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REGIONAL PERSPECTIVES OF THE TRUDEAU SUPRA-NATIONALIST VISION

by

BRUCE ANDERSON, B.A.

A thesis submitted to
the Faculty of Graduate Studies and Research
in partial fulfilment of
the requirements for the degree of

Master of Arts

Department of Political Science

**Carleton University
Ottawa, Ontario
April 8, 1994**

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submitted by

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in partial fulfilment of the requirements
for the degree of Master of Arts

Chair, Department of Political Science

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to name but a few.

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"One way of offsetting the appeal of separatism is by investing tremendous amounts of time, energy and money in nationalism at the federal level. A national image must be created that will have such an appeal as to make any image of a separatist group unattractive. Resources must be diverted into such things as national flags, anthems, education, arts councils, broadcasting corporations, film boards; the territory must be bound together by a network of railways, highways, airlines; the national culture and the national economy must be protected by taxes and tariffs; ownership of resources and industry by nationals must be made a matter of policy. In short, the whole citizenry must be made to feel that it is only within the framework of the federal state that their language, culture, institutions, sacred traditions and standard of living can be protected from external attack and internal strife.

..... The advantage as well as the peril of federalism is that it permits the development of a regional consensus based on regional values; so federalism is ultimately bound to fail if the nationalism it cultivates is unable to generate a national image which has immensely more appeal than regional ones.

Moreover, this consensus - to be lasting - must be a living thing."

Pierre Elliot Trudeau¹

¹Pierre Elliott Trudeau, Federalism and the French Canadians, St. Martin's Press, New York, 1968, pp. 193. The quote is extracted from the essay "Federalism, Nationalism and Reason".

ABSTRACT

The mandate of this paper is to illustrate empirically that the different regional cultures which exist in Canada have differing degrees of acceptance of the proactive definition of "The Canadian Identity" as defined by Former Prime Minister Trudeau. By use of the York University Academic Election Study of 1988, the first task is to examine quantitatively the citizens' attitudes concerning four elements promoted by Trudeau: Social Welfarism, Anti-Americanism, Multiculturalism, and Bilingualism. Secondly, the paper will ask three questions concerning each element:

- 1) Is there general support for the initiative ?
- 2) Do inter-regional attitudes conflict on the initiative ?
- 3) Is there a degree of intra-regional conflict on the initiative ?

The study suggests that support, or dissonance, of the initiative can be understood through theoretical frameworks described by rational self-interest and cultural heritage. The paper concludes with a discussion of the results which suggests that Trudeau's nationalist vision is less than successful because it is policy oriented. Moreover, the inference will be made that the policy oriented approach of Trudeau has more to do with pleasing the Liberal electoral coalition than the creation of a supra-nationalist Canadian Identity, and via the Constitution and The Charter of Rights has institutionalized division.

INTRODUCTION

The quote, mentioned above, by Former Prime Minister Trudeau should resonate in the memory of every Canadian. History illustrates that Trudeau attempted to defeat the factual uncommonality, or regional differentiation, of our nation-state by imposing a proactive definition of the "Canadian Identity" on the people of Canada. As sound as this strategy would seem in theory, it would seem to have failed as the constituent parts of the "Canadian Identity" do not seem to hold the attention of Canadians, and are more a point of division than of cohesion.

This division is the result of the policy orientated approach of the proactive definition. The definition does not apply to all Canadians. One part of the definition is constructed to apply to one group, another part to another group and still another part designed to apply to a third group. This paper will attempt to illustrate that the individual parts of this definition are conflictual and contradictory to the Canadian people and not a point of cohesion.

Thus, the mandate of this paper is to examine the constituent parts of Trudeau's proactive nationalism quantitatively, and to examine the degree to which Canadians across regions support these attitudes. I believe that through an analysis of Trudeau's policies and writing one can illustrate a coherent attempt to construct a Canadian Identity. The paper will examine four parts of the

Canadian identity: Anti-Americanism, Social Welfarism, Multiculturalism and Bilingualism. In particular the goal will be to link each of these attitudinal dimensions to the Trudeau governments' policies between the years of 1968 and 1982. The paper avoids the question of Constitutionalism only because the data available for this project provides no accurate measure of Canadians attitudes toward the Constitution Act of 1982, or to the Charter of Rights and Freedoms implemented in that Act. Although other data sets could have been implemented which contain information concerning attitudinal perspectives of the Charter of Rights and Freedoms, examining these questions would have extended this thesis beyond acceptable length.

This introduction will have four parts. Firstly, the paper will examine nationalism and federalism as abstract concepts to establish the difficulties involved with competing identities. Secondly, the goal will be to briefly categorize the structure of Canadian history in terms of the theoretical framework provided by the examination of federal theory. In this section two eras are identified: The pre-1960 epoch and the post Quiet Revolution epoch. The point which needs to be revealed is the tension between the rise of Quebec Nationalism vis a vis the power of the federalist supra-nationalist dream of Trudeau.

The third section of the introduction will examine the Trudeau government's policies in order to establish a empirical link

between the policies to be measured and the question of Canadian identity. This function will be a critical precursor of the fourth and final section of the introduction which will bridge the theory of the 'Trudeau Vision' and the existing realities of Canadian political culture.

The last section of the introduction will present the question which this paper wishes to analyse: Can one create a cross regional Nationalism in Canada? The paper will argue that in certain instances policies can be created which will resonate across borders and political cultures based on two aspects: a) a rational self-interest to believe in an institution; or b) an existing degree of cultural overlap can be identified and manipulated into a successful policy or institution. However, it must be said that this researcher severely doubts that bilingualism or multiculturalism, or anti-Americanism, or social welfarism passes the grade in terms of providing a successful rallying point across regional political cultures because each policy is designed to appease a specific fraction of the population and is not constructed for the whole. These elements then produce conflict.

FEDERAL THEORY

There are many definitions of federalism, however each does

not stray radically from the definition created by K.C. Wheare.² The following characteristics can be said to define a constitutional federal state:

1. Two sets of governments have authority over the same territory (co-habitation);
2. The two sets of governments divide their responsibility for governing in a mutually agreed manner (a division of power);
3. Both levels of government rule over the same population (each has legitimacy).

Wheare writes that federalism is "an association of states, which have been formed for certain common purposes, but in which member states still retain a large measure of their original independence".³ As a legal definition Wheare is quite correct in his explanation of federalism, but he does not address the functioning of the federal state, as it is beyond the mandate of his analysis. Strictly, Wheare wishes to create a taxonomy by which federalism can be distinguished from other forms of government, and by which federal states can be further classified into sub-categories. What this paper wishes to focus on is one aspect of

²K.C. Wheare, Federal Government 4th edition, Oxford University Press, New York, 1964, chapters 1 and 2, pp. 1 - 35.

³ Ibid.. pg. 1.

Wheare's federalist definition, the part which defines federalism as having two sets of governments which rule over the same population.

As Livingston ⁴ points out the objective of the federal government is to "house diversities" in such a manner as to provide for competing definitions of culture to co-exist. As he states, there must be a valid reason which gives efficacy to the compromise of federalism. The commonality which has placed diverse cultures within the same governmental arrangement must be preserved, and a Trudeau stated must be a 'living thing'.⁵

Thus federalism by its very definition pre-supposes that there co-exist a supra-nationalism and a regional nationalism. If the regional nationalism ceases to exist in the face of the federalist nationality, the federalist form will be quite successful as it operates as an administrative entity. If the supra-nationalist identity is lost by any of the regions, however, the nation-state can in certain instances become fragmentary. However, this analysis deviates from Trudeau's assertion that the supra-nationalist image must have 'immensely more appeal than regional ones". This author believes that symmetry between the regional identity and the supra-nationalist identity

⁴William Livingston, Federalism and Constitutional Change, Claredon Press, Oxford, 1956, pp. 1 - 15.

⁵Trudeau, Op. Cit., pg. 193.

will produce stability in most cases.

Fragmentation can only occur if the regional identity is manifested and not latent, and if it is stronger than the supra-national identity. If a strong regional culture exists but only exists in a latent form the federalist nationalism will not be challenged. Regional identities, obviously, can remain latent for a number of reasons such as lack of empowerment, force and power, to name but a few. As well, if there exists symmetry between both identities, the dual allegiance should theoretically produce a continuation of the status quo and not fragmentation.

Thus, two points need to be clarified. Firstly, a federalist compact is formed because regional identities are strong enough to demand some representation in their own form of government, and yet there is a reason for binding together in a larger political framework. Second, there are two dimensions to federal nationalism and two possible directions in which the nationalist dynamic can flow. The two dimensions are the supra-nationalist identity and the regional identity. Either both can increase, or decrease, over time. As such there is always the possibility of fragmentation, the only element preventing fragmentation is the supra-nationalist identity, whether it be based on economic co-operation, or an historical trust, is unimportant. What is important is its relative strength in the face of regional identities, and that the federal compact is an accurate depiction of the ratio between those two

identities.

THREE TYPOLOGIES OF SUPRA-NATIONALISM

It is theorized that there can be three types of 'glue', or commonality, upon which a supra-nationalist identity can exist. The reactive commonality, the factual commonality and the proactive commonality.

Reactive Commonality: This commonality may be said to encompass any *raison d'être* by which external circumstances encourage the creation of or maintenance of a federal state. Examples can be seen in Riker's⁶ suggestion that a military threat can coax a federal arrangement. Equally, one can state that mutual economic benefit can produce a federalist government. The reactive commonality may not necessarily be constant in order to maintain the arrangement as the collective arrangement can be accepted, and through habit or otherwise, become legitimate. In other words, a supra-national identity can be created by a reactive commonality. In the case of Canada one might point, as I do, to the early American threat and to the strong early British tie, as a reactive commonality. The degree of anxiety concerning the American military threat wanes

⁶Riker, Federalism: Origins, Operation and Significance, Little, Brown and Company, 1964. Riker's suggestion is that either for reasons of military expansion or for military defense a federation is created. Although this paper does not accept fully this conceptualization, the paper manipulate Riker's argument to suggest that an common political environment can induce a federal arrangement.

over time, however the political framework becomes efficacious because of historical experience.

Factual Commonality: A factual commonality is often described as a nationalism onto itself. Here there exists a commonality of language, ethnicity, or of religion which permeates all sub-cultures to give the federal principle sustenance. There still must exist a formative moment which gives impetus to the creation of the federation. Yet the maintenance of the federation is not due to the formative event. It is due to a common distinction between that political framework and other political frameworks. An example of this type of federation could be seen in the German Federation where a common language glosses over the differences within the federation. In the case where a factual commonality exists there is often little chance of failure of that federation if the 'federal spirit', as Friedrich describes', "of accomodation and compromise are maintained".

Proactive Commonality: In the case of the federal state where there exists no reactive or factual commonality which binds diverse cultures together, a proactive commonality can be created. An accurate depiction of the sentiment involved can be seen in the opening quote by Trudeau. Through the thoughtful creation of a statement of ideals, mutual goals, mutual institutions and

⁷Carl Friedrich, Trends of Federalism in Theory and Practice, Frederick Praeger Publishers, New York, 1968, pp.30 - 40.

agreements a supra-nationalist identity can be built. It is thought that a proactive commonality can only be built through a constitution which clearly expresses the concerns of individual sub-cultures, although other less rigid forms can be thought of as possibly effective. To be successful, the proactive instrument must have efficacy amongst all sub-cultures however. An example of a proactive commonality is the American Constitution. The statement of individual rights, the melting pot, and 'One Nation Under God', is an excellent example of a proactive commonality. No matter what sub-culture a person in the United States belongs to each person can agree with the basic statement of ideals put forth as a national definition. Whether or not this statement works in reality can be unimportant, so long as the abstract statement remains efficacious with the population.

THE PRE-1960 CANADA - REACTIVE NATIONALISM

This period of Canadian history is demarked as Reactive Nationalism because both nations are bound together for cultural defense. Firstly, the Quebecois culture was defensive to this English Canadian hegemony. Secondly, the English Canadian culture existed in defensive posture toward the United States. Before 1960 the English Canadian fragment, with its pro-British bias and counter-revolutionary culture', would seek to live in defiance of

^aLipset, Seymour Martin, *Revolution and Counter-Revolution*, photocopy of original. For more discussion, see also Lipset, Continental Divide, Chapter 12.

republican spirit. Anti-Americanism would be the cultural *raison d'être* of the Loyalist faction, while cultural introspection would be the rule for the Quebecois fragment. Both fragments were, thus, held together in the same state by their mutual fear of losing their cultural heritage. Due to this posture towards other cultures, one can assume that the supra-national *raison d'être* of both nations was reactive and introspective.

The British North America Act serves as an example which supports this analysis. The BNA Act determined that the internal administration of the nation-state would respect the culture of Quebec and the external foreign policy would be deferred to a stronger international force, Britain. Whitaker expounds on the construction of the internal workings of the British North America Act. He writes:

" 'Culture' would be left to the provincial governments, 'economies' largely to the national government. To be sure, Catholic Quebec would have to be accommodated with the political structures in Ottawa, but even this would continue along the same lines: major economic portfolios in the Cabinet would be, informally, but rigorously, reserved for English Canadians ministers (an arrangement which would continue for almost a

century)."

Thus, those Quebecois who went to Ottawa can be seen as those representatives of the culture, sent to relate the messages from Quebec to English Canadian political powers. Clearly, the Loyalist English Canadian culture had the power. Quebec was in a state of reactive nationalism, looking inward for survival. On the other hand, the Loyalist culture was also reactive in its relation to the United States.

The counter-revolutionary culture ¹⁰ was directly derivative of the American Revolution; the bastion of British culture in North America. This fact can be seen in our political institutions, our economic trade reliance, our constitutional history, amongst other less stark indicators. The English Canadian culture was born to defend against American expansion and serve as a haven for those still loyal to the Crown.

The Quebecois culture had a reactive posture toward the English Canadian fragment; the English Canadian fragment held a reactive or defensive posture to the events of, and existence of

⁹Reg Whitaker, A Sovereign Idea, McGill-Queen's University Press, 1992, pg. 238.

¹⁰David Bell and Lorne Tepperman, The Roots of Disunity, McClelland and Stewart, Toronto, 1979. This book is usually considered, along with the works of Lipset, as the quintessential description of the Loyalist Spirit which is found in Chapter 3, pp. 72 -198.

the United States. Yet this characterization starts to lose its accuracy as time goes on. The eventual and gradual secularization of Quebec, signalled by the Quiet Revolution, decreases the reactive nationalism in the province. Equally as strong is the effect of time on the English Canadian fragment. The English Canadian fragment starts, again eventually and gradually, to move away from its British influence. This detachment can be noted constitutionally by the Statute of Westminster in 1931 (allowing Canada force to make its own foreign policy), and the creation of a Canadian Supreme Court in 1949 which effectively ends the ability of Britain to have any say in the internal matters of the civil society. Economically, Canada starts to move away from its economic dependence on Britain as an export market, as trade becomes dependent on access to the United States market. The national economy becomes dominated by American branch plants which only reinforce the detachment process.

The pre-1960 era can thus be categorized as a gradual transition from a defensive and reactive nationalist identity to a situation where the English Canadian fragment is freed from its self-imposed chains, and the Quebec fragment is freed from its self-imposed locks. The nation-state, then having been freed, finds itself in a position where the factual uncommonality of its constituent parts become a problem. The national discussion revolves around Unity (occupying valuable resources which could be used in other more productive ways). Questions arise such as 'what

are the values which we can be aggressive about', 'who are we' and 'what is the Canadian Identity'. These questions become a barrier to the further development and the issue of National Unity becomes dominant.

THE POST-1960 ERA

The era following the Quiet Revolution and the detachment of Canada from its British roots is characterized by one cultural question. Can the factual uncommonality of the nation-state be overcome by those factors which are common to all cultures ? The rise of Quebec nationalism forced the Federal government to examine factors which can hold the nation-state together. An analysis of the Trudeau era suggests that Prime Minister Trudeau attempted to meld the country together with a proactive nationalist approach. The goal was to create a statement of ideals which would allow every citizen, regardless of sub-culture, to feel comfortable in the Canadian fabric. This rather ambitious endeavour had five parts. These parts are:

SOCIAL WELFAREISM: To tie the nation-state together there had to be a degree of economic equality between the regions.

This goal would be fulfilled by the construction of a strong inter-regional equalization package, and the entrance of the Federal government into areas of provincial jurisdiction through the establishment of national standards.

ANTI-AMERICANISM: To marry the independent cultures it was necessary to have a common enemy, as explained by Riker. As well, economic nationalism would have the effect of binding cultures together as there would be created an internal market.

Trudeau initiatives which supported the anti-American sentiment can be seen in the construction of the Foreign Investment Review Agency in 1972, the advocacy of the Third Option in 1972 and the creation of the National Energy Program in 1980. Clearly, as is stated in the opening quote by Trudeau, economic nationalism, and hence anti-Americanism was believed to be a plank upon which would continue to build a strong East-West economy, which would enhance the cultural identity of the nation-state.

BILINGUALISM: Each Canadian had to feel comfortable with the government, and feel represented by that government, and to this end Official Bilingualism was determined to offer French Canadians a stake in the Federal government.

The policy which links Trudeau to bilingualism is obviously the Official Languages Act which satisfied his desire to bring 'Quebec into the federal government'. After Quebec was permitted to use its own language in federal institutions, it was assumed to be only a matter of time before the Quebecois would then have a vested interest in the maintenance of the federal institutions which it indeed had power within.

MULTICULTURALISM: Since Canada was a nation-state of immigrants it

was necessary to create the 'myth of the mosaic', which would allow all citizens to feel comfortable in their diversity from the majority culture, and feel respected by the majority culture;

The policy of multiculturalism was brought in by Trudeau in 1971 supposedly to ensure that all minority cultures would have "freedom of choice".¹¹ Trudeau stated that the policy was "a conscious support of individual freedom of choice. We are all free to be ourselves.... It (promotion of minority cultures) must be fostered and pursued actively."¹²

CONSTITUTIONALISM: A constitution would need be created which would focus on individual rights, and collective rights. The collective rights of cultures would be found in the bilingualism and multiculturalism sections, which would be tied to a series of individual rights which applied to all Canadians and promote a degree of supra-nationalism.

The question this paper wants to answer is the degree to which these elements have resonated with the Canadian public. Are these policies supported? Is there inter-regional variation in the level of support for these policies? Is there intra-regional dissonance

¹¹Trudeau, Pierre Elliot, Hansard, House of Commons Debates: Official Report, 3rd Session, 28th Parliament, 1971, pp. 9545-7.

¹²Trudeau later goes on to state the manner in which the policy will be carried out. The first part of the implementation process is providing financial support for multicultural groups. This fact throws a considerable amount of doubt on the raison d'être of the policy. As most multicultural groups already voted Liberal, the policy might be alternatively evaluated as patronage.

over these policies? This author suspects that these policies do create inter-regional friction amongst the population because they do not apply equally to the rational self-interest of the individuals within different regions. For example, it is difficult to go to a foreign land and proclaim support for bilingualism as central to your identity. It is not difficult to imagine someone claiming a belief in liberty as central to ones identity.

Clearly, the proactive national dream as promoted by Trudeau is policy oriented and any ideological importance lies under the statement of policy. And hence its failure. A proactive identity must be a general orientation and not issue specific. The objective of Trudeau should have been to institutionalize a belief in 'cultural tolerance' and not to attempt to define cultural tolerance. To cross this line between general statements and policy initiatives is tantamount to the construction of an apple pie with only oranges.

HYPOTHESES

HYPOTHESES

The basic premise of this paper is that through the frameworks of rational self-interest and cultural heritage one can extrapolate the success of a proactive definition of nationalism. In the case of Canada, the viability of Mr. Trudeau's proactive nationalism is questioned because the elements of the definition apply in an unequal fashion to each of the different regions because they are highly specific policies which are not general enough for the purpose they were intended to fulfil. The paper, as mentioned, attempts to assess the success of four elements of Trudeau's proactive nationalism. They are bilingualism, multiculturalism, anti-Americanism and social welfarism.

In order to draw effective hypotheses it is necessary to use statistics which determine the individual character of each region. The peculiarities of each region provide a bridge whereby the rational self-interest and cultural heritage frameworks can be adequately utilized. The paper will draw on Statistics Canada data to provide this bridge.

There will be three hypotheses for each facet of the proactive definition offered. The first hypothesis will suggest a probable rank order for the regions in terms of their support for the element. The second hypothesis will focus on the anticipated degree of inter-regional consensus for a given dependent variable. The last hypothesis will be constructed around the expected degree

of intra-regional consensus in a comparative framework.

Table 2-1 is focused on income statistics for the nation-state as a whole and each of the individual regions in order to generate hypotheses concerning the social welfarism aspect of Trudeau's proactive nationalism.

TABLE 2-1 - INCOME STATISTICS BY REGION¹³

	<u>MEAN INCOME</u>	<u>MEDIAN INCOME</u>
CANADA	\$24,001	\$18,832
EAST	\$19,636	\$14,860*
QUEBEC	\$22,391	\$17,649
ONTARIO	\$26,216	\$20,942
WEST	\$22,737	\$17,500*

* denotes an estimated value for the region

Table 2-1 illustrates two interesting points which can be used to draw hypotheses. Firstly, the deviation from the national mean for each region is not very extreme except in the case of the East. Secondly, the difference between the mean and the median for each region is approximately the same, around \$5,000. Thus, in terms of deriving a hypothesis regarding inter-regional consensus one should find that support for social welfarism should be relatively equal, causing a high degree of inter-regional consensus. Secondly, the

¹³Statistics Canada, Selected Income Statistics: The Nation, Minister of Industry, Science and Technology, April, 1993, pp. 12-14.

comparative equality of difference between the mean and median for each region should cause the degree of intra-regional consensus to be similar across regions.

In terms of predicting the rank order of support for social welfarism in Canada one would expect those areas with lower incomes to be more supportive of the policy than areas with higher incomes.

One factor which also need be recognized is the method of redistribution in the federation, namely equalization payments. Those regions who are on the 'giving' end of equalization would seem most likely to be the least supportive of social welfarism. Thus, the following rank order should be expected. The East should be the most supportive of social welfare policy followed by Quebec, the West and Ontario.

The following hypotheses can be drawn for the social welfare tests.

- 1) The lower the average income level in the region, the higher the degree of support for social welfare policy;
- 2) There should exist a high degree of inter-regional consensus for social welfare policy;
- 3) There should exist a similar degree of intra-regional consensus across regions.

Table 2-2 displays the percentage of individuals claiming to have a single 'mother tongue' in Canada as broken down by region. This table provides the basis for further analysis concerning of bilingualism and of multiculturalism.

TABLE 2-2 - MOTHER TONGUE BY REGION (in percentage of population)¹⁴

	<u>ENGLISH</u>	<u>FRENCH</u>	<u>OTHER</u>
CANADA	62	25	13
EAST	86	12	2
QUEBEC	9	83	8
ONTARIO	77	5	18
WEST	81	3	16

The hypotheses concerning support for bilingualism are constructed by the simple idea that those who are english will reject bilingualism as an effective policy and those who are french will support bilingualism as a policy. Of course, this assumption will not hold completely true as other tendencies dampen its effectiveness. By and large, however, it is thought that the utility of bilingual policy is limited in areas where there does not exist a bilingual, or a francophone, community. Thus, one would expect that there would be a weak degree of inter-regional consensus on the policy of bilingualism due to the fact that most francophones are clustered in one of the regions analysed. As well, one would expect that the degree of intra-regional consensus would

¹⁴Statistics Canada, Mother Tongue: The Nation, Minister of Industry, Science and Technology, Sept. 1992, pp. 8-9.

be higher in areas with dominant linguistic cultures. Thus, the West, Ontario and Quebec should all exhibit a strong degree of intra-regional consensus. The East should have a weaker consensus due to the lower ratio between french and english within the region, and the relative equality between those identifying their single ethnic origin as french or as english¹⁵.

In terms of the rank order of regions, support for bilingualism should increase with the size of the francophone population within the region. Therefore, Quebec should have the highest degree of support, followed in order by the East, Ontario and the West.

The following hypotheses can be drawn regarding support for bilingualism as a policy by utilizing the rational self-interest thesis.

- 1) The greater the francophone population, the greater the support for bilingualism as a policy;
- 2) There should exist a weak degree of inter-regional consensus;
- 3) The more one-sided the ratio of english to french in the region, the less chance there will be of a weak intra-regional consensus.

¹⁵Statistics Canada, Ethnic Origin: The Nation, Minister of Industry, Science and Technology, February, 1993. The data illustrates that although only a small percentage of the Eastern population places 'mother tongue' as french, a larger percentage of the population considers their ethnic heritage to be 'french'. The ratio between those claiming english as their cultural heritage and those claiming french was approximately 1 to 1.

Table 2-2 can also be used to design hypotheses concerning multicultural policy. The rational self-interest framework would predict that regions with a large ethnic population would be more supportive of multiculturalism, and the converse shall be true as well. The higher the ethnic population the greater the degree of intra-regional consensus because of two important factors. The larger the ethnic population, the more likely the 'fact' of multiculturalism will be accepted. If one exists in a multicultural society, one is not apt to reject policies which reflect the social reality. Secondly, the larger the ethnic population the more likely it is for ethnic and non-ethnic individuals to interact with each other causing a breakdown in stereotypical responses and the rejection of multicultural concepts.

In terms of the rank order of regions concerning multiculturalism, it is expected that regions with higher ethnic populations will have a higher degree of support for multiculturalism, as it is in the ethnic persons' self-interest to respond in such a fashion and there should exist an 'acceptance' factor through the regional society. Thus, one would expect that Ontario would be the most supportive region followed in rank order by the West, Quebec and the East. One factor which may alter the statistical tests is the conflict between the Two Nations view of the country, as espoused by Quebec, and the multicultural view as espoused by minority cultures. The rational self-interest of Quebec is to reject multiculturalism as the policy reduces their

importance as the dominant minority culture in the nation-state.

The following hypotheses can be drawn using the rational self-interest framework.

- 1) The larger the ethnic population the greater the degree of support for multiculturalism as a policy;
- 2) There should exist a strong degree of inter-regional consensus due to the rather minimal variation in the composition of ethnic populations within regions;
- 3) A region with lower ethnic population variation should display a higher degree of intra-regional consensus, than a region with a higher (but still minority) ethnic population.

Table 2-3 depicts the percentage of the population for each region which claims to be of English, or Anglo-Saxon, decent. This data will be used to gauge the degree of British cultural heritage in the region. The determination of the degree of British culture within the region, combined with the rational self-interest thesis will be the theoretical plank to generating hypotheses concerning the anti-Americanism variable.

TABLE 2-3 - CITIZENS CLAIMING BRITISH AS SINGLE ETHNIC ORIGIN BY
REGION¹⁶

<u>PERCENTAGE OF POPULATION</u>	
CANADA	20.7
EAST	52.0
QUEBEC	4.0
ONTARIO	25.0
WEST	19.5

As illustrated, the region with far and away the strongest British culture is the East, followed by Ontario, the West and Quebec. The existence of a strong British culture should promote an anti-American sentiment in the region because of the counter-revolutionary culture as defined by Lipset. Although this thesis is fairly straight forward it is complicated by the rational self-interest motive.

The United States proves to be a great source of venture capital for Canada. Regions less dependent on the continuation of the East-West, or horizontal, economic flow as defined by the

¹⁶Statistics Canada, Ethnic Origin: The Nation, Minister of Industry, Science and Technology, February 1993, pg. 12.

National Policy, will be more generous in their feelings towards American capital and Americans in general.

It is assumed that it is not in the rational self-interest of Ontario to promote United States investment as there is a trade surplus which the region enjoys from a horizontal flow of goods. The National Policy created a manufacturing sector in Ontario which while driven by American capital, created value-added employment. Thus, it is hypothesized that the rational self-interest of Ontario is to be anti-American. This thesis combined with the large degree of British culture in Ontario would lead to the assumption that Ontario would be the region most likely to be anti-American.

The Eastern provinces should also prove to be anti-American. However, the dire need for capital; the fact that they do not benefit economically (except through entitlements) from the continuation of the horizontal flow of goods; and the cultural disposition which blames the National Policy for their relative poverty would all seem to promote the hypothesis that the East should be less anti-American than Ontario but still have a high degree of anti-American sentiment.

The West through its relative economic self-sufficiency and its mid degree of British political culture should prove to be pro-American. Simply, the economic prospects for the West do not really change if the flow of capital is horizontal or vertical. Markets

are available in either scenario for their resources. Manitoba and Saskatchewan should prove to be the provinces who are in contradiction to American capital and Americans in general because of their reliance on the Federal government as a insurance policy. While British Columbia and Alberta should prove the least anti-American as the California market beckons. Overall the region should thus have a relatively pro-American stance, but harbour a modicum of anti-American sentiment.

Quebec as a region should have the least degree of anti-American sentiment because of the low degree of British culture and the rise of the New Entrepreneurial Class. This pro-American sentiment is likely due to the desire of Quebec to be able to stand alone as a strong and viable economic force. Equally, the Quebecois would logically have as many fears about the English Canadians as they would have about Americans. Both cultures appear to the average Quebecois as different and foreign, so there exists no barrier to a pro-American sentiment especially when capital is discussed.

Overall, the following hypotheses can be drawn concerning the dependent variable Anti-Americanism:

- 1) The rank order of regions in terms of Anti-Americanism should be Ontario, the most Anti-American, followed in descending order by

the East, the West and Quebec, based on the two assumptions below.

ASSUMPTION 1 - The higher the presence of British culture a region the higher the degree of Anti-Americanism and;

ASSUMPTION 2 - The higher the benefit from the continuation of a horizontal flow of economic goods, as opposed to a vertical flow of goods, the higher the degree of Anti-Americanism;

2) There should be a lack of inter-regional consensus on the topic of Anti-Americanism;

3) The degree of intra-regional consensus should increase as the degree of a dominant regional culture increases.

MEASURING THE CANADIAN IDENTITY

An examination of the hypotheses mentioned above will be used to attempt to arrive at the following conclusions concerning the 'Canadian Identity':

1) There exists only a weak relation between the concepts in the overall Canadian framework, indicating a failure of the proactive statement Trudeau defined;

2) Economic rational self-interest should be proven to be a variable with strong explanatory power in determining the degree of inter-regional and intra-regional consensus on the dependent variables;

3) The cultural constituency of a region should prove to have a

strong degree of explanatory power in explaining the degree of inter-regional, intra-regional consensus and support for the dependent variables;

4) Thus, because of the composition of regions in terms of rational self-interest and cultural heritage, the supra-nationalist image which Trudeau wished to create must fail;

5) Moreover, this failure must be seen as a derivative of the fact that specific policy objectives cannot be used as centers of commonality.

METHOD

METHOD

This paper uses the Canadian Academic Election Study of 1988 as the source of quantitative data. The election study, which was directed by York University, is usually considered to be an excellent source of information as it is comprehensive and wide-ranging. As the study is wide-ranging, however, it does create problems for the researcher who wishes to examine a particular phenomenon. Consequently, with a lack of adequate resources, the researcher is often forced to become creative with the data available. This thesis is a perfect example of this process. In order to measure the desired concepts, scales need be created which would measure the attitudes to be studied.

There are a number of difficulties associated with the implementation of scales in such a large project. Primarily, reliability becomes a difficult question. As well, the tests which one wishes to accomplish lose a parsimonious quality and become difficult to follow. In order to combat these two problems it is necessary to utilize a 'step by step' approach to the analysis of the data. Thus, each subsequent chapter will be structured in an

almost pedantic manner in order that the reader, and indeed the researcher, can understand what the data are demonstrating and to be sure of the analysis put forward.

Thus, the method of analyzing the hypotheses described in the previous section includes 6 stages.

1) Select variables which measure accurately the four dependent variables which one wishes to study. Examine the frequencies of the input variables to determine absolute values and trends. This section will include an analysis, then, of input variables.

2) Place appropriate variables into a scale form and test the reliability of the four scales. Here the goal will be to determine the degree to which the input variables are related. The alpha score will be used to measure the overall compatibility of the scale, while a Pearsons 'r' matrix will be presented to determine inter-item correlation. The Pearsons 'r' matrix has been selected for use, instead of the traditional inter-item correlation method associated with reliability, because the scales often have more than one dimension. Through an accurate analysis of the matrix one can determine the different dimensions which the scale measures.

3) Choose appropriate independent variables. In this case, region is the ultimate independent variable to measure the degree of inter-regional consensus, and a series of socio-economic variables

represent a separate set of tests to measure the degree of intra-regional consensus. The socio-economic variables to be used in this analysis are: age, gender, occupation (measured by the Pineo-Porter scale), income, education and language.

4) Complete a 'means tables' test to determine the degree of inter-regional consensus. Here the analysis will focus on three statistics in particular: the 'eta' score, the 'F' score, and the between groups significance of the F score. This bivariate test will allow the paper to determine whether or not there is a significant difference across regions with concern to the dependent variable (each of the four attitudinal scales).

5) Separate the sample into four parts, representing each region, and complete a multiple regression procedure to determine the degree of intra-regional consensus. The statistics of most importance to the multiple regression test are the 'beta-weights', the unstandardized regression coefficients, the significance of the 'beta-weights' and the significance of the unstandardized regression coefficients, as well as the 'R square' score which determines the degree to which the independent variables cause the dependent variable. If the R square score is low, one can conclude that the degree of intra-regional consensus is high across, in this case, socio-economic lines. Conversely, if the r square is high, the degree of intra-regional consensus across socio-economic lines is said to low. Simply, if the socio-economic variables illustrate

a significant degree of explanatory power inferences can be drawn which cast light on intra-regional dissonance.

6) Finally, the paper will gather all information related to a particular aspect of the Canadian Identity measured and analyze the data in its simplest form. This final table will be used to judge the applicability of the central rational self-interest and cultural heritage theses.

SELECTION OF VARIABLES TO MEASURE THE ULTIMATE DEPENDENT VARIABLES

The four variables which have been selected to measure Trudeau's proactive nationalist definition are Social Welfarism, Anti-Americanism, Multiculturalism and Bilingualism.

SOCIAL WELFARISM

The social welfarism variable is designed to measure the degree to which an individual respondent is opposed to the cutting back of social programs in the face of the burgeoning federal deficit. The following questions have been used to construct this scale.

1) To cut the federal deficit, would you strongly approve, somewhat approve, somewhat disapprove or strongly disapprove of allowing doctors to directly bill a patient?

2) To cut the federal deficit, would you strongly approve, somewhat approve, somewhat disapprove or strongly disapprove of allowing hospitals to directly bill a patient?

3) To cut the federal deficit, would you strongly approve, somewhat approve, somewhat disapprove, or strongly disapprove of making Unemployment Insurance more difficult to obtain?

4) To cut the federal deficit, would you strongly approve, somewhat approve, somewhat disapprove or strongly disapprove of making Welfare more difficult to obtain?

These variables represent two dimensions of the social welfare safety net. The extra-billing questions represent the most popular and universal aspect of the social welfare net in Canada, while the welfare questions are designed to add a specific and often questioned dimension of the social safety net. Thus, the variable is said to examine both poles of the social welfare system: the popular and universal versus the often ridiculed and specific.

ANTI-AMERICANISM

The anti-Americanism scale was constructed to represent two dimensions of the concept. Firstly, the goal was to have the variable simply represent the degree of warmth Canadians have toward Americans. The second dimension to be addressed was the

degree to which Canadians feel that an economic integration with the United States was thought to be desirable.

DEGREE OF WARMTH TOWARD AMERICANS IN GENERAL

1) How would you rate Americans on a scale from 0 to 100, where 0 is very negative and 100 is very positive? (NOTE: This variable was recoded in inverse direction to indicate the desired Anti-American concept.)

2) Would you mainly agree or mainly disagree with the following statement: No amount of money could get me to move to the United States. (NOTE: This variable is a two-group nominal.)

DEGREE OF DESIRED ECONOMIC INTEGRATION WITH THE UNITED STATES

1) So you think Canada should have much closer, somewhat closer, somewhat more distant, much more distant or the same as now, in its relations with the United States? (NOTE: This variable has been recoded to reflect the proper direction desired)

2) Would you mainly agree or mainly disagree with the following statement: Canada needs more United States investment. (NOTE: This variable is a two group nominal variable.)

MULTICULTURALISM

The multicultural dimension of Canadian culture is a very difficult variable to construct. In order to reflect an accurate degree of Canadians attitude toward immigrants, the variable was constructed to reflect an interior dimension and an exterior dimension. The interior dimension of multiculturalism is defined by the average citizens' attitude towards immigrants already living in Canada. The exterior dimension of multiculturalism is defined as the measure of a respondents' attitude toward future immigrants.

THE INTERIOR DIMENSION

1) How would you rate ethnic minorities on a scale from 0 to 100, where 0 is very negative and 100 is very positive?

2) Would you mainly agree or mainly disagree with the following statement: New immigrants make Canada a better place.

(NOTE: This variable is a two group nominal.)

THE EXTERIOR DIMENSION

1) Do you think Canada should admit more, the same or fewer immigrants as it does now?

BILINGUALISM

The bilingualism scale was designed to reflect the degree of warmth Canadians have towards the cause of french in Canada. Each of the questions placed into this scale in some way represent an historically contentious issue in the relations between the Two Nations.

1) Do you support or oppose the extension of the Official Languages Act? (NOTE: This variable is a two group nominal variable.)

2) How much do think should be done to promote french in Canada? Should much more, somewhat more, same, somewhat less or much less should be done to promote french in Canada?

The third variable entered into the bilingual equation is designed to gauge Canadians' attitudes toward minority schooling rights, and is a combination of two variables. The first variable asks whether French Canadians moving to another province should be schooled in french or english. The second variable in the combination is the diametric opposite. Canadians were asked whether English Canadians moving to Quebec should be schooled in english or french. The combination of these two variables forms a new variable called 'tolerance'.

3) Tolerance:

1 - Represents individuals who believe that, regardless of the

mother tongue, that students should be schooled in the dominant language of the regional culture.

2 - Represents individuals who are unsure about one of the questions but have an attitude about one of questions, and individuals who are unsure about both questions.

3 - Represents individuals who believe that a child should receive instruction in the language of their choice no matter where they live within the nation-state.

Thus, the order of the variable dictates that those scoring high on the tolerance variable are more supportive of minority schooling and hence in support of bilingualism.

SCALING CONSIDERATIONS

Each of these conceptual constructs form a quantitative representation of an aspect of Trudeau's proactive nationalist ideals. The only variable missing is the Constitutional variable which has been excluded because the data set the study uses neglected to examine this concept. In each case the missing values of the variable were removed.

The creation of the scales involved obtaining a Z-scores for each of the input variables and then computing a scale in which

each variable had equal weight in the construction. The variables were also recoded, where needed, so that each scale would represent the attitude which is to be measured.

Another important point regarding the creation of the scales is whether or not they have a factor structure or not. Clearly, the scales will have a significant degree of pro and against factors in their construction. This is due to the fact that the variables placed into the scales attempt to measure the same concept. However, the author has decided that with the use of the multiple regression procedure significant and substantive inferences can be drawn which would explain the factors. The factor analysis procedure has been avoided because of the limited number of variables placed into the construction of each scale, as well as the small response sets in some instances. For example, the factors derived from a factor analysis would most likely illustrate a dichotomous structure which can be more accurately determined through a full and detailed analysis of the input variables.

REGION - THE INDEPENDENT VARIABLE TO DETERMINE INTER-REGIONAL CONSENSUS

The region variable is a derivative of the respondents' province of residence. In particular the sample was divided into four regions: East, West, Quebec and Ontario. The variable was constructed as such to coincide with the literature on Canadian

political culture. There are other reasons why this definition of region has been selected for use.

Primarily, the language is an issue. In the East one finds a dualist culture, in Ontario there is a multicultural flavour with a significant french population, in Quebec there exists a largely francophone population, and in the West the population is almost entirely english. Thus, when one is studying bilingualism and multiculturalism it would seem appropriate to use the four-region model. A second consideration in the decision to utilize the four-region model is the Parliamentary arrangement which existed during the time frame analysed. The Trudeau Caucus was deficient in that it had almost no Western presence. A third reason for the use of this conceptualization is that the issues which Trudeau dealt with in the attempt to create a supra-nationalist vision were the competing definitions of dualism, individual rights and collective rights. In this conceptualization it appears reasonable to separate English Canada into three regions and to add Quebec as a fourth.

Often Canadian political scientists have defined the East as a clientele culture, Quebec as a nationalist culture, the West as a frontier culture and Ontario, for lack of a better definition, as the Canadian culture. The variable has been constructed to reflect this academic history. The variable for purposes of analysis is considered to be a four-group nominal variable.

SOCIO-ECONOMIC VARIABLES TO MEASURE THE DEGREE OF INTRA-REGIONAL CONSENSUS

Six variables have been selected to measure the degree of intra-regional consensus concerning the attitudinal dependent variables. These variables are: age, gender, income, education, occupation and language. These variables have been selected for use because they adequately measure the rational self-interest and cultural heritage theses as defined in the hypothesis section of this paper. Clearly, income, education and occupation all have links to ones social standing and hence clear inferences can be drawn with regard to the rational self-interest thesis. The language variable is linked to ones cultural heritage. The age and gender variables cut across both theoretical lines. Primarily, gender is said to have an effect on ones economic standing. However, gender can also be thought of as having an effect on how a person views the world in a cultural sense. The age variable has more to do with the amount, or 'cultural baggage', which a person would have and is thus related to the cultural heritage framework. As well, older individuals are at different stages of life which have an effect on a persons rational self-interest.

The AGE variable was recoded so as the respondent would be measured in 'years old'. This variable is considered a high-level interval variable and quite acceptable for the statistical procedures used in this analysis.

The GENDER variable, obviously, is coded by the respondents' sex. Since the variable is a true nominal variable it has been recoded into a dichotomous, binary form so as it may be used in the multiple regression procedure. Males have been coded as 0 and females have been coded as 1.

The INCOME variable is coded in ten thousand dollar intervals based on the estimated household income of the respondent. This nine group interval variable has a catch-all category at the top-end which reflects all those individuals whose household income is above \$80,000- per annum. As the income variable is an interval it is unnecessary to preform any manipulation of the data. Although the labels for this variable are in numeric dollar figures, it is important to note that this variable is sub-divided into categories.

The OCCUPATION variable is coded according to the Pineo-Porter 16 group rank classification. As the variable is a high-level ordinal variable only minor manipulations to its form were required. Firstly, the direction of the variable was changed so that high occupations received higher rank scores. Secondly, Housewives, Students and the Unemployed were removed from the variable as is standard in the construction of occupational measures.

The EDUCATION variable is coded as a high level ordinal

variable as well. The 11 group classification moves from those with less than a primary school education through to those persons with Doctorate degrees. As this variable is suitable for the multiple regression procedure, no further manipulation was needed.

The LANGUAGE variable was coded in a three-group nominal form. Thus, it was necessary to manipulate the data in order to effectively place the variable in a multiple regression. Originally coded as french, english or other, to reflect the respondents mother tongue, it has been recoded into a series of dichotomous variables. As such english is used as the reference category and only the dichotomies of 'french/not' and 'other/not' were used in the regression procedures.

CONCLUSION

Therefore each of the following sections will present five parts. A simple univariate analysis of input variables; an analysis of the scale variable; an analysis of inter-regional consensus via ANOVA; an analysis of intra-regional consensus via the multiple regression technique (all four regions will be examined separately); and a synthesis of the findings.

SOCIAL WELFARIST ATTITUDES IN
CANADA

SOCIAL WELFARISM IN CANADA

The concept of social welfarism in Canada is an extremely broad and complex variable. The measurement of such a variable can use all sorts of operational definitions, from the belief in national standards, through federal government educational initiatives to universal state-run medicare. This paper, due somewhat to the limited data available and somewhat due to choice, has decided to focus on two concepts as mentioned above. The scale consists of four variables, two which measure the health care field and two which measure less universal programs. The object is to measure the entire scope of social welfarism and thus the two most opposite poles, that which is universal and that which is extremely located, are entered as input variables. This chapter will analyse the input variables and analyse their inter-relation before moving to test the degree of intra and inter-regional consensus on the topic.

INPUT VARIABLES

Table 3-1 represents the results when Canadians were asked if they would support allowing doctors to bill their patients directly

in order to cut the deficit.

**TABLE 3-1 - DO YOU THINK DOCTORS SHOULD BILL DIRECTLY IN ORDER TO
CUT THE DEFICIT ? (percentages)**

	<u>CANADA</u>	<u>EAST</u>	<u>QUEBEC</u>	<u>ONTARIO</u>	<u>WEST</u>
Strongly Agree	4.3	3.5	4.6	5.7	3.8
Agree	15.0	10.5	15.9	17.9	14.8
Disagree	29.4	30.5	28.3	26.4	31.6
Strongly Disagree	51.2	55.5	51.3	50.0	49.9

Median	4.0	4.0	4.0	3.5	3.0
Mean	3.3	3.4	3.3	3.2	3.3
Stnd. Dev	.87	.81	.89	.93	.85

The results of this question illustrate there exists a small difference between regions on the issue of extra-billing by doctors. Although the proper measure of central tendency, the median, displays a difference across regions, the overwhelming answer for all regions is 'no'. Canadians do not approve of extra-billing. This result should prove to strengthen the inter-regional score of the social welfarism scale, as can be noted via the mean and standard deviation, because there is little difference between the individual frequencies presented.

Table 3-2 presents the results when Canadians were asked if they supported a policy which let hospitals bill directly to cut the deficit. The results are similar to the previous table.

TABLE 3-2 - DO YOU SUPPORT HOSPITAL EXTRA-BILLING TO CUT THE DEFICIT ? (percentages)

	<u>CANADA</u>	<u>EAST</u>	<u>QUEBEC</u>	<u>ONTARIO</u>	<u>WEST</u>
Strongly Agree	3.2	2.1	4.2	2.5	3.7
Agree	11.0	7.6	10.3	11.1	12.8
Disagree	32.1	30.5	29.8	31.6	34.5
Strongly Disagree	53.7	59.8	55.7	54.7	49.0

Median	4.0	4.0	4.0	4.0	3.0
Mean	3.4	3.5	3.4	3.4	3.3
Stnd. Dev.	.80	.73	.83	.78	.83

Here again one can note a familiar pattern. The difference between the regions is marginal. Although the West has a slightly higher median, this anomaly can be explained away by the fact that the region is only 1 valid percent away from having the exact same median as every other region. The median indicates clearly that the inter-regional consensus highly rejects the idea of extra-billing in any form. The similarity of the regions can be seen in the mean scores for each region with differ from the national mean only slightly.

These two tables illustrate, in terms of health care specifically and probably universal social programs generally, that support for social welfarism is high in Canada. Equally, the results suggest a high degree of inter-regional consensus.

Table 3-3 displays the results when Canadians were asked whether they would agree with stronger controls on Unemployment Insurance to cut the deficit. The results prove to be strikingly different from the first two variables as expected.

TABLE 3-3 - DO YOU SUPPORT TIGHTER CONTROLS ON UNEMPLOYMENT

	<u>INSURANCE TO CUT THE DEFICIT ? (percentages)</u>				
	<u>CANADA</u>	<u>EAST</u>	<u>QUEBEC</u>	<u>ONTARIO</u>	<u>WEST</u>
Strongly Agree	20.1	17.8	16.4	24.6	20.0
Agree	35.5	31.2	33.2	40.9	34.9
Disagree	30.0	30.9	28.6	26.2	33.1
Strongly Disagree	14.4	20.2	21.9	8.2	11.9

Median	2.0	3.0	3.0	2.0	2.0
Mean	2.4	2.5	2.6	2.2	2.4
Stnd. Dev.	.96	1.01	1.01	.90	.93

These results indicate, not surprisingly, that both Ontario and the West are believe that there should be limits on Unemployment Insurance, while those regions with the most unemployed are against such reforms. The rational self-interest of the providers of equalization, Ontario and the West, would seem to

be the most logical reason for this occurrence. This variable should cause some degree of inter-regional dissonance further on in the analysis because of the difference in the frequencies of the different regions.

Table 3-4 illustrates the results of the last variable entered into the social welfarism scale.

TABLE 3-4 - DO YOU THINK THERE SHOULD BE TIGHTER CONTROLS ON WELFARE TO CUT THE DEFICIT ? (percentages)

	<u>CANADA</u>	<u>EAST</u>	<u>QUEBEC</u>	<u>ONTARIO</u>	<u>WEST</u>
Strongly Agree	29.8	27.9	32.8	29.2	29.4
Agree	38.5	37.6	29.6	41.8	42.0
Disagree	19.7	19.7	23.1	19.4	17.8
Strongly Disagree	11.9	14.7	14.5	9.6	10.8

Median	2.0	2.0	2.0	2.0	2.0
Mean	2.1	2.2	2.2	2.1	2.1
Std. Dev.	.98	1.01	1.05	.93	.95

The trend illustrated in this result is peculiar for two reasons. Firstly, the inter-regional frequencies do not display much variation and secondly, the overall response suggests that welfare reform is desired. This result should increase the level of inter-regional consensus as the medians for every region are the same and the means are relatively equal.

An analysis of the input variables suggest that Canadians support universal programs and are less than enthusiastic about

income support programs which aid the poor. Clearly these results are not consequence of altruism. The Canadian public supports those social programs which they are more likely to use. If welfare is not seen as needed by them, they will support the cutting of benefits. If unemployment insurance is not believed to be as applicable to their case in the near future, it is not supported. Although with respect to this last point, a degree of regional difference is noted in the East.

SOCIAL WELFARISM SCALE

The social welfarism scale is a computation of the four variables mentioned above. Each of the variables was given equal weight in the computation. A correlation matrix illustrates the conceptual problems with the variable mentioned above and is represented in Table 4-2 (see page 52).

As table 4-2 illustrates there is a sufficient degree of variation amongst variables measuring the concept. If one is to examine the table in a horizontal fashion, it becomes apparent that opinions on welfare reform are inconsistent with other social welfare variables. This finding, combined with the knowledge that Canadians in general are unsupportive of welfare, as a targeted income support program, serves to confuse the rational self-interest thesis. The lack of a correlation suggests that there are two schools of thought related to welfare which are not related to

other social programs. One school of thought would appear to class welfare recipients as 'lazy do-nothings', while another contingent would appear to feel empathy for the extremely poor. If the second school of thought is applicable, opinions concerning welfare become more philosophical and less personal.

TABLE 4-2 - CORRELATION MATRIX OF INPUT VARIABLES ON SOCIAL WELFARE SCALE

	V1	V2	V3	V4
V1				
Canada	1.00	.21	.22	.09
East	1.00	.21	.16	<.10>
Quebec	1.00	.15	.20	<.04>
Ontario	1.00	.26	.25	.09
West	1.00	.22	.24	.10
V2				
Canada	.21	1.00	.76	.09
East	.21	1.00	.74	<.05>
Quebec	.15	1.00	.70	<.05>
Ontario	.26	1.00	.82	.11
West	.22	1.00	.75	.13
V3				
Canada	.22	.76	1.00	.09
East	.16	.74	1.00	<.09>
Quebec	.20	.70	1.00	<.07>
Ontario	.25	.82	1.00	.09
West	.24	.75	1.00	.11
V4				
Canada	.09	.09	.09	1.00
East	<.10>	<.05>	<.09>	1.00
Quebec	<.04>	<.05>	<.07>	1.00
Ontario	.09	.11	.09	1.00
West	.10	.13	.11	1.00

** All correlations are significant to less than .01 unless demarked by brackets '<>'**

Where: V1 = Limiting Unemployment Insurance
V2 = Allowing Doctors to Extra Bill
V3 = Allowing Hospitals to Extra Bill
V4 = Limiting Welfare Payments

If one is to examine the matrix in a vertical fashion another pattern becomes apparent. Ontario has the highest correlation between views on health care and views on unemployment insurance which indicates a more consistent set of views concerning social welfarism. The West is next in its consistency followed by Quebec and the East. These results tend to suggest that the hypothesis that the lower the income the higher the degree of support for social programs should prove efficacious.

Table 4-3 displays the alpha scores which test the reliability of the social welfarism scale. Each of the regional scales and the national scale are examined.

TABLE 4-3 - RELIABILITY SCORES FOR SOCIAL WELFARISM SCALES

<u>REGION</u>	<u>ALPHA SCORE</u>
Canada	.56
East	.50
Quebec	.47
Ontario	.58
West	.57

The alpha scores are low indicating that the scale does not measure the concept as accurately as one would have wished. These low results obviously have to do with the dissonance between the correlations of welfare variables and the more universal social welfare variables. In most instances an alpha score of .8 or above

is considered acceptable and indicates that the scale is accurately measuring the concept it is intended to measure. The paper will accept the scales, however, for two reasons.

Firstly, the objective of creating such a wide-ranging and diverse scale was to examine the attitudes concerning the entire range of social welfare services. Thus, a degree of dissonance is to be expected. Secondly, the univariate analysis has illustrated that as the universality of the program decreases, support for that program should also decrease. In the case of this conceptualization, there appears to be a 'bottom' of applicability of this concept. If the program is very targeted, such as welfare support is, the value of that programs becomes divorced from the rational self-interest thesis. This is an important realization and should not be tossed from the scale simply because the finding is not parsimonious. The analysis should proceed with the scale as it stands with the knowledge that its construction has certain implications which need to be considered in any conclusions which are to drawn from the data.

Clearly, the scale has two separate features: universal popularity for universal programs, and reduced popularity for targeted programs.

BIVARIATE TESTING - MEASURING INTER-REGIONAL CONSENSUS

The results of the means test are presented below in Table 4-3.

TABLE 4-3

<u>REGION</u>	<u>MEAN</u>	<u>COMPARATIVE RANK</u>	<u>STANDARD DEVIATION</u>
East	.47	1	2.5
Quebec	.17	2	2.7
Ontario	-.20	4	2.6
West	-.19	3	2.7

ETA = .10 ETA SQUARED = .01

F = 6.2 SIG. 00

The rather marginal eta score illustrates that belief in the social welfarist state does not vary across regions. Thus, we must accept that the thesis that there should exist a high degree of inter-regional consensus on the issue of social welfarism. The means test also illustrates that the lower the income of the region the higher the degree of support for social programs in general. Clearly, the poorest region, the East, has the highest degree of support for social programs, and Ontario as the wealthiest region has the weakest degree of support. The relation of the West score to the Quebec score is notable. Although the West and Quebec have essentially equal income scores, according to mean and median statistics, the West scores a significantly lower score than

Quebec. This result can be understood through the application of equalization. Quebec receives equalization, while Alberta and British Columbia pay equalization. Thus, the West is more liable to examine social programs in a more critical light than Quebec. The means test allows the paper to verify two hypotheses.

**H:1 THE HIGHER THE AVERAGE PERSONAL REGIONAL INCOME, THE
 LOWER THE DEGREE OF SUPPORT FOR THE SOCIAL WELFARISM
 SCALE.**

ACCEPTED WITH QUALIFICATION*

The qualification to this hypothesis is that the federal equalization function has an impact on the rational self-interest of the region. Those on the 'supporting' end of equalization are less apt to support social welfarism. Conversely, those on the 'supported' end of equalization will evaluate social welfarism in a more generous light.

**H:2 THERE SHOULD EXIST A HIGH DEGREE OF INTER-REGIONAL
 CONSENSUS FOR THE SOCIAL WELFARISM SCALE.**

ACCEPTED

The acceptance of this hypothesis is due to the strong cross-regional belief in universal health care. Any dissonance is created by differing regional views on unemployment insurance, which vary as defined by the first hypothesis, and the detachment of views on welfare as a social policy.

MULTIVARIATE TESTING -- MEASURING INTER-REGIONAL CONSENSUS

The results from the multiple regression analysis are presented below in table 4-4.

The results provide for a clear analysis. In every region two variables cause a degree of dissonance, age and income. As age increases support for social welfarism decreases. As income increases, support for social welfarism decreases also.

TABLE 4-4 - MULTIPLE REGRESSION RESULTS WITH SOCIAL WELFARISM AS
THE DEPENDENT VARIABLE

<u>REGION</u>	<u>r square</u>	<u>VARIABLES OF NOTE</u>	<u>BETA</u>	<u>UNSTND. REG. COEFF.</u>	<u>SIG.</u>
East	.11	age	-.25	-.23	.00
		income	-.19	-.23	.03
Quebec	.10	age	-.13	-.12	.02
		occupation	-.19	-.10	.01
		income	-.20	-.23	.00
Ontario	.19	age	-.28	-.23	.00
		income	-.28	-.33	.00
		education	-.15	-.20	.01
West	.06	gender	.10	.54	.01
		age	-.12	-.10	.01
		occupation	-.16	-.10	.00
		income	-.10	-.14	.01
Canada	.11	age	-.20	-.03	.00
		occupation	-.11	-.07	.00
		income	-.20	-.23	.00

* NOTE: All socio-economic variables were tested. Only those variables which were significant are reported.

First, the income variable will be considered. The higher the financial security of the individual, the less likely that that person would ever need unemployment insurance, welfare, or in an extreme case, ever go wanting when in need of medical attention. The resonance of variables such as occupation and education can be seen as derivatives, or correlates, of the income variable.

One can infer that age has an effect because as the respondent gets older they are more likely to conceptualize of social welfarism as an option and a privilege, while the younger respondent is more apt to regard social welfarism as a birthright.

In regards to the analyzing the degree of intra-regional consensus, the results prove to be unexpected. The intra-regional consensus must be considered low in the case of Ontario as the regression 'solution' explains 19 % of the variation of attitudes on social welfarism. This result would seem to come from the fact that Ontario is the most industrialized, and urbanized region, and hence would have pre-conditions which suited the development of class based politics.

The West, the second most likely region to have harsh views on social welfare policy, produces the highest degree of consensus. Clearly, there exists a consensus in the West which supports universal health care and is less apt to promote welfare or unemployment insurance. Any deviation from this result can be

explained via the income function. In Quebec and the East, there exists a mid-level of intra-regional consensus. This finding is the result of age and income as variables. The results of the multiple regression analysis allow the paper to conclude on the third hypothesis of the social welfarism chapter.

**H:3 THERE SHOULD EXIST NO DIFFERENCE IN TERMS OF
 INTRA-REGIONAL CONSENSUS BETWEEN REGIONS.**

REJECTED

The hypothesis is rejected because of the significant difference between the West, with its high degree of consensus, and Ontario, with its low degree of consensus, based on the socio-economic framework used in the analysis.

CONCLUSION

The statistical tests accomplished with the dependent variable social welfarism yield a set of results which are presented below in table 4-6.

TABLE 4-6 - SYNTHESIS OF RESULTS CONCERNING THE ANALYSIS OF

SOCIAL WELFARISM

<u>REGION</u>	<u>DISPOSITION TOWARDS SOCIAL WELFARISM</u>	<u>DEGREE OF INTRA-REGIONAL CONSENSUS</u>
East	high support	mid consensus
Quebec	high support	mid consensus
Ontario	mid-to-high support	low consensus
West	mid-to-high support	high consensus
Canada	mid-to-high support	mid consensus

Table 4-5 illustrates the two central points to be examined by this paper quite forcefully in the case of social welfarism. In terms of measuring inter-regional support there is a strong degree of consensus concerning the popularity of social programs. The tendency however, in terms of intra-regional support, provides two interesting points. Whereas a lower degree of popular support in Ontario creates a low degree of consensus, the West illustrates a higher degree of consensus as opposed to the other regions. As well, the West has a lower degree of support for the concept of social welfarism defined in general terms.

Throughout all regions the 'battle', or the point of socio-economic dissonance, revolves around the age and the income of the respondent. Age is believed to be a factor which reflects the time factor in the creation of social welfare policy. The policy is seen

as generous to that which went before by older persons. In the case of income the research can point to self-interest as the motivating factor behind the results. A 'richer' person is more likely to see the social welfare system as a redistributive system in which they are on the wrong end of the redistribution, and hence a lack of support results. Overall, these two factors, age and income, spell only marginal factors of dissonance and it should be noted that the inter-regional consensus is indeed strengthened by the fact that each region reflects a similar dynamic.

Thus one can make the following conclusions about social welfarism policy in Canada:

- 1) Support for social welfarism policy goes up as the universality of the policy increases;
- 2) Universal health care is extremely popular across regions, and deviations across regions are the result of attitudes concerning less universal programs;
- 3) There appears to be a 'floor' in terms of first conclusion. As a result of welfare being extremely targeted in terms of personal applicability, opinions concerning its usefulness deviate from the pattern;
- 4) Ontario and the West skew the national distribution to the negative side, while Quebec and the East skew the distribution to the positive side. This is seen as a result of the equalization function;

- 5) Ontario has a low degree of intra-regional consensus on social welfarism;
- 6) The West has a high degree of intra-regional consensus on social welfarism;
- 7) Quebec and the East have a mid degree of intra-regional consensus on social welfarism;
- 8) Any intra-regional dissonance, in any region, can be explained by the effects of age and income.

The results would seem to prove that the rational self-interest thesis is at least somewhat efficacious in that those regions who are most likely to be critical of social welfarism are wealthier regions, or the regions which pay equalization. Those individuals who are most likely to be critical of social welfarism are wealthier individuals. The effect of age is the only confusing factor. If the rational self-interest thesis were to hold completely consistent, older individuals would support social welfarism more strongly because of their increased reliance on health care, pension programs and income support programs. However, this result may be due to the perception of applicability. If the program is seen by the older individual as not being directly applicable to their case, they will not support the program. Nevertheless, the rational self-interest thesis does not explain why the West has a strong degree of intra-regional consensus, and Ontario does not.

MULTICULTURALISM AND PUBLIC ATTITUDES IN CANADA

MULTICULTURALISM

The multicultural scale is a combination of three variables designed to measure the degree of warmth which Canadians have for the idea of the multicultural society. The first question to be considered is the degree to which Canadians think that we need more immigrants, by asking respondents whether or not Canada should take in more, the same or fewer immigrants. The second question asked respondents whether they thought new immigrants made Canada a better place or not. The last variable measures Canadians warmth to ethnic minorities on a thermometer scale from 0 to 100, which was recoded to 0 to 20 for convenience. Another reason the variable was recoded was that answers in the original frequency results tended to cluster around the five and ten demarcations. For example, a large percentage of the population would answer '65' as opposed to '61 through 64. Thus, respondents were clustered into groups of five without a significant loss of variation in the construction of the variable.

As with the last chapter, the goal will be to analyse the input variables first, then the quality of the multicultural scale constructed with the input variables, test the degree of inter-regional consensus, and lastly, test the degree of intra-regional consensus.

INPUT VARIABLES

The results of the frequencies, by region, are presented in Tables 5-1, 5-2, and 5-3.

TABLE 5-1 - SHOULD CANADA ADMIT MORE IMMIGRANTS (percentages)

	<u>CANADA</u>	<u>EAST</u>	<u>QUEBEC</u>	<u>ONTARIO</u>	<u>WEST</u>
Fewer*	62.5	67.4	57.1	56.4	63.4
Same As Now*	14.8	11.0	18.7	15.1	15.9
More*	22.7	21.6	24.2	28.5	20.7
----- Median	1.00	1.00	1.00	1.00	1.00.
Mean	1.60	1.54	1.67	1.72	1.58
Stnd. Dev.	0.83	0.83	0.84	0.88	0.81

The trend which can be noted in the results is that Ontario and Quebec, probably because of the number of non-white immigrants amongst their populations, have a more favourable sentiment toward a liberal immigration policy, although the median for each of the regions still opts for fewer immigrants overall. While Ontario and Quebec approach the 2 to 1 against ratio (ie. answers fewer versus same and more), the East and the West are firmly 3 to 1 against extending a open arm to more immigrants. The results would not seem to place much support for the concept of multiculturalism when the average Canadian is in favour of limiting immigration.

TABLE 5-2 - DO IMMIGRANTS MAKE CANADA A BETTER PLACE TO LIVE

	(percentages)				
	<u>CANADA</u>	<u>EAST</u>	<u>QUEBEC</u>	<u>ONTARIO</u>	<u>WEST</u>
disagree	53	65	48	48	55
agree	47	35	52	52	45

median	1.0	1.0	2.0	2.0	1.0
variance	.25	.23	.25	.25	.25

This question illustrates the same trend as the previous question although in a weaker form. While Ontario and Quebec cluster around the center, the East and the West are more defined in their impressions of what immigrants give to Canada. Clearly, the national average suggests that the strong anti-immigration feelings indicated in the previous question is somewhat abated when the question comes closer to the community within which one exists. For example, whereas the first question asked whether persons now outside the country should be let into the country, the second question asks about immigrants already inside the country, and hence a different response comes forward. Clearly, the two dimensions of immigration can be seen in the univariate analysis of these two variables.

TABLE 5-3 - RATING OF ETHNIC MINORITIES (SCALE 0 TO 20)

	<u>CANADA</u>	<u>EAST</u>	<u>QUEBEC</u>	<u>ONTARIO</u>	<u>WEST</u>
mean	13.0	13.6	13.6	14.1	14.1
standard deviation	4.2	4.3	4.1	4.0	3.9

The results of Table 5-3 illustrate clearly that Canadians have a favourable impression of ethnic minorities in the most general sense. Of particular note is the lack of variation across the regions. The lower result for Canada as a whole is due to the fact that missing values on the region variable were taken into consideration for the national average but have not been taken into consideration for the regional averages. For example, respondents who did not have their region, or province, recorded on the survey would have been entered into the 'Canada' frequency but would not have been entered into the individual regional frequency.

Thus, the following pieces of information should be noted for the future reference: a) Canadians are generally favourable to immigrants in Canada, so long as they are not new immigrants and b) the variation across regional boundaries seems to support the thesis of self-interest, where provinces have a larger population of visible minorities, their degree of support for those minorities increases.

MULTICULTURALISM SCALE

The computation of these three variables into a multicultural scale produces an alpha score of .63. Although this score would appear low it will be accepted because of the two dimensions of the variable mentioned above. In other words, since a contradicting

trend has been made obvious in the construction of the variable, one can be sure of what the scale measures: it measures the schizophrenic concept Canadians have about multiculturalism. The alpha scores for the individual regions all cluster around the national alpha score: The East .58; Quebec .60; Ontario .66; West .63. Each of these individual scales will be accepted as satisfactorily measuring the concept.

Table 5-4 illustrates the correlations between the scale items for Canada as a whole and the individual regions.

The correlation table illustrates two important points. First of all, the strength of the multicultural scale comes from the overall correlation between the questions of whether or not Canada should accept more immigrants and whether immigrants make Canada a better place. The weakness of the scale is the rather benevolent attitude which Canadians have for 'ethnic minorities', which has a different intonation than 'immigrants' (ie. perhaps 'immigrants' signifies non-white and more recent immigrants, while ethnic minorities signifies white and less recent immigrants).

TABLE 4-4 - CORRELATIONS OF SCALE ITEMS FOR MULTICULTURALISM

	V1	V2	V3
V1			
Canada	1.00	.30	.48
East	1.00	.28	.49
Quebec	1.00	.32	.40
Ontario	1.00	.34	.50
West	1.00	.29	.50
V2			
Canada	.30	1.00	.25
East	.28	1.00	.10
Quebec	.32	1.00	.29
Ontario	.34	1.00	.29
West	.29	1.00	.27
V3			
Canada	.48	.25	1.00
East	.49	.10	1.00
Quebec	.40	.29	1.00
Ontario	.50	.29	1.00
West	.50	.27	1.00

**** all correlations are significant to less than .05 unless demarked by brackets '<>' ****

**where : V1 = Do Immigrants Make Canada Better
 V2 = General Rating of Ethnic Minorities
 V3 = Should Canada Admit More Immigrants**

Secondly, it is interesting to note the degree to which the scale breaks down in the Eastern provinces. There is a low correlation between the rating of ethnic minorities and the question of whether immigrants aid Canada. This result can be seen as a derivative of the fact that there exists only a small percentage of immigrants in the East and hence the stereotypical dichotomy between white and non-white is reinforced.

MEANS TESTING -- THE EFFECT OF REGION

Table 5-5 represents the data concerning the means testing procedure.

TABLE 5-5

<u>REGION</u>	<u>MEAN</u>	<u>COMPARATIVE RANK</u>	<u>STANDARD DEVIATION</u>
EAST	-.31	4	2.2
QUEBEC	.17	2	2.3
ONTARIO	.35	1	2.4
WEST	-.03	3	2.3

ETA = .10 ETA squared = .01

F = 4.9 sig. .00

The eta test illustrates that there is only a marginal degree of differentiation between the regions. The earlier analysis, combined with the ANOVA test illustrate that the variables causing the differentiation are the questions of how many immigrants should be admitted to Canada and whether or not these immigrants make Canada a better place. The rank of the regions in terms of their disposition toward multiculturalism is consistent with the degree of immigrants living in those regions. The pro-immigrant stances by those regions are obviously aided by respondents who are established immigrants within those communities, and hence the bias against new immigrant groups settling in Canada. Although the region variable only explains 1 percent of variation in the

multiculturalism variable ($\eta^2 = .01$). The truth of the matter is that through background inferences a larger and powerful picture can be identified.

Thus, the paper can make conclusions with regard to the first two hypotheses of the multicultural study.

H:1 REGIONS WITH HIGHER ETHNIC POPULATIONS SHOULD HAVE A HIGHER DEGREE OF SUPPORT FOR MULTICULTURALISM.

ACCEPTED WITH QUALIFICATION

This hypothesis is accepted with qualification because the regions with a higher degree of support for ethnic minorities are the regions with minorities. However, the West does have a large degree of persons who state that their mother tongue was other than either of the two official languages. Thus, the rule does not apply exactly. The suggestion is that when multiculturalism is discussed it usually refers to persons of colour and the West would most likely have white immigrants, such as Ukrainians and Germans. This factor would toss the question of rational self-interest into the arena of white culture vis a vis non-white culture, where multiculturalism would be supported by non-white immigrants.

H:2 THERE SHOULD EXIST A WEAK DEGREE OF INTER-REGIONAL CONSENSUS ON THE ISSUE OF MULTICULTURALISM.

REJECTED

Although this hypothesis is rejected strangely it supports the rational self-interest thesis. The analysis of the input variables in the original scale suggested a pattern of support for multiculturalism: that Canadians support immigrants already in the country, and that Canadians are against any further immigration. The finding that there is a strong degree of inter-regional consensus supports the rational self-interest thesis in that further immigration is seen, whether rightly or wrongly, as coaxing a smaller 'piece of pie' for existing citizens. Thus, the consensus on the issue can be seen to support the rational self-interest thesis although the original hypothesis is rejected. Any degree of dissonance with regard to the multicultural variable can be explained by the propensity of the East and the West to be less than enthusiastic about further immigration and the value of immigrants to Canada, as opposed to the 'fifty-fifty' attitude of Ontario and Quebec.

THE DEGREE OF INTRA-REGIONAL CONSENSUS

Table 5-6 presents the data gathered from the multiple regression procedure which uses the multiculturalism scale as the dependent variable.

TABLE 5-6 - THE DEGREE OF INTRA-REGIONAL CONSENSUS

<u>REGION</u>	<u>r square</u>	<u>VARIABLES OF NOTE</u>	<u>BETA</u>	<u>UNSTND. REGRESS. COEFF.</u>	<u>SIG.</u>
EAST	.11	education	.20	.20	.01
QUEBEC	.19	education	.28	.29	.00
		language (french)	-.24	-1.43	.00
ONTARIO	.10	education	.13	.14	.04
		age	.16	.12	.00
		language (other)	.14	1.75	.01
WEST	.12	occupation	.17	.09	.00
		education	.22	.25	.00
CANADA	.11	age	.08	.01	.00
		occupation	.11	.06	.00
		education	.12	.22	.00
		language (other)	.12	1.80	.00

The multiple regression tests illustrate that in the East, Ontario and the West there is a mid-level consensus regarding support for multiculturalism. In Quebec there appears to be a weak degree of intra-regional consensus. The variables of particular note are education and mother tongue. In the case of education two factors are at play.

Firstly, those with a higher education often tend to have a wider view of the world and a higher degree of respect for different cultures. However, this feature of the education may also have a interactive effect with the second issue at play in the regressions. The fact remains that the percentage of non-whites

with university degrees is significantly higher than the overall population.¹⁷ Thus, one can assume that the resonance of education can partly be explained by the propensity of immigrants to obtain post-secondary education.

The education factor can be seen as revolving around a dynamic. Those individuals who seek a post-secondary education are more likely to come in contact with non-white cultures during the educational process which in the end will reinforce a respectful world vision, and hence a higher degree of support for multiculturalism as a policy.

Another factor which plays a part in determining support for multiculturalism is a respondents' mother tongue. The test illustrates that as one moves towards having a mother tongue other than english or french, support for multiculturalism increases. It is not difficult to infer the reason for this result. Simply, minorities, or those who are not part of the Two Nations, support multiculturalism. The policy was designed for them and hence they accept and support the policy.

¹⁷Gregg and Posner, Op.Cit., pg.175. The percentage of non-white males with University degrees was 20.8, as opposed to 9.9 for the entire population. The percentage of non-white females with University degrees was 12.7, as opposed to 6.2 for the entire population. Although no year was given for the statistical calculation it is assumed, as a derivation of other immigration statistics surrounding the data, that the period corresponds to the late 1980's.

In Quebec, there is a low intra-regional consensus because of the high R square score in the regression and the main determinants of support for multiculturalism are education and language. The strength of the education variable is expected considering the discussion above. As well, the fact that as one moves toward french as their mother tongue, support for multiculturalism decreases is not surprising either.

There are two elements to the francophone perspective on multiculturalism. Primarily multiculturalism is seen as a policy which undermines the dominant minority culture of Quebec by placing that culture on the same footing as other less substantive minority cultures in the federal structure. Thus, it should not come as a shock to anyone in particular that francophones are less supportive of the 'multicultural dream' as it limits their traditional position, and seeks to minimalize the Two Nations framework.

Thus, the paper can conclude on the final hypothesis of this section.

H:3 THE HIGHER THE DEGREE OF A IMMIGRANT POPULATION, THE LOWER THE DEGREE OF INTRA-REGIONAL CONSENSUS.

REJECTED

This hypothesis is rejected because of the dynamic in Quebec. Simply, what is important to support for multiculturalism is the dynamic between three forces: the dominant english culture vis a vis the dominant minority french culture vis a vis a series of

minority ethnic cultures. Intra-regional consensus is dependent on the relationship of the cultural composition of the region to be examined. Whereas the rational self-interest thesis seems to work in that minority cultures support the concept, the dominant culture is less apt to accept the concept, and the dominant minority culture is most apt to disregard the policy as offensive.

It is interesting that each of the regions has a slightly different dynamic in terms of those factors which cause intra-regional dissonance. In all regions education plays a major role, the higher ones education, the more likely that person is to accept multiculturalism. However, in the West occupation has an effect and not in the other regions. As well, in Ontario language has an effect illustrating minority culture support, but age also has an effect which is not seen in any of the other regions. In Quebec, language also has an effect but it is the dominant minority culture which is rejecting multiculturalism which creates intra-regional dissonance. All of these findings seem to support the inference that support for multiculturalism is dependent on the ethnic composition in the region to be examined.

CONCLUSION

Table 5-7 summarizes the results of the discussion of multiculturalism.

TABLE 5-7

<u>REGION</u>	<u>DISPOSITION TOWARDS POLICY (support)</u>	<u>DEGREE OF INTRA REGIONAL CONSENSUS</u>
EAST	mid-low	mid
QUEBEC	mid	low
ONTARIO	high	mid
WEST	mid	mid
CANADA	mid	mid

The conclusions reached by this chapter can be summarized as such:

- 1) There is a high degree of support for established immigrants in Canada;
- 2) There is a weak degree of support for new immigration;
- 3) There is a marginal difference between regions in their support for multiculturalism;
- 4) There exists in Quebec a low consensus towards multiculturalism, probably due to a cleavage between the dominant regional culture and the minority culture;
- 5) There exists a mid degree of intra-regional consensus in other regions in their support for multiculturalism, viewed in terms of socio-economic characteristics;
- 6) Any degree of dissonance concerning support for multiculturalism can be largely explained by language (or ethnicity) and education.

These series of conclusions can all be explained by the

concept of rational self-interest. The majority culture does not fear a multicultural policy because it is still the majority culture, although further immigration is seen as a problem for it reduces their privileged position. The largest minority culture has significant problems with multiculturalism as it reduces their power and influence with the majority culture. Third, the series of smaller minority cultures support multiculturalism as it donates political legitimacy and provides legal recognition.

These findings seem to give resonance to the theoretical conclusion that rational self-interest and cultural heritage prove efficacious.

ANTI-AMERICAN ATTITUDES IN CANADA

ANTI-AMERICANISM

The Anti-Americanism scale was designed to measure two aspects of Canadians attitudes towards Americans. Firstly, the goal was to determine the degree to which Canadians wanted more United States investment. This dimension was measured by the first two questions analyzed under the univariate section. The second goal was to establish the degree of 'warmth' which Canadians felt for Americans in general. The second dimension is measured by the third and fourth variables analysed.

UNIVARIATE ANALYSIS

Table 6-1 illustrates the answers of respondents when asked whether or not Canadians should have closer ties to the United States.

Two trends are apparent in the results. Firstly, across the East, Ontario and the West the results are similar. Differentiation occurs when the Quebec scores are analysed. The Quebec median illustrates the difference. Over half the population in Quebec feels closer ties with the United States are desirable, while the rest of the nation-state prefers the status quo.

<u>TABLE 6-1 -</u>	<u>DO YOU THINK CANADA SHOULD HAVE CLOSER</u>				
	<u>TIES TO THE UNITED STATES (percentages)</u>				
	<u>CANADA</u>	<u>EAST</u>	<u>QUEBEC</u>	<u>ONTARIO</u>	<u>WEST</u>
Much Closer	14.7	11.8	23.7	12.2	13.0
Somewhat Closer	27.6	26.2	33.0	23.6	28.3
The Same As Now	38.4	44.1	23.2	44.7	40.9
Somewhat More Distant	11.7	11.3	10.2	13.7	11.2
Much More Distant	7.6	6.6	9.9	5.9	6.6

Median	3.0	2.0	3.0	3.0	3.0
Mean	2.7	2.8	2.5	2.8	2.7
Standard Deviation	1.0	1.0	1.2	1.0	1.1

Secondly, the rather low absolute rate of Canadians believing that closer ties with the United States were undesirable is dramatic. In every region 20% or less of the population thought that closer ties to the United States were undesirable. This result is important when one thinks about the decline of the Counter-Revolutionary Culture, or of 'Britishness' of the Canadian political culture.

Table 6-2 presents the results when Canadians were asked whether Canada needed more United States investment.

TABLE 6-2 - DOES CANADA NEED MORE UNITED STATES INVESTMENT

	(percentages)				
	<u>CANADA</u>	<u>EAST</u>	<u>QUEBEC</u>	<u>ONTARIO</u>	<u>WEST</u>
Mainly Agree with Statement	41.3	43.5	54.4	35.4	37.7
Mainly Disagree with Statement	58.6	56.5	45.6	64.6	62.3

Mode	2.0	2.0	1.0	2.0	2.0

The results of this variable mirror the results of the first in the sense that the Quebec population is much more in favour of United States investment than the rest of the nation-state. Clearly, the results in Ontario and Quebec show the degree of difference between the regions on this question. As a result the means test should illustrate a degree of differentiation based on attitudes regarding United States economic integration. This result is propelled by the friction between Quebec, pro-investment position, and the other regions' preference for the status quo.

The two variables selected to measure the degree of Canadian warmth to Americans in general are intended to gauge the Canadian view of Americans and their desire to live in the United States. Table 6-3 presents the scores of Canadians when they were asked to rate Americans on a scale from 0 to 100, where 100 was positive and 0 was negative. This variable was recoded in two ways. Firstly, the

direction of the variable was changed so as to measure anti-Americanism. Secondly, the variable was condensed into a group of 20 values so that further manipulations would be less arduous, and for other reasons explained earlier.

TABLE 6-3 - RATING OF AMERICANS (ON A SCALE FROM 0 TO 20)

	<u>CANADA</u>	<u>EAST</u>	<u>QUEBEC</u>	<u>ONTARIO</u>	<u>WEST</u>
Mean	8.1	8.0	8.2	8.0	8.1
Standard Deviation	4.1	4.2	3.8	4.0	4.1

Clearly there is no substantial difference across regions in their perception of Americans. One interesting feature of the result is the degree to which Americans are judged, given a score of approximately 60 out of 100 in positive terms.

Table 6-4 presents the results of Canadians when asked if they mainly agreed or mainly disagreed with the statement 'No amount of money could get me to move to the United States'.

TABLE 6-4 - NO AMOUNT OF MONEY COULD GET ME TO MOVE TO THE UNITED

	<u>STATES</u> (percentages)				
	<u>CANADA</u>	<u>EAST</u>	<u>QUEBEC</u>	<u>ONTARIO</u>	<u>WEST</u>
Mainly Agree	44.4	40.8	45.3	41.7	0.0
Mainly Disagree	55.6	59.2	54.7	58.3	100

Mode	2.0	2.0	2.0	2.0	2.0

The striking part of these results is the score of the Western provinces who reject the idea of not moving to the United States, whereas other regions find similar ground in their love of their home. This result is probably the result of the part of the United States one thinks about when they think of a move. Easterners, up to and including Ontario, are most likely to think of those cities which are of close proximity such as Detroit, New York, Miami and maybe even Cleveland, while Westerners are more likely to think of cities such as Seattle, San Francisco and the Mid-West. Obviously the quality of life in Eastern United States, whether rightly or wrongly, is perceived as more violent than the Western part of the United States. Another factor which might explain the result is the fact that a substantial portion of Westerners have moved to the West during their lifetime and are more apt to move to another city, and see the transition as less difficult than a person who has remained within the same basic geographic area their entire live.

ANTI-AMERICANISM SCALE

The previous analysis has donated a contextual lens through which one can analyze the anti-Americanism scale. Primarily, it must be noted that across regions there would seem to be an equally benevolent view of the United States in terms of general attitudes. When one examines the question of economic integration, however, a rift appears between the views of the Quebecois and the rest of the regions. This rift should prove to be one aspect of the differentiation. The other aspect of differentiation which should prove important is that Westerners have no fear of moving to the United States as a country of residence. Table 6-5 demonstrates the correlations between the input variables for the Anti-Americanism scale.

The correlations matrix displays three important trends. Firstly, the variable of whether Canada should have closer ties to the United States or not is central to the strength of the scale. This is proven by the strong correlations that the variable has with the other variables in individual interaction. Secondly, the results of the Quebec correlations illustrate a dichotomy. Economic integration questions correlate highly with one another while not correlating particularly well with questions regarding a general attitude toward the American culture. Clearly, the question for the Quebecois is a question of economics and not of whether one likes or dislikes the Americans in any general sense.

TABLE 6-5 - CORRELATION MATRIX FOR ANTI-AMERICANISM SCALE

	V1	V2	V3	V4
V1				
Canada	1.00	.28	.20	.19
East	1.00	.27	.16	<.11>
Quebec	1.00	.22	.16	.14
Ontario	1.00	.26	.19	.23
West	1.00	.36	.23	.23
V2				
Canada	.28	1.00	.36	.32
East	.27	1.00	.36	.33
Quebec	.22	1.00	.32	.25
Ontario	.26	1.00	.30	.27
West	.36	1.00	.40	.38
V3				
Canada	.20	.36	1.00	.25
East	.16	.36	1.00	.20
Quebec	.16	.32	1.00	.17
Ontario	.19	.30	1.00	.21
West	.23	.40	1.00	.40
V4				
Canada	.19	.32	.25	1.00
East	<.11>	.33	.20	1.00
Quebec	.14	.25	.17	1.00
Ontario	.23	.27	.21	1.00
West	.23	.38	.40	1.00

** all correlations are significant to less than .01 unless marked by the following brackets '<>' **

where: V1 = Thermometer Rating of Americans
V2 = Should Canada Have Closer Ties to United States
V3 = Does Canada Need More United States Investment
V4 = No Amount of Money Could Get Me to Move to U.S.

In the case of the rest of Canada, the East also shows discrepancies across the questions demonstrating a reticence to link the concepts of economic integration and attitudes to Americans in any coherent sense. This result is probably the result of their cultural strength and dire need of economic capital for

development. For example, the East will support American investment, wish that that investment did not affect their culture, but still harbour no hard feelings towards the American public in general. In Ontario and in the West, there is noted a strong degree of cohesion on the scale because of their economic strength. These Canadians do not feel particularly in need of American capital, and hence any respondent who has Anti-American feelings can feel consistent in his/her rejection of United States investment. The alpha scores reflect the discussion above. These scores are displayed in table 6-6.

TABLE 6-6 - RELIABILITY OF THE ANTI-AMERICANISM SCALE

<u>REGION</u>	<u>ALPHA SCORE</u>
East	.56
Quebec	.52
Ontario	.56
West	.62
Canada	.61

The alpha score of .61 for Canada is again accepted as accurate because of the dual conceptual ground being covered in the construction of the variable. The lower alpha score for Quebec reflects its desire for more United States investment, combined with its solidarity in with the rest of Canadians in having a

benevolent attitude toward the Americans in general. The lower alpha score for the Eastern region is due to the lack of resonance between the thermometer rating of Americans and the questions of more United States investment and desire to move to the United States for financial gain. Once again, the factor which seems to throw the correlation matrix into disarray for the East is economic hardship. All of these alpha scores are deemed to be acceptable, if the researcher is diligent to remember the dual concept being defined by the Anti-Americanism scale.

MEANS TESTING - THE DEGREE OF INTER-REGIONAL CONSENSUS

The means test for the Anti-Americanism scale is expected, via the above analysis, to be influenced by three factors. Firstly, the dichotomy between Quebec and the rest of the regions in terms of the desire for United States investment should cause differentiation. Secondly, another factor which should cause differentiation is the willingness of Westerners to take up residence in the United States for financial gain. A third factor to be exposed represents the background context of the factors causing differentiation. While Quebec differs from the other regions in terms of its desire for American investment, the province holds similar patterns with the other regions in terms of the second dimension of the scale. Equally, the differentiation factor entered by the Western respondents is met with a strong degree of similarity of response by other regions. As well, it

2 OF 2

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PRECISIONSM RESOLUTION TARGETS

should be noted that there is no substantive differentiation on how individual respondents rated Americans on the thermometer scale. The results of the means test is displayed in table 6-7.

TABLE 6-7 - MEANS TEST FOR THE ANTI-AMERICANISM SCALE

<u>REGION</u>	<u>MEAN</u>	<u>COMPARATIVE RANK</u>	<u>STANDARD DEVIATION</u>
EAST	.16	2	2.6
QUEBEC	-.83	4	2.6
ONTARIO	.30	1	2.6
WEST	.06	3	2.9
ETA = .15	ETA squared = .02		
F = 9.9	sig. = .02		

The results of the means test present interesting results. Primarily, the dissonance between the scores of Ontario and Quebec presents an eta score of .15 which defines a mid-level degree of differentiation. This differentiation is primarily explained by the desire of Quebec for more United States investment, and the status quo preferred by the rest of the country, led by Ontario. Thus, the degree of inter-regional consensus, with concern to the Anti-Americanism, scale is deemed to be only a mid-level consensus. The eta, although present, does not reach extraordinary levels because of the cross regional solidarity in our luke-warm benevolence toward the American public.

These results permit some conclusions regarding the first two hypotheses on anti-Americanism.

**H:1 THE RANK ORDER OF REGIONS IN TERMS OF ANTI-AMERICAN
ATTITUDES SHOULD BE FROM MOST TO LEAST : ONTARIO, THE
EAST, THE WEST AND QUEBEC.**

ACCEPTED WITH QUALIFICATION

The hypothesis is accepted with qualification because of the assumptions which drive its creation. The first assumption that as British culture increases, anti-American sentiment increases proves to be a much stronger assumption than the assumption concerning the difference between a North-South economy and an East-West economy. The second assumption is thrown into disarray by the East, which has the second most to gain from the continuation of the East-West link via entitlements, but is somewhat pro-investment. This finding is perceived to be the result of the Eastern assumption that the National Policy, and hence the East-West link, caused their economic downfall, and not their failure to modernize their economy.

**H:2 THERE SHOULD EXIST A WEAK DEGREE OF INTER-REGIONAL
CONSENSUS ON THE ISSUE OF ANTI-AMERICANISM.**

REJECTED

This hypothesis is rejected because the eta score does not meet the criterion for acceptance. However, it must be noted that solidarity between regions is only the result of a common acceptance of Americans as 'all right'. Clearly, the Quebecois are

in favour of further economic ties with the United States whereas the rest of the nation-state prefers, more or less, the status quo. Thus, there does exist a significant degree of differentiation of attitudes across regions. The low eta score is due to the fact that the degree of differentiation is only illustrated through one dimension of the scale.

THE REGRESSION PROCEDURE -

MEASURING THE DEGREE OF INTRA-REGIONAL CONSENSUS

The results of the multiple regression, which were operated with the anti-Americanism scale as the dependent variable, are presented below in Table 6-8.

TABLE 6-8 - REGRESSION RESULTS FOR ANTI-AMERICANISM SCALE

<u>REGION</u>	<u>r square</u>	<u>VARIABLES OF NOTE</u>	<u>BETA</u>	<u>UNSTD. REGRESS. COEFF.</u>	<u>SIG.</u>
EAST	.06	none			
QUEBEC	.13	education	.18	.21	.04
		income	-.16	-.18	.04
		gender (toward female)	.29	1.52	.00
ONTARIO	.09	age	-.19	-.16	.00
		language (toward french)	.14	1.26	.01
		gender (toward female)	.17	.88	.00
WEST	.12	education	.22	.24	.00
		age	-.12	-.09	.01
		income	-.23	-.23	.00
		gender (toward female)	.13	.60	.00
CANADA	.08	education	.10	.13	.01
		age	-.12	-.02	.00
		income	-.15	-.18	.00
		language (toward french)	-.07	-.46	.02
		gender (toward female)	.18	1.01	.00

The series of multiple regressions completed with the anti-Americanism scale as the dependent variable have produced three noteworthy results. Firstly, the degree of intra-regional consensus for each region is either of a mid or strong level, yet each region illustrates a different dynamic amongst socio-economic actors. In Quebec, the key variables of note are gender, income and education.

It is paradoxical that income and education have differing effects. The entrepreneurial class is seen in the income statistics for as income rises, anti-American sentiment decreases. This result is feasible because as mentioned earlier the favourable score of Quebec towards the Americans is driven by the desire for United States capital. However, education has the opposite effect, perhaps reflecting the 'New Middle Class' genre with its nationalist agenda. In the case of Quebec, a mid-level degree of fragmentation is noted and is probably due to the cleavage between the New Middle Class and the Entrepreneurial Class. These lines of conflict may run deep into the society and even through political party system. The same dynamic is not illustrated in other regions.

In Ontario, the degree of consensus is only marginally less than that of Quebec yet age (the older an individual, the more pro-American) and language (as one moves toward french, anti-Americanism increases) play a part. The language factor may be the result of the fear of Franco-Ontarions in losing their culture. This dynamic would not exist as strongly in Quebec as there exists strength in numbers. The age variable may have more to do with exposure to Americans via the branch plant economy created by the National Policy. The older a person, the more likely that that person has gone to war with the Americans for example, or worked closely with American firms, and hence a resultant increase of

support for Americans.

The story in the West is similar to Quebec in statistical form yet must be analyzed differently. The fact that income and education cause inverse effects on the anti-Americanist scale is interesting. It is most likely that those with higher incomes are those who are either in oil, or some other type of natural resource extraction industry which depends less on education and more on experience. Whereas highly educated persons are more likely to be involved in service-sector industries which are not dependent, in any direct sense, on American capital. Thus, the cleavage to be analyzed is the difference between primary resources industries and service sector industries, with the latter being more anti-American.

A second factor which bears analysis is the degree to which gender effects all regressions, except for the East where a high degree of consensus exists. The strength of this variable is somewhat of a conceptual conundrum. It is peculiar that gender would resonate although one feasible explanation would be that women dislike the nationalism of the United States. Clearly though, gender plays an effect in the promotion of an anti-American sentiment.

Despite the speculation as to the effects of relatively low level of intra-regional dissonance on anti-Americanism, it is clear

that in the East there is a high intra-regional consensus, in Ontario there exists a mid-high level of intra-regional consensus, and in Quebec and the West there exists only a mid level of intra-regional consensus.

Thus, the paper at this point is able to provide conclusions regarding the third hypothesis to be analysed in this section.

**H:3 THE DEGREE OF INTRA-REGIONAL CONSENSUS SHOULD INCREASE
 AS THE DEGREE OF A DOMINANT BRITISH CULTURE INCREASES.**

REJECTED

The hypothesis is rejected because the area which should have the highest degree of intra-regional dissonance according to the hypothesis is Ontario. The mid-high degree of intra-regional consensus is likely the result of the vested interest Ontario has in the continuation of the East-West economic flow. This result lies in contradiction to the previous finding which focused on the cultural heritage of the region. Quebec has a degree of intra-regional dissonance on anti-Americanism which is explained via the regional cleavage between the New Middle Class and the New Entrepreneurial Class. Clearly, then the results illustrated that cultural heritage is not a factor in explaining intra-regional dissonance but may be a factor in explaining inter-regional dissonance.

CONCLUSION

Table 6-8 represents a summary of the discussion concerning anti-Americanism thus far.

TABLE 6-8 - ANTI-AMERICAN SENTIMENT ACROSS REGIONS

	<u>DISPOSITION TOWARD ANTI-AMERICANISM</u>	<u>COMPARATIVE RANK</u>	<u>DEGREE OF INTRA REGIONAL CONSENSUS</u>
EAST	mid	2	high
QUEBEC	low	4	mid
ONTARIO	mid-high	1	mid-high
WEST	mid-low	3	mid
CANADA	mid	---	mid-high

The results of the tests can be summarized as follows:

- 1) There are two dimensions to anti-American sentiment: desire for economic capital and general attitude;
- 2) There is an inter-regional consensus, which is cool, to American investment, except in Quebec which is more desirous of American capital;
- 3) There is an inter-regional consensus of mild benevolence towards the Americans, except in the West which displays a stronger degree of benevolence;
- 4) There is a strong degree of intra-regional consensus in the East;
- 5) There exists a mid-high level of intra-regional consensus in

Ontario;

- 6) There exists a mid level of intra-regional consensus in Quebec and the West which is attributed to competing social enterprises;
- 7) Females tend to have higher levels of anti-Americanism than males.

The conclusions of this chapter can be interpreted by the original thesis. The degree of British character, and the resulting cultural heritage, provoke Anti-American sentiment. Those places where such a character is high, namely Ontario and the East, the support for further United States investment is tenuous. In Quebec, however, where there is no existing British cultural heritage American investment is seen as desirable. As well, in the West one can interpret a degree of respect, or at least a lack of fear, toward the American culture, although capital is not seen as completely desirous. Thus, cultural heritage can be seen as a strong theoretical rubric by which one can analyse anti-Americanism.

The theoretical framework presented by the rational self-interest thesis also proves to be efficacious. As Ontario is seen as the province most likely to gain from the continuation of the East-West National Policy, and the most likely to lose if further North-South economic ties are established. It would appear to be in their rational self-interest to be opposed to American investment. As well, the East can be seen as acting in a rational self-interest

in that, through equalization and through individual transfer payments, the region gains from the perpetuation of the status quo. The status quo is the National Policy (remember the 1988 date of the survey) not continental free trade which will inevitably limit the degree of transfers that region garners at present.

Quebec can also be seen as acting in its own rational self-interest in that the political instability of the region is cause for the construction of an independent economic system, driven by Quebecois nationalist sources. The only way to further develop the province is through the collection of capital and United States capital is as good as English Canadian capital, except for the fact that American capital is more abundant and more prone to risk-taking. Thus, if Quebec wants to promote an independent economic class surely a policy favouring the inflow of American capital is in their self-interest.

The West is the only region which cannot be seen as following in this pattern. The strength of Western sentiment for Americans does not come from any support for further United States investment; it comes from a generally positive attitude towards the American culture. This positive attitude may be seen as a result of the common frontier attitude which Western Americans and Western Canadians share, or may be the result of cultural homogenization through public communications and migration patterns.

Thus the rational self-interest framework used through the looking glass of the cultural heritage framework does appear to have a degree of efficacy. Clearly, though more research needs to be done into the two dimensions of the anti-Americanism scale separately across regions. The dynamics are interesting and may shed more light on the integrative effect.

BILINGUALISM AND ATTITUDES IN CANADA

BILINGUALISM

The measure of bilingualism in this study marries three aspects of the traditional cleavage between the french and english nations. The first question measures the attitude of Canadians toward the promotion of french in Canada. The second question evaluates the degree of support for the Official Languages Act in Canada. The third question gauges the degree of tolerance which Canadians have for minority language school rights. Each of these questions are examined individually in the univariate section of the analysis.

UNIVARIATE ANALYSIS

The first question to be analyzed is the degree to which Canadians believe more should be done to promote french in Canada. The response set featured five responses, moving from much less to much more. Table 7-1 displays the results, measured in valid percent.

TABLE 7-1 - SHOULD MORE BE DONE TO PROMOTE FRENCH IN CANADA**(percentages)**

	<u>CANADA</u>	<u>EAST</u>	<u>QUEBEC</u>	<u>ONTARIO</u>	<u>WEST</u>
Much Less	19.0	15.9	3.7	21.0	29.8
Somewhat Less	16.2	14.2	4.9	18.2	26.2
Same As Now	26.5	31.9	16.8	31.1	26.4
Somewhat More	16.6	21.1	32.1	15.8	10.9
Much More	17.0	16.9	42.5	14.0	6.7
----- median	3.00	3.00	4.00	3.00	2.00
mean	3.04	3.01	4.01	2.83	2.39
standard deviation	1.38	1.29	1.06	1.31	1.21

Clearly there exists a degree of differentiation of the results across the various regions. Overall, Canadians would seem to have a middling degree of support for initiatives which promote french, with an equal amount of persons suggesting less activity as supporting more activity. This result is defined by the middle degree of support as espoused by Ontario and the East, while the pro-french attitude of Quebec compensates for the anti-french attitude of the West. This contradiction, between the West and Quebec, should prove to be a factor in determining the degree of inter-regional consensus for the entire model.

Table 7-2 displays the results when Canadians were asked

whether or not they support the Official Languages Act.

TABLE 7-2 - DO YOU SUPPORT OR OPPOSE THE OFFICIAL LANGUAGES ACT

(percentages)

	<u>CANADA</u>	<u>EAST</u>	<u>QUEBEC</u>	<u>ONTARIO</u>	<u>WEST</u>
Oppose	30.2	27.7	12.8	31.6	41.3
Support	69.8	72.3	87.2	68.4	58.7

Mode	2.00	2.00	2.00	2.00	2.00

The results provided by this question are similar to the results illustrated by the previous variable. While Ontario and the East cluster around the Canadian results, the West and Quebec are at loggerheads. The most interesting feature of these results is that in all probability those opposing the Official Languages Act in Quebec are the most ardent separatists. Simply, the goal of unilingualism in Quebec is clearly advocated by the separatists as much as for strategy as for the desire to promote french. In the West, however, those rejecting the Official Languages Act do so via a common sense attitude. The lack of a significant french population in the West promotes the concept that the Official Languages Act represents a waste of public money. Thus, the reason for the different views over the Official Languages Act probably has very different reasons, and does not represent a contradiction over the same question. In Quebec the issue is nationality and for the West the issue is public expenditure, or possibly a sense that

the Official Languages Act is favouring an already privileged french interest.

Table 7-3 records the responses of Canadians when asked about minority language schooling rights. The variable is a combination of two variables. Value '1' represents those who believe that children should be schooled in the dominant language of the culture which that child lives. Value '2' refers to individuals who have an opinion concerning education in Quebec or in the rest of Ontario and no opinion concerning the other region, or who have no opinion regarding the issue. Value '3' classifies all individuals who believe that children should receive instruction in either of the official languages.

TABLE 7-3 - TO WHAT DEGREE DO YOU SUPPORT MINORITY SCHOOL
LANGUAGE RIGHTS (percentages)

	<u>CANADA</u>	<u>EAST</u>	<u>QUEBEC</u>	<u>ONTARIO</u>	<u>WEST</u>
Low Tolerance	21.0	19.1	23.5	17.8	22.8
Mid Tolerance	25.0	18.5	18.9	26.4	30.8
High Tolerance -----	54.0	62.3	57.6	55.9	46.4
Median	3.00	3.00	3.00	3.00	2.00
Mean	2.33	2.43	2.34	2.38	2.23
Standard Deviation	.80	.80	.84	.77	.80

The results of this variable illustrate a large degree of consensus across regions, except for the deviation of the West from the national average displayed by the difference in the median. The lower median of the West reflects a lack of desire for the creation of french language school boards. This analysis is given strength from the fact that the West deviates from the other regions in that more respondents are of a mid-tolerance level, and not of a low tolerance. It is important to realize that the mode for the West is still for a high-degree of tolerance for minority school rights. The attitude of the West seem not to be a direct rejection of Quebec but more of a response to cost.

The analysis of the answers of respondents towards the bilingualism illustrates that there exists a degree of differentiation between the West and Quebec, while Ontario and the East cluster around the national average. The degree of differentiation is due to conflicting opinions with regard to the further promotion of french and the value of the Official Languages Act. These results should influence the scale construction and the means test.

BILINGUALISM SCALE

Table 7-4 displays the correlation matrix of the input variables for the bilingualism scale.

TABLE 7-4 - CORRELATION MATRIX OF BILINGUALISM INPUT VARIABLES

	V1	V2	V3
V1			
Canada	1.00	.42	.21
East	1.00	.43	.24
Quebec	1.00	.13	<-.07>
Ontario	1.00	.40	.27
West	1.00	.40	.33
V2			
Canada	.42	1.00	.25
East	.43	1.00	.16
Quebec	.13	1.00	.15
Ontario	.40	1.00	.25
West	.40	1.00	.31
V3			
Canada	.21	.25	1.00
East	.24	.16	1.00
Quebec	<-.07>	.15	1.00
Ontario	.27	.25	1.00
West	.33	.31	1.00

where:

V1 = How much should be done to promote french?

V2 = Support or Oppose Official Languages Act?

V3 = Degree of support for minority schooling rights

** all correlations are significant to less than .05 unless marked by the following brackets: '<>' **

An analysis of Table 7-4 yields two important results. Firstly, the low degree of inter-correlations for the Quebec case illustrates that the input variables do not measure the concept strongly and this should effect the alpha score for Quebec. Secondly, it is important to note the strength of the inter-correlations for the rest of the regions. Clearly, there exists a contradiction in the definition of bilingualism. While Ontario, the East and the West clearly link bilingualism, the promotion of

french and minority school rights into one conceptual framework, Quebec does not. This result reflects the consistent problems which the country has in constitutional and administrative negotiations. Simply, the issues which English Canada believe apply to the accomodation of Quebec are not related in the Francophone population. The confounding variable is the degree of tolerance for minority schooling rights which does not have a significant correlation in Quebec. The promotion of french implies, at least to the Quebecois, a lack of minority schooling rights. The promotion of bilingualism is thought to be extended by educational instruction in french within the province. However, there are varying degrees of support for this rationale, and hence the lack of a significant correlation. The importance of this result cannot be underestimated. Table 7-5 reflects this contradiction.

TABLE 7-5 - ALPHA SCORES FOR THE BILINGUALISM SCALE BY REGION

	<u>ALPHA OF SCALE</u>
CANADA	.56
EAST	.56
QUEBEC	.24
ONTARIO	.58
WEST	.62

The alpha scores for the bilingualism scale are lower than expected with the Quebec score representing the largest

disappointment. As a result of the low alpha score for Quebec the scale cannot be further analyzed as the scale does not accurately reflect the concept to be measured. The means test will be accomplished with the Quebec section of the scale based on the relative strength of Quebecois opinion in terms of support for the Official Languages Act, and the degree of support for the promotion of french in Canada. It is peculiar that these variables do not correlate. However, the lack of a correlation can be explained by the varying ideological cultures within Quebec. For example, the Quebecois nationalist culture is liable to have differing views concerning the three variables used in the scale, which is contradicted by the Quebecois separatist culture, and the Quebecois federalist culture. Each unit having contradicting strategies which cut across the variables in a variety of ways.

Each of the other variables will be considered as reliable measures of the bilingual concept, although clearly the bilingualism scale works well for English Canadians and not for French Canadians.

MEANS TESTING - THE DEGREE OF INTER-REGIONAL CONSENSUS

Table 7-5 presents the results of the means test.

TABLE 7-5 - RESULTS OF THE MEANS TEST ON BILINGUALISM

	<u>MEAN</u>	<u>COMPARATIVE RANK</u>	<u>STANDARD DEVIATION</u>
East	.28	2	2.1
Quebec	1.1	1	1.6
Ontario	-.04	3	2.2
West	-.83	4	2.2

ETA = .34

ETA squared = .11

F = 72.3

SIG. = .00

The results of the means test, although made tenuous by the low alpha score for Quebec, illustrate that there is a low degree of inter-regional consensus. Not only can one infer that the contradiction is clearly between Western and Quebecois opinions, one can also infer that the contradiction between the regions is very complex. Whereas the West has a negative disposition toward bilingualism as a policy and has the highest alpha score which indicates that the input variables accurately measure the concept of bilingualism, Quebec is the opposite. Quebec, from analysis of the input variables, clearly supports bilingualism and, from the reliability test and the correlations matrix, does not link the input variables together into one sound concept.

The rank of the different regions clearly implies that the larger the french population, the greater support for bilingualism until a critical mass is reached as in the case of Quebec. The Eastern provinces rank second in support for bilingualism and have

the second highest percentage of francophones within their population, and a large degree of anglophones who identify their ethnic origin as french. Similarly, Ontario with the third highest percentage of francophone population, ranks third in its support for bilingual policy. The West, completing the trend, has the least degree of support for bilingualism and the weakest percentage of francophones in their population.

It appears that when the minority culture becomes a majority regional culture in a federal system, the trend breaks down as there exists an entire governmental structure to defend minority rights. If no such independent government exists, then minority groups cluster around support for policies which defend their interests. In the case of Quebec, there is no need to link bilingual initiatives together because they have an institutional defence.

The following conclusions can be made regarding the first two hypotheses to be measured in this section.

**H:1 THE GREATER THE FRANCOPHONE POPULATION, THE GREATER THE
SUPPORT FOR BILINGUALISM.**

ACCEPTED WITH QUALIFICATION

The qualification of the acceptance of this hypothesis is due to the question of institutional conflict. If the francophone culture has an institution to defend the language support for

bilinigualism is likely to decrease after a certain point. Thus, in extreme cases support for bilingualism should be a non-linear relationship. Overall, the massive degree of support for bilingualism in Quebec would suggest that the hypothesis be accepted.

**H:2 THERE SHOULD EXIST A LOW DEGREE OF INTER-REGIONAL
 CONSENSUS ON THE ISSUE OF BILINGUALISM.**

ACCEPTED WITH QUALIFICATION

This hypothesis is accepted with qualification because the scale does not hold to be extremely reliable in Quebec. However, the univariate statistics illustrate that the Quebecois culture is extremely positive to the concept of bilingualism. The low reliability of the scale, as mentioned, is due to the cross-cutting strategies and complex politics of Quebec. Thus, the paper accepts that there is a low degree of inter-regional consensus based on the significant eta score and the strength of the univariate statistics.

MULTIPLE REGRESSION PROCEDURE -

MEASURING THE DEGREE OF INTRA-REGIONAL CONSENSUS

Since the Quebec variable does not accurately measure the bilingualism concept, the analysis of Quebec as a region must be

further excluded. Table 7-6 presents the results of the multiple regression procedure for Ontario, the East, the West and Canada, even though the Canadian score is tainted by the low Quebec score.

TABLE 7-6 - THE MULTIPLE REGRESSION RESULTS FOR BILINGUALISM

<u>SCALE</u>					
<u>REGION</u>	<u>r square</u>	<u>VARIABLES OF NOTE</u>	<u>BETA</u>	<u>UNSTND. REGRESS. COEFF.</u>	<u>SIG.</u>
Canada	.16	age	-.15	-.02	.00
		education	.09	.09	.00
		language	.35	1.70	.00
		(toward french)			
East	.15	age	-.29	-.20	.00
		language (toward french)	.23	1.10	.00
Ontario	.14	education	.19	.18	.00
		age	-.12	-.07	.02
		language	.25	1.74	.00
		(toward french)			
West	.07	age	-.13	-.09	.01
		income	-.10	-.10	.03
		education	.11	.12	.03
		language	.12	2.35	.01
		(toward french)			

The regressions scores illustrate that there is only a strong degree of intra-regional consensus in the West, which is characterized by a negative disposition toward the policy. The other two regions indicate a mid to weak degree of intra-regional consensus. This result is largely attributed to the effects of language and age. As age increases there appears to be a decrease

in the support for bilingualism. As one moves toward french in the language variable there is a resultant increase in support for bilingualism.

The age result would seem to be an example, as was indicated in the analysis of the social welfarism variable, of choice. The older person is more likely to evaluate the bilingual policy in a closer fashion than the younger person who has had the policy of bilingualism for a larger portion of their lives. The fact is, simply, that the Canada before the Quiet Revolution is quite different from the Canada of today. The difference is important. The older person may likely regard the transition as an offensive of Quebec power, while younger individuals are more apt to reflect opinions which are in symmetry with the post 1960 era.

The effect of language on support for bilingualism is certainly not a surprise. The rational self-interest of a francophone would be to support the bilingual policy as it gives the minority culture access to and protection of the institutions which govern the country.

The effect of education as a factor in creating intra-regional dissonance is peculiar. The result could be explained in conjunction with the effect of education on multiculturalism. If one is apt to support multiculturalism as a policy, then one is probably more apt to support other policies which protect minority

cultures, such as bilingualism. The 'enlightened' view would tend to point to the legal importance of minority cultures having access to institutions and a larger world view which does not perceive of different cultures as inferior or superior.

The following conclusion can be made to address the third hypothesis of the section.

**H:3 THE MORE ONE-SIDED THE RATIO OF ENGLISH TO FRENCH, OR
FRENCH TO ENGLISH, THE HIGHER THE DEGREE OF INTRA-
REGIONAL CONSENSUS.**

ACCEPTED

Those regions with the lowest degree of intra-regional consensus are Ontario and the East which both have a significant francophone cultures. The West, with a smaller percentage of francophones, has a higher degree of intra-regional consensus. In Quebec the results would appear to be mixed as there is a universal acceptance of the promotion of french as an important principle. However, intra-regional dissonance occurs regarding the question of minority language schooling rights.

CONCLUSION

Table 7-7 is a synthesis of the discussion on bilingualism thus far and its relation to the original hypotheses.

TABLE 7-7 - THE DEGREES OF CONSENSUS ON BILINGUALISM

<u>REGION</u>	<u>DISPOSITION OF REGION TOWARDS POLICY</u>	<u>COMPARATIVE RANK</u>	<u>DEGREE OF INTRA-REGIONAL CONSENSUS</u>
EAST	mid	2	mid-weak
QUEBEC	high	1	not measurable*
ONTARIO	mid	3	mid-weak
WEST	low	4	high

* The degree of intra-regional consensus is not measurable due to the weak reliability of the scale. An analysis of the univariate statistics indicates that overall the region supports bilingual policy but the elements of scale are supported by different groups within the region. Thus, intra-regional consensus must be considered a complex interaction of different strategies which coalesce around median support.

The following conclusions can be drawn from the analysis thus far:

- 1) There is a weak degree of inter-regional consensus with regard to the policy of bilingualism, attributable to the pro-bilingual attitude of Quebec and the anti-bilingual attitude of the West;
- 2) The larger the percentage of the population which is francophone, the higher the support for bilingualism;
- 3) Quebec does not link the concepts of promotion of the french language, support for minority school language rights, and support for the Official Language Act in any coherent form;
- 4) There is a high degree of intra-regional consensus in the West with respect to socio-economic characteristics;
- 5) There is a mid to weak degree of intra-regional consensus in the East and in Ontario with respect to socio-economic characteristics.

In terms of the original theses the results are mixed. The rational self-interest theoretical framework does prove to be viable when one analyses the degree of support for bilingualism. The more francophones within the population does cause a resultant degree of support for the policy. As well, any degree of intra-regional dissonance can be attributed to language. Simply, if the ratio of anglophone to francophone is smaller the greater the probability of intra-regional consensus.

The scores of Quebec indicate a different dynamic. As the dominant culture in Quebec is a minority culture in the country, and its true expression of self-interest is articulated through support for the Government of Quebec. Thus, the individual respondent measures the federal policy of bilingualism versus the policy, or desired policy position, of the provincial government. The regional government is portrayed as the legitimate defender of bilingualism which is often seen as a desirable mix of a bilingual federal government and a unilingual provincial government. As a result, policies such as minority language school rights are seen as aggressively counteracting the promotion of french. This dynamic is not seen in the rest of the country. In other regions, bilingualism appears to be a compromise for Quebec, and hence all of the input variables hold together in their reliability.

Clearly, rational self-interest does explain the results presented by the statistical tests completed. What is unclear is

how this rational self-interest plays itself out in support for various policies, and the ramifications of these policies in promoting national unity.

MEASURING A CANADIAN IDENTITY ?

CANADIAN IDENTITY

The analysis of the Canadian Identity focuses on two aspects of the inter-relation between the four concepts analysed in the previous sections. Firstly, the objective is to analyse the degree to which there exists a inter-regional consensus for the different scales. This analysis will center on describing the degree of inter-relation between the four scale variables for each region. Two tests will be used: a reliability test and a correlations matrix.

The second examination will be to analyse the degree of intra-regional consensus on the summation of the Canadian Identity scale for regions where the Canadian Identity variable is reliable. The test used for this analysis, as in other cases, is the multiple regression procedure.

THE DEGREE OF INTER-RELATION BY REGION

Table 8-1 depicts information gathered from a series of correlation tests. The object of the analysis is to measure the consistency across the four variables. If there is a high degree of inter-correlation one would conclude that the Canadian Identity can be defined by these different variables. If there is a low degree of inter-correlation, one would conclude that the four dependent variables, as put forth by the paper, do not measure a Canadian

Identity.

TABLE 8-1 - INTER-CORRELATIONS FOR DEPENDENT VARIABLE SCALES

	<u>SOCIAL</u>	<u>ANTI</u>	<u>MULTI</u>	<u>BILING</u>
SOCIAL				
Canada	1.00	.21	-.05	.08
East	1.00	.19	-.04	.15
Quebec	1.00	<.05>	<-.07>	.02
Ontario	1.00	.26	-.15	<.01>
West	1.00	.27	<.03>	.09
ANTI				
Canada	.21	1.00	<.05>	.12
East	.19	1.00	<.06>	<.08>
Quebec	<.05>	1.00	<-.11>	<.04>
Ontario	.26	1.00	<-.07>	<.12>
West	.27	1.00	.17	.25
MULTI				
Canada	-.05	<.05>	1.00	.23
East	-.04	<.06>	1.00	.20
Quebec	<-.07>	<-.11>	1.00	.15
Ontario	-.15	<-.07>	1.00	.16
West	<.03>	.17	1.00	.36
BILING				
Canada	.08	.12	.23	1.00
East	.15	<.08>	.20	1.00
Quebec	.02	<.04>	.15	1.00
Ontario	<.01>	<.12>	.16	1.00
West	.09	.25	.36	1.00

where: social = Social Welfarism
 anti = Anti-Americanism
 multi = Multiculturalism
 biling = Bilingualism

** all correlations are significant to less than .01 unless marked by brackets '<>' **

There are two features of this correlation matrix which need to be examined. If one is to look vertically at the matrix, there appears an obvious dichotomy. Multiculturalism scores vary similarly to scores on the bilingualism scale, while the social

welfarism scores seem to vary with anti-Americanism scores (except in Quebec). This striking dichotomy would indeed make sense if one is to utilize the Lipset thesis of the Tory Touch. The modest degree of relation between the anti-American scores and the social welfarism scores indicate a mode of cultural thought about Canadians. The traditional Loyalist collectivist values, as explained by Burke, combine with the formative event the counter-revolutionary spirit to explain quite nicely the relationship between the two variables.

The relatively high degree of inter-relation between multiculturalism scores and bilingualism scores are less obvious to explain. Although more information can be garnered by combining the variables and determining the socio-economic background behind the mix, it is sufficient to place the variable in a binary form as opposed to the Tory Touch of the first inter-relation. The inter-relation between multiculturalism and bilingualism may be seen as a combination of the dominant minority culture and the minority culture and persons' perspective on those cultures.

The second point of interest, as displayed by the correlation matrix if one is to read horizontally, is that the only region which has significant correlations across all variables is the West. Neither the East, Quebec, nor Ontario seem to place these concepts in any organized form. It is feasible to explain this occurrence through the rational self-interest thesis, or perhaps

the lack of a self-interest. While Quebec received bilingualism, and Ontario received multiculturalism and the East received a strong degree of social welfarism, the West received nothing. Thus, the West would conceptually organize these policy dispositions in the same light. They were not created to appease the West, and the West does not feel appeased in any manner.

This paper suggests that the degree of inter-relation between these variables for the West might have more to do with the political party system, than any concept of Canadian Identity. All of the policies brought forward by Trudeau were done so when the Liberal Party enjoyed almost no significant representation in the West. Thus, the West was never really involved in this conceptualization by Trudeau. And hence, the West places these concepts together as 'Trudeau Policies', which Westerners dislike, and not in any other substantive form.

The alpha scores, which test the reliability of Canadian Identity scale created, illustrate much the same story as the correlation matrix. These scores are displayed in table 8-2.

TABLE 8-2 - ALPHA SCORES FOR THE CANADIAN IDENTITY SCALE

	<u>ALPHA</u>
CANADA	.34
EAST	.33
QUEBEC	.08
ONTARIO	.22
WEST	.50

It must be concluded that these variables are only mildly linked together. The population does not place these variables into a consistent framework which is explainable by the rational self-interest thesis. The only region worth analysing for intra-regional consensus is the West because of their relatively high alpha score. However due to the strength of the explanation given above regarding the lack of caucus representation in the Trudeau government, even this scale appears in jeopardy and should not be further analysed.

CONCLUSION

Thus, the only conclusions which can be drawn from the analysis of the inter-correlation of the four dependent variables examined is that they, inevitably, measure values of the dominant culture and values of the minority cultures across the nation-state. Far from being a proactive identity, the Trudeau proactive definition appears to be merely a set of individual policies

designed to appease the minority cultures in some instances, and the majority cultures in other instances. This discussion will be expanded in the conclusion section of this study.

SUMMARY

SUMMARY

This paper has attempted to display that by anticipating responses using the theoretical frameworks of economic rational self-interest, and a cultural heritage trichotomy (of dominant culture, dominant minority culture and minority culture) that support for Trudeau's proactive nationalism can be predicted. This hypothesis has been, more or less, proven by the examination of support by region for each of the dependent scales.

Secondly, the paper has suggested that since these two theoretical frameworks are useful, that Trudeau's quest for a supra-Canadian nationalism must be a failure. The policies of multiculturalism are divisive because they pit the dominant minority culture against minority cultures. The policy of bilingualism is divisive because it pits the dominant culture against the dominant minority culture. The policies of anti-Americanism are divisive because they benefit only one region economically and only two regions psychologically. Only social welfarist policies are not divisive because they apply to all persons across all regions.

These statements have been proven via the means test. The policy of multiculturalism enjoyed inter-regional consensus in that no region wanted further immigration and only mildly differed on the degree to which they believed that new immigrants made Canada

a better place. In no region was multiculturalism supported wholeheartedly. Anti-Americanism illustrated a mid degree of inter-regional tension in that Quebec was for American investment and the rest of the country approved the status quo. Bilingualism proved to be a strong point of contention between the West and Quebec, with Quebec obviously being pro-bilingualism. Only social welfarism resonated across regions without any qualifications and this is thought to be due to the fact that social programs apply to all Canadians.

The power of the theoretical frameworks used to generate the hypotheses was also illustrated in the analysis of intra-regional consensus. Income and age were factors which caused intra-regional dissonance on the social welfarism scale. The income result is seen as a direct result of rational economic self-interest, while age is thought to be the result of a cultural vestige. Multicultural policy was promoted in Ontario by language (those speaking another language supported the policy) while in Quebec those stating french as their first language were strongly against the policy. Bilingualism again showed that those regions with established french communities caused a degree of intra-regional dissonance. Those regions without intra-regional dissonance were those regions which were essentially unilingual in construction. Anti-American sentiment was the only variable which did not expressly illustrate a pattern, and this is probably because ethnicity was not examined other than through language. For example, if the study had been

able to more accurately define British and non-British elements of the population the results may have proven more conclusive.

The summation of all of these findings suggest that the Trudeau quest for a supra-nationalist identity is essentially a quest to appease electoral districts. Multiculturalism is only supported by minority cultures, and is seen as offensive to the dominant minority culture. Bilingualism is for the dominant minority culture. And the combination of social welfarism and anti-Americanism is a quest to appease the dominant culture. Clearly, a supra-nationalist identity, to be successful, must apply to all individuals and not be a piece-meal construction which is to cause as much division as cohesiveness.

CONCLUSION

CONCLUSION

There are several interesting findings presented by this paper which can be linked together in such a manner as to develop a viable story. If one is to apply the rational self-interest framework to Trudeau, one finds a peculiar pattern exists. The rational self-interest of Trudeau can be seen as displaying three objectives. Firstly, the goal was electoral success. This goal needed to be achieved for further objectives to come to fruition. The second goal was bilingualism, or bringing Quebec into the federal government. The third goal was to bring home a Constitution for Canada.

The goal of electoral success was simple for the 'government party'. After all, this was the main reason Trudeau had abandoned his extreme left wing positions in the first place. Simply, to achieve power in federal politics, one had to be a Liberal in Quebec. The Liberal Party always formed roughly the same coalition to win elections: Quebec, minority interests, and a sufficient 'biting' into the dominant english culture.

The goal of instituting bilingualism as a federal policy was considered dangerous as only Quebec was essentially french. Thus in order to keep the electoral coalition together and to avoid alienating the electoral base, Trudeau structured other policies which would appease these groups. Multiculturalism was brought

forward in 1971, right after the introduction of bilingualism. FIRA (Foreign Investment Review Agency) and the adoption of the Third Option become policies in 1972.¹⁸ So during the election year, Trudeau announces three policies which are all designed to counter-balance one another. The anger precipitated by the advent of bilingualism by minority groups and the dominant culture is supposed to be off-set by a policy for each. Multiculturalism is given to please the minority cultures in the Liberal coalition and economic nationalism is given to the dominant culture, which is to resonate because of the counter-revolutionary tradition and its links to anti-Americanism.

The third part of Trudeau's objective is the creation of a Canadian constitution. As the time approaches to form that constitution, the policies of multiculturalism, bilingualism and economic nationalism start to take on a life of their own within the Liberal Party. Multiculturalism and bilingualism are entered into the Charter of Rights and Freedoms, while economic nationalism cannot be entered as economic policy is beyond the realm of constitutional politics. The National Energy Program of 1980 serves as the focus for the dominant culture. What Trudeau has built, however, is a document based on contentious and divisive issues. This policies do not apply to every individual, and hence cannot be considered as a force which will promote a supra-nationalist

¹⁸Jackson and Jackson, Politics in Canada, Prentice-Hall, Scarborough, Ontario, 1986, pg. 641.

identity. The only saving grace is the individual rights argument.

The argument is that individual rights will be the rallying point around which every Canadian can point for commonality. However, the Charter is riddled with qualifications and concessions which waters down the document. Section 15, the equality clause, is quick to state that it does not preclude affirmative action programs. Here a universal right is conditional on a very controversial government policy, which illustrates the systematic problems with the Charter. Section 27 ensures that the Charter "shall be interpreted in a manner consistent with the preservation and enhancement of the multicultural heritage of Canada".¹⁹ Yet this fixture of the Charter started only as an appeasement to the coalition in the Liberal Party, and again waters down the equality clause.

The failure of Trudeau to create a supra-nationalist identity is the result of utilizing policies as a statement of ideals, instead of a statement of ideals as a statement of ideals. In the first quote of this paper Trudeau suggests that for a supra-national identity to be successful it must create a national image which is more appealing than regional nationalities. The question remains then as to why Trudeau felt it was necessary to place legal recognition for regional nationalities in the Constitution in such

¹⁹Canadian Charter of Rights and Freedoms, Section 27, Constitution Act 1982.

a conflictual manner. Thereby extending the legal authority of micro cultures to act divisively. The Constitution Act of 1982 fails because it is a statement of policy and not a statement of ideals which is applicable to all. It proves to promote division because its

construction was accomplished by one political party more interested in 'keeping the coalition' together than long-term implications.

At the very least this is how Canadians imagine the elements put forth by Trudeau. The perfect example is the Western provinces. The West is the only region which links all of the four policies together in one coherent form because they are seen as 'Trudeau's Policies' and there is no room for them in those policies. The other regions examine the policies in terms of their applicability to themselves and their rational self-interest. And the policies are conflictual across regions. Thus, the Canadian public, by association, must believe that the Constitution is just a statement of policies.

These conclusions are supported by the findings of the paper. To reiterate, there is inter-regional discontent on policies which do not apply in some manner to all citizens. Secondly, there is intra-regional discontent whenever the region is not monolithic in terms of the policy being in their rational self-interest as defined by their cultural heritage or economic self-interest. The

two following tables represent the results of the analysis.

Table 11-1 displays the findings of the paper in terms of measuring inter-regional consensus.

TABLE 11-1 - THE DEGREE OF INTER-REGIONAL CONSENSUS

	<u>FOR</u>	<u>NEUTRAL</u>	<u>AGAINST</u>	<u>DEGREE OF INTER-REGIONAL CONSENSUS</u>
SOCIAL WELFARISM	East Quebec	West Ontario		mid-high
ANTI AMERICANISM	Ontario East	West	Quebec	mid-level
MULTI- CULTURALISM	Ontario Quebec	West	East	mid-high
BILINGUALISM	Quebec East	Ontario	West	low

It is important to note two trends through this table. Firstly, there exists no facet of this 'Canadian Identity' which is consensual across regions except social welfarism for reasons discussed above. The conclusion here would be, in an era of executive federalism (which is essentially institutionalized by the Amending Formula in the Constitution Act of 1982), that division is a systematic feature of this conceptualization.

Secondly, it is important to note that the West does not appear 'for' any of the policies which provides support for the assertion that the Trudeau Vision was unequal in its construction. As a result of the breakdown of support for the policies, one can

note the formation of cross-cutting coalitions and strategies at Constitutional conferences.

TABLE 11-2 - THE DEGREE OF INTRA-REGIONAL CONSENSUS BY REGION

	<u>LOW CONSENSUS</u>	<u>MID CONSENSUS</u>	<u>HIGH CONSENSUS</u>
Canada	Biling	Social Multi Anti	
East	Biling	Social Multi	Anti
Quebec	Multi	Social Anti	Biling
Ontario	Social Biling	Multi Anti	
West		Multi Anti	Social Biling

where: social = Social Welfarism
 biling = Bilingualism
 multi = Multiculturalism
 anti = Anti-Americanism

Table 11-2 reflects the findings of the study on intra-regional consensus by region. The striking finding concerning these results is that the general rule for all regions, and Canada as a whole, is a lack of consensus. Only the West illustrates a strong degree of consensus on the policies studied in this paper, and this is most likely the result of a mutual distaste for those policies. Clearly, the Trudeau Vision is contentious within regions as well as across regions.

Thus, the Trudeau Vision, or the supra-nationalism defined by Trudeau, does not resonate within the Canadian public. The rational self-interest, and cultural heritage arguments suggest that individuals measure these elements of the 'Canadian Identity' as policies constructed by Trudeau. These policies are contentious and when placed in the Constitution, division is institutionalized. The fact of inter-regional dissonance combined with the fact of intra-regional dissonance suggests that Trudeau failed. The policies are disintegrative, not integrative, and can be no source of aiding in the creation of a Canadian Identity.

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