second component includes 6,400 Canadians with samples of 1,000 respondents in each of Québec, Ontario, Alberta and British Columbia; 500 respondents in each of Nova Scotia, New Brunswick, Manitoba and Saskatchewan; and 400 respondents in Prince Edward Island and Newfoundland and Labrador. The third component includes a sample of 400 visible minorities in each of Québec, Ontario, Alberta and British Columbia. In this third component, 67% of respondents are first-generation immigrants.

In addition to following a similar methodological approach apparent in existing political socialization research (Pauwels & Schils 2016; Rico & Jennings 2016; Rohrschneider 1999), I rely on purely quantitative analysis to test my hypotheses to overcome my own linguistic limits as a researcher. As previously mentioned, my Canadian-born respondent case is divided between those inside and outside of Québec. Due to my lack of fluency in French, relying on a qualitative or mixed-methods approach to this project would have limited my ability to capture data representative of Québec respondents. Relying on the PDP allows me to access survey data collected from francophone respondents, and therefore analyze responses with no linguistic barriers.

In order to test the strength of identity across generations and compare how salient identities are to predict the support for policies effectively, I follow a three-step plan. The first step is measuring the strength of provincial and Canadian identities. The second step is measuring the salience of Canadian identity on the support for national policies. The third step is controlling for sociodemographic characteristics and province of residence. A key distinction in this project is between the strength of one's identity and the salience of one's identity.

Step 1: Measuring the Strength of Canadian and Provincial Identities

In order to complete my first step, I rely on three indicators of provincial and Canadian identities. The first indicator measures how attached respondents feel to both Canada and their province of residence. In congruence with existing works analyzing political identity, this project uses attachment as a key indicator of one's level of strength of provincial and Canadian identities (Bilodeau et al. 2015; Dalton 1982). In the PDP the variables for provincial and Canadian attachment are coded on a scale of 0 to 10, and respondents were asked how attached they felt to both their province of residence, and to Canada. In my project, I recode both of these variables to be on a scale of 0 to 1. Respondents with scores closer to 0 demonstrate weak levels of attachment, while scores closer to 1 represent strong levels of attachment.

The second indicator measures the difference between respondents' attachment to Canada and their attachment to their province. The development of this indicator is justified through the existing research on the life-cycle hypothesis (Campbell 1971). In congruence with this existing research, I expect attachment to be stronger among older respondents, as community attachment is observed to strengthen with age (Campbell 1971). This strengthening of attachment is referred to as a "life-cycle effect," where one's involvement and overall attachment to both their community and political identities strengthens as they age. The critical factor in the life cycle effect is length of time one has been the member of the community, therefore suggesting that younger respondents will exhibit weaker levels of attachment relative to their older counterparts. (Campbell 1971, 113). In order to account for the expected weaker levels of attachment among younger respondents detailed above, the measurement of the difference between Canadian and provincial attachments enables the effective capturing of the balancing of these provincial and Canadian attachment levels as it allows me to understand the net balance of attachments. The results observed for difference between provincial and Canadian attachments provides insight to how respondents simultaneously balance these attachments, regardless of the strength of attachment relative to their stage in their life cycle. This new variable is coded on a scale of -1 to 1. Respondents with a score closer to -1 have stronger provincial attachment relative to their Canadian attachment, whereas respondents who score closer to 1 have a stronger Canadian attachment relative to provincial. Respondents who score near 0 have an equal balancing of attachments. Regardless of one's raw attachment score to Canada or their province the difference between these two scores reveals to which political community a respondent is more attached to.

The third indicator used to measure strength of identity is self-identification within the context of provincial and Canadian identities. Respondents were asked how they identify within the context of their relation to their province and Canada. For example, respondents had the choices of identifying as only Canadian, Canadian first but also Ontarian..., equally Canadian and Ontarian..., Ontarian first and also Canadian, or only Ontarian. Self-identification is an easily understood indicator for one's level of strength toward their identity, as such identities are maintained by one's political self (Dawson & Prewitt 1969; MacKuen & Brown 1987). The self-identification variable is also developed on a 0 to 1 scale, 0 being province only, and 1 being Canadian only.

Another strategy I use to measure the strength of identity is to examine the support for the national policies of multiculturalism, bilingualism, and the equalization payments program. As explored earlier, the 1982 Constitution Act explicitly outlines these three policies as integral to the "Canadian way of life." In the PDP, respondents were asked about their levels of support for each national policy. With regard to multiculturalism, respondents were asked if they thought this policy had a positive impact, a negative impact, or not much of an impact on Canadian identity. I then coded this variable on a scale of 0 to 1, where 0 represents a negative impact, 0.5 represents not much of an impact, and 1 represents a positive impact.

Regarding bilingualism, respondents were asked if they thought the preservation of French and English as Canada's two official languages was important, and had the options of replying strongly agree, somewhat agree, somewhat disagree, and strongly disagree. Respondents were also asked if people holding senior positions in the federal public service should be bilingual, and answered whether they strongly agreed, somewhat agreed, somewhat disagreed, and strongly

disagreed. The scale for bilingualism I create is a combination of these two questions and is coded on a scale of 0 to 1. Respondents who score 0 represent weak support for bilingualism, whereas scores closer to 1 represent stronger support for bilingualism.

Regarding the equalization payments program, respondents were asked if they agreed that this is a “good program.” Respondents were asked to strongly agree, somewhat agree, somewhat disagree, and strongly disagree with this statement. I coded the variable for the support of the equalization payments program also on a scale of 0 to 1, where 0 represents strongly disagree, 0.33 represents somewhat disagree, 0.66 represents somewhat agree, and 1 represents strongly agree.

In addition to the levels of support for national policies I measure one’s sense of regional alienation. Regional alienation is a valid indicator of national policy support for two reasons. First, it acts as a reversed measure of national policy support. Second, there is a longstanding history of regional alienation in the West, the North, Atlantic Canada, Northern Ontario, and Québec (Bilodeau et al. 2010, 522; Manning 1992, 51). Even though this is not measuring the support of a singular specific policy, feelings of alienation intersect with feelings towards policies which target national identities. Therefore, it needs to be measured in this project.

The variable I have created for regional alienation is coded through the combination of two questions from the PDP focused on provinces receiving their “fair share.” The first question asks respondents if their province receives more than its fair share, less than its fair share, or specifically its fair of government funding from federal programs. The second question respondents were asked was if province has more than its fair share, less than its fair share, or specifically its fair share of influence from the rest of Canada. These questions are combined into a 0 to 1 scale, where 0 represents the perception of their province receiving “more than its fair share” of government funding and influence, and 1 being “less than its fair share” of funding and influence. Scores closer to 0.5 represent respondents answering that their province receives “its fair share.” Ultimately, scores closer to 0 can be understood as a weaker sense of regional alienation and those closer to one are the stronger sense of alienation.

Questioning the perception of resources ones’ province receives from the federal government is directly linked to the equalization payments program. Further, questioning the perception of influence one’s province has in the rest of Canada can be linked to both bilingualism and multiculturalism relative to province of residence. The history of linguistic identity in Québec relative to the rest of Canada is contentious, as is the rift between multiculturalism and interculturalism (Proulx-Chénard 2020, 32). Therefore, measuring regional alienation is a different and reversed way of measuring the support for official policies.

Step 2: Measuring the Saliency of Canadian and Provincial Identities

The second step is testing the saliency of Canadian and provincial identity. I measured saliency by analyzing the interaction between the impact of one’s strength of Canadian identity, on their support for Canadian policies across generation groups. By exploring if one’s strength of Canadian identity predicts their support for policies my aim is to verify the predicting effect of identity on support for national policies has increased following the enactment of the Constitution and the Charter.

The measurement of salience entails the use of the indicators for strength of identity, Canadian attachment, attachment difference, self-identification, and regional alienation, as independent variables in multivariate regression analyses where the support for multiculturalism, bilingualism, and the equalization payments program are the dependent variables. Further, the interacting effect between these indicators and the peri-, and post-Charter generations will be analyzed to understand the predictive effect of the strength of identity with regard to policy support. Canadian attachment, attachment difference, self-identification, and regional alienation will be analyzed separately from each other in order to not over control, and to best understand which indicator has the most predictive power. Keeping in mind that the indicators for strength of identity are coded on scales of 0 to 1, with the exception of attachment difference, -1 to 1, interaction results that are closer to 1 will indicate a stronger effect of Canadian identity on support for national policies among post-Charter generations.

Step 3: Controlling for Socio-Demographic Characteristics

My last step entails controlling for socio-demographic characteristics and province of residence. Including these control variables in my multivariate regression analyses aims to further isolate the socializing impact of the Constitution and Charter and avoiding confounding variable bias. In order to confirm that the observed generational differences among native-born Canadians and first-generation immigrants are not simply the result of systematic differences in other sociodemographic characteristics, I followed the methodology of previous works by running multivariate analyses to control for sex, education, and employment status (Bilodeau et al. 2010, 523; Bilodeau et al. 2015, 7). Additionally, I also control for visible minority status for both native-born and migrant respondents, as multiculturalism is tied to immigration and racial equality discourse (Bilodeau et al. 2012, 580). In the PDP respondents were asked to self-identify their ethnicity. They were given the options of white, South Asian, Chinese, Black, Filipino, Latin American, Arab, Southeast Asian, West Asian, Korean, or Japanese. Visible minority status is coded into a 0 to 1 scale where 0 represents respondents who identify as white, and 1 represents respondents who identify as part of a non-white ethnic community. By controlling for these sociodemographic characteristics, my project effectively tests both the strength of identity and the salience of identities for each case study.

Control variables also include the respondents' province of residence. It is clear that provincial context is significant with regard to Canadian federalism discourse and must be accounted for (Bilodeau et al. 2010; Bilodeau et al. 2015; LaSelva 1996). Additionally, the works of Bilodeau et al., 2010, and Bilodeau et al., 2015 make clear that the shaping of identities can vary between provinces, especially in Québec. Keeping in mind the exceptional status of Québec in terms of political identities within Canada, I divide the native-born sample population between Québec and the Rest of Canada (ROC) to explore if the shaping of identities across generations materializes differently between the two contexts. Another methodological standard I followed was controlling for Ontario, thus making Ontario a reference category for my ROC sample population (Bilodeau et al. 2019). Similar to how Québec's exceptional status suggests a variance in the balancing of loyalties, the patterns of values and the shaping of identities is also different for first-generation immigrants depending on their host province (Bilodeau et al. 2015, 20). Therefore, I built upon recent scholarly works by following existing methodology to grasp

the most effective understanding of the socializing impact of the Constitution and the Charter for native-born Canadians and first-generation immigrants.

Through the measurement of the strength of identity for provincial and Canadian identity and the salience of Canadian identity, I try to effectively capture the socializing impact of the Constitution and the Charter. By controlling for sociodemographic characteristics and province of residence, I effectively test the statistical significance of strength of identity and the salience of identities among Canadians. The division of respondents into two case studies based on place of birth, by Charter relative generation, and by province of residence enables me to test the limits of institutional learning theory, as well as understand the realized effect of Canada's institutionally focused nation-building project.

Chapter 3 - Harder, Better, Faster, Stronger?
Provincial & Canadian Identity Strength Across Generations

In congruence with my methodological approach detailed above, the first step of the investigation concerns the strength of Canadian and provincial identities. In measuring the strength of identities, I narrow in on respondents Canadian and provincial attachments, the difference between these attachments, their self-identification relative to Canada and their province of residence, their sense of regional alienation, and their support for multiculturalism, bilingualism, and the equalization payments program. Through the intersection of the indicators of Canadian identity outlined above and the “dream of one Canada” outlined in the 1982 Constitution Act and the Charter of Rights and Freedoms, a stronger pro-Canada balancing of identities among the post-Charter generation could be understood as resulting from the socializing impact of the Charter.

Strength of provincial and Canadian identities among Native-born Canadians

Before we interpret the observations below, we must keep in mind the previously mentioned expectation present in existing literature of the “life cycle effect” (Campbell 1971). This strengthening of attachment to the community with age must be considered throughout the presentation of the following findings.

Provincial and Canadian-Identity Indicators

Some cleavages appear between our three generations in table 1 but seem to manifest differently for respondents inside and outside of Québec. The data in table 1 is focused on the results for native-born Canadians, separated by those living in Québec, and those in the rest of Canada (ROC). The first indicators of Canadian identity to notice here are the levels of attachment. Among the Québec sample, there is no difference between pre-Charter and post-Charter respondents with regard the level of Canadian attachment, as both generations exhibit a score of 0.62 points. While the level of Canadian attachment remains stable across generations for respondents in Québec, there is a difference between pre-Charter and post-Charter ROC respondents. Post-Charter ROC respondents exhibit a weaker sense of Canadian attachment than their pre-Charter counterparts. Pre-Charter ROC respondents exhibit a score of 0.88 with regard to Canadian attachment, while Post-Charter ROC respondents exhibit a score of 0.81 points. Both of these scores indicate a strong level of Canadian attachment, but the difference of 0.07 points among post-Charter ROC respondents indicates a weaker level of Canadian attachment relative to their pre-Charter counterparts.

Table 1. Attachments & Identification Mean Scores: Native-Born Canadians

Native-Born Respondents		
	Québec	ROC
Canadian Attachment (0 – 1)		
Pre-Charter	0.62	0.88
Peri-Charter	0.59	0.84
Post-Charter	0.62	0.81
<i>N</i>	1438	6139
Provincial Attachment (0 – 1)		
Pre-Charter	0.81	0.81
Peri-Charter	0.74	0.74
Post-Charter	0.70	0.74
<i>N</i>	1441	6147
Difference Between Attachments (-1 – 1)		
Pre-Charter	-0.20	0.07
Peri-Charter	-0.15	0.09
Post-Charter	-0.08	0.06
<i>N</i>	1438	6134
Self-Identification (0 – 1)		
Pre-Charter	0.40	0.73
Peri-Charter	0.41	0.75
Post-Charter	0.46	0.75
<i>N</i>	1444	6170

For provincial attachment, post-Charter respondents both inside and outside Québec exhibit weaker levels of attachment relative to pre-Charter respondents. Among respondents in Québec, there is a difference of 0.11 points between the pre-Charter and post-Charter generations. Pre-Charter Québec respondents exhibit a score of 0.81 points with regard to provincial attachment, and post-Charter respondents exhibit a score of 0.70 points. This weakening of provincial attachment among post-Charter respondents is also present among the ROC sample. Pre-Charter ROC respondents demonstrate a score of 0.81 points with regard to provincial attachment, while post-Charter respondents exhibit a score of 0.74 points. While the levels of provincial attachment are generally high across samples and generations, the weakening of provincial attachment for post-Charter respondents is consistent with the expected life cycle effect (Campbell 1971).

When comparing Québec and ROC respondents we observe differences between samples, specifically regarding the levels of Canadian attachment. Keeping in mind the expectation of a stronger community attachment among older respondents, I account for this through the measurement of the difference between provincial and Canadian attachments, as this provides a more nuanced understanding of the differences in the balancing of attachments between the pre-,

peri-, and post-Charter generations looked at in this project. It is a good thing that this expectation is accounted for, as the differences we observe between the Québec and ROC examples suggest that the life cycle effect is relevant in measuring provincial and Canadian attachments.

While the life cycle effect appears to be relevant among ROC respondents with regard to Canadian and provincial attachment, it does not explain the cross generational stability of Canadian attachment among the Québec sample. If we apply the theory of the life cycle effect to this stability, it becomes plausible that post-Charter respondents in Québec have a stronger attachment to Canada than their pre-Charter counterparts. Post-Charter respondents are expected to have a weaker level of community attachment compared to older counterparts due to their youth (Campbell 1971). Seeing how both pre-Charter and post-Charter respondents in Québec exhibit a score of 0.62 points with regard to Canadian attachment suggests that post-Charter Québec respondents have a stronger level of Canadian attachment than expected.

This possibility of stronger levels of Canadian attachment among post-Charter Québec respondents is supported by the scores for the difference between provincial and Canadian attachments, also shown in table 1. Negative scores for this variable indicate the direction of stronger provincial attachment relative to Canadian attachment, and as shown in table 1 pre-Charter Québec respondents exhibit a score of -0.20 points. This pro-Québec balancing of attachments is weaker among post-Charter respondents, as they exhibit a score a -0.08 points. This 0.12-point difference in the direction of a pro-Canada balancing of attachments among post-Charter respondents indicates the post-Charter Québec respondents are almost as attached to Canada as they are to Québec. This also supports the claim that the cross generational stability in Canadian attachments observed in table 1 actually indicates stronger levels of Canadian attachment among post-Charter Québec respondents.

In contrast to respondents in Québec, ROC respondents' balancing of attachments remains stable and balanced between Canada and their home province. Pre-Charter ROC respondents score 0.07 points, peri-Charter score 0.09 points, and post-Charter respondents score 0.06 points. Despite observing weaker levels of provincial and Canadian attachments among ROC respondents, there is almost no difference in the balancing of provincial and Canadian attachments between generations of ROC respondents.

Another result presented in table 1 is the balance of identification between province of residence and Canada. The trend that we observe is that post-Charter respondents in Québec exhibit a stronger pro-Canada balancing between provincial and Canadian attachments relative to their pre-Charter counterparts. Meanwhile, there is no generational difference among ROC respondents with regard to the difference between provincial and Canadian attachments. Between generations of Québec respondents, levels of self-identification are stable. The difference we observe is 0.06 points between the pre-Charter and post-Charter generations. Pre-Charter respondents in Québec exhibit a score of 0.40 points, while post-Charter respondents exhibit a score of 0.46, meaning that respondents are generally identifying as both Québécois and Canadian. Similarly, ROC respondents' self-identification scores remain stable across generations. Compared to respondents in Québec, ROC respondents exhibit a stronger pro-

Canada balancing of identity with scores of 0.73, 0.75, and 0.75.

In order to ensure the differences between the mean scores in table 1 are due to the difference in generational effects, I conducted a multivariate analysis and control for sociodemographic characteristics. The data in table 2 can be understood as such: each indicator for the strength of Canadian identity can be seen in the second row. Canadian attachment, provincial attachment, the difference between attachments, and self-identification are evaluated as dependent variables analyzed against the sociodemographic characteristics of sex, education, employment, visible minority status, generation, and province of residence. This test is completed to understand if the indicators of identity strength are dependent on generational differences, socio-demographic characteristics, or province of residence. When I control for generations, I use the pre-Charter generation as the reference category. This means that the results observed for respondents in the peri- and post-Charter generations are relative to the scores of pre-Charter respondents. When I control for province of residence, I use Ontario as a reference category, meaning the results observed for each province are relative to Ontario.

Looking at the data in table 2, there are many results which need to be noticed. Generations relative to the 1982 Constitution and the Charter appear to provide some insight into the differences observed in table 1, as the effects observed for Canadian attachment, provincial attachment, and the difference between these attachments mirror the mean scores above, and the differences observed across generations are statistically significant. Furthermore, education level achieved, and province of residence appear to have an effect on the one's strength of Canadian identity as well.

The life cycle effect observed in table 1 among ROC respondents is supported by the observations in table 2, as levels of provincial and Canadian attachment are weaker among post-Charter respondents relative to pre-Charter respondents. The scores of -0.04 for peri-Charter respondents, and -0.05 for post-Charter respondents supports the notion that attachment is weaker among younger people. The score of -0.04 indicates that relative to pre-Charter respondents, peri-Charter ROC respondents exhibit a -0.04 weaker level of Canadian attachment. Similarly, post-Charter respondents exhibit a weaker level of Canadian attachment of -0.05 points relative to their pre-Charter counterparts. The life cycle effect notion is further supported by the -0.06 and -0.09-point differences among peri- and post-Charter Canadians with regard to provincial attachment. When considering the levels of Canadian and provincial attachment, attachments are weaker among the generations following those who knew Canada before the enactment of the 1982 Constitution and the Charter. However, I do not attribute these weaker levels to a generational effect, as these results support the view that attachment is generally weaker earlier in life and gets stronger with age. Furthermore, these differences are found to be statistically significant.

Table 2. ROC respondents' strength indicators, controlling for socio-demographic factors

	Strength Indicators: ROC Respondents							
	Canadian Attachment		Provincial Attachment		Attachment Difference		Self-Identification	
	Coef.	SE	Coef.	SE	Coef.	SE	Coef.	SE
Male	-0.04 ^a	(0.01)	-0.05 ^a	(0.01)	0.01	(0.01)	0.02 ^b	(0.01)
Education	0.11 ^a	(0.02)	-0.01	(0.01)	0.12 ^a	(0.01)	0.08 ^a	(0.02)
Employment	-0.01	(0.01)	0.00	(0.01)	0.00	(0.01)	0.01	(0.01)
Visible Minorities	-0.04 ^a	(0.02)	-0.01	(0.01)	-0.03 ^a	(0.01)	-0.01	(0.01)
Peri-Charter (Ref. Cat. Pre-Charter)	-0.04 ^a	(0.01)	-0.06 ^a	(0.01)	0.02 ^a	(0.01)	0.01	(0.07)
Post-Charter (Ref. Cat. Pre-Charter)	-0.05 ^a	(0.01)	-0.09 ^a	(0.01)	0.03 ^a	(0.01)	0.02	(0.01)
Provinces (Ref. Cat. ON)								
NFLD	-0.05 ^a	(0.01)	0.09 ^a	(0.01)	-0.14 ^a	(0.01)	-0.34 ^a	(0.01)
PEI	0.00	(0.01)	0.01	(0.02)	-0.01	(0.02)	-0.15 ^a	(0.02)
NS	0.03 ^c	(0.02)	0.05 ^a	(0.02)	-0.02 ^c	(0.01)	-0.15 ^a	(0.01)
NB	0.00	(0.01)	0.02	(0.01)	-0.01	(0.01)	-0.14 ^a	(0.01)
MB	0.01	(0.01)	0.01	(0.01)	0.01	(0.01)	-0.07 ^a	(0.01)
SK	0.01	(0.01)	-0.03 ^b	(0.01)	-0.03 ^b	(0.01)	-0.10 ^a	(0.01)
AB	0.02 ^c	(0.01)	0.01	(0.01)	0.01	(0.01)	-0.09 ^a	(0.01)
BC	0.00	(0.01)	-0.05 ^a	(0.01)	-0.05 ^a	(0.01)	-0.07 ^a	(0.01)
Constant	0.83 ^a	(0.01)	0.83 ^a	(0.01)	0.01	(0.01)	0.72 ^a	(0.01)
Observations	5838		5946		5833		5875	
Adjusted R ²	0.04		0.04		0.04		0.10	

Standard errors in parentheses

Source: PDP

^a p<0.001, ^b p<0.01, ^c p<0.05

The difference between provincial and Canadian attachment is a more reliable indicator than provincial or Canadian attachment alone in testing generational effects, as it allows us to bypass the life cycle effect. What we observe are scores of 0.02 points among peri-Charter respondents, and 0.03 points post-Charter respondents in the direction of a pro-Canada balancing of attachments. While these effects are minimal, they are statistically significant, meaning that the peri- and post-Charter generations have some effect on how respondents in Québec balance their attachments to Québec and Canada.

Another interesting observation in table 2 is that one's education level achieved has a strengthening effect on levels of Canadian attachment, the balancing of attachments, and the balancing of provincial and Canadian self-identification. The effect we observed indicates that respondents who have achieved higher levels of education exhibit a stronger Canadian attachment and a stronger pro-Canada balancing of attachments and self-identification compared to those with lower levels of education achieved. Among ROC respondents, respondents with higher levels of education achieved exhibit a score of 0.11-points in the direction of stronger attachment to Canada. They also exhibit a stronger pro-Canada balancing of attachments by 0.12 points, and a stronger pro-Canada balancing of self-identification by 0.08 points. Also, these

differences are statistically significant and suggest that the more one is educated, the stronger pro-Canada balancing of identities is.

Similar to education level, province of residence also appears to have an effect on one's balancing of provincial and Canadian self-identification. Keeping in mind that Ontario is used as reference category in this table, it can be understood that relative to Ontario, respondents in each province have a stronger pro-province balancing of self-identity. Compared to those in Ontario, respondents in Newfoundland and Labrador exhibit a -0.34 weaker self-identification in the direction of Canada only as opposed to province only. Respondents in PEI and Nova Scotia exhibit a similar trend toward province only self-identification relative to those in Ontario, as they both score 0.15 points in the direction of a pro-province balancing of identification. In addition to these effects observed for Newfoundland and Labrador, PEI, and Nova Scotia, the differences in the balancing of self-identification among all other provinces in table 2 are statistically significant. This suggests that province of residence influences one's balancing of self-identification, and those outside of Ontario have a stronger provincial balancing of identities.

The following table is a similar multivariate regression analysis for the Québec sample. Outside of controlling for province of residence, this analysis mirrors that conducted in table 2. Interestingly, generation does not appear have a strong effect in any direction for understanding the indicators of identity strength among respondents in Québec. Similar to what we observe among ROC respondents, weaker provincial attachment among the post-Charter generation could be attributed to the life cycle effect, and therefore does not provide insight into the balance of provincial and Canadian identity. Peri- and post-Charter respondents score 0.04 and 0.08 points in the direction of weaker levels of provincial attachment toward relative to the pre-Charter sample. While these differences are statistically significant, I attribute them to the cycle effect. This means that the scores observed the other indicators, attachment difference, and self-identification better reflect how respondents balance their provincial and Canadian identities. The general absence of generational effect on the strength of Canadian identity observed in both tables 2 and 3 suggest that other factors like education or visible minority status may explain stronger pro-Canada trends observed in table 1.

Table 3. Québec respondents' strength indicators, controlling for socio-demographic factors

	Strength Indicators: Québec-Based Respondents							
	Canadian Attachment		Provincial Attachment		Attachment Difference		Self-Identification	
	Coef.	SE	Coef.	SE	Coef.	SE	Coef.	SE
Male	-0.02	(0.02)	-0.03 ^a	(0.01)	0.00	(0.02)	0.02	(0.01)
Education	-0.15 ^b	(0.05)	0.05	(0.04)	-0.20 ^b	(0.06)	-0.07	(0.04)
Employment	-0.04	(0.03)	-0.02	(0.02)	-0.02	(0.04)	-0.02	(0.02)
Visible Minorities	0.18 ^a	(0.03)	-0.12 ^a	(0.02)	0.30 ^a	(0.04)	0.22 ^a	(0.03)
Peri-Charter (Ref. Cat. Pre-Charter)	-0.03	(0.02)	-0.04 ^b	(0.02)	0.02	(0.03)	0.00	(0.02)
Post-Charter (Ref. Cat. Pre-Charter)	-0.03	(0.02)	-0.08 ^a	(0.02)	0.05	(0.03)	0.01	(0.02)
Constant	0.73 ^a	(0.04)	0.81 ^a	(0.03)	-0.08	(0.05)	0.43 ^a	(0.03)
Observations	1381		1383		1381		1389	
Adjusted R ²	0.03		0.04		0.05		0.05	

Standard errors in parentheses

Source: PDP

^a p<0.001, ^b p<0.01, ^c p<0.05

One of these other factors which could explain the 0.12-point difference in the direction of a stronger pro-Canada balancing of attachments between pre-Charter (-0.20) and post-Charter (-0.08) respondents in Québec observed in table 1 is visible minority status. The most striking differences observed in table 3 are the effect for visible minority respondents with regard to each indicator of identity. Among respondents in Québec, visible minority respondents exhibit both a stronger pro-Canada balancing of attachments and identities, and a weaker level of provincial attachment relative to white respondents. Relative to white respondents in Québec, visible minority respondents demonstrate stronger level of Canadian attachment by 0.18 points, a stronger pro-Canada balancing of attachments by 0.30 points, and a stronger pro-Canada balancing of identities by 0.22 points. Meanwhile these same respondents demonstrate weaker levels of attachment for Québec by 0.12 points. All of these differences are statistically significant, thus suggesting that visible minorities in Québec balance strong pro-Canada attachments and identities. In table 1 we observed that the post-Charter generation exhibits a stronger pro-Canada balancing of attachments relative to their older counterparts. However, the data in table 3 tells us that this is because younger generations are more likely to be members of visible minority communities who exhibit a stronger pro-Canada balancing of attachments than their white counterparts.

Furthermore, the effect of education level achieved among Québec respondents we observe in table 3 is opposite of the effect observed among ROC respondents in table 2. As noted earlier, ROC respondents with higher levels of education exhibited stronger attachment to Canada and a stronger pro-Canada balancing of attachments and identities compared to those with lower levels of education achieved. In contrast, Québec respondents with higher levels of education appear to have weaker Canadian attachment, and a stronger pro-province balancing of attachments. For every unit increase in education level among respondents in Québec, we observe a 0.15-point

difference in the direction of lower attachment to Canada, and a 0.20-point difference in the direction of a pro-Québec balancing of attachments. Just like the results observed among ROC respondents in table 2, these effects of education are statistically significant therefore suggesting that education level influences the strength of provincial and Canadian identities among native-born Canadians.

Overall, we observe that ROC respondents exhibit a strong and stable pro-Canada balancing of attachments and a pro-Canada balancing of self-identification. The weaker levels of Canadian and provincial attachment observed in table 1 among post-Charter ROC respondents relative to pre-Charter predecessors can be attributed to a life cycle effect. A higher education level among ROC respondents coincides with stronger attachments to Canada, and province of residence is important in understanding how ROC respondents balance their self-identification between provincial and Canadian identities. Among Québec respondents, post-Charter respondents exhibit a stronger pro-Canada balancing of attachments than their pre-Charter counterparts, yet this difference does not appear to be generational. Higher education level among Québec respondents coincides with weaker levels of attachment to Canada, and a pro-Québec balancing of attachments. Furthermore, visible minority respondents in Québec appear to exhibit stronger pro-Canada levels and balancing of attachments, as well as a pro-Canada balancing of self-identification. There are clear differences between Québec and ROC respondents, which will only be further highlighted in the analyses to come.

Levels of Policy Support among Native-born Canadians

To further assess the strength of Canadian and provincial identity between generations, I conduct similar analysis to those above, but with a focus on the support for the policies of multiculturalism, bilingualism, and the equalization payments program as well as on feelings of regional alienation. These three policies are outlined in the Canadian Charter of Rights and Freedoms as integral to the “Canadian way of life,” and also act as indicators for Canadian identity. The focus on the implementation of these policies within the enactment of the 1982 Constitution represents the push of the federal government toward achieving the “dream of one Canada,” and the institutional approach to Canada’s nation-building project. Centralizing values and policies at the federal level is vital in Canada’s intention to harmonize itself.

Similar to the data from table 1 focused on the levels and balancing of attachments, as well as self-identification, the data in table 5 indicates some differences between respondents inside and outside of Québec. These differences are most clear in the support for multiculturalism and bilingualism. What is striking about the findings we observe in table 5 is how respondents in Québec exhibit a generally stable support for both multiculturalism and bilingualism across generations, while ROC respondents exhibit the strengthening of support for both of these policies between the pre- and post-Charter generations. Québec respondents exhibit moderate support for multiculturalism, as they score 0.46, 0.48 and 0.52 points from pre to post-Charter generations. This could be read as a small strengthening of support for multiculturalism by 0.06 points between pre- and post-Charter respondents in Québec. Meanwhile, ROC respondents exhibit a more substantive strengthening of support for multiculturalism, as pre-Charter respondents score 0.46 points, peri-Charter respondents score 0.61 points, and post-Charter respondents score 0.65 points. There is a 0.19-point difference between generations in the direction of stronger support for multiculturalism. This appears to tell us that the post-Charter

generation of ROC respondents has a stronger support for multiculturalism than their pre-Charter predecessors.

Table 4. Policy Support Mean Scores: Native-Born Canadians

Native-Born Respondents		
	Québec	ROC
Support for Multiculturalism (0 – 1)		
Pre-Charter	0.46	0.46
Peri-Charter	0.48	0.61
Post-Charter	0.52	0.65
<i>N</i>	1247	5398
Support for Bilingualism (0 – 1)		
Pre-Charter	0.84	0.58
Peri-Charter	0.82	0.65
Post-Charter	0.80	0.68
<i>N</i>	1428	5998
Support for Equalization Payments Program (0 – 1)		
Pre-Charter	0.68	0.67
Peri-Charter	0.65	0.67
Post-Charter	0.70	0.64
<i>N</i>	1333	5796
Regional Alienation (0 – 1)		
Pre-Charter	0.87	0.82
Peri-Charter	0.84	0.75
Post-Charter	0.75	0.64
<i>N</i>	1399	5960

Respondents in Québec also demonstrate a strong and stable support for bilingualism across all three generations. The data in table 4 indicates that Québec respondents have strong levels of support for bilingualism, as all three generations exhibit scores above 0.80 points. Meanwhile, post-Charter ROC respondents exhibit stronger support for bilingualism by 0.10 points relative to their pre-Charter counterparts, as this changes from 0.58 to 0.68 points. What these observations suggest is that post-Charter ROC respondents are exhibiting stronger levels of support for both multiculturalism and bilingualism relative to those who knew Canada before 1982, while the support for these policies in Québec remains stable.

We also observe stability in support for the equalization payments program among Québec and ROC respondents alike. ROC respondents and those in Québec demonstrate strong levels of

support for the equalization payments program across all three generations, as these respondents exhibit scores in a range from 0.64 to 0.70. The complexity of the functioning of the equalization payments program may be the reason for this minimal difference in support, or the minimal relationship this policy has with individual identity markers like racial or linguistic identity.

In addition to the measurement of policy support, we observe feelings of regional alienation in table 4. Post-Charter Canadians both inside and outside of Québec appear to express weaker feelings of regional alienation when compared to their pre-Charter predecessors. Despite this shared weakening of regional alienation among Québec and ROC respondents, we do observe a greater effect among ROC respondents, suggesting that this weakening is more ubiquitous for those outside of Québec. Pre-Charter respondents in Québec score 0.87 points with regard to regional alienation. This means that they strongly feel like Québec does not receive its fair share of either resources from the federal government or does not have as much influence as it should on the rest of the country. The difference we observe between pre-Charter and post-Charter respondents in Québec is 0.12 points in the direction of weaker feelings of regional alienation, meaning that post-Charter respondents score 0.75 points. While this is still a strong sense of regional alienation felt by post-Charter respondents in Québec, it is weaker relative to pre-Charter respondents.

Among the pre-Charter ROC respondents, feelings of regional alienation are also strong. Pre-Charter ROC respondents exhibit a score of (0.82) points, which is not far off from the scores of pre-Charter Québec respondents. However, the difference between Québec and ROC respondents is observed in the level of regional alienation felt by the post-Charter generation. Post-Charter ROC respondents exhibit a score of (0.64) points with regard to regional alienation. This is a (0.18) points difference in the direction of weaker feelings of regional alienation. Furthermore, scores closer to 0.5 indicate feelings of adequate influence and resources received by a respondents' province of residence. This shows that relative to both their pre-Charter counterparts and those in Québec, post-Charter ROC respondents are exhibiting noticeably weaker feelings of regional alienation.

Looking at table 5, we see a multivariate regression analysis of to ensure differences in policy support and regional alienation can be attributed to the pre-, peri-, and post-Charter generations, and not to either socio-demographic characteristics or indicators of provincial and Canadian identity.

We observe that among ROC respondents, generation has an effect on the support for multiculturalism and bilingualism, as well as feelings of regional alienation. The support for multiculturalism is both stronger among peri- and post-Charter respondents compared to pre-Charter respondents and is getting stronger for each subsequent generational group. The same strengthening effect can be seen in the support for bilingualism among peri- and post-Charter respondents. Also, feelings of regional alienation are observed to be weaker among peri- and post-Charter respondents relative to the pre-Charter generation. All of these effects are observed to be statistically significant, suggesting that generation has an effect on the support for national policies.

The differences in table 5 indicate that with regard to support for multiculturalism, peri-Charter respondents exhibit a stronger support by 0.10 points, and post-Charter respondents exhibit a stronger support for multiculturalism by 0.16 points compared to the pre-Charter generation. White regard to support for bilingualism, peri-Charter ROC respondents exhibit a 0.08-point stronger support for bilingualism compared to the pre-Charter generation, and post-Charter respondents exhibit a 0.13-point stronger support for bilingualism relative to pre-Charter respondents. Support for both multiculturalism and bilingualism is then stronger for each generation following the pre-Charter generation. This means that when controlling for socio-demographic factors and strength of Canadian identity (net of), we observe great support for multiculturalism and bilingualism among post-Charter generations.

Table 5. ROC respondents' policy support, controlling for socio-demographic factors

	Policy Support: ROC Respondents							
	Multiculturalism		Bilingualism		Equalization		Regional Alienation	
	Coef.	SE	Coef.	SE	Coef.	SE	Coef.	SE
Male	-0.02	(0.01)	-0.05 ^a	(0.01)	0.00	(0.01)	0.06 ^a	(0.01)
Education	0.32 ^a	(0.03)	0.08 ^b	(0.02)	0.08 ^a	(0.02)	0.07 ^b	(0.03)
Employment	0.01 ^a	(0.02)	0.01	(0.01)	-0.02	(0.01)	0.02	(0.01)
Visible Minorities	0.22 ^a	(0.02)	-0.04 ^b	(0.01)	-0.01	(0.01)	-0.02	(0.02)
Canadian Attachment	0.12 ^b	(0.04)	0.15 ^a	(0.03)	0.18 ^a	(0.03)	-0.06 ^c	(0.03)
Provincial Attachment	0.03	(0.04)	-0.06 ^c	(0.02)	-0.07 ^b	(0.02)	0.08 ^b	(0.03)
Self-Identification	0.05	(0.03)	-0.03	(0.02)	0.06 ^b	(0.02)	-0.11 ^a	(0.02)
Peri-Charter (Ref. Cat. Pre-Charter)	0.10 ^a	(0.01)	0.08 ^a	(0.01)	0.01	(0.01)	-0.07 ^a	(0.01)
Post-Charter (Ref. Cat. Pre-Charter)	0.16 ^a	(0.02)	0.13 ^a	(0.02)	0.01	(0.01)	-0.16 ^a	(0.02)
Provinces (Ref. Cat. ON)								
NFLD	0.13 ^a	(0.03)	0.01	(0.02)	0.10 ^a	(0.02)	0.17 ^a	(0.02)
PEI	0.10 ^b	(0.04)	0.04	(0.03)	0.13 ^a	(0.03)	0.06	(0.03)
NS	0.09 ^a	(0.02)	0.03 ^c	(0.02)	0.09 ^a	(0.02)	0.11 ^a	(0.02)
NB	0.06 ^c	(0.02)	0.05 ^b	(0.02)	0.10 ^a	(0.02)	0.08 ^a	(0.02)
MB	0.03	(0.02)	-0.06 ^a	(0.02)	0.04 ^b	(0.02)	0.04 ^c	(0.02)
SK	-0.01	(0.02)	-0.12 ^a	(0.02)	-0.03 ^c	(0.02)	0.10 ^a	(0.02)
AB	-0.01	(0.02)	-0.10 ^a	(0.01)	-0.11 ^a	(0.01)	0.09 ^a	(0.01)
BC	0.01	(0.02)	-0.05 ^a	(0.01)	0.00	(0.01)	0.03 ^c	(0.01)
Constant	0.07	(0.04)	0.59 ^a	(0.03)	0.49 ^a	(0.03)	0.77 ^a	(0.03)
Observations	5059		5711		5416		5545	
Adjusted R ²	0.08		0.07		0.08		0.07	

Standard errors in parentheses

Source: PDP

^a p<0.001, ^b p<0.01, ^c p<0.05

This is also observed in the differences for feelings of regional alienation, but in the opposite direction. Compared to the pre-Charter generation, peri-Charter ROC respondents exhibit weaker feelings of regional alienation by 0.07 points, while post-Charter respondents exhibit weaker feelings of alienation by 0.16 points. For every generation following the pre-Charter generation, it appears that Canadians outside of Québec are feeling less regionally alienated. The observed statistical significance for this effect of decreased regional alienation and the stronger support for multiculturalism and bilingualism based on generation suggests that among ROC respondents, drawing generational boundaries around the enactment of the 1982 Constitution and the Charter is important.

On top of the generational differences observed in table 5, one's level of Canadian and provincial attachment also appear to influence their support for policies and regional alienation. Stronger levels of Canadian attachment among ROC respondents are observed to result in stronger support for multiculturalism, bilingualism, and the equalization payments program, and weaker feelings of regional alienation. As Canadian attachment strengthens, ROC respondents exhibit a strong support for multiculturalism by 0.12 points, a stronger support for bilingualism by 0.15 points, and a stronger support for the equalization payments program by 0.18 points. Additionally, every unit increase in Canadian attachment results in weaker feelings of regional alienation by 0.06 points. We will revisit these results in the following section when we examine how salient Canadian identity is on the support for these policies and how it might have changed for post-Charter Canadians.

Inverse to the influence of Canadian attachment observed in table 5, stronger levels of provincial attachment are observed to indicate weaker support for bilingualism and the equalization payments program, and a stronger sense of regional alienation. As provincial attachment strengthens, ROC respondents exhibit a (0.06) point weaker support for bilingualism, and (0.07) point weaker support for the equalization payments program. Furthermore, every unit increase in provincial attachment results in a (0.08) point stronger feelings of regional alienation among ROC respondents.

It appears among ROC respondents that stronger levels of Canadian attachment generally result in stronger support for policies, while stronger provincial attachment yields weaker support for national policies. Also, stronger levels of Canadian attachment appear to influence weaker feelings of regional alienation, while respondents with stronger levels of provincial attachment express stronger feelings of regional alienation. These findings regarding feelings of regional alienation are also supported by controlling for the balancing between Canadian and provincial identification. ROC respondents who exhibit a stronger pro-Canada balancing of self-identification also exhibit weaker feelings of regional alienation by 0.11 points. Therefore, it appears that stronger ties to Canada are connected to weaker feelings of regional alienation.

Keeping the above findings in mind, the data in table 5 also indicates that socio-demographic characteristics also play a role in determining the support for certain policies and feelings of regional alienation. Across the board, ROC respondents with higher education level exhibit stronger support for multiculturalism, bilingualism, and the equalization payments program. Additionally, respondents with higher levels of education express stronger feeling of regional alienation. The observed results indicate that with each higher level of education achieved,

support for multiculturalism strengthens by 0.32 points, support for bilingualism gets stronger by 0.08 points, and support for the equalization payments program is stronger by 0.08 points. Further, respondents who have achieved higher levels of education exhibit stronger feelings of regional alienation by 0.07 points. These differences are also found to be statistically significant.

Another socio-demographic characteristic that needs to be noticed in table 5 is visible minority status. Relative to white respondents in the ROC sample, visible minority respondents exhibit a stronger support for multiculturalism. When controlling for socio-demographic characteristics, non-white respondents demonstrate a 0.22-point stronger support for multiculturalism compared to their white counterparts. This is not surprising given the relationship between multiculturalism and racial identity. At the surface level, multiculturalism is tied to the promotion of racial diversity and inclusion in Canada. The stronger support for a policy targeted at diversity and inclusion among members of visible minority communities therefore makes sense and is displayed through these results.

Interestingly, we also observe that province of residence has an impact on ROC respondents' level of support for these three policies and feelings of regional alienation. ROC respondents in Newfoundland and Labrador demonstrate stronger support for multiculturalism and the equalization payments program relative to those in Ontario. Respondents in Newfoundland demonstrate a 0.13-point stronger support for multiculturalism, and a 0.11-point stronger support for bilingualism relative to those in Ontario. Furthermore, those in Newfoundland and Labrador, Nova Scotia, and Alberta are observed to have stronger feelings of regional alienation compared to those in Ontario. Newfoundland respondents exhibit a 0.17-point difference in the direction of stronger feelings of regional alienation, while those in Nova Scotia exhibit a 0.11-point difference in the same direction relative to Ontarian respondents. Respondents in Alberta also display stronger feelings of regional alienation by 0.10 points compared to their Ontarian counterparts.

Overall, the statistically significant differences observed when controlling for education, visible minority status, and province of residence tell us that certain socio-demographic and geographic characteristics have some influence in how Canadians in the ROC sample display support for multiculturalism, bilingualism, and the equalization payments program, as well as how strong their feelings of regional alienation are. Higher educated ROC respondents show stronger levels of support for the three policies and feel more regionally alienated than respondents with lower levels of education achieved. Visible minority respondents exhibit stronger support for multiculturalism compared to their white counterparts. Also, respondents in Newfoundland and Labrador, Nova Scotia, and Alberta appear to feel stronger senses of regional alienation than those in Ontario.

When applying the same analysis above to the Québec sample to ensure that the differences observed in table 4 are due to the division between generations and not due to other factors, we observe different results between ROC respondents and those in Québec. In contrast to the results for ROC respondents displayed in table 5, we observe almost no difference in support for multiculturalism, bilingualism, or the equalization payments program across generational groups. We observe that the post-Charter generation has an effect on regional alienation in the direction of weaker feelings of alienation, but this effect is not strong. Post-Charter respondents in Québec

exhibit weaker feelings of regional alienation relative to their pre-Charter counterparts by 0.05 points. While this difference is statistically significant, the effect is minimal compared to the (0.16) point weakening we observed among post-Charter ROC respondents in table 5. Post-Charter respondents appear to feel less regionally alienated relative to the pre-Charter generation, but the generational differences observed among respondents in Québec are both less pronounced as those observed in the ROC sample and are limited feelings of regional alienation.

Nevertheless, the analysis of the Québec sample yields some similarities with the ROC sample, specifically regarding Canadian attachment, education, and visible minority status. Just like ROC respondents, Québec respondents with higher levels of Canadian attachment exhibit stronger support for multiculturalism and the equalization payments program as well as weaker feelings of regional alienation. As Canadian attachment strengthens, respondents in Québec exhibit a 0.18-point stronger support for multiculturalism and a 0.11-point stronger support for the equalization payments program. One difference between ROC and Québec respondents is that stronger Canadian attachment among those in Québec is not observed to result in a variance of support for bilingualism, as there is no effect between Canadian attachment and support for bilingualism. However, this is expected due to the relevance of linguistic identity and Québécois identity, as support for the policy of bilingualism has stronger ties to provincial attachment than Canadian attachment specifically within Québec.

In contrast to the results observed among ROC respondents in table 5, Québec respondents with stronger attachments to Québec exhibit a stronger support for bilingualism by 0.08 points. Additionally, we observe that among respondents in Québec the strengthening of Canadian attachment results in weaker feelings of regional alienation by 0.20 points. While stronger Canadian attachment is observed to generally align with weaker feelings regional alienation, this effect is stronger among respondents in Québec relative to ROC respondents, as ROC respondents with stronger levels of Canadian attachment exhibit a score of 0.06 points and Québec respondents with similarly strong attachments exhibit a score 0.20 points in the direction of weaker alienation.

A difference that we see between the ROC and Québec sample populations is the effect of the balance of self-identification. Among the ROC sample we observed that a pro-Canada balancing of self-identification results in a weaker feeling of regional alienation. In the Québec sample this effect is observed, but the stronger pro-Canada balancing of self-identification also results the stronger support for multiculturalism. Québec respondents who exhibit a stronger Canada only identity display stronger support for multiculturalism by 0.18 points, and weaker feelings regionally alienation by 0.20 points.

Another similarity between the ROC and Québec samples is the influence of controlling for visible minority status and education level achieved with regard to multiculturalism support. The effect we observe among both the ROC and Québec samples is that respondents who fall under the visible minority category exhibit stronger support for multiculturalism compared to white respondents. Relative to white respondents, visible minority respondents exhibit a 0.22-point stronger support for multiculturalism, which is very similar to the scores observed in the ROC sample; a 0.20-point strengthening. What is interesting about these similarities is that they

suggest racial identity has influence on Canadian's level of support for multiculturalism inside and outside of Québec.

Table 6. Québec respondents' policy support, controlling for socio-demographic factors

	Policy Support: Québec Respondents							
	Multiculturalism		Bilingualism		Equalization		Regional Alienation	
	Coef.	SE	Coef.	SE	Coef.	SE	Coef.	SE
Male	-0.02	(0.02)	0.00	(0.01)	0.01	(0.01)	0.00	(0.02)
Education	0.16 ^c	(0.06)	0.08 ^a	(0.02)	0.04	(0.04)	-0.11 ^a	(0.05)
Employment	-0.02	(0.04)	-0.02	(0.01)	-0.04	(0.02)	-0.04	(0.03)
Visible Minorities	0.22 ^a	(0.04)	-0.02	(0.02)	0.01	(0.03)	-0.02	(0.03)
Canadian Attachment	0.18 ^a	(0.05)	-0.01	(0.02)	0.11 ^b	(0.03)	-0.20 ^a	(0.04)
Provincial Attachment	-0.01	(0.06)	0.08 ^b	(0.02)	0.03	(0.04)	0.25 ^a	(0.04)
Self-Identification	0.18 ^b	(0.07)	-0.01	(0.02)	0.06	(0.04)	-0.19 ^a	(0.05)
Peri-Charter (Ref. Cat. Pre-Charter)	0.01	(0.03)	-0.01	(0.01)	0.00	(0.02)	0.00	(0.02)
Post-Charter (Ref. Cat. Pre-Charter)	-0.01	(0.03)	-0.03 ^a	(0.01)	0.04	(0.02)	-0.05 ^a	(0.03)
Constant	0.25 ^b	(0.08)	0.85 ^a	(0.03)	0.55 ^a	(0.05)	0.94 ^a	(0.06)
Observations	1181		1365		1271		1234	
Adjusted R ²	0.10		0.04		0.03		0.16	

Standard errors in parentheses

Source: PDP

^a p<0.001, ^b p<0.01, ^c p<0.05

Furthermore, like the results observed among ROC respondents, Québec respondents with higher education levels exhibit stronger support for multiculturalism and bilingualism, and weaker feelings of regional alienation. In the Québec sample, those who have achieved higher education levels exhibit a 0.16-point stronger support for multiculturalism and stronger support for bilingualism relative to those who have not achieved the same level of education by 0.08 points. Among respondents in Québec who have achieved higher levels of support for both multiculturalism and bilingualism strengthens. When looking to education's effect on regional alienation, we also see that respondents who have achieved higher levels of education in Québec exhibit weaker feelings of regional alienation by 0.11 points. This is very similar to the effects observed among the ROC sample in table 5. However, in contrast to ROC respondents we do not observe an effect between education level achieved and the support of the equalization payments program among respondents in Québec.

Overall, we begin to see trends between the ROC and Québec samples regarding the support for multiculturalism, bilingualism, the equalization payments program, and feelings of regional alienation. The data observed above suggests that Canadians who have achieved higher levels of education, who have stronger levels of Canadian attachment, and who are members of visible

minority communities tend to exhibit stronger support for multiculturalism and bilingualism, and weaker levels of regional alienation.

Furthermore, Canadians born in the post-Charter generation exhibit weaker feelings of regional alienation. The effects of the post-Charter generation on feelings of regional alienation across the ROC and Québec samples are observed to be statistically significant, which suggests that institutional learning has occurred on the diffusion level for post-Charter Canadians. Diffusion occurs when people accept and internalize values that require little restraint or unlearning at the individual level (Rohrschneider 1999). While I cannot demonstrate explicit institutional learning, I attribute these observed differences in feelings of regional alienation to the variance in diffusion of values between Charter-relative generations.

While there are similarities outlined between the ROC and Québec samples, we also observe differences in how post-Charter respondents balance their strength of Canadian and provincial identities. Post-Charter ROC respondents appear to exhibit stronger and increasing support for multiculturalism and bilingualism relative to their pre-Charter counterparts, while post-Charter respondents in Québec appear to exhibit a balancing of Canadian identity similar to their predecessors. Additionally, when compared the ROC sample, the difference in the balancing of Canadian identity between visible minority and white respondents is greater. These differences between the ROC and Québec sample highlights how differences in provincial contexts remain in the post-Charter generation.

Strength of provincial and Canadian identities among First-Generation Immigrants.

It is important to note that as mentioned in the methodology section above, the respondents of the migrant sample were not split between those inside and outside Québec, due to the insufficient sample size of pre-Charter respondents represented in the Provincial Diversity Project.

Provincial and Canadian-Identity Indicators

Mirroring the measurements above for native-born Canadians, the data in table 7 shows the mean scores for the strength of indicators for Canadian identity. We observe that among first-generation immigrants, that strength of Canadian identity is both strong and stable among pre- and post-Charter migrant respondents. These results support the findings of Bilodeau et al. 2015, as first-generation immigrant respondents balance the levels of their attachment and self-identification differently than their native-born counterparts.

Similar to the findings observed in the native-born Canadian case, provincial and Canadian attachment levels among post-Charter respondents are weaker than relative to pre-Charter respondents. Pre-Charter migrant respondents exhibit a 0.87-point score in the direction of strong attachment for Canada, and a 0.80-point score in the direction of strong attachment for their province of residence. Meanwhile, post-Charter migrant respondents exhibit scores of 0.80 points for Canadian attachment and 0.73 points for provincial attachment. These weaker levels of attachment observed among the post-Charter sample are the same for both Canadian and provincial attachments and support hypotheses of both the life cycle effect, and length of residence. The life cycle effect which appeared in the native-born Canadian sample may be the

determinant for this weaker sense of attachment among post-Charter migrant respondents. As previously outlined, attachment to one's community strengthens with age (Campbell 1971). The mean age of migrant respondents in the pre-Charter generation is 60, while the mean age of migrant respondents in the post-Charter generation is 38. However, for migrants, attachment to one's community is also found to strengthen along-side one's length of residence in their host country (Iacovino 2014, 92). The mean length of residence among pre-Charter migrant respondents is 46 years, while the mean length of residence among post-Charter migrant respondents is 13 years. Keeping in mind both the life cycle effect hypothesis and the length of residence hypothesis, this weakened sense of provincial and Canadian attachment among the post-Charter sample is expected.

Interestingly, there is no difference between how pre- and post-Charter migrant respondents balance their provincial and Canadian attachments. Migrant respondents from both generations exhibit an equal pro-Canada balancing of attachments, as they are observed to both score 0.07 points in the direction of stronger Canadian attachment relative to provincial attachment. The stability we observe between generations with regard to the balancing of attachments is also observed in the balancing of self-identification. Migrant respondents in the pre-Charter and post-Charter generation appear to self-identify with Canada instead of with their province of residence, and there is also no difference between either generation. Pre-Charter migrant respondents exhibit a score of 0.70 points in the direction of a Canada only identity, while those in the post-Charter generation exhibit a 0.68-point score in the same direction. We observe a stable pro-Canada balancing of identities among first-generation immigrants in table 7. Compared to the differences observed between generations in the native-born Canadian sample, it appears that post-Charter migrant respondents tend to exhibit a balancing of identities which mirrors their pre-Charter counterparts.

Table 7. Attachments & Identification Mean Scores: First-Generation Immigrants

Migrant Respondents	
Canadian Attachment (0 – 1)	
Pre-Charter	0.87
Post-Charter	0.80
<i>N</i>	2051
Provincial Attachment (0 – 1)	
Pre-Charter	0.80
Post-Charter	0.73
<i>N</i>	2050
Difference Between Attachments (-1 – 1)	
Pre-Charter	0.07
Post-Charter	0.07
<i>N</i>	2044
Self-Identification (0 – 1)	
Pre-Charter	0.70
Post-Charter	0.68
<i>N</i>	1962

Akin to the analysis conducted above for the native-born Canadian sample, I run a multivariate regression analysis to better evaluate the significance of the findings in table 8. Even though we observe almost no differences above, the following table provides insight into what may have an effect on the balancing of attachments and identity among migrant respondents. A methodological difference to notice in this table is the inclusion of Québec while controlling for province of residence. Just like the analysis conducted above with the native-born sample, Ontario is used as the reference category when controlling for province of residence.

Table 8. Migrant respondents' strength indicators, controlling for socio-demographic factors

	Strength Indicators: Migrant Respondents							
	Canadian Attachment		Provincial Attachment		Attachment Difference		Self-Identification	
	Coef.	SE	Coef.	SE	Coef.	SE	Coef.	SE
Male	-0.01	(0.01)	-0.04 ^a	(0.01)	0.03 ^b	(0.01)	0.05 ^a	(0.01)
Education	0.03	(0.03)	0.02	(0.03)	0.01	(0.03)	0.04	(0.03)
Employment	0.02	(0.01)	0.03	(0.02)	-0.01	(0.02)	0.01	(0.02)
Visible Minorities	0.00	(0.01)	0.00	(0.01)	0.00	(0.01)	0.00	(0.02)
Post-Charter (Ref. Cat. Pre-Charter)	-0.07 ^a	(0.01)	-0.07 ^a	(0.01)	0.00	(0.01)	-0.03	(0.01)
Provinces (Ref. Cat. ON)								
NFLD	-0.02	(0.07)	0.07	(0.06)	-0.09	(0.07)	-0.14	(0.09)
PEI	-0.02	(0.05)	0.08	(0.06)	-0.10	(0.06)	-0.16 ^c	(0.07)
NS	0.01	(0.04)	0.01	(0.04)	0.00	(0.04)	-0.08	(0.05)
NB	-0.07	(0.05)	-0.07	(0.05)	-0.01	(0.05)	-0.10	(0.06)
QC	-0.04 ^b	(0.01)	-0.13 ^a	(0.02)	0.10 ^a	(0.02)	-0.08 ^a	(0.02)
MB	0.01	(0.03)	-0.10 ^a	(0.03)	0.12 ^a	(0.03)	-0.07	(0.03)
SK	0.00	(0.03)	-0.04	(0.04)	0.03	(0.04)	-0.03	(0.04)
AB	0.01	(0.01)	0.00	(0.02)	0.02	(0.02)	-0.06 ^a	(0.02)
BC	-0.03 ^c	(0.01)	0.00	(0.01)	-0.03 ^c	(0.01)	-0.04 ^c	(0.01)
Constant	0.84 ^a	(0.02)	0.80 ^a	(0.03)	0.04	(0.03)	0.67 ^a	(0.03)
Observations	1945		1945		1939		1865	
Adjusted R ²	0.03		0.08		0.05		0.01	

Standard errors in parentheses

Source: PDP

^a p<0.001, ^b p<0.01, ^c p<0.05

Looking to table 8, we observe almost no effect of generation on attachment level, or the balancing of attachments and identities. Even though we see differences in attachment levels among the post-Charter generation, the scores of 0.07 points in the direction of weaker attachment can be attributed to either the life cycle or length of residence hypotheses. It also appears that controlling for socio-demographic characteristics has not resulted in significant effects on identity strength among migrant respondents. The strongest socio-demographic score we observe is through controlling for sex, as male respondents exhibit a 0.05-point stronger pro-Canada self-identification. This minimal variance suggests that neither generation nor socio-demographics contribute to how attached migrant respondents are to their province or Canada, or how they balance these attachments and identities.

Interestingly, it appears that the variables with the greatest effect on the balancing of attachments and identities in table 8 is province of residence. Migrant respondents in PEI, Québec, and Manitoba exhibit differences in provincial attachment levels, the balancing of attachments, and self-identification relative to migrant respondents in Ontario. Compared to migrant respondents in Ontario, those in PEI exhibit a stronger pro-province balancing of self-

identity, as we observe a difference of 0.16 points in the direction of province only identification. Migrant respondents in Québec appear to have weaker levels of provincial attachment, a stronger pro-Canada balancing of attachments, and a pro-province balancing of self-identities relative to those in Ontario.

Those in Québec exhibit a 0.13-point difference in the direction of weaker provincial attachment, a 0.10-point difference in the direction of a pro-Canada balancing of attachments, and a 0.08-point difference in the direction of a pro-province self-identification relative to those in Ontario. Additionally, we see that migrant respondents in Manitoba exhibit a 0.10-point difference in the direction of weaker provincial attachment, and a 0.12-point difference in the direction of a pro-Canada balancing of attachments relative to those in Ontario. These differences among migrant respondents in PEI, Québec, and Manitoba are observed to be statistically significant, and tell us that one's province of residence has influence on the balancing of provincial and Canadian identities. The data in table 8 suggests that differences between provincial contexts appears to be relevant among first-generation immigrants in Canada, even more so than generations relative to the enactment of the 1982 Constitution or socio-demographic factors.

Levels of Policy Support among First-Generation Immigrants

In contrast to the strong and stable strength of Canadian identity highlighted among migrant respondents in table 8, we observe some differences in support for national between generations as indicated in table 9. Relative to their pre-Charter counterparts, post-Charter migrant respondents exhibit both a stronger support for multiculturalism and weaker feelings of regional alienation. The support for multiculturalism among migrant respondents jumps from 0.54 points in the direction of stronger support for pre-Charter respondents to 0.78 points among post-Charter respondents. This is a striking strengthening of 0.24 points. Furthermore, feelings of regional alienation weaken from 0.75 points among pre-Charter respondents to 0.67 points among post-Charter respondents. Even though this difference between generations is not as striking as that observed for the support of multiculturalism, it reflects the weakened feelings of regional alienation observed among post-Charter native-born Canadians. It appears that post-Charter respondents across both case studies feel less regionally alienated than their pre-Charter counterparts.

Table 9. Policy Support Mean Scores: First-Generation Immigrants

Migrant Respondents	
Support for Multiculturalism (0 – 1)	
Pre-Charter	0.54
Post-Charter	0.78
<i>N</i>	1891
Support for Bilingualism (0 – 1)	
Pre-Charter	0.63
Post-Charter	0.66
<i>N</i>	1984
Support for Equalization (0 – 1)	
Pre-Charter	0.69
Post-Charter	0.70
<i>N</i>	1937
Regional Alienation (0 – 1)	
Pre-Charter	0.75
Post-Charter	0.67
<i>N</i>	1948

While we see generational differences in table 9 regarding the support for multiculturalism and feelings of regional alienation, we do not see generational differences in the support for bilingualism or the equalization payments program. Pre-Charter migrant respondents exhibit a 0.63-point score with regard to support for bilingualism, while those in the post-Charter generation exhibit a 0.66-point score. Both of these scores represent strong support for bilingualism. Furthermore, support for the equalization payments program is strongly supported as pre-Charter respondents exhibit a 0.69-point score, and a post-Charter display a 0.70-points score. Therefore, it appears that among the migrant sample, Charter generations have a striking effect on the support for multiculturalism and feelings of regional alienation.

To ensure the differences between the mean scores of multiculturalism support and regional alienation in table 9 are due to the difference in generations and not socio-demographic characteristics, I conduct another multivariate regression analysis and controlled for both sociodemographic characteristics and strength of identities. Among the first-generation immigrant sample, it appears that many factors influence policy support and feelings of regional alienation. Looking to table 10, we observe that the post-Charter generation has an effect on the support for multiculturalism (0.12 points) and feelings of regional alienation (-0.11 points). Further, we see the net effects of socio-demographic characteristics and strength of Canadian identity attachment on the support for multiculturalism and feelings of regional alienation are

weaker than the effects of the post-Charter generations. Those in the post-Charter generation demonstrate a 0.12-point stronger support for multiculturalism and weaker feelings of alienation by 0.11 points relative to their pre-Charter counterparts.

Table 10. Migrant respondents' policy support, controlling for socio-demographic factors

	Policy Support: Migrant Respondents							
	Multiculturalism		Bilingualism		Equalization		Regional Alienation	
	Coef.	SE	Coef.	SE	Coef.	SE	Coef.	SE
Male	0.07	(0.02)	-0.05 ^a	(0.01)	0.02	(0.01)	0.04 ^c	(0.02)
Education	0.05	(0.05)	-0.05	(0.04)	0.01	(0.04)	0.12 ^c	(0.06)
Employment	0.03	(0.03)	0.00	(0.02)	-0.04 ^c	(0.02)	0.00	(0.03)
Visible Minorities	0.20 ^a	(0.02)	0.03	(0.02)	0.02	(0.02)	-0.02	(0.02)
Canadian Attachment	0.29 ^a	(0.05)	0.11 ^b	(0.04)	0.17 ^a	(0.04)	-0.14 ^c	(0.06)
Provincial Attachment	0.10 ^c	(0.05)	0.06	(0.04)	0.01	(0.03)	0.11 ^c	(0.05)
Self-Identification	0.07	(0.04)	-0.03	(0.03)	0.04	(0.03)	-0.16 ^a	(0.04)
Post-Charter (Ref. Cat. Pre-Charter)	0.12 ^a	(0.02)	0.02	(0.02)	0.01	(0.02)	-0.11 ^a	(0.02)
Provinces (Ref. Cat. ON)								
NFLD	0.28	(0.15)	0.20	(0.11)	0.23 ^c	(0.10)	0.18	(0.15)
PEI	-0.02	(0.10)	0.10	(0.07)	0.19 ^c	(0.07)	0.10	(0.11)
NS	0.16 ^c	(0.07)	0.08	(0.05)	0.14 ^b	(0.05)	0.12	(0.07)
NB	-0.02	(0.08)	-0.03	(0.06)	0.14 ^c	(0.06)	0.16	(0.09)
QC	0.01	(0.03)	0.22 ^a	(0.02)	0.09 ^a	(0.02)	-0.04	(0.03)
MB	0.07	(0.05)	-0.01	(0.04)	0.09 ^c	(0.04)	0.05	(0.06)
SK	-0.15 ^c	(0.06)	-0.06	(0.05)	-0.05	(0.05)	0.01	(0.07)
AB	0.00	(0.03)	-0.02	(0.02)	-0.08 ^a	(0.02)	0.02	(0.03)
BC	0.01	(0.02)	-0.04 ^c	(0.02)	-0.02	(0.02)	0.01	(0.03)
Constant	0.05	(0.07)	0.61 ^a	(0.05)	0.49 ^a	(0.05)	0.83 ^a	(0.07)
Observations	1698		1817		1740		1746	
Adjusted R ²	0.13		0.12		0.07		0.05	

Standard errors in parentheses

Source: PDP

^a p<0.001, ^b p<0.01, ^c p<0.05

However, this does not tell the whole story, as Canadian attachment strengthens, pre-Charter migrant respondents exhibit a 0.29-point stronger support for multiculturalism, a 0.11-point stronger support for bilingualism, a 0.17-point stronger support for multiculturalism, and a 0.14-point weakening in feelings of regional alienation. This means that migrant respondents who exhibit stronger levels of Canadian attachment demonstrate stronger support for these three policies and weaker feeling of regional alienation. Additionally, as provincial attachment strengthens, pre-Charter respondents exhibit a 0.10-point stronger support for multiculturalism, and stronger feelings of regional alienation by a 0.11-points. Therefore, migrant respondents with stronger levels of provincial attachment exhibit stronger support for multiculturalism, and

stronger feelings of regional alienation. Migrant respondents who exhibit a pro-Canada balancing of self-identification also demonstrate weaker feelings of regional alienation by 0.16 points relative to those who exhibit a pro-province balancing of identities.

These differences tell us it appears that there is more to the story of understanding policy support than generation relative to the Charter. While the effects of the post-Charter generation on stronger support for multiculturalism and weaker feelings of regional alienation relative to pre-Charter respondents are statistically significant, the indicators of identity strength appear to have a greater effect on policy support. Similar to the findings of Post-Charter Québec and ROC respondents exhibiting weaker feelings of regional alienation relative to their pre-Charter counterparts, the differences in feelings of regional alienation between pre- and post-Charter migrant respondents suggest that institutional learning has occurred on the diffusion level for first-generation immigrants. The weakened feelings of regional alienation across the board for post-Charter respondents compared to pre-Charter respondents suggests that maintaining regional grievances is either not as valued in post-Charter Canada, or that post-Charter Canadians are feeling more nationally harmonized; a goal of the 1982 Constitution Act.

Before we go any further, we must observe the difference in support for multiculturalism when controlling for visible minority respondents among the migrant sample. Migrant respondents who are members of visible minority communities exhibit stronger support for multiculturalism compared to their white counterparts. Specifically, migrant respondents who identify as visible minorities exhibit a 0.20-point stronger support for multiculturalism relative to white migrant respondents. The effect of visible minority status on the support for multiculturalism is shared between the two cases analyzed in this study. Overall, it appears that Canadians who identify as visible minorities exhibit a stronger support for multiculturalism relative to white respondents, regardless of if they are Canadian born, or born abroad. Similar to the observed effect of visible minority status among native-born Canadians, this effect is unsurprising. Respondents from visible minority communities can therefore be expected to display a stronger support for a policy that promotes racial diversity and inclusion, whether they were born inside or outside of Canada.

In addition to the observed effects of identity strength indicators, socio-demographic characteristics, and Charter generation on the support for policies and feelings of regional alienation, we also observe that province of residence plays a role migrant respondents' levels of policy support. Compared to migrant respondents in Ontario, controlling for province of residence is observed to have noticeable effects on the levels of policy support among migrant respondents in eight of the nine provinces analyzed.

Relative to those in Ontario, migrant respondents in Atlantic Canada exhibit a stronger support for the equalization payments program. We see a difference of 0.23 points among those in Newfoundland, 0.19 points among those in PEI, and 0.14 points among those in both Nova Scotia and New Brunswick, all in the direction of stronger support for the equalization payments program compared to their counterparts in Ontario. We also observe that migrant respondents in Nova Scotia exhibit a 0.16-point stronger support for multiculturalism relative to migrant respondents in Ontario.

Among migrant respondents in Québec, we observe a 0.22-point stronger support for bilingualism, and a 0.09-point stronger support for the equalization payments program. Furthermore, those in Manitoba exhibit a stronger support for the equalization payments program by 0.09 points, and those in Alberta demonstrate a weaker support for this program by 0.08 points relative to Ontario respondents. Finally, we also observe migrant respondents in Saskatchewan to exhibit weaker support for multiculturalism by 0.15 points relative to their Ontarian counterparts.

All of these numbers tell us a story of provincial influence on the support for multiculturalism, bilingualism, and the equalization payments program. The difference in levels of support for these three policies when controlling for province of residence is interesting, as it is exhibited by first-generation immigrants. When thinking about the transmission of values and the political self, we are seeing that even those who are not born in these provinces balance their support for multiculturalism, bilingualism, and the equalization payments program differently from one another. These findings appear to tell us that province of residence is relevant in understanding how Canadians balance their provincial and Canadian identities, even among those born abroad.

Strength: Seeing a “New” Canada?

A lesson to be gleaned from the results above is the complexity of Canadian federalism, especially after the enactment of the 1982 Constitution and the Charter of Rights and Freedoms. By examining the strength of provincial and Canadian identities for post-Charter Canadians, inside and outside Québec, and for native-born and first-generation immigrants it appears that post-Charter Canadians see a contemporary federation which exhibits stronger pro-Canada identities. This being said, we observe key differences in how this increased strength has manifested across the ROC, Québec, and migrant populations. Instead of a unified set of values and identities envisioned as a result of the 1982 Constitution and the Charter, post-Charter Canadians exemplify a stronger pro-Canada balancing of identities in different ways. Furthermore, the results above suggest that generation relative to the Charter is not the only determining factor in one’s balancing of provincial and Canadian identity.

ROC respondents demonstrate stable pro-Canada levels of attachment and self-identification across generations, but a stronger support for multiculturalism and bilingualism among post-Charter respondents. Post-Charter Québec-based respondents demonstrate a stronger pro-Canada balancing of attachments and self-identification relative to their pre-Charter counterparts. We also observe that Québec-based respondents have stable levels of support for policies across generation, with bilingualism being the strongest support policy for these respondents. Migrant respondents have a strong and stable balancing of attachments, self-identification, and policy support cross-generationally, with the exception of support for multiculturalism. The striking strengthening of support for multiculturalism among post-Charter migrant respondents relative to pre-Charter respondents indicates a strengthening of identifying with the Canadian policy most targeted at immigration.

The only trend that is visible across all the ROC, Québec, and migrant sample is the weakening of regional alienation for post-Charter respondents. These effects of the post-Charter

generation on regional alienation are observed to be statistically significant in tables 5, 6, and 10. Therefore, in my interpretation the trend we observe in weaker feelings of regional alienation across the ROC, Québec, and migrant sample could be attributed to the enactment of the 1982 Constitution and the Charter of Rights and Freedoms. Despite the varying way's Canadian identity has been strengthened as highlighted above, the harmonizing of the "old" Canada appears to have manifested in the weakening of regional alienation for post-Charter Canadians. This manifestation of weaker feelings of regional alienation can be attributed to the diffusion axiom of institutional learning theory (Rohrschneider 1999). The ease of adopting values of which curtail tensions and grievances can be argued to be easier relative to values which promote division. While I cannot demonstrate that diffusion has explicitly happened for all post-Charter respondents, I attribute these changes to the diffusion of pan-Canadian values from the enactment of the 1982 Constitution and the Charter of Rights and Freedoms.

Ultimately, the results of this chapter suggest that Canada looks different for those who were introduced in the post-Charter generation. While some markers of provincial identity remain relevant in the balancing of attachments and policy support, a pro-Canada balancing of identities is increasing among post-Charter Canadians, albeit in different ways among those inside and outside of Québec, and first-generation immigrants.

This "new" Canada that post-Charter Canadians are seeing is not a one of homogenous value and identity. Instead, the changes seen in the strength of Canadian identity outlined above show heterogeneity, reinforcing the notion that Canadian federalism is founded on the will to live "together" and the will to live "apart" (LaSelva, 1996). Through the measuring of the levels of strength of Canadian identity between generations relative to the enactment of the 1982 Constitution and the Charter, H1 of this project is supported. Post-Charter respondents inside and outside of Québec, and migrant respondents appear to display a somewhat stronger pro-Canada balancing of identities compared to their provincial identities. In most instances the changes between generations we observe in this chapter are not large. However, the differences in the balancing of identities and feelings of regional alienation across the ROC, Québec, and migrant samples are in the expected pro-Canada direction.

Chapter 4 - Feel the Effect:
Predicting Policy Support with the Strength of Canadian Identity Across Generations

In order to effectively test H2 of this project, and also produce an effective understanding of the consequences of the 1982 Constitution Act and the Charter of Rights and Freedoms with in predicting the support for multiculturalism, bilingualism, and the equalization payments program. The findings of the previous chapter suggest that indicators of Canadian identity like Canadian attachment, the balancing between provincial attachments, and the balancing between provincial and Canadian self-identification predict stronger support for multiculturalism, bilingualism, the equalization payments program, and weaker feelings of regional alienation. What we are trying to uncover in this chapter is if support for these policies is as closely linked to Canadian identity across generations. In order to verify this, I analyze the interacting effects between identity strength and generation on support for multiculturalism, bilingualism, the equalization payments program, and feelings of regional alienation. What we are looking for by examining these interacting effects is whether the relationship between Canadian identity and support for national policies is stronger, weaker, or of equal strength among pre-, peri-, and post-Charter respondents. Ultimately, I test two limits of institutional learning theory. First, I test if a stronger level of Canadian identity predicts a strong support for multiculturalism, bilingualism, and the equalization payments program, as well as weaker feelings of regional alienation. Second, I test if this effect is stronger among post-Charter respondents when compared to their pre- and peri-Charter counterparts. According to institutional learning theory we expect the relationship to be stronger among post-Charter generation, meaning a stronger Canadian identity (relative to provincial identity) will predict stronger support for national policies relative to pro-Canada pre-Charter respondents.

Salience: Native-born Canadians

Measuring the salience of Canadian identity on support for national policies allows us to better understand the socializing impact of the 1982 Constitution Act and the Charter of Rights and Freedoms as it sheds light on the implications of varying strengths of Canadian identity. Examining strength levels of Canadian identity across generational groups relative to the Charter is important but digging deeper into the impact of identity strength on the support for national policies means learning about the consequences of the contemporary Canadian nation-building project on the shaping of identities.

Testing the Interaction for Canadian Attachment

The data in table 11 reports results for ROC respondents and analyzes the interacting effect of Canadian attachment and generation with regard to the support of multiculturalism, bilingualism, and the equalization payments program. It also indicates the effect of this interaction on feelings of regional alienation. First, these results tell us that pre-Charter respondents with stronger levels of Canadian Attachment exhibit a stronger support for multiculturalism relative to those with weaker levels of attachment. As Canadian attachment among pre-Charter respondents strengthens, so does support for multiculturalism by 0.23 points.

However, the interaction terms for peri- and post-Charter respondents are not statistically significant. This suggests that the effect of Canadian attachment is not different for peri- and post-Charter respondents than for pre-Charter respondents. This means that the effect of

Canadian attachment in predicting support for multiculturalism is not stronger or weaker among peri- and post-Charter respondents in comparison to their pre-Charter counterparts. The relationship between Canadian attachment and support for multiculturalism does not appear to have changed across generational groups.

Table 11. ROC respondents' policy support, controlling for socio-demographic factors (with Canadian attachment interaction effect)

Strength of Identity X Generation: Canadian Attachment								
	ROC Respondents							
	Multiculturalism		Bilingualism		Equalization		Regional Alienation	
	Coef.	SE	Coef.	SE	Coef.	SE	Coef.	SE
Male	-0.01	(0.02)	-0.05 ^a	(0.01)	-0.01	(0.01)	0.07 ^a	(0.01)
Education	0.29 ^a	(0.05)	0.08 ^c	(0.03)	0.07 ^c	(0.03)	0.03	(0.04)
Employment	-0.02	(0.02)	0.02	(0.02)	-0.01	(0.02)	0.02	(0.02)
Visible Minorities	0.21 ^a	(0.02)	-0.03	(0.02)	-0.01	(0.02)	-0.01	(0.03)
Canadian Attachment	0.23 ^a	(0.06)	0.18 ^b	(0.06)	0.22 ^a	(0.05)	-0.12	(0.06)
Provincial Attachment	0.04	(0.04)	-0.03	(0.03)	-0.07 ^c	(0.03)	0.18 ^a	(0.04)
Peri-Charter	0.20 ^b	(0.06)	0.06	(0.06)	-0.02	(0.06)	-0.02	(0.06)
Post-Charter	0.28 ^b	(0.09)	0.02	(0.09)	-0.09	(0.10)	-0.22 ^c	(0.11)
Generation X Canadian Attachment (Ref. Cat. Pre-Charter)								
Interaction: Peri-Charter	-0.08	(0.07)	0.04	(0.07)	0.05	(0.07)	-0.06	(0.07)
Interaction: Post-Charter	-0.11	(0.11)	0.14	(0.11)	0.11	(0.11)	0.06	(0.12)
Provinces (Ref. Cat. ON)								
NFLD	0.13 ^a	(0.03)	0.01	(0.02)	0.10 ^a	(0.02)	0.20 ^a	(0.02)
PEI	0.05	(0.04)	0.05	(0.03)	0.12 ^a	(0.02)	0.08 ^c	(0.03)
NS	0.07 ^c	(0.03)	0.06 ^a	(0.02)	0.07 ^a	(0.02)	0.13 ^a	(0.02)
NB	0.03	(0.03)	0.01	(0.02)	0.09 ^a	(0.02)	0.07 ^b	(0.02)
MB	0.02	(0.03)	-0.05 ^b	(0.02)	0.03	(0.02)	0.05	(0.02)
SK	-0.01	(0.03)	-0.09 ^a	(0.02)	-0.02	(0.02)	0.12 ^a	(0.02)
AB	-0.03	(0.02)	-0.08 ^a	(0.02)	-0.11 ^a	(0.02)	0.10 ^a	(0.02)
BC	0.01	(0.02)	0.04 ^b	(0.01)	0.01	(0.01)	0.04 ^c	(0.02)
Constant	0.04	(0.05)	0.50 ^a	(0.05)	0.50 ^a	(0.05)	0.68 ^a	(0.06)
Observations	5099		5762		5455		5595	
Adjusted R ²	0.10		0.07		0.06		0.06	

Standard errors in parentheses

Source: PDP

^a p<0.001, ^b p<0.01, ^c p<0.05

The interaction of Charter generation and Canadian attachment does not yield statistically significant generational differences in predicting support for national policies. Therefore, the

relationship between attachment to Canada and feelings of regional alienation are of broadly similar strengths across the pre-, peri-, and post-Charter generations.

Similar to the results observed among the ROC sample, the relationship between Canadian attachment and the support for national policies does not appear to vary in strength across pre-, peri-, and post-Charter generation respondents in Québec. Looking to table 12, we see stronger levels of Canadian attachment among pre-Charter respondents in Québec appear to result in the stronger support for multiculturalism and for equalization payments as well as weaker feelings of regional alienation. As Canadian attachment strengthens among pre-Charter respondents, they exhibit a 0.37-point stronger support for multiculturalism. We see the same effect with regard to support for the equalization payments program, as pre-Charter respondents exhibit a 0.19-point stronger support as their attachment to Canada strengthens. Stronger Canadian attachment also appears to have an effect on feelings of regional alienation, as they weaken by 0.27 points among pre-Charter respondents in Québec. Attachment to Canada does not appear to have an effect on the support for bilingualism among the Québec sample.

Table 12. Québec respondents' policy support, controlling for socio-demographic factors (with Canadian attachment interaction effect)

Generation X Strength of Identity: Canadian Attachment								
	Respondents in Québec							
	Multiculturalism		Bilingualism		Equalization		Regional Alienation	
	Coef.	SE	Coef.	SE	Coef.	SE	Coef.	SE
Male	-0.03	(0.02)	0.00	(0.01)	0.02	(0.01)	0.00	(0.02)
Education	0.15 ^c	(0.06)	0.07 ^b	(0.02)	0.04	(0.04)	-0.10 ^c	(0.05)
Employment	0.00	(0.04)	-0.02	(0.01)	-0.02	(0.02)	-0.06 ^c	(0.03)
Visible Minorities	0.22 ^a	(0.04)	-0.04	(0.02)	0.01	(0.03)	-0.03	(0.05)
Canadian Attachment	0.37 ^a	(0.05)	-0.03	(0.05)	0.19 ^a	(0.04)	-0.27 ^a	(0.04)
Provincial Attachment	-0.14 ^b	(0.05)	0.09 ^a	(0.02)	-0.03	(0.03)	0.36 ^a	(0.05)
Peri-Charter	0.06	(0.05)	-0.02	(0.02)	0.02	(0.04)	0.02	(0.03)
Post-Charter	0.19 ^b	(0.07)	-0.04	(0.03)	0.08	(0.06)	-0.03	(0.04)
Generation X Canadian Attachment (Ref. Cat. Pre-Charter)								
Interaction: Peri-Charter	-0.08	(0.08)	0.02	(0.02)	-0.06	(0.06)	-0.02	(0.06)
Interaction: Post-Charter	-0.33 ^b	(0.11)	0.01	(0.05)	-0.09	(0.08)	-0.04	(0.08)
Constant	0.26 ^a	(0.07)	0.87 ^a	(0.03)	0.56 ^a	(0.05)	0.83 ^a	(0.07)
Observations	1187		1371		1276		1331	
Adjusted R ²	0.10		0.05		0.04		0.17	

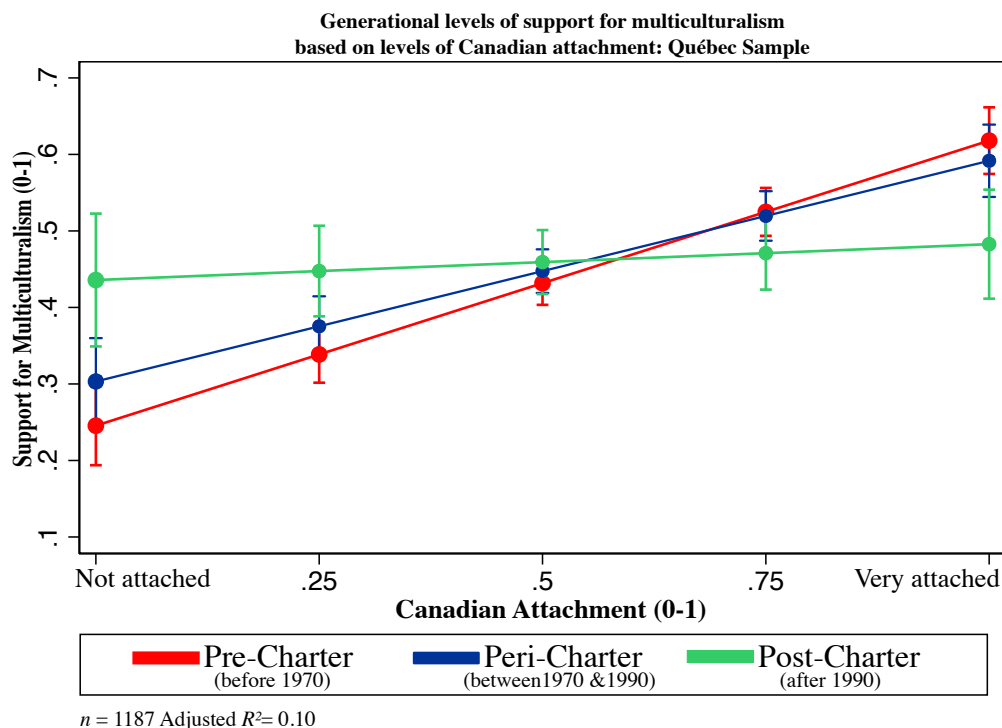
Standard errors in parentheses

Source: PDP

^a p<0.001, ^b p<0.01, ^c p<0.05

However, the interaction term predicts a weaker effect of Canadian attachment on multiculturalism among post-Charter respondents relative to the pre-Charter generation. We observe that the net effect of Canadian attachment on multiculturalism among post-Charter respondents is 0.04 points in comparison to the pre-Charter generation. This effect is visualized in the graph below.

Figure 1. The interaction effect between Canadian attachment and generation on support for multiculturalism among respondents in Québec.



Looking at figure 1, we see the absence of a relationship between Canadian attachment and support for multiculturalism for post-Charter respondents in comparison the other generational groups. It appears that Canadian attachment has an effect on the support for multiculturalism among pre- and peri-Charter respondents in Québec, but not on those in the post-Charter generation. The green line representative of post-Charter respondents in Québec is generally flat, which tells us that their levels of support for multiculturalism do not appear to be conditional on their levels of Canadian attachment. Among the post-Charter generation, support for multiculturalism is thus higher, unconditionally of the strength of Canadian attachment.

The analyses report no other significant interaction effect for the post-Charter generation. In short, with the exception described above, the relationship between strength of Canadian identity and support for national policies is of equal strength among pre-, peri-, and post-Charter generations in Québec.

Testing the Interaction for the Difference between Attachments

When analyzing the interaction between attachment difference and generation among the ROC sample, we see that a pro-Canada balancing of attachments among pre-Charter respondents results in the strengthening of one's support for multiculturalism, bilingualism, and the equalization payments program. As respondents exhibit a stronger pro-Canada difference of attachments, pre-Charter ROC respondents exhibit a 0.20 points stronger support for multiculturalism, a 0.22- point stronger support for bilingualism, and a 0.30-point stronger support for the equalization payments program. We see that pre-Charter ROC respondents who balance stronger Canadian attachments than provincial attachments display stronger support for multiculturalism, bilingualism, and the equalization payments program than those who exhibit a pro-province balancing of attachments.

We also see in table 13 that the interaction terms for peri- and post-Charter ROC respondents are not statistically significant. Just like the effect of Canadian attachment on policy support and feelings of regional alienation, the lack of statistical significance observed in the interaction terms in table 13 suggests the effect of provincial and Canadian attachment difference is of similar strength across generations. The charter era does not appear to have strengthened the relationship between stronger attachment to Canada (relative to provincial attachment) for the new generations.

Table 13. ROC respondents' policy support, controlling for socio-demographic factors (with attachment difference interaction effect)

Generation X Strength of Identity: Attachment Difference								
	ROC Respondents							
	Multiculturalism		Bilingualism		Equalization		Regional Alienation	
	Coef.	SE	Coef.	SE	Coef.	SE	Coef.	SE
Male	-0.01	(0.02)	-0.05 ^a	(0.01)	-0.01	(0.01)	0.07 ^a	(0.01)
Education	0.29 ^a	(0.05)	0.08 ^c	(0.03)	0.07 ^c	(0.03)	0.03	(0.04)
Employment	-0.02	(0.02)	0.02	(0.02)	-0.01	(0.02)	0.02	(0.02)
Visible Minorities	0.21 ^a	(0.02)	-0.03	(0.02)	-0.01	(0.02)	-0.02	(0.03)
Provincial Attachment	0.21 ^a	(0.04)	0.18 ^a	(0.03)	0.19 ^a	(0.03)	0.04	(0.04)
Attachment Difference	0.20 ^a	(0.07)	0.22 ^a	(0.06)	0.30 ^a	(0.05)	-0.10	(0.06)
Peri-Charter	0.13 ^a	(0.02)	0.09 ^a	(0.02)	0.03 ^c	(0.01)	-0.06 ^a	(0.02)
Post-Charter	0.17 ^a	(0.03)	0.13 ^a	(0.02)	0.00	(0.02)	-0.19 ^a	(0.03)
Generation X Attachment Difference (Ref. Cat. Pre-Charter)								
Interaction: Peri-Charter	0.13	(0.09)	-0.02	(0.07)	-0.06	(0.06)	-0.13	(0.08)
Interaction: Post-Charter	0.15	(0.12)	0.10	(0.10)	-0.04	(0.11)	0.14	(0.12)
Provinces (Ref. Cat. ON)								
NFLD	0.12 ^a	(0.03)	0.01	(0.02)	0.11 ^a	(0.02)	0.20 ^a	(0.02)
PEI	0.06	(0.04)	0.05	(0.03)	0.12 ^a	(0.02)	0.07 ^c	(0.03)
NS	0.07 ^c	(0.03)	0.05 ^a	(0.02)	0.07 ^a	(0.02)	0.13 ^a	(0.02)
NB	0.03	(0.03)	0.01	(0.02)	0.09 ^a	(0.02)	0.07 ^b	(0.02)
MB	0.01	(0.03)	-0.05 ^b	(0.02)	0.03	(0.02)	0.04	(0.02)
SK	-0.02	(0.03)	-0.09 ^a	(0.02)	-0.02	(0.02)	0.12 ^a	(0.02)
AB	-0.03	(0.02)	-0.08 ^a	(0.02)	-0.11 ^a	(0.02)	0.10 ^a	(0.02)
BC	0.00	(0.02)	-0.04 ^b	(0.01)	0.01	(0.01)	0.04 ^c	(0.02)
Constant	0.08	(0.05)	0.47 ^a	(0.04)	0.46 ^a	(0.04)	0.69 ^a	(0.04)
Observations	5099		5762		5455		5595	
Adjusted R ²	0.10		0.07		0.06		0.06	

Standard errors in parentheses

Source: PDP

^a p<0.001, ^b p<0.01, ^c p<0.05

Similar findings are observed among the Québec sample, as the interaction terms of attachment difference generally have a similarly strong effect on the support for policies and feelings of regional alienation across the pre-, peri-, and post-Charter generations. However, in table 14 we see an exception. When analyzing the interacting effect of attachment difference and generation among the Québec sample, we observe only one effect which is statistically significant. This score is the interaction effect on the support for the equalization payments program among post-Charter respondents in Québec.

Post-Charter respondents who display a stronger pro-Canada balancing of attachments exhibit a 0.18-point weaker support for the equalization payments program relative to pro-

Canada pre-Charter respondents. The -0.18-point difference in the direction of weaker support for equalization payments program essentially neutralizes the relationship between a and the support for this policy for post-Charter respondents in Québec. This net effect of 0.02 points suggests that the interacting effect of generation and attachment difference does not result in a significant relationship between strength of Canadian identity and support for the equalization payments program.

Table 14. Québec respondents' policy support, controlling for socio-demographic factors (with attachment difference interaction effect)

Generation X Strength of Identity: Attachment Difference								
	Respondents in Québec							
	Multiculturalism		Bilingualism		Equalization		Regional Alienation	
	Coef.	SE	Coef.	SE	Coef.	SE	Coef.	SE
Male	-0.03	(0.02)	0.00	(0.01)	0.02	(0.01)	0.00	(0.02)
Education	0.14 ^c	(0.07)	0.07 ^b	(0.02)	0.04	(0.04)	-0.10 ^c	(0.05)
Employment	0.00	(0.04)	-0.02	(0.01)	-0.02	(0.02)	-0.06	(0.03)
Visible Minorities	0.21 ^a	(0.04)	-0.04	(0.03)	0.02	(0.03)	-0.04	(0.05)
Provincial Attachment	0.15 ^a	(0.07)	0.06 ^b	(0.03)	0.11 ^c	(0.05)	0.08	(0.06)
Attachment Difference	0.33 ^a	(0.05)	-0.02	(0.02)	0.20 ^a	(0.03)	-0.29 ^a	(0.04)
Peri-Charter	0.00	(0.03)	-0.01	(0.01)	-0.03	(0.02)	0.02	(0.03)
Post-Charter	-0.02	(0.04)	-0.03	(0.02)	0.00	(0.02)	-0.05	(0.04)
Generation X Attachment Difference (Ref. Cat. Pre-Charter)								
Interaction: Peri-Charter	-0.03	(0.06)	0.00	(0.02)	-0.06	(0.04)	0.00	(0.05)
Interaction: Post-Charter	-0.14	(0.09)	0.00	(0.04)	-0.18 ^a	(0.06)	0.04	(0.06)
Constant	0.32 ^a	(0.07)	0.86 ^a	(0.03)	0.60 ^a	(0.05)	0.84 ^a	(0.07)
Observations	1187		1371		1276		1331	
Adjusted R ²	0.09		0.05		0.05		0.16	

Standard errors in parentheses

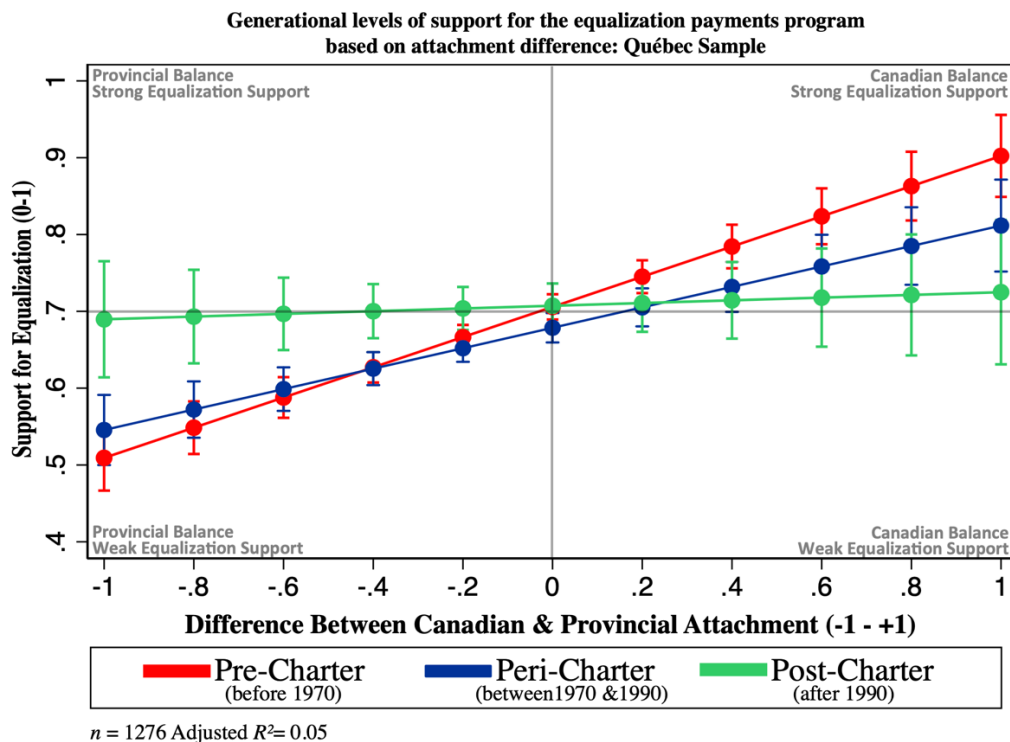
Source: PDP

^a p<0.001, ^b p<0.01, ^c p<0.05

These findings are visualized figure 2 and appear very similar to the findings of figure 1. These graphs suggest that levels of policy support among post-Charter Canadians is not conditional on their levels or balancing of attachments. Similar to the results visualized in figure 1, we observe an effect of attachment difference on the support for the equalization payments program among pre- and post-Charter respondents. However, the green line representative of post-Charter respondents in Québec indicates the absence of a relationship between attachment difference and support for the equalization payments program for post-Charter respondents compared pre- and peri-Charter respondents. This figure tells us that regardless of how post-

Charter respondents balance their attachments to Québec or Canada, their levels of support for the equalization payments program remain stable.

Figure 2. The interaction effect between attachment difference and generation on support for the equalization payments program among respondents in Québec.



Testing the Interaction for the Balancing of Canadian and Provincial Self-Identification

The next analysis I conduct in measuring the salience of Canadian identity explores the interaction between the balancing of provincial and Canadian self-identification and generation. These results indicate that for ROC respondents the interaction between self-identification and support for national policies is not statistically significant. This absence of statistical significance indicates the relationship between self-identification and support for national policies is of similar strength across the pre-, peri-, and post-Charter generations.

Table 15. ROC respondents' policy support, controlling for socio-demographic factors (with self-identification interaction effect)

Generation X Strength of Identity: Self-Identification								
	ROC Respondents							
	Multiculturalism		Bilingualism		Equalization		Regional Alienation	
	Coef.	SE	Coef.	SE	Coef.	SE	Coef.	SE
Male	-0.01	(0.02)	-0.05 ^a	(0.01)	-0.01	(0.01)	0.07 ^a	(0.01)
Education	0.32 ^a	(0.05)	0.10 ^b	(0.03)	0.09 ^b	(0.03)	0.02	(0.04)
Employment	-0.02	(0.02)	0.01	(0.02)	-0.01	(0.02)	0.02	(0.02)
Visible Minorities	0.20 ^a	(0.02)	-0.04 ^c	(0.02)	-0.02	(0.02)	-0.01	(0.03)
Provincial Attachment	0.14 ^a	(0.03)	0.09 ^b	(0.03)	0.09 ^b	(0.03)	0.08 ^c	(0.03)
Self-Identification	0.02	(0.05)	-0.01	(0.04)	0.10 ^b	(0.03)	-0.10 ^c	(0.04)
Peri-Charter	0.08	(0.05)	0.07	(0.04)	0.03	(0.04)	-0.04	(0.04)
Post-Charter	0.23 ^b	(0.08)	0.09	(0.06)	-0.04	(0.06)	-0.16 ^c	(0.08)
Generation X Self-Identification (Ref. Cat. Pre-Charter)								
Interaction: Peri-Charter	0.08	(0.07)	0.03	(0.05)	-0.01	(0.05)	-0.04	(0.06)
Interaction: Post-Charter	-0.07	(0.10)	0.06	(0.08)	0.05	(0.08)	-0.02	(0.11)
Provinces (Ref. Cat. ON)								
NFLD	0.12 ^a	(0.03)	-0.01	(0.02)	0.11 ^a	(0.02)	0.18 ^a	(0.03)
PEI	0.06	(0.04)	0.05	(0.03)	0.13 ^a	(0.02)	0.07 ^c	(0.04)
NS	0.07 ^b	(0.03)	0.05 ^b	(0.02)	0.09 ^a	(0.02)	0.11 ^a	(0.03)
NB	0.04	(0.03)	0.01	(0.02)	0.11 ^a	(0.02)	0.05 ^c	(0.03)
MB	0.02	(0.03)	-0.05 ^c	(0.02)	0.04 ^c	(0.02)	0.04	(0.03)
SK	-0.01	(0.03)	-0.10 ^a	(0.02)	-0.02	(0.02)	0.11 ^a	(0.03)
AB	-0.02	(0.02)	-0.08 ^a	(0.02)	-0.10 ^a	(0.02)	0.09 ^a	(0.03)
BC	0.01	(0.02)	-0.04 ^b	(0.01)	0.01	(0.01)	0.04 ^c	(0.02)
Constant	0.12 ^c	(0.06)	0.56 ^a	(0.04)	0.47 ^a	(0.04)	0.74 ^a	(0.05)
Observations	5068		5724		5427		5558	
Adjusted R ²	0.09		0.05		0.04		0.06	

Standard errors in parentheses

Source: PDP

^a p<0.001, ^b p<0.01, ^c p<0.05

The interaction terms of self-identification and generation among respondents in Québec yields some different findings from those observed in the analysis of the ROC sample. Although the relationship between self-identification and support for multiculturalism, bilingualism, and feelings of regional alienation is of similar strength across generations, the situation is different with regard to support for the equalization payments program as it mirrors our observations for the interacting effect of attachment difference in table 14.

Table 16. Québec respondents' policy support, controlling for socio-demographic factors (with self-identification interaction effect)

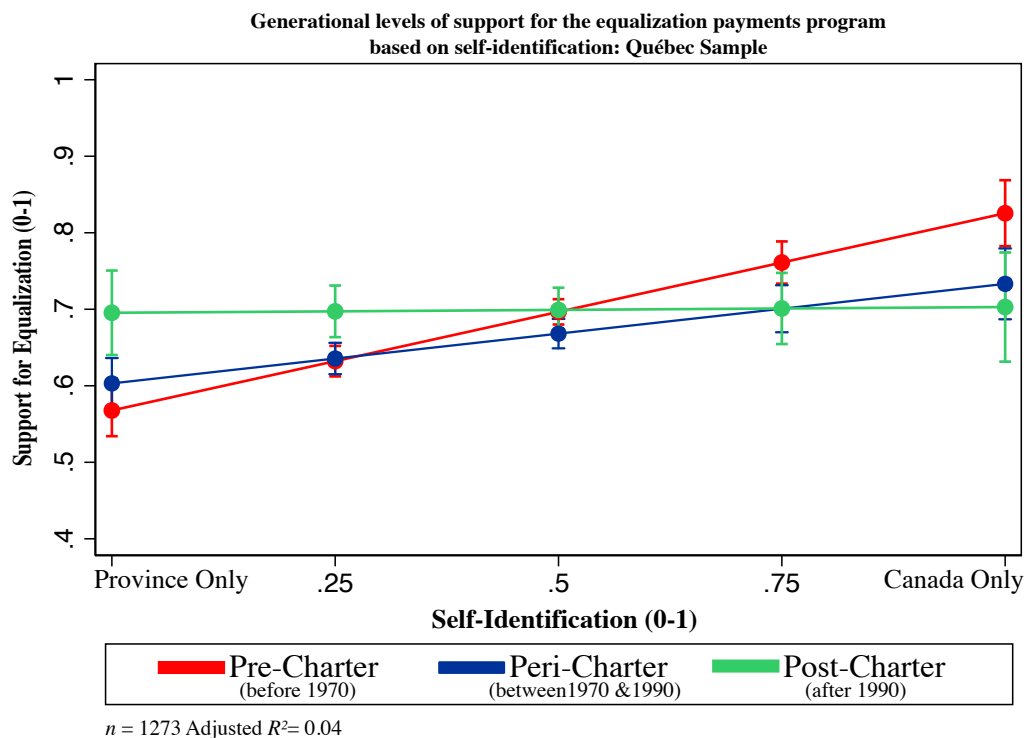
Generation X Strength of Identity: Self-Identification								
	Québec-Based Respondents							
	Multiculturalism		Bilingualism		Equalization		Regional Alienation	
	Coef.	SE	Coef.	SE	Coef.	SE	Coef.	SE
Male	-0.04	(0.02)	0.00	(0.01)	0.02	(0.01)	0.00	(0.02)
Education	0.13 ^c	(0.07)	0.07 ^b	(0.02)	0.03	(0.04)	-0.07	(0.05)
Employment	0.00	(0.04)	-0.02	(0.01)	-0.02	(0.02)	-0.06 ^c	(0.03)
Visible Minorities	0.21 ^a	(0.04)	-0.04	(0.03)	0.02	(0.03)	-0.03	(0.05)
Provincial Attachment	0.02	(0.06)	0.08 ^b	(0.02)	0.04	(0.04)	0.20 ^a	(0.05)
Self-Identification	0.38 ^a	(0.08)	-0.02	(0.03)	0.26 ^a	(0.05)	-0.41 ^a	(0.06)
Peri-Charter	0.00	(0.04)	-0.02	(0.01)	0.04	(0.03)	-0.01	(0.03)
Post-Charter	0.07	(0.06)	-0.02	(0.02)	0.13 ^b	(0.04)	-0.11 ^b	(0.04)
Generation X Self-Identification (Ref. Cat. Pre-Charter)								
Interaction: Peri-Charter	0.01	(0.10)	0.01	(0.04)	-0.13 ^c	(0.06)	0.06	(0.09)
Interaction: Post-Charter	-0.18	(0.12)	-0.02	(0.06)	-0.25 ^b	(0.09)	0.13	(0.11)
Constant	0.22 ^b	(0.08)	0.86 ^a	(0.03)	0.53 ^a	(0.06)	0.94 ^a	(0.07)
Observations	1183		1367		1273		1326	
Adjusted R ²	0.08		0.05		0.04		0.16	

Standard errors in parentheses

Source: PDP

^a p<0.001, ^b p<0.01, ^c p<0.05

Figure 3. The interaction effect between self-identification and generation on support for the equalization payments program among respondents in Québec.



This graph looks very similar to figures 1 and 2, and the narrative of these findings begins to emerge. Just like the results of the interacting effect of Canadian attachment and the difference between provincial and Canadian attachments, the balancing of provincial and Canadian self-identification appears to have an effect on the levels to which pre-Charter respondents in Québec support the equalization payments program. However, this effect weakens among both the peri-Charter and post-Charter generations. What we see in figure 3 is a flat green line representative of post-Charter respondents' levels of support for the equalization payments program based on how they self-identify between Québec and Canada. The flatness of this line tells us that among post-Charter respondents the relationship between the balancing of provincial and Canadian identities and the support for the equalization payments program is essentially neutralized.

It appears that Canadian attachment, the difference between provincial and Canadian attachments, and the balancing of provincial and Canadian self-identification has an effect on policy support for pre-Charter native-born Canadians. Generally, pre-Charter respondents with strong levels of Canadian identity exhibit stronger support for multiculturalism, bilingualism, and the equalization payments program as well as weaker feelings of regional alienation. However, post-Charter respondents do not demonstrate stronger support for national policies when they exhibit stronger pro-Canada ties. Overall, the relationship between strength of Canadian identity and support for national policies is not stronger among post-Charter Canadians. On the opposite, in Québec, we see that this relationship is weaker in some instances, although we cannot explain why. This leads up to reject H2 for the native-born case.

The rejection of H2 in this project suggests that institutional learning has not occurred on the level of ideological performance for post-Charter Canadians. This axiom entails how the combination of the ideological values of a citizen with their evaluation of an institutions' performance influences their support for existing institutional arrangements and policies (Rohrschneider 1999, 28). However, the lack of generational difference in the support for national policies based on the strength of Canadian identity observed for Canadian-born respondents suggests that Canadian-born respondents are not exemplifying a shift in ideological-performance following the enactment of the 1982 Constitution Act.

Salience: First-Generation Immigrants

In congruence with the methodological approach of this project, I now conduct the same analyses presented above for the first-generation immigrant sample. Throughout this analysis we generally observe similarities between the salience of Canadian identity with regard to policy support among migrant respondents and native-born Canadians. Generally, the relationship between Canadian identity and support for multiculturalism, bilingualism, and the equalization payments program as well as feelings of regional alienation appears of similar strength among pre- and post-Charter migrant respondents.

Testing the Interaction for Canadian Attachment

Data in table 17 indicates that any differences observed in the strength of the relationship between attachment to Canada and support for national policies across generations is not statistically significant, and therefore we cannot attribute any of these differences to the interaction between Canadian attachment and the post-Charter generation. Similar to the post-Charter respondents from the native-born Canadian sample, it does not appear that Canadian attachment has an effect on levels of policy support or regional alienation among migrant respondents.

Table 17. Migrant respondents' policy support, controlling for socio-demographic factors (with Canadian attachment interaction effect)

Generation X Strength of Identity: Canadian Attachment								
	Migrant Respondents							
	Multiculturalism		Bilingualism		Equalization		Regional Alienation	
	Coef.	SE	Coef.	SE	Coef.	SE	Coef.	SE
Male	0.01	(0.02)	-0.02	(0.02)	0.03	(0.02)	0.00	(0.03)
Education	0.00	(0.07)	-0.04	(0.06)	-0.01	(0.06)	0.08	(0.08)
Employment	0.04	(0.04)	0.03	(0.03)	-0.07 ^c	(0.03)	-0.03	(0.04)
Visible Minorities	0.19 ^a	(0.03)	0.00	(0.02)	0.04	(0.02)	0.02	(0.03)
Canadian Attachment	0.15	(0.13)	0.21 ^c	(0.11)	0.22 ^c	(0.10)	-0.37 ^a	(0.10)
Provincial Attachment	0.10	(0.06)	0.09 ^c	(0.04)	0.04	(0.04)	0.13 ^c	(0.6)
Post-Charter (Ref. Cat. Pre-Charter)	0.05	(0.13)	0.09	(0.10)	0.09	(0.10)	-0.18	(0.10)
Generation X Canadian Attachment (Ref. Cat. Pre-Charter)								
Interaction: Post-Charter	0.14	(0.15)	-0.08	(0.12)	-0.08	(0.11)	0.13	(0.12)
Provinces (Ref. Cat. ON)								
NFLD	0.24	(0.16)	0.13	(0.02)	0.14	(0.08)	0.21 ^a	(0.06)
PEI	-0.03	(0.11)	0.10	(0.03)	0.25 ^a	(0.05)	0.08	(0.10)
NS	0.15	(0.09)	0.05	(0.02)	0.06	(0.08)	0.14 ^c	(0.07)
NB	0.04	(0.09)	-0.08	(0.02)	0.14 ^c	(0.07)	0.11	(0.12)
QC	0.02	(0.03)	0.23 ^a	(0.02)	0.09 ^a	(0.02)	-0.05	(0.04)
MB	0.07	(0.06)	0.00	(0.02)	0.09 ^b	(0.04)	0.02	(0.07)
SK	-0.12	(0.08)	-0.10	(0.02)	0.00	(0.06)	0.01	(0.09)
AB	-0.02	(0.03)	0.00	(0.02)	-0.08 ^b	(0.03)	0.03	(0.03)
BC	-0.01	(0.03)	-0.02	(0.01)	-0.01	(0.02)	0.00	(0.03)
Constant	0.23	(0.13)	0.45 ^a	(0.11)	0.47 ^a	(0.09)	0.91 ^a	(0.10)
Observations	1782		1914		1825		1832	
Adjusted R^2	0.15		0.08		0.04		0.02	

Standard errors in parentheses

Source: PDP

^a $p < 0.001$, ^b $p < 0.01$, ^c $p < 0.05$

Testing the Interaction for the Difference between Attachments

When testing the relationship between difference in attachments to Canada and one's provincial with support for national policies, we also do not see significance differences in the strength of the relationship across generations, with one exception (see table 18). The relationship between difference in attachments and feelings of regional alienation appear weaker among post-Charter migrants.

Table 18. Migrant respondents' policy support, controlling for socio-demographic factors (with attachment difference interaction effect)

Generation X Strength of Identity: Difference Between Attachments								
	Migrant Respondents							
	Multiculturalism		Bilingualism		Equalization		Regional Alienation	
	Coef.	SE	Coef.	SE	Coef.	SE	Coef.	SE
Male	0.01	(0.02)	-0.02	0.0	(0.0)	(0.02)	0.00	(0.03)
Education	0.01	(0.07)	-0.05	-0.0	(0.0)	(0.06)	0.09	(0.08)
Employment	0.04	(0.04)	0.03	-0.0	(0.0)	(0.03)	-0.03	(0.04)
Visible Minorities	0.19 ^a	(0.03)	0.02	0.0	(0.0)	(0.02)	0.02	(0.04)
Provincial Attachment	0.37 ^a	(0.06)	0.23 ^a	0.0	(0.0)	(0.06)	-0.14 ^c	(0.07)
Attachment Difference	0.12	(0.13)	0.17	0.0	(0.0)	(0.08)	-0.53 ^a	(0.11)
Post-Charter (Ref. Cat. Pre-Charter)	0.16 ^a	(0.13)	0.03	0.0	(0.0)	(0.02)	-0.10 ^b	(0.03)
Generation X Attachment Difference (Ref. Cat. Pre-Charter)								
Interaction: Post-Charter	0.19	(0.14)	-0.03	(0.09)	-0.15	(0.08)	0.35 ^a	(0.12)
Provinces (Ref. Cat. ON)								
NFLD	0.24	(0.16)	0.13	(0.09)	0.15	(0.09)	0.18 ^c	(0.06)
PEI	-0.03	(0.11)	0.10	(0.08)	0.25 ^a	(0.05)	0.07	(0.11)
NS	0.15	(0.09)	0.06	(0.06)	0.06	(0.08)	0.14 ^c	(0.07)
NB	0.04	(0.09)	-0.08	(0.08)	0.13 ^c	(0.06)	0.12	(0.11)
QC	0.02	(0.03)	0.23 ^a	(0.02)	0.09 ^a	(0.02)	-0.06	(0.04)
MB	0.07	(0.06)	0.00	(0.04)	0.09 ^c	(0.04)	0.03	(0.07)
SK	-0.12	(0.08)	-0.10	(0.07)	0.00	(0.06)	0.01	(0.09)
AB	-0.02	(0.03)	0.00	(0.03)	-0.08 ^b	(0.03)	0.03	(0.03)
BC	-0.01	(0.03)	-0.02	(0.02)	-0.01	(0.02)	0.00	(0.03)
Constant	0.14	(0.09)	0.51 ^a	(0.07)	0.52 ^a	(0.06)	0.83 ^a	(0.08)
Observations	1782		1914		1825		1832	
Adjusted R ²	0.15		0.08		0.04		0.02	

Standard errors in parentheses

Source: PDP

^a p<0.001, ^b p<0.01, ^c p<0.05

The interaction terms of the post-Charter generation and feelings of regional alienation are visualized in figure 4 below. Figure 4 is divided into three graphs to effectively capture the differences between generations observed above. As a reminder, the variable I use to measure regional alienation is coded into three outcomes, and each graph displays the probability of choosing each outcome based on the difference between provincial and Canadian attachments among pre- and post-Charter respondents. The first outcome of this variable is the feeling that one's province of residence receives more than its "fair share" of resources and influence from Canada and is represented in figure 4a. The second outcome of this variable is the feeling that one's province of residence receives "about its fair share" and is represented in figure 4b. The third outcome of this variable is the feeling that one's province of residence receives "less than its fair share" of influence and resources and is represented in figure 4c.

Figure 4. The interaction effect between attachment difference and generation on feelings of regional alienation among migrant respondents.

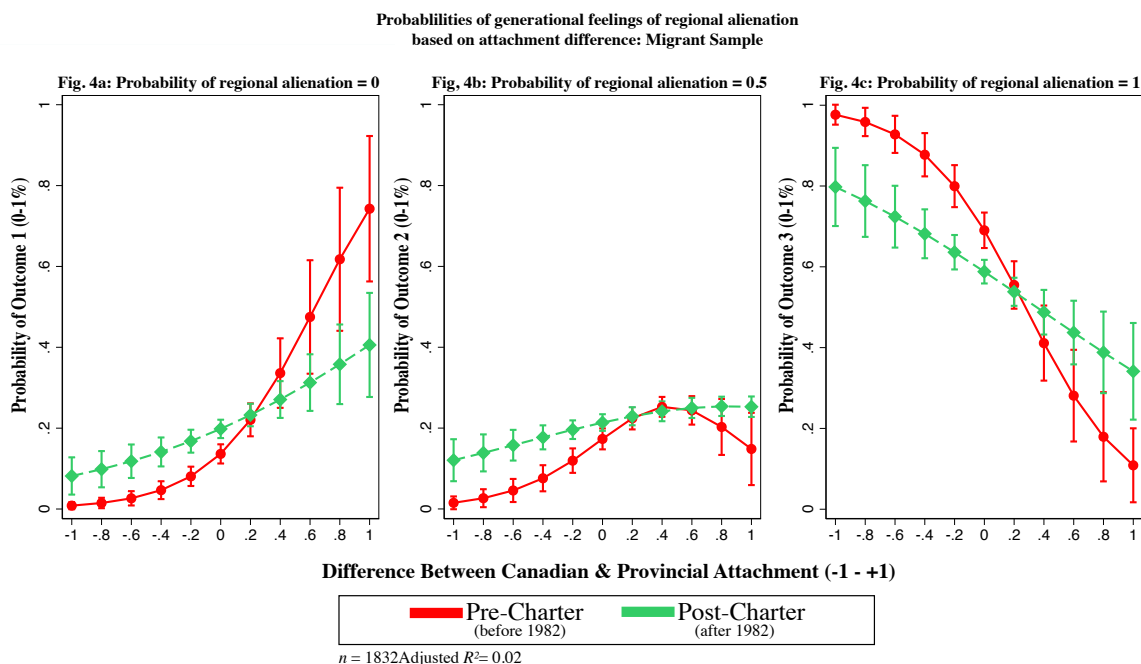


Figure 4a can be understood as follows. The x-axis represents the balancing of provincial and Canadian attachments. Scores closer to 1 on the x-axis represent a pro-Canada balancing of attachments. Scores closer to 1 on the y-axis represent the probability a respondent has of choosing the first outcome, a weaker sense of regional alienation. Among post-Charter migrant respondents, we see that a stronger-pro Canada balancing of attachments results in the less likelihood of weaker feelings of regional alienation compared to pro-Canada pre-Charter respondents. Pre-Charter respondents who exhibit a pro-Canada balancing of attachments appear to approximately have a 75% probability of weaker feelings of regional alienation, whereas pro-Canada post-Charter respondents appear to exhibit a 40% probability of choosing this weak sense of alienation outcome.

A similar approach can be applied to interpreting figure 4b. Pre-Charter respondents who demonstrate a pro-Canada balancing of attachments are more likely to feel that their province receives “about its fair share” of resources from the federal government compared to those who demonstrate a pro-province balance of attachments. However, looking at the green line representative of post-Charter migrant respondents the balancing of attachments does not seem to have an effect on the likelihood of choosing this outcome.

Looking to figure 4c, we see that attachment difference has an effect on the likelihood of choosing outcome 3 for both pre-Charter and post-Charter migrant respondents. However, it appears that this effect is weaker among the post-Charter generation as the green line in figure 4c appears to be flatter than the red line. We observe that pre-Charter migrant respondents who exhibit a pro-province balancing of attachments display almost a 100% probability of feeling their province receives “less than its fair share” of resources and influence in Canada.

Meanwhile, pro-province post-Charter respondents exhibit approximately an 80% probability of choosing this high alienation outcome. Furthermore, pre-Charter migrant respondents who display a pro-Canada balancing of attachments appear to have almost no likelihood of feeling regionally alienated, while post-Charter respondents with a similar pro-Canada balance exhibit an approximate 40% likelihood of choosing this third outcome.

To sum up, these graphs appear to tell us that the effect of attachment difference on feelings of regional alienation is weaker among post-Charter respondents compared to pre-Charter respondents. The green lines in figure 4 are noticeably flatter than the red lines in the same graphs.

Testing the Interaction for the Balancing of Canadian and Provincial Self-Identification

The last interaction I analyze among the migrant sample is for the balancing of provincial and Canadian self-identification. Here, we see that a pro-Canada balancing of self-identification among post-Charter migrant respondents results in a stronger support for multiculturalism relative to pro-Canada pre-Charter respondents. Looking to table 19, we see the interaction between self-identification and the post-Charter generation results in a 0.36-point strengthening of support for multiculturalism compared to pro-Canada pre-Charter respondents. The effect of a pro-Canada balancing of self-identification on the support for multiculturalism is not statistically significant among pre-Charter migrant respondents. Yet, when post-Charter respondents demonstrate a pro-Canada balancing of identities, they exhibit a stronger support for multiculturalism. This strengthening effect is visualized in figure 5 below.

Table 19. Migrant respondents' policy support, controlling for socio-demographic factors (with self-identification interaction effect)

Generation X Strength of Identity: Self-Identification								
	Migrant Respondents							
	Multiculturalism		Bilingualism		Equalization		Regional Alienation	
	Coef.	SE	Coef.	SE	Coef.	SE	Coef.	SE
Male	0.00	(0.02)	-0.02	(0.02)	0.03	(0.02)	0.01	(0.03)
Education	0.00	(0.07)	-0.06	(0.06)	-0.01	(0.06)	0.10	(0.08)
Employment	0.05	(0.04)	0.02	(0.03)	-0.08 ^b	(0.03)	-0.03	(0.04)
Visible Minorities	0.19 ^a	(0.03)	0.02	(0.02)	0.04	(0.02)	0.02	(0.03)
Provincial Attachment	0.25 ^a	(0.05)	0.13 ^b	(0.04)	0.13 ^b	(0.04)	-0.03	(0.06)
Self-Identification	-0.14	(0.12)	0.00	(0.09)	0.04	(0.07)	-0.20 ^c	(0.0)
Post-Charter (Ref. Cat. Pre-Charter)	-0.09	(0.09)	0.09	(0.07)	0.01	(0.06)	-0.08	(0.0)
Generation X Canadian Attachment (Ref. Cat. Pre-Charter)								
Interaction: Post-Charter	0.36 ^b	(0.13)	-0.10	(0.10)	0.01	(0.08)	0.01	(0.0)
Provinces (Ref. Cat. ON)								
NFLD	0.19	(0.18)	0.16	(0.09)	0.16	(0.09)	0.23 ^a	(0.04)
PEI	-0.07	(0.11)	0.07	(0.10)	0.24 ^a	(0.06)	0.10	(0.11)
NS	0.17	(0.09)	0.06	(0.06)	0.07	(0.09)	0.14 ^c	(0.07)
NB	0.02	(0.09)	-0.09	(0.09)	0.12	(0.06)	0.11	(0.10)
QC	0.02	(0.03)	0.21 ^a	(0.02)	0.10 ^a	(0.02)	-0.07	(0.04)
MB	0.10	(0.06)	-0.01	(0.05)	0.10 ^c	(0.04)	0.00	(0.07)
SK	-0.11	(0.09)	-0.09	(0.07)	0.02	(0.06)	-0.01	(0.09)
AB	-0.02	(0.03)	-0.01	(0.02)	-0.08 ^b	(0.03)	0.01	(0.03)
BC	-0.01	(0.03)	-0.04	(0.02)	-0.01	(0.02)	0.00	(0.03)
Constant	0.34	(0.12)	0.61 ^a	(0.10)	0.56 ^a	(0.08)	0.85 ^a	(0.10)
Observations	1703		1823		1746		1751	
Adjusted R^2	0.15		0.07		0.04		0.04	

Standard errors in parentheses

Source: PDP

^a $p < 0.001$, ^b $p < 0.01$, ^c $p < 0.05$

Figure 5. The interaction effect between self-identification and generation on support for multiculturalism among migrant respondents.

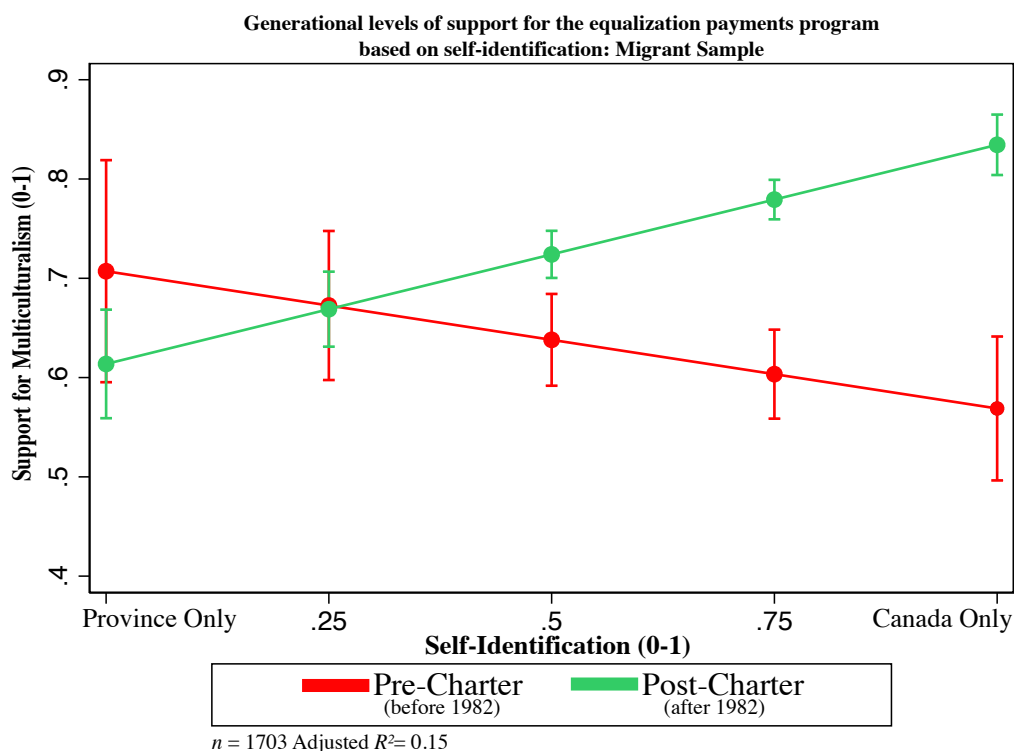


Figure 5 appears to tell us that the pro-Canada balancing of self-identification among post-Charter respondents results in a stronger support for multiculturalism compared to pre-Charter respondents. Post-Charter respondents who score closer to 1 on the x-axis are observed to display a strong support for multiculturalism at over 0.80 points, while pre-Charter respondents who score similarly on the x-axis exhibit a score of just below 0.60 points in support for multiculturalism. This finding supports H2 of this project, as the pro-Canada balancing of identities appears to predict stronger support for multiculturalism among post-Charter respondents.

Despite these findings which support H2 of this project, these results appear to be an exception. Through the analysis of the salience of Canadian identity on the support for policies and feelings of regional alienation among the migrant sample, it appears that identity strength does not appear to predict stronger policy support or weaker feelings of alienation among the post-Charter generation than among the pre-Charter generation.

Therefore, among the migrant respondent sample, H2 is further rejected. Despite the one exception demonstrated in figure 5, it appears institutional learning has not occurred on the level of ideological-performance among first-generation immigrants. The similarities in the rejecting of H2 among the Canadian-born sample and the migrant sample further suggests that the ideological-performance axiom does not hold up when considering the socializing impact of the 1982 Constitution Act and the Charter of Rights and Freedoms for the post-Charter Canadians.

Salience: No Change in the Predictive Power of Canadian Identity Across Generations

The narrative which emerges through testing the salience of Canadian identity on the support for multiculturalism, bilingualism, and the equalization payments program, as well as regional alienation is that the balancing of Canadian identity in the contemporary federation is complex. Among both the native-born Canadian and first-generation immigrant cases, the strength of Canadian identity can be a predictor of support for national policies or feelings of regional alienation, but the strength of this relationship is generally similar among pre-, peri-, and post-Charter generations. Hence, the salience of Canadian identity in predicting greater support for national policies and weaker feelings of regional alienation has not changed in the post-Charter era.

In chapter 3 of this project, we observe that some indicators of Canadian identity are getting stronger for post-Charter Canadians, but in different ways for those inside and outside of Québec, and those who are first-generation immigrants. In contrast to the findings of chapter 3, the results we observe in chapter 4 appear to display similarities between native-born Canadians and migrant respondents. Among post-Charter Canadians, regardless of country of birth, the strength of the relationship between Canadian identity and the support for national policies or feelings of regional alienation is not conditional on generational status.

Chapter 5 - Behind New Eyes: Theoretical Implications & Limitations

Overall, this project suggests that the 1982 Constitution Act and the Charter of Rights and Freedoms appears to have an effect on the balancing of identities among Canadians. Attributing the observed changes between generations in this project to the enactment of the 1982 Constitution Act and allows for contributions to scholarly literature on Canadian federalism, socialization and institutional learning, political generations, and those introduced to Canada following 1982.

Contributions to Canadian federalism Literature

In the evaluation of the change following the enactment of the 1982 Constitution and the Charter of Rights and Freedoms, it appears that the “dream of one Canada” is a complex concept. While Canada’s nation-building project aimed itself at centralizing values and identities, the conclusion that a completely unified country has replaced the “old” Canada cannot be made, but some evidence demonstrates that a shift in that direction has begun. This project suggests that respondents introduced to Canada following the enactment of the 1982 Constitution and the Charter see a different Canada than their predecessors, but in a matter of degrees only. Even though these post-Charter Canadians do not appear understand Canada as a completely unified federation, we observe post-Charter respondents to exhibit a stronger pro-Canada balancing of dual loyalties, stronger support for the policies which act as pillars to the Canadian way of life, and weaker feelings of regional alienation.

The “dream of one Canada” embedded in the enactment of the 1982 Constitution and the Charter of Rights and freedoms aimed at centralizing powers, values, and identities (LaSelva 1996, 108; Uberoi 2009; Woehrling 2009). Achieving such a goal of a unified nation ideologically, culturally, and politically meant straying from the non-federal values fundamental to Canadian federalism to create a new set of values targeted at promoting Canadian policies and curtailing longstanding regional tensions. Canada prior to 1982 is understood as a nation “divided against itself,” and the enactment of the Constitution Act and the Charter sought to diminish such division (Manning 1992). By evaluating the strength and salience of Canadian identity and the support for key policies, this project suggests that despite not achieving the “dream of one Canada,” there is a plausible link between post-Charter Canadians exhibiting a stronger pro-Canada balancing of loyalties, stronger support for key policies, and weaker feelings of regional tension and the enactment of the 1982 Constitution Act and the Charter of Rights and Freedoms. However, the changes observed above appear to have materialized differently between respondents inside and outside of Québec. Additionally, the relationship between Canadian identity and support for federal policies does not appear vary by generation.

The observed differences between those inside and outside of Québec, and those born inside and outside of Canada suggest that Canadian federalism continues to be founded on the will to live together and the will to live apart (LaSelva 1996). The strengthening of a will to live together can be attributed to the observed weakening of regional alienation among post-Charter respondents, and the will to live apart appears to be supported through different manifestations of a stronger pro-Canada balancing of identities among those in the Québec, ROC, and migrant samples.

The importance of multiculturalism, bilingualism, and the equalization payments program with regard to defining the “Canadian way of life” is made clear through the analysis of existing works, and the support for these policies is argued to be a source of both Canadian belonging and regional tension (Bilodeau et al. 2015; Citrin et al. 2012; Courchene 2004; Citrin et al. 2012; Kymlicka 2012; Seymour 2009). While we observe a stronger support for multiculturalism among post-Charter ROC and migrant respondents, it appears that other socio-demographic characteristics have an effect on levels of national policy support as well. Respondents from visible minority communities are observed to exhibit stronger support for multiculturalism across the Québec, ROC, and migrant sample populations. This suggests that the support for multiculturalism cannot be solely attributed one’s Charter generation. While the general increase in support for multiculturalism among post-Charter respondents is significant in understanding how post-Charter Canadians exemplify the Canadian way of life, determining policy support appears to be more complex than one’s Charter relative generation.

Despite the weaker regional alienation exhibited by the post-Charter respondents in this study, these findings do not suggest that regions in Canada are no longer distinct from one another. In addition to the aforementioned differences between Québec, ROC, and migrant respondents with regard to identity balancing and strength, provinces of residence is observed to have significant effects on respondents’ support for multiculturalism, bilingualism, and the equalization payments program across the Canadian-born and migrant samples (see table 6 & table 11). This suggests that even with a stronger pro-Canada balancing of identity, provincial ties are neither forgotten nor irrelevant.

Ultimately, this project contributes to Canadian federalism literature by arguing that the observed differences in how Canadians shape their provincial and federal identities following 1982 can be attributed to the enactment of the 1982 Constitution and the Charter. The emphasis of developing a stronger pan-Canadian identity within the 1982 Constitution Act and the Charter of Rights and Freedoms suggests that Canadian identity is a matter of contemporary Canadian federalism. While I cannot demonstrate a divorce between the functioning of the federation before and after 1982, the differences observed between generations of Canadians relative to the enactment of the Constitution and the Charter suggest that the post-Charter generation is somewhat distinct from those socialized in the “old” Canada. Therefore, the contribution this project makes to Canadian federalism literature is that it appears Canadian identities are shaped differently in the contemporary federation, specifically for those introduced to Canada in the post-Charter generation.

Contribution to institutional learning theory & socialization

In testing the hypotheses of this project, the limits of institutional learning theory were also evaluated. The results observed in this project support H1, as respondents introduced to Canada after 1982 exhibit a stronger pro-Canada identity relative to their provincial identity when compared to pre-Charter Canadians. However, the findings of this project reject H2, as a stronger Canadian identity is not observed to have a stronger predictive power on support for national policies across generational groups. While Rohrschneider is able to track the explicit development of democratic values in reunified Germany, the findings outlined above highlight the limit of this theoretical framework in the Canadian context (Rohrschneider, 1999). Through the measurement of the strength and balancing of provincial and Canadian identity, it appears

that institutional learning theory is relevant in understanding the transmission of behaviour between generations relative to the 1982 Constitution. However, institutional learning among post-Charter Canadians does not appear to result in the linking of identity strength and policy support as envisioned by both the Constitution and the Charter. Therefore, it can be understood that institutional learning theory can be applied in the Canadian context in order to understand varying levels of identity strength but does not appear to hold up in explaining predictive power of such identity on policy support.

The implication of these findings for the limits of institutional learning theory is that I attribute the observed differences in the strengthening of Canadian identity and the weakening of regional alienation among the post-Charter generation as evidence of diffusion. The diffusion axiom of institutional learning outlines that citizens easily adopt values that require little restraint or unlearning. Although the strengthening of Canadian identity has manifested differently across the Québec, ROC, and migrant samples, I argue that the differences in values among post-Charter Canadians can be attributed to the diffusion of pan-Canadian values promoted throughout the 1982 Constitution Act and the Charter of Rights and Freedoms.

Furthermore, the rejection of H2 suggests that institutional learning theory is limited in its effectiveness in the Canadian political context. The lack of generational differences observed with regard to the salience of Canadian identity strength in predicting the support for national policies suggests that the ideological-performance axiom cannot be applied to the transmission of values from the 1982 Constitution Act to the individual Canadian. Although it appears institutional learning has appeared on the level of diffusion for post-Charter Canadians, it does not appear to have occurred on the level of ideological performance.

These observations are consistent with existing works surrounding socialization, specifically in the Canadian context. Institutional learning is not argued as the only determinant of identity shaping in Canada, as province of residence is previously found to play a significant role (Uberoi 2008). Throughout this project I controlled for province of residence and socio-demographic characteristics in order to ensure any observed differences were due to institutional learning, not external factors. The socio-demographic characteristics I controlled for were sex, education level achieved, employment status, and if respondents identified as members of visible minority communities. Province of residence was controlled for among the Canadian-born sample by isolate province of residence among respondents and using Ontario as the reference category. The results of controlling for these factors external to the strength of Canadian identity suggest that the shaping of identity is complex, as varying characteristics like education level achieved, racial identity and province of residence contributes to the shaping of identity in addition to generation. Considering the complexity of the shaping of political identities in Canada, the results of this project support the claim that what it means to be Canadian is constantly evolving (Huddy 2001). Even with this evolution there remain markers of both culture and identity which are stable between generations, like support for bilingualism and residence in Québec (table 6). This is consistent with the existing literature on the significance of linguistic identity in Québec and highlights that while post-Charter Canadians balance a stronger pro-Canada sense of attachments, markers of distinct Québec identity are not lost (Groff et al. 2016; LaSelva 1996)

Contribution to Political Generations Literature

Instead of a unified set of values and identities envisioned as a result of the 1982 Constitution and the Charter, post-Charter Canadians exemplify a stronger pro-Canada balancing of identities in different ways than one another. As previously stated, I attribute these changes to consequences of the enactment of the 1982 Constitution and the Charter. The findings of this project contribute to political generations literature as it suggests that the enactment of the 1982 Constitution and the Charter was a key political event in Canadian history with regard to the shaping of political identities. Regardless of the absence of the development of an ideologically unified nation, the Canada in which post-Charter Canadians see is a result of the episodic changes spurred by this key political event (Delli Carpini 1989; Inlgehart & Abramson 1994; Johnston 1992; Sears & Valentino 1997). The strengthened pro-Canada balancing of identities, support for national policies, and weakened feelings of regional alienation are indicators of the post-Charter generation in Canada. The stability of support for bilingualism among Québécois respondents, pro-Canada attachment among ROC respondents, and a Canadian first identity among migrant respondents also indicates that the cross-generation changes demonstrated throughout this project cannot be attributed to generational replacement. Post-Charter Canadians are not presenting a balancing of identities opposite of their pre-Charter counterparts, but generational differences appear throughout this project.

It is clear that governance in Canada changed in 1982, and the results of my project suggest that the individual values and understanding of the federation changed as well. Although I cannot demonstrate that the enactment of the 1982 Constitution Act acts as the causal mechanism for these observed changes, I do argue that this was a key political event in Canadian history. The changes observed among post-Charter Canadians do not appear to suggest the rejection of pre-Charter values, however I argue that they are different enough to justify the separation of Canadians between those who knew Canada before and after the enactment of the Constitution and the Charter of Rights and Freedoms. The trend of weaker feelings of regional alienation is important, as the regional grievances and intra-national contexts were significant aspects of the “old” Canada (Manning 1992). Instead, post-Charter Canadians exhibit weaker feelings of regional alienation compared to their pre-Charter counterparts, suggesting that a strong sense of Canadian harmony is an aspect of a “new” Canada.

Contribution to Contemporary Canadians Literature

The findings of this project also contribute to existing research on Canadians who have been introduced in the post-Charter context. First, this project explores the shaping and expression of political identities among young Canadians. Existing work on young Canadians and youth in general focuses heavily on their electoral participation and partisan identities (Andolina et al. 2003; Dinas 2012; Groff et al. 2016; Jennings et al. 2009; Pauwels & Schils 2016; Rico & Jennings 2016). However, the results of this project further research on young Canadians by shedding light on how those born in the post-Charter generation situate themselves between provincial and federal loyalties. Whether or not the generation differences observed between native-born Canadians in this sample can be attributed to the 1982 Constitution and the Charter, it appears that the youngest category of native-born Canadians analyzed in this project exhibit a stronger pro-Canada balancing of identities and weaker feelings of regional alienation compared to their older counterparts. The findings of this project support the notion that there are some

differences between younger and older Canadians in how they express their provincial and Canadian identities (Groff et al. 2016).

Furthermore, this project contributes to existing work on how contemporary first-generation immigrants situate themselves in the Canadian context. The findings of Bilodeau et al. 2015, are supported through this project, as it appears that migrant respondents exhibit a stronger and stabler pro-Canada balancing of identities compared to their native-born counterparts (2015, 17). Not only does this project back these findings, but the strengthened support for multiculturalism and weaker feelings of regional alienation exhibited by post-Charter respondents relative to the pre-Charter generation (table 10, 19; figure 5) suggests that this pro-Canada balancing of identities appears to only be getting stronger among newly arrived migrants, thus furthering the relevancy of the arguments made by Bilodeau et al. 2015. By supporting the ongoing research of Bilodeau et al. 2015, this project provides a better understanding of the balancing of loyalties and attachments among those new to Canada in the contemporary context. The striking strengthening of support for multiculturalism among post-Charter migrant respondents is interesting, and further highlights the significance of contemporary immigration as a fundamental aspect of what it means to be Canadian. For post-Charter first-generation immigrants, there is a strong support for the policy most targeted at immigration, which suggests that a post-Charter federation is one which further promotes and celebrates both immigration and Canada's multicultural heritage, as outlined in section 27 of the Canadian Charter of Rights and Freedoms.

Limitations and Future Research

Having walked through the findings and theoretical implications of this project, it is important to unpack its limitations. While this project seeks to justify a clear generational break following the enactment of the 1982 Constitution Act and the Charter of Rights and Freedoms, as well as demonstrate a clear transmission of values from the state to the citizen, it cannot conclusively demonstrate either of these things for a number of reasons. First of all, the data in which this research relies upon is survey data from 2014, not longitudinal data which spans the generations I intend to analyze. To better capture something like a clear generational break caused by the enactment of the 1982 Constitution and the Charter, it would be more effective to analyze how the balancing of provincial and Canadian identities has changed over the years. Additionally, in the testing of only institutional learning theory this project does not test the limits of social learning theory. In order to effectively understand the effect of social learning theory and parental transmission, we would need data from both parents and children from the same household. Given the methodology of this project and the use of the Provincial Diversity Project, this was not a limitation that could be overcome.

Another limitation of this project is the reliance on quantitative survey data. Relying on quantitative data alone limits subjects from being able to provide their complete opinions and beliefs through their responses. Although analyzing survey data is an effective to understand how Canadians balance their attachments, identities, and feelings of alienation, every conclusion I draw cannot be concretely demonstrated, as they are merely my interpretation of the numbers I observe. A qualitative or mixed-methods approach could possibly provide a clearer picture on how subjects balance complex feelings of regional alienation, or non-Canadian identities.

Ultimately, the findings of this project demonstrate the need for further research to understand how Canadians continue to shape and balance their political identities. Throughout this project we observe that visible minority status has an effect on how native-born and migrant Canadians balance their attachments, identities, and levels of support for national policies. The observed differences between respondents from visible minority communities and white respondents with regard to the balancing of Canadian identity needs more attention. Results in chapter 3 indicate that the reason post-Charter respondents in Québec exhibits a stronger pro-Canada balancing of attachments relative to their older counterparts is because younger generations are more likely to be members of visible minority communities (table 3). This alone justifies the need for future research, as post-Charter Canadians appear to be comprised of more members of visible minority communities than the pre-Charter generation, and the differences in how they balance their identities are found to be statistically significant.

On top of these limitations, it becomes clear that future research is required in understanding the socializing effect of the 1982 Constitution and the Charter, as well as how contemporary Canadians are balancing their identities as this study cannot be understood as a conclusive piece of work. Future research which accounts for parental transmission, the effect of visible minority status, and possibly takes a qualitative approach appears to be necessary if we want to better know what it is like behind new eyes.

Works Cited

- Andolina, Molly W., Krista Jenkins, Cliff Zukin, and Scott Keeter. 2003. "Habits from Home, Lessons from School: Influences on Youth Civic Engagement," *PS: Political Science & Politics* 36, no. 2: 275-280.
- Bilodeau, Antoine. 2010. "The Development of Dual Loyalties: Immigrants' Integration to Canadian Regional Dynamics," *Canadian Journal of Political Science* 43, no. 3: 515-544.
- Bilodeau, Antoine, Luc Turgeon, and Ekrem Karakoç. 2012. "Small Worlds of Diversity: Views toward Immigration and Racial Minorities in Canadian Provinces," *Canadian Journal of Political Science* 45, no. 3: 579-604.
- Bilodeau, Antoine, Luc Turgeon, Stephen E. White, and Ailsa Henderson. 2015. "Seeing the Same Canada? Visible Minorities Views of the Federation," *Institute for Research on Public Policy* 56: 1-27.
- Bilodeau, Antoine, Luc Turgeon, Stephen E. White, and Ailsa Henderson. 2019. "A Tale of Two Liberalisms? Attitudes toward Minority Religious Symbols in Quebec and Canada," *Canadian Journal of Political Science* 52, no. 2: 247-265.
- Carpentier, Joëlle, and Roxane de la Sablonnière. 2013. "Identity profiles and well-being of multicultural immigrants: the case of Canadian immigrants living in Quebec," *Frontiers in Psychology* 4, no. 80: 1-15.
- Campbell, Angus. 1971. "Politics Through the Life Cycle," *The Gerontologist* 11, no. 2: 112-117.
- Citrin, Jack, Richard Johnson, and Matthew Wright. 2012. "Do Patriotism and Multiculturalism Collide? Competing Perspectives from Canada and the United States," *Canadian Journal of Political Science* 45, no. 3: 531-552.
- Coucherne, Thomas. 2004. "The Changing Nature of Quebec-Canada Relations: From the 1980 Referendum to the Summit of the Canadas," *Institute for Research on Public Policy* 2: 1-21.
- Dalton, Russel J. 1982. "The Pathways of Parental Socialization," *American Politics Quarterly* 10, no. 2: 139-157.
- Dawson, Richard E., and Kenneth Prewitt. 1969. *Political Socialization*. Boston, MA: Little, Brown & Company.
- Delli Carpini, Michael X. 1989. "Age and History: Generations and Sociopolitical Change," pp. 1-55 in Roberta S. Sigel, ed. *Political Learning in Adulthood: A Sourcebook of Theory and Research*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.
- Dinas, Elias. 2012. "The Formation of Voting Habits," *Journal of Elections, Public Opinion, and Parties* 22, no. 4: 431-456.

Groff, Cynthia, Annie Pilote, and Karine Vieux-Fort. 2016. "‘I am Not a Francophone’: Identity Choices and Discourses of Youth Associating With a Powerful Minority," *Journal of Language, Identity, & Education* 15, no. 2: 83-99.

Harles, John C. 1997. "Integration before Assimilation: Immigration, Multiculturalism and the Canadian Polity," *Canadian Journal of Political Science* 30, no. 4: 711-736.

Huddy, Leonie. 2001. "From Social to Political Identity: A Critical Examination of Social Identity Theory," *Political Psychology* 22, no. 1: 127-156.

Iacovino, Raffaele, and Rémi Léger. 2013. "Francophone Minority Communities and Immigrant Integration in Canada: Rethinking the Normative Foundations," *Canadian Ethnic Studies* 45, no. 1: 95-114.

Iacovino, Raffaele. 2014. "Canadian Federalism and the Governance of Immigration," pp. 86-107 in E. Hepburn ed. *The Politics of Immigration in Multi-Level States*. New York: Macmillan Publishers Limited.

Inglehart, Ronald, and Paul R. Abramson. 1994. "Economic Security and Value Change," *American Political Science Review* 88, no. 2: 336-354.

Jennings, M. Kent, Laura Stoker, and Jake Bowers. 2009. "Politics across Generations: Family Transmission Reexamined," *The Journal of Politics* 71, no. 3: 782-799.

Johnston, Richard. 1992. "Political Generations and Electoral Change in Canada," *British Journal of Political Science* 22, no. 1: 93-115.

Katz-Rosene, Ryan M. 2020. "Transforming Alberta: an investment-based strategy for combatting Western alienation and climate change in Canada," *Studies in Political Economy* 101, no. 1: 77-91.

Kunovich, Robert M. 2009. "The Sources and Consequences of National Identification," *American Sociological Review* 74, no. 4: 573-593.

Kymlicka, Will. 2012. *Multiculturalism: Success, Failure, and the Future*. Washington, DC: Migration Policy Institute.

Lajoie, Andrée. 2009. "Federalism in Canada: Provinces and Minorities- Same Fight," pp. 163-186 in Alain G. Gagnon, ed. *Contemporary Canadian Federalism: Foundations, Traditions, Institutions*. Toronto, ON: University of Toronto Press.

Lalonde, Richard N., Jorida Cila, and Maya Yampolsky. 2016. "Canada, a Fertile Ground for Intergroup Relations and Social Identity Theory," pp. 261-276 in S. McKeown, ed. *Understanding Peace and Conflict Through Social Identity Theory*. Basel, CH: Springer Publishing Switzerland.

- LaSelva, Samuel V. 1996. *The Moral Foundations of Canadian Federalism: Paradoxes, Achievements, and Tragedies of Nationhood*. Montréal, PQ: McGill University Press.
- Manning, Preston. 1992. *The New Canada*. Toronto, ON: Macmillan Canada.
- MacKuen, Michael, and Courtney Brown. 1987. "Political Context and Attitude Change," *The American Political Science Review* 81, no. 2: 471- 490.
- McDevitt, Michael and Steven Chaffee. 2010. "From Top-Down to Trickle-Up Influence: Revisiting Assumptions About the Family in Political Socialization," *Political Communication* 19, no. 3: 281-301.
- Nangia, Parveen. 2013. "Discrimination Experienced by Landed Immigrants in Canada," Paper presented at the 2013 RCIS conference "Immigration and Settlement: Precarious Futures?" held at Ryerson University, 15-17 May 2013, Toronto, ON, Canada.
- Pauwels, Lieven, and Nele Schils. 2016. "Differential Online Exposure to Extremist Content and Political Violence: Testing the Relative Strength of Social Learning and Competing Perspectives," *Terrorism and Political Violence* 28, no. 1: 1-29.
- Petter, Andrew. 1989. "Canada's Charter Flight: Soaring Backwards into the Future," *Journal of Law and Society* 16, no. 2: 151-165.
- Proulx-Chénard, Samuel. 2020. "Réformes et discours sur l'immigration temporaire: De nouvelles politiques au Québec?" M.A. dissertation, Department of Political Science, Concordia University.
- Reitz, Jeffrey G., Rupa Banerjee, Mai Phan, and Jordan Thompson. 2009. "Race, Religion, and the Social Integration of New Immigrant Minorities in Canada," *International Migration Review* 43, no. 4: 695-726.
- Rico, Guillem, and M. Kent Jennings. 2016. "The Formation of Left-Right Identification: Pathways and Correlates of Parental Influence," *Political Psychology* 37, no. 2: 237-251.
- Rocher, Guy. 1984. "The Ambiguities of a Bilingual and Multicultural Canada," pp. 41-47 in John R. Mallea and Jonathan C. Young, eds. *Cultural Diversity and Canadian Education*. Montréal: McGill-Queen's University Press.
- Rocher, François. 2009. "The Quebec-Canada Dynamic or the Negation of the Ideal of Federalism," pp. 81-131 in Alain G. Gagnon, ed. *Contemporary Canadian Federalism: Foundations, Traditions, Institutions*. Toronto: University of Toronto Press.
- Rohrschneider, Robert. 1999. *Learning Democracy Democratic and Economic Values in Unified Germany*. New York: Oxford University Press.

Sears, David O., and Nicholas A. Valentino. 1997. "Politics Matters: Political Events as Catalysts for Preadult Socialization," *The American Political Science Review* 91, no. 1: 45-65.

Seymour, Michel. 2009. "On Not Finding Our Way: The Illusory Reform of the Canadian Federation," pp. 187-212 in Alain G. Gagnon, ed. *Contemporary Canadian Federalism: Foundations, Traditions, Institutions*. Toronto: University of Toronto Press.

Torney-Purta, Judith. 1995. "Psychological Theory as a Basis for Political Socialization Research Individuals' Construction of Knowledge," *Perspectives on Political Science* 24, no. 1: 23-33.

Uberoi, Varun. 2009. "Multiculturalism and the Canadian Charter of Rights and Freedoms," *Political Studies* 57, no. 4: 805-827.

Walker, Stephen G. 1983. "The Motivational Foundations of Political Belief Systems: A Re-Analysis of the Operational Code Construct," *International Studies Quarterly* 27, no. 2: 179-202.

Woehrling, José. 2009. "The Canadian Charter of Rights and Freedoms and Its Consequences for Political and Democratic Life and the Federal System," pp. 224-249 in Alain G. Gagnon, ed. *Contemporary Canadian Federalism: Foundations, Traditions, Institutions*. Toronto: University of Toronto Press.

Wright, Matthew. 2011. "Diversity and the Imagined Community: Immigrant Diversity and Conceptions of National Identity," *Political Psychology* 32, no. 5: 837-862.

Appendix: Construction of Variables

Attachment to Canada	0-1 scale, indicating the strength of attachment to Canada, and where 1 means very attached.
Attachment to Province	0-1 scale, indicating the strength of attachment to the province, and where 1 means very attached.
Difference between Canadian and Provincial Attachments	-1-1 scale, composed of the difference in scores between attachment to Canada and attachment to province
Self-Identification between Canada and Province of Residence	0-1 scale, indicating how one self-identifies with regard to their Canadian and provincial identities. 0 means a province only identity, 0.5 means an equal provincial and Canadian identification, 1 means a Canada only identity
Native-Born Canadians	0 = born outside Canada, 1 = born inside Canada
First-Generation Immigrants	0 = born inside Canada, 1 = born outside Canada
Male	0 = female, 1 = male,
Visible Minority	0 = white, 1 = respondent identifies as non-white and not First-Nations or Aboriginal
Education	0 = no schooling; 0.1 = some elementary school; 0.2 = completed elementary school degree; 0.3 = some secondary/high school; 0.4 = completed secondary/high school; 0.5 = some college (CEGEP); 0.6 = completed college (CEGEP); 0.7 = some university; 0.8 = Bachelor's degree; 0.9 = Master's degree; 1 = Professional degree or doctorate
Employment	0 = unemployed, 1 = all others
Province of Residence	1 = Newfoundland & Labrador; 2 = Prince Edward Island; 3 = Nova Scotia; 4 = New Brunswick; 5 = Québec; 6 = Ontario; 7 = Manitoba; 8 = Saskatchewan; 9 = Alberta; 10 = British Columbia
Charter relative Generations: Native-Born Canadians	0 = born inside Canada before 1970 (Pre-Charter); 1 = born inside Canada after 1970 and before 1990 (Peri-Charter); 2 = born inside Canada after 1990 (Post-Charter)
Charter relative Generations: First-Generation Immigrants	0 = arrived in Canada before 1982 (Pre-Charter); 1 = arrived in Canada after 1982 (Post-Charter)
Support for Multiculturalism	0-1 scale, composed of the response to the following item, where 1 means very positive attitudes. Multiculturalism has a positive/neutral/negative impact on Canadian identity
Support for Bilingualism	0-1 scale, composed of responses to the following two items, and where 1 means very positive attitudes.

	<p>It is important to preserve French and English as Canada's two official languages</p> <p>People holding senior positions in the federal public service should be bilingual</p>
Support for the Equalization Payments Program	<p>0-1 scale, composed of the response to the following item, where 1 means very positive attitudes.</p> <p>The federal equalization program transfers money from the richer provinces to the poorer provinces to ensure that all Canadians can have public services of similar quality. I believe this is a good program.</p>
Feelings of Regional Alienation	<p>0-1 scale, composed of responses to the following two items, and where 1 means one's province receives less than its fair share of resources and influence.</p> <p>Thinking about the money the federal government spends on different programs and on transfers to the provinces, do you think your province receives more than/about its/less than its fair share?</p> <p>Is your province treated with the respect it deserves in Canada or not?</p>