

Tolerating Different Diversities in Canada

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The effect of ethnic diversity on citizens' attitudes and behaviour has received considerable scholarly attention recently. One unresolved debate – characterized by the contact vs. conflict hypotheses – is concerned with the effect of intergroup contact on individuals. Even more unclear, though, are the factors that motivate individuals to initiate contact in the first place. This paper looks at some of the considerations people use when confronted with the potential for contact with persons from a different social group. It intends to shed light on factors that underpin peoples' decision to make contact, regardless of the effect contact may eventually have. Using a 2003 Centre for Research and Information on Canada (CRIC) public opinion survey, I seek to explain how the following two considerations influence Canadians' preferences for contact with other ethnic groups: 1) the type of target group, that is, whether the target group is categorized by the perceiver as racially or morally different, and 2) the level of intimacy of contact, that is, whether contact is occurring in the less intimate setting of the workplace or school, or in the more intimate setting of the family. Using ordered logit regression, I also consider various attitudinal and socio-demographic variables as possible determinants of this relationship between the probability of contact, type of target group, and level of intimacy. Supporting evidence found outside Canada, the analysis finds that Canadians tend to find racial difference more acceptable than moral difference, and that the more intimate the arena of contact, the less individuals will be comfortable with groups different than themselves.

This paper begins with a brief outline of the debate around the effects of intergroup contact. It then discusses previous work on the antecedents of contact. I then analyze the relationship between the probability of contact, the type of target group, and the intimacy of contact, as well as test for potential drivers of this relationship using summary statistics and regression analysis. I conclude with relevant discussion.

Contact Hypothesis vs Conflict Hypothesis

Considerable research has been dedicated to examining the various implications of ethnic diversification on the politics and society of Western countries. However, the actual effect of ethnically diverse groups coming into contact with each other has yet to be pinned down. *Contact theory* suggests that individuals coming into contact with people who are different than them – or members of *outgroups* – will tend to increase outgroup tolerance (e.g., Allport 1954; McLaren 2003; Oliver and Wong 2003; Pettigrew and Tropp 2006; Stolle et al. 2008). The mechanism driving this effect is that individuals glean first-hand information about outgroups from contact with its members. This first-hand information supplements or supplants previously held, and often less accurate, beliefs. Contact, then, makes individuals more tolerant of outgroup members as the former begin to identify and categorize the latter as “just like me” (Sigelman and Welch 1993).

In contrast, *conflict theory* argues that intergroup contact tends to increase intolerance (e.g., Blumer 1958; Bobo 1999; Brewer and Brown 1998; Esses et al. 2001; Quillian 1995; Taylor 1998). An important factor in this argument is that individuals tend to categorize outgroups as “not like me” prior to contact as a way of reducing complexities confronted in the world (Hopkins et al. 1997). Thus, the perceiver views outgroups as a threat to her social identity or competition for material opportunities. Coming into contact with outgroups can exacerbate the perceiver's negative beliefs, since actual contact is seen as an additional challenge. While the categories of outgroups

individuals form are often thought of as rational or organic, conflict theory posits that they can lead to intolerant attitudes and other negative behaviour.

Determinants of Intergroup Contact

Disagreement about the effect of intergroup contact is perhaps due to the complex, and relatively mysterious, process that informs the decision about whether to make contact with an outgroup in the first place. Studies have proposed various factors that might shape an individual's decision to engage in intergroup behaviour, but any explanation is complicated by the vast number of factors and how these factors might vary across different scenarios. Allport's (1954) seminal work on prejudice notes a host of determinants that could condition contact and, thus, shape whether contact would result in positive or negative attitudinal outcomes. For instance, he noted that contact could vary according to frequency, duration, status, the number of individuals involved, the social atmosphere, whether the relationship was competitive or cooperative, the personality of the individuals, and so on.

This paper seeks to shed light on two possible factors that influence whether or not an individual initiates contact with members of outgroups: 1) how the outgroup is categorized by the perceiver, and 2) the intimacy of the arena of contact. In terms of the first factor, social psychology research has long established that individuals categorize others into outgroups under the thinnest of circumstances (Tajfel 1982; Tajfel and Turner 1986). Moreover, these outgroups are ranked hierarchically, indicating the use of criteria to differentiate between groups (Pineo 1977; Berry and Kalin 1995; Hagendoorn 1995; Link and Oldendick 1996). While under-researched, there is some evidence that this differentiation is based on the individual's perception of an outgroup's racial difference (e.g. differences in phenotypes) as opposed to moral difference (e.g., differences in value systems) (Berry et al. 1977; Rokeach et al. 1960; Triandis and Davis 1965). How these differences were ranked, though, remained unclear until a recent study provided strong evidence that individuals tend to be more tolerant of racial, rather than moral, difference (Haidt et al. 2003). Theoretically, the reason for this distinction is due to the extra significance moral issues have for an individual's sense of identity. A primary goal of society is to provide citizens with a moral grounding, without which citizens experience what Durkheim calls *anomie*, or a state of normlessness. Thus, the challenge to one's identity from someone espousing different morals is likely more damaging than a challenge from someone exhibiting different phenotypes (e.g., Solomon et al. 1991).

The second factor explored here that may shape decisions to make contact is the social closeness, or intimacy, of the arena of contact. In general, preferences for contact with outgroups have been shown to vary across contexts (e.g., Dustmann and Preston 2001; Gaertner et al. 1996; Patchen et al. 1980). But, studies that vary the level of intimacy in arenas of contact are rare; the studies that do exist find different results. Some research suggests that different levels of intimacy trigger tolerance of different types of outgroups. Specifically, more intimacy results in a preference for moral similarity, whereas less intimacy results in a preference for racial similarity (e.g., Rokeach et al. 1960). However, others find the opposite effect (e.g., Triandis and Davis 1965). More recent work, though, identifies less variation across outgroup type as levels of intimacy change, and more variation of tolerance in general. Haidt et al.'s (2003) study of US college students found that racial difference is tolerated more than moral difference in dorm room, but that both differences are tolerated more in the classroom

setting than in the less intimate university campus setting and the more intimate dorm room setting. They speculate that in certain settings, like the classroom, individuals *want* diversity, seeing difference as a normative good. This finding indicates that, at least in some settings, contextual factors other than intimacy are at work. However, linear relationships between intimacy and tolerance do appear to characterize relationships that do not have distinct functions (like the learning environment of a classroom). In general, then, it would be reasonable to expect that a linear relationship is the norm.

Data and Methods

The present study examines how individual tolerance varies across the category of outgroup and intimacy of relationship. I expect that racial difference will be more tolerated than moral difference. I also expect that difference, in general, is increasingly tolerated as the level of intimacy of the relationship decreases. There may be some exceptions to this, as discussed above, in settings where diversity is part of the purpose of the relationship (e.g., a classroom). But, given the nature of the data for the present analysis, a linear relationship is likely. I draw on a 2003 survey conducted by the Centre for Research and Information on Canada (CRIC), which was published in a series entitled “The New Canada” in the Canadian newspaper, the *Globe and Mail*.¹

The dependent variables are different configurations of a single survey question; they provide a test of attitudes toward racial diversity and moral diversity, as well as the intimacy of the arena of intergroup contact. The question asks how comfortable the respondent would be with members from particular identifiable groups in three different roles. The identifiable groups used in the present analysis are Muslims, Asian Canadians, blacks, Jews, fundamentalist Christians, and atheists.² The three hypothetical roles are the respondent’s boss, a teacher at the respondent’s local school, and marrying a close relative of the respondent, like a sister or daughter. (The appendix has the question wording for all items included in the analysis.) The survey sample was split into thirds, with each third being asked about each identifiable group for only one of the different roles. For instance, a respondent was asked how comfortable she would be if her boss was a Muslim. Then, she was asked how comfortable she would be if her boss was an Asian Canadian. This was repeated for each of the identifiable groups. A different respondent was asked about Muslims, Asian Canadians, etc., marrying into the family. And yet another was asked about Muslims, Asian Canadians, etc., teaching at a local school.

The survey question, then, has a double function. Responses to the various identifiable groups tap respondents’ attitudes about racial and moral diversity, whereas

¹ The survey is a national sample of 2000 randomly-selected Canadians, who were interviewed by telephone between April 21 and May 4, 2003. Interviews were conducted in English and French, which may bias the immigrant sample to respondents who are somewhat integrated into Canadian society. This potential bias is not a serious problem, however, since the immigrant sub-sample is small and none of the analysis relies exclusively on immigrant respondents.

² Aboriginal, white supremacist, and French or English Canadian (rotated depending on the language of the interview) are also options that I exclude for the current analysis. Also, the survey specifies a “hyphenated Canadian” for only Asian Canadians. There was an initial concern that this could bias the results, as respondents might be primed to think of the Asian category more positively than the other categories. Since the Asian category is treated in this analysis as a racially-defined outgroup, further analysis compared responses to Asians with responses to another racially-defined outgroup – blacks. Similar results were achieved, indicating that the hyphenated Canadian label is unproblematic.

the three different roles tap respondents' attitudes to contact with outgroups in varying settings of intimacy. Respondents' attitudes about racial and moral diversity, it should be stressed, implicate *perceptions* of difference and not necessarily actual difference. Thus, this paper draws on the extensive social psychological literature on stereotypes (e.g., Haslam et al. 2006; Tajfel 1982; Yzerbyt et al. 1997). Namely, how individuals make sense of the complex world by categorizing people into groups. These groups are necessarily reductions of the diverse social reality, since individuals rely heavily on stereotypes to accomplish this basic cognitive task. When probed, people will admit, at least to some extent, to the vast diversity in the outgroup categories they mentally hold. But their initial, unconditioned responses will often be colored by homogenized images of diverse groups. When analyzing attitudes of Canadians, I use this reductionist language, such as "Asians" or "Muslims", while recognizing that these group categories are not reflective of the diverse reality that exists.

Admittedly, determining which group should be classified as racially different and which should be classified as morally different is tricky, especially if the analytic scope is restricted to groups implicated in the ethnic diversity debate. Asian Canadians are a relatively unambiguous case of a racially-distinct group. The average Canadian likely thinks of individuals from East Asia when asked about Asian Canadians, and thus likely frames the idea of Asians in terms of race and not morals. Asian Canadians have distinctive phenotypes, which would prompt the average non-Asian to employ racial categories to delineate that group as 'different'. Moreover, public disputes based on morals, such as clashing religious views, tend not to involve Canada's Asian communities. This suggests a lack of salient moral difference between Asians and many non-Asian Canadians.

I anticipate that blacks, too, will be thought of in terms of race and not morals for similar reasons. Some social groups that can be thought of as black may also have a salient moral dimension – for example, Muslims from West Africa. Indeed, some survey respondents might think of West African Muslims when they hear the term "black". But, it is reasonable to suggest that – because of the rhetoric around race relations in North America – the average respondent asked about "blacks" will think of the multi-generational communities rooted in transatlantic slave trade. Thus, these communities are perceived as racially distinct. Moreover, they are likely not perceived as morally distinct due to generations of integration.

Average Canadians' categorization of other groups as racially or morally different is less clear. In fact, some are likely both. For instance, average non-Muslims certainly conjure up perceptions of both categories when thinking about Muslims. Several high-profile public controversies in Canada around value issues have involved Muslims. Ontario's Sharia law arbitration debate in 2005 is one example; veiled Muslim women voting in Quebec's provincial elections in 2006 is another. Moreover, the international tensions between the West and the Muslim world have certainly contributed to a perception of moral distance. In addition, the average non-Muslim likely perceives Muslims as racially different, even though many Muslims are "white". Again, international tensions have largely focused on Muslims in the Middle East, which are likely perceived by average Canadians as physically distinct from the majority of Canadians with primarily caucasian backgrounds.

The Jewish community might also be perceived both racially and morally distinct by the average non-Jewish Canadian, though likely in a different manner than the Muslim case. The Jewish community is defined by their religion, which would inform any sense of moral distance for non-Jews. But, their moral beliefs are much similar to the average Canadian belief system as compared to Muslim beliefs (e.g., the Judeo-Christian tradition influenced by modern secular thought). This might temper, but not necessarily eliminate, any classification of Jews as morally distinct. The average non-Jew may also classify Jews racially, given certain stereotypical phenotypes.

In fact, the survey question used for the dependent variable does not provide a clear-cut case of a morally distinct group that is not racially distinct, but which is still implicated in the ethnic diversity debate. Perhaps such a group would be virtually impossible given the overlap of race and culture (i.e., moral outlook), two critical factors in the ethnic diversity debate. To mitigate this challenge, I include two groups that would not be considered racially different by the average Canadian, but would likely be considered morally different: fundamentalist Christians and atheists. For non-fundamentalist Christians living in Canada, fundamentalist Christians are likely defined solely by their moral beliefs; the same is true for non-atheist Canadians defining atheists.

The dependent variable taps arenas of contact with varying levels of intimacy, as well. I anticipate that the more intimate the arena, the more Canadians will resist contact with morally or racially different outgroups. Again, the three scenarios are an outgroup member marrying a close relative, an outgroup member teaching at a local school, or an outgroup member acting as a boss. It seems reasonable that the marriage scenario is the most intimate, and thus difference in general will tend to be resisted here the most of the three scenarios. It is less clear if an employer-employee relationship would be considered more or less intimate than a setting at a local school. Contact with one's boss is likely more regular than contact with the teacher at the local school. So individuals might be more sensitive to outgroup contact in this arena, especially due to the power relationship between boss and employee. However, an outgroup member teaching children might have special significance for people, whether or not they have children themselves. It might be felt that children are more vulnerable to outgroup influence, compared to adults, and thus need greater distance from the outgroup in question. The analysis will be sensitive to either possibility.

[Figure 1 about here]

To test the relationship between outgroup type, arena intimacy, and intergroup tolerance, I start with some figures that highlight the empirical patterns characterizing this relationship. Figure 1 contains three bar graphs illustrating different configurations of the dependent variable. The three boxes correspond with the three roles representing various levels of outgroup contact intimacy – that is, outgroup contact with a teacher, boss, and in-law. The bars are stacked survey responses for each identifiable group. The bars exclude responses from the identifiable group in question, so the general message of Figure 1 can be thought of as peoples' reactions to outgroups in general, rather than the reaction of a particular community to a particular outgroup (see appendix for how these groups were constructed). The number of observations is in brackets. So, for the *Identifiable Outgroups as Teachers* figure, the first column demonstrates that about 44%

of non-black respondents said they would be very comfortable, and 54% said they would be comfortable, if a black person was teaching at a local school. The second column demonstrates that 41% and 57% of non-Asians said they would be very comfortable and comfortable with an Asian as a local teacher. At the other extreme, 17% and 50% of non-fundamentalist Christians said they would be very comfortable or comfortable with a fundamentalist Christian teacher. For the *Identifiable Outgroups as Bosses* figure, 38% of non-black respondents said they would be very comfortable and 60% said they would be comfortable if a black person was their boss, etc. Compare this to the 14% and 55% of non-fundamentalist Christians who said they would be very comfortable or comfortable with a fundamentalist Christian as a boss. Finally, for *Identifiable Outgroups as Marrying a Close Relative*, 33% and 58% of non-blacks said they would be (very) comfortable with a black in-law, whereas 13% and 49% of non-fundamentalist Christians said they would be (very) comfortable with a fundamentalist Christian in-law.

The first observation to make here is the variation in comfort with outgroups acting in particular roles. For each role, arranging the survey responses according to comfort reveals that comfort ratings decrease as the identifiable outgroups become morally-defined. In other words, as expected, comfort with, or tolerance of, outgroups decreases with moral difference compared to racial difference. The ranking of the six outgroup is stable, as well. For each figure, the outgroups are ordered as Blacks, Asians, Jews, Muslims, atheists, and fundamentalist Christians.

What about variation over different arenas of intergroup contact? Preliminary evidence is not as compelling as the evidence for discrimination between racial and moral difference. However, there is a trend that supports the expectation that individuals are generally less comfortable with outgroups in more intimate situations. The mean response for “very comfortable” across the three roles is 34% for teacher, 29% for boss, and 25% for marrying a close relative. Standard deviations show slightly more variation for teacher ($sd=9.5$), as compared to boss and in-law ($sd=8.0$ and 7.1 , respectively). The distinction between marriage and the other two relationships is clear – outgroup difference is tolerated the least in the marriage scenario, confirming its classification as the most intimate relationship. However, it seems that the hierarchical relationship of employer and employee is perhaps considered more intimate than the hierarchical relationship of teacher and student, with difference rejected more in the former relationship than in the latter. I had suggested that perhaps respondents are more sensitive to children coming into contact with outgroups, but this does not seem to be the case. Further research might discover that individuals desire difference in school settings, similar to Haidt et al.’s (2003) findings about university classrooms. However, it would be surprising if the average Canadian views children’s educational experience in a similar fashion as young adults’ educational experience, at least in terms of exposure to new ideas. Thus, for now anyway, I suggest the simpler explanation is probably the right one: respondents view the teacher-student relationship in a local school to be less intimate than an employer-employee relationship.

In general, then, the figures seem to support theoretical expectations about the relationship between outgroup type, relationship type, and tolerance: racial difference tends to be tolerated more than moral difference, and difference in general tends to be tolerated more in lower levels of intimacy. What are the factors, though, driving this variation? I employ ordered logit regression to test the effects of a slate of attitudinal and

socio-demographic variables. The first independent variable – *multiculturalism* – is a general indicator of respondents' orientation toward the ethnic diversity debate. *Multiculturalism* measures whether the respondent is proud of multiculturalism (see appendix for exact wording). I suspect that it will have a positive association with the dependent variables. That is, respondents who are proud of multiculturalism will tend to be more comfortable with contact with outgroup members compared to respondents who are not proud, regardless of the particular group. They will also be more comfortable with contact in relatively intimate arenas of contact as compared to others.

The next variables – *push*, *intermarry*, *tackle*, *base*, and *street* – measure more specific aspects of the ethnic diversity debate. They can be thought of as indicating distinct aspects of intergroup hostility (Brewer 1979), as well as touching on aspects of liberal thought that addresses the ability of distinct groups in society to co-exist in a positive manner (Kymlicka 1995). The largest intercorrelation in these five variables is between *push* and *intermarry* at .29, which demonstrates their distinctiveness. *Push* measures whether respondents think non-whites living in Canada should not push themselves where they are not wanted. *Intermarry* is whether individuals think it is a bad idea for people of different races to marry one another. *Tackle* measures whether respondents agree that societies with different ethnic groups can tackle new problems. *Base* inquires whether Canadian children growing up surrounded by people of different ethnic and cultural groups will be left without a solid cultural base. And, *street* indicates whether respondents feel comfortable when they hear languages other than English or French on Canadian streets. Each variable will likely have a positive relationship with the dependent variables – the less hostile a respondent is, the more likely she will be comfortable with outgroup contact, regardless of the group and the type of relationship.

A benefit of these five variables is that they probe beyond the relatively crude measurement in the *multiculturalism* variable; multiculturalism itself, of course, is highly nuanced. It is not clear that public attitudes about abstract notions of the ethnic diversity debate, such as pride in multiculturalism, should be taken at face value. It is possible that respondents agree with abstract notions of multiculturalism, for example, but disagree considerably with the specifics. It is also important to note that these four variables can be reasonably considered causally prior to the dependent variable – they may refer to more specific attitudes than *multiculturalism*, but they are more general than the attitudes measured by the dependent variables. This suggests, in theory, that they will inform the dependent variable and not the other way around.

Another variable tapping liberal attitudes is the survey item that asks if the respondent would be comfortable if a close family member was gay (*gay*). The variable is meant to shed light on the generalized nature of tolerant attitudes – that is, whether tolerance toward non-ethnic outgroups is related to tolerance toward various ethnic outgroups (e.g, Bierly 1985). It could be that individuals who are comfortable with homosexual family members generalize this tolerance to other ethnic groups. But it could also be that individuals tolerant of homosexual family members would be less tolerant of some ethnic groups that might be perceived as intolerant of homosexuals. I suspect that the first possibility will apply to groups who are racially defined, whereas the second possibility will apply to groups who are morally defined, if their moral persuasion is conservative (e.g., fundamentalist Christians, Muslims).

Other attitudinal variables indicate a respondent's religiosity and the nature and importance of her ethnic identity. These three aspects of one's identity are likely a factor driving decisions to have contact with members of outgroups. Strong and salient identities can create psychological distance between individuals, resulting in wariness of contact (Turner 1999). *Religiosity* measures the importance of the respondent's religion, regardless of actual religious belief. Similarly, *ethnic* is the importance of the respondent's ethnic or racial identity, regardless of her actual identity. *Vismin* allows respondents to identify themselves as visible minorities. High scores for *religiosity* and *ethnic* indicate low importance of these determinants and are thus expected to have positive associations with the dependent variables. *Vismin* will likely have a positive relationship with dependent variables specifying a racially distinct group, such as blacks or Asians. To note, since these variables do not distinguish between different religious beliefs or different ethnicities, their effects may be muted. For example, *ethnic* will capture strong Irish identifiers and strong Saudi identifiers equally, and their reactions to, say, atheist teachers might be quite different. Unfortunately, the survey's religious and ethnic self-identification indicators are relatively crude, so I rely on these indicators of identity strength and visible minority status as a substitute.

The remaining variables are various socio-demographic items commonly identified as influencing political behaviour. *Education*, *income*, *urban*, *sex*, and *age* are typical identifiers of a tolerant vanguard. Higher education, higher income, and urban dwelling are often associated with more liberal attitudes, due to the more diverse and informed life experience that these demographic factors bring. While historically, women have not been a liberal vanguard, recently, they have tended to increasingly support progressive social and cultural positions (Gidengil et al. 2005). Finally, younger individuals are thought to be more liberal because of their early exposure to the normative idea of group rights. In Canada, young people have grown up in the multiculturalist era, and thus, they have likely adopted a relatively tolerant outlook.

The language of the survey interview (*lang*) and respondent immigrant status (*born*) are also included. In Canada, language has long been established as an important behavioural motivator. In terms of the ethnic diversity debate, evidence suggests that Canada's national minority, mostly residing in Quebec, is hesitant about identity claims made by other minorities (Abu-Laban and Stasiulis 1992). Thus, French respondents might be less comfortable with outgroup contact regardless of the group or the arena. For immigrant status, it is reasonable to suggest that whether or not a respondent is an immigrant will likely shape her attitudes about ethnic diversity and intergroup contact, due to the direct stakes involved. Being an immigrant may make one more comfortable with outgroup contact, given that her experiences as an immigrant has sensitized her to intergroup hostility.

Finally, *job* and *marry* index direct stakes in particular types of intergroup contact. *Job* identifies if the respondent has full or part-time work, which might shape preferences for a boss being a member of an outgroup. *Marry* identifies the respondent's marital status, which might influence preferences for a relative marrying an outgroup member. The direction of the expected relationship is ambiguous. It could be that, for example, an employed person is more sensitive to working under an outgroup member in the workplace because of the real stakes at play. However, it might be that an employed person is less sensitive because she has likely experienced working under a variety of

people who are different than her. The same logic applies for *marry*. As such, the analysis will be responsive to both possibilities.

[Table 1 about here]

Table 1 displays the results for ordered logit regression of the individual-level data. The models tested represent three of the six identifiable outgroups. Only three are selected to keep the analysis manageable, but they also represent distinct positions on the ethnic diversity spectrum in keeping with the first research question about different types of outgroups. The first model tests for attitudes about Asians, who represent outgroups categorized by racial factors. The second model tests for attitudes about Muslims, who represent outgroups occupying a middle position between racial and moral categorization. The third model tests for attitudes about atheists, who represent groups categorized by moral factors.

Again, to rein in the analysis, I only test for the roles of teacher and in-law, leaving the role of boss aside. The previous figures suggest that the comfort with outgroup bosses largely falls between the comfort with outgroup teachers and outgroup in-laws. Thus, I focus on reactions to teachers and in-laws for the present analysis.

A few patterns in Table 1 are immediately observable and deserve some additional statistical analysis. First, some variables exert influence on comfort ratings across most or all of the models, regardless of the identifiable outgroup or intimacy of role. As expected, disagreeing that hearing languages other than English or French on the street is uncomfortable (*street*) is positively associated with five of the six models. Using predicted probabilities and holding all other variables at their means (representing an average Canadian), the probability of non-Asian respondents being “very comfortable” with an Asian teacher increased from 18% among those who agreed with the survey question (thus, feel uncomfortable hearing languages other than English or French) to 47% among those who disagreed with the question (Figure 2). And the probability of non-Asians being “very comfortable” with an Asian in-law increased from 14% among those who agreed with the question to 35% among those who disagreed. For average non-Muslim Canadian respondents, the probability of being “very comfortable” with a Muslim teacher increased from 16% among those agreed to 37% among those who disagreed. Again, for average non-Muslims, the probability of being “very comfortable” with a Muslim in-law increased from 10% among those who agreed to 18% among those who did not. Finally, the probability of non-atheist respondents being “very comfortable” with an atheist in-law increased from 5% among those who agreed with the question to 27% among those who disagreed.

[Figure 2 about here]

The simulations suggest that, regardless of the outgroup in question or the intimacy of the relationship, disagreeing with a negative statement about uncomfortability with hearing languages other than English and French increases comfortability with intergroup contact. It also appears that racially-defined outgroups appear to be more tolerated than morally-defined outgroups in general, even after all of the attitudinal and socio-demographic factors are controlled in the model. In other words,

respondents tended to be most comfortable with Asians compared to the other two outgroups whether they express comfort or discomfort hearing languages other than English and French. The only exception is with respondents who were uncomfortable with other languages; they ranked Muslim teachers slightly better than Asian in-laws (14% and 16%, respectively). Also, the simulations suggest that intimacy of the relationship also continues to function as expected – hypothetical average respondents are more comfortable with outgroups as teachers than as in-laws.

The simulations also demonstrate that the effect of some independent variables have varying magnitudes on responses across different outgroups. The variable *street* has more of an impact on attitudes toward Asians than attitudes toward Muslims: the average increase in probability from agreement to disagreement is 25% for Asians, whereas the average increase is 17% for Muslims (regardless of role). This difference in magnitude hints that respondents are discriminating between groups associated with the ethnic diversity debate, even when they are giving relatively tolerant survey responses. Note, too, the effect of the independent variable – which deals specifically with ethnic tensions – on the atheist outgroup. Its significant effect suggests that a good deal of variation in comfort can be explained by a generalized tolerance of otherness.

Another example is *intermarry*. Table 1 indicates that respondents who disagree that people of different races should not marry each other tend to be more comfortable with outgroups in various roles. Again, simulations demonstrate similar patterns displayed with *street* (results not shown). Average Canadians tend to be more comfortable with racially-different groups than morally-different groups, regardless of whether they agree or disagree with racial intermarriage. Moreover, with comparable outgroups, predicted responses indicate levels of intimacy in a relationship also functions as expected. Similarly, respondents stating they would be comfortable if a close family member was gay (*gay*) has a positive association with comfort with ethnic outgroups, again evidencing the generalized nature of tolerant attitudes. Simulations confirm similar patterns about outgroup preference and level of intimacy.

The results for the other attitudinal variables are surprising. Pride in multiculturalism (*multiculturalism*), disagreeing that non-whites should not push themselves where they are not wanted (*push*), disagreeing that societies with different ethnic groups can tackle new problems (*tackle*), and disagreeing that children growing up around people of different ethnic or cultural groups will lack a cultural base (*base*) have inconsistent effects. The direction of the effect is as expected, with each variable positively associated with the dependent variables when the effect is significant. But when compared to the results of the attitudinal variables discussed previously, the source of this inconsistency is unclear and deserves further study.

Religiosity, too, has inconsistent effects. It does have an anticipated positive effect on the atheist models: respondents who state that religion is not important to them are more comfortable with atheists as either bosses or in-laws. For reactions to Muslims, *religiosity* only has an effect on comfortability with Muslim in-laws and not Muslim teachers. The lack of effect on attitudes toward Muslim teachers only makes sense if respondents' tend to perceive Canada's school system as free of religious influence. However, given the salience of moral differences between Canada's majority non-Muslim community and minority Muslim community, the lack of effect surprises this researcher. The lack of association with the Asian models reinforces the idea that

individuals treat morals and racial categorizations differently: it stands to reason that one's religiosity does not affect attitudes toward racially-defined groups. If this religiosity was conservative, then I might expect to see an effect. Unfortunately, the data do not allow this test.

Ethnicity, the final attitudinal variable, has no effect on any of the models. This, too, is surprising. Why the strength of one's ethnic identity would not affect comfortability with Muslim or Asians in general is unclear. Perhaps the survey question itself is not appropriate in the Canadian setting. Past research has found that Canadians can hold strong ethnic identities alongside of strong national identities (Kalin and Berry 1995). Thus, perhaps the majority of Canadians do not view themselves in ethnic terms, or in ethnic terms that can be measured with a simple survey question.

Some of the socio-demographic variables exert influence across the models. *Education* influences the teacher models, regardless of outgroup. Thus, respondents with higher education tend to be more comfortable with outgroups as teachers in local schools. In the intimate arena of intergroup marriage, education does not appear to influence attitudes. *Age* also exerts significant negative influence on five of the six models indicating that older respondents tend to have a lower probability of being comfortable with outgroups as teachers or in-laws. Language of interview (*language*) has both positive and negative effects. Its negative association with Muslims is not surprising, given francophones historical wariness of other ethnic minorities. However, the lack of an effect with Asians is interesting, perhaps suggesting an evaluative hierarchical ranking of outgroups that favours Asian communities over Muslim ones. The positive association with atheists is also not surprising, given Quebecers tumultuous history with the Catholic Church, which ended in the secular Quiet Revolution in the 1960s.

Sex shows that women have a lower probability of being comfortable than men with the configurations of outgroups and relationships tested here. This effect is unexpected; it was proposed that women would be more tolerant, but this appears not to be the case (or at least not with how tolerance is measured here). However, it is interesting that *sex* only influences the in-law models. Thus, the probabilities of various comfort ratings for men and women are not significantly different when the arena of contact is a local school. Similar patterns are found with *job*. That is, individuals with full or part-time work have a higher probability of expressing comfort with outgroups as teachers, but are indistinguishable from unemployed and retired when it comes to outgroups as in-laws. *Vismin*, *income*, *urban*, *born*, and *marry* have inconsistent or no effects.

Discussion

This paper's main goal was to examine the conditional relationship between outgroup type, intimacy of the arena of intergroup contact, and ethnic tolerance. A secondary goal was to analyze attitudinal and socio-demographic factors driving this relationship. In general, it appears that the theoretical expectations were supported. First, Canadians tend to be less wary of outgroups that are racially different compared to outgroups that are morally different. This suggests that the probability of contact will be affected by the type of outgroup in question. Perhaps the benefits of contact are more likely to be experienced when the outgroup is racially different, and thus perceived as less threatening. Conversely, the negative effects of contact may be triggered if the group is morally different.

The analysis, too, supports the idea of different reactions to different levels of intimacy. Canadians, naturally, tend to be less wary of outgroups in less intimate arenas. The implications for the probability of contact stated previously can be applied here. Perhaps the benefits of contact are derived from particular arenas that are less intimate, like in the workplace compared to arenas that are more intimate, like in the family. Indeed, the contact hypothesis is often measured with neighbourhood composition, which really indexes the probability of contact and thus ignores differences in individuals' tendency to *initiate* contact. There is likely a spectrum for the benefits of contact, where individuals can ease into contact with benefits accruing over gradual increases of arena intimacy. This would have to be tested, since it might also be that highly intimate arenas of contact are largely resistant to the positive benefits of contact.

The secondary issue tackled in this paper was exploring some of the determinants that shape comfort with outgroups. Overall, there are a few determinants that seem to have a conditional effect on the relationship between outgroup type, intimacy of role, and tolerance. For instance, levels of education, gender, and employment all influence one of the arenas but not the other. There do not seem, however, to be determinants that influence attitudes toward a particular outgroup to the exclusion of others. Other determinants appear to exert influence across the models, regardless of outgroup type or arena, such as *intermarry*, *street*, *gay*, and *language*. Why these particular patterns exist, and why certain prominent determinants in past research fail to exert influence, deserves more research.

The contribution, then, of this analysis was to examine the antecedents that shape intergroup contact. As such, it treats contact as a phenomenon to be explained, rather than treating it as part of an explanation for something else. The contact vs. conflict hypotheses debate could benefit from considering the antecedents of the phenomenon they wish to link to a variety of political outcomes. The type of outgroup and the level of intimacy of relationship appears to be two of likely many determinants that influence individuals' decision to initiate contact. Further research into why the patterns discovered exist would contribute further to our understanding of how individuals make the decision to have contact with people who are not like them in the first place.

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Appendix

Dependent Variables

Would you feel very comfortable, comfortable, uncomfortable or very uncomfortable if:

Sample a: your boss was

Sample b: a teacher in your local school was

Sample c: a close relative, like your sister or daughter, was going to marry

Someone who is a fundamentalist Christian

Someone who is Jewish

Someone who is black

Someone who is Muslim

Someone who is an Asian Canadian

Someone who is an atheist

Independent Variables

Multiculturalism

I would like you to tell me whether each of these makes you feel proud to be a Canadian. Please use a scale of 0-10, where 0 means it does not make you feel proud at all, and 10 means it makes you feel very proud. You can use any number between 0 and 10. How about: multiculturalism.

Push

I'd now like to read you some more statements about life in Canada today. Please tell me how you feel about each statement on a scale of 1 to 7, where "1" means you totally disagree, and "7" means you totally agree. A neutral answer would be "4". How about: Non-whites living here should not push themselves where they are not wanted.

Intermarry

I'd now like to read you some more statements about life in Canada today. Please tell me how you feel about each statement on a scale of 1 to 7, where "1" means you totally disagree, and "7" means you totally agree. A neutral answer would be "4". How about: It is a bad idea for people of different races to marry one another.

Tackle

I'd now like to read you some more statements about life in Canada today. Please tell me how you feel about each statement on a scale of 1 to 7, where "1" means you totally disagree, and "7" means you totally agree. A neutral answer would be "4". How about: A society that has a variety of ethnic and cultural groups is more able to tackle new problems as they occur.

Base

I'd now like to read you some more statements about life in Canada today. Please tell me how you feel about each statement on a scale of 1 to 7, where "1" means you totally disagree, and "7" means you totally agree. A neutral answer would be "4". How about:

Canadian children growing up surrounded by people of different ethnic and cultural groups will be left without a solid cultural base.

Street

When you hear languages other than English or French being spoken on the streets in Canada, do you feel very comfortable, comfortable, uncomfortable or very uncomfortable?

Gay

Would you feel very comfortable, comfortable, uncomfortable or very uncomfortable if a close member of your family, such as your brother or sister, or one of your children, said that they were gay?

Religiosity

I will read you a number of factors which may contribute to one's personal feeling of identity. For each, please tell me whether it is very important, important, not very important, or not at all important to your own sense of identity? How about: religion?

Ethnic

I will read you a number of factors which may contribute to one's personal feeling of identity. For each, please tell me whether it is very important, important, not very important, or not at all important to your own sense of identity? How about: ethnicity or race?

Vismin

Do you consider yourself a member of a visible minority by virtue of your race or color?

- Yes
- No

Education

What is the highest level of formal education that you have completed?

- Grade 8 or less
- Some high school
- Complete high school
- Technical, vocational post-secondary
- Some university
- Complete university degree
- Post graduate degree

Income

Which of the following categories best describes your total household income? That is, the total income of all persons in your household combined, before taxes. Please stop me when I reach your category.

- Under \$10,000
- \$10,000 to just under \$20,000
- \$20,000 to just under \$30,000

\$30,000 to just under \$40,000
\$40,000 to just under \$50,000
\$50,000 to just under \$60,000
\$60,000 to just under \$70,000
\$70,000 to just under \$80,000
\$80,000 to just under \$100,000
\$100,000 and over

Urban

[Recorded by interviewer]

Sex

[Recorded by interviewer]

Age

What age group do you fall into?

18 to 24
25 to 30
31 to 34
35 to 44
45 to 54
55 to 64
65 to 74
75+

Lang

[Recorded by interviewer]

Born

Were you born in Canada?

Yes
No

Job

Which one of the following categories best describes your current employment status?

Working full-time (that is, 35 or more hours per week)
Working part-time (that is, less than 35 hours per week)
Self-employed
Unemployed, but looking for work
Retired
Attending school full-time/A student
Not in the workforce/A full-time homemaker

Marry

What is your current marital status?

Single or never married

Married
Common-law or living with a partner
Divorced or separated
Widowed

Figure 1: Respondent Comfort Ratings of Outgroup Bosses, Teachers, and In-Laws

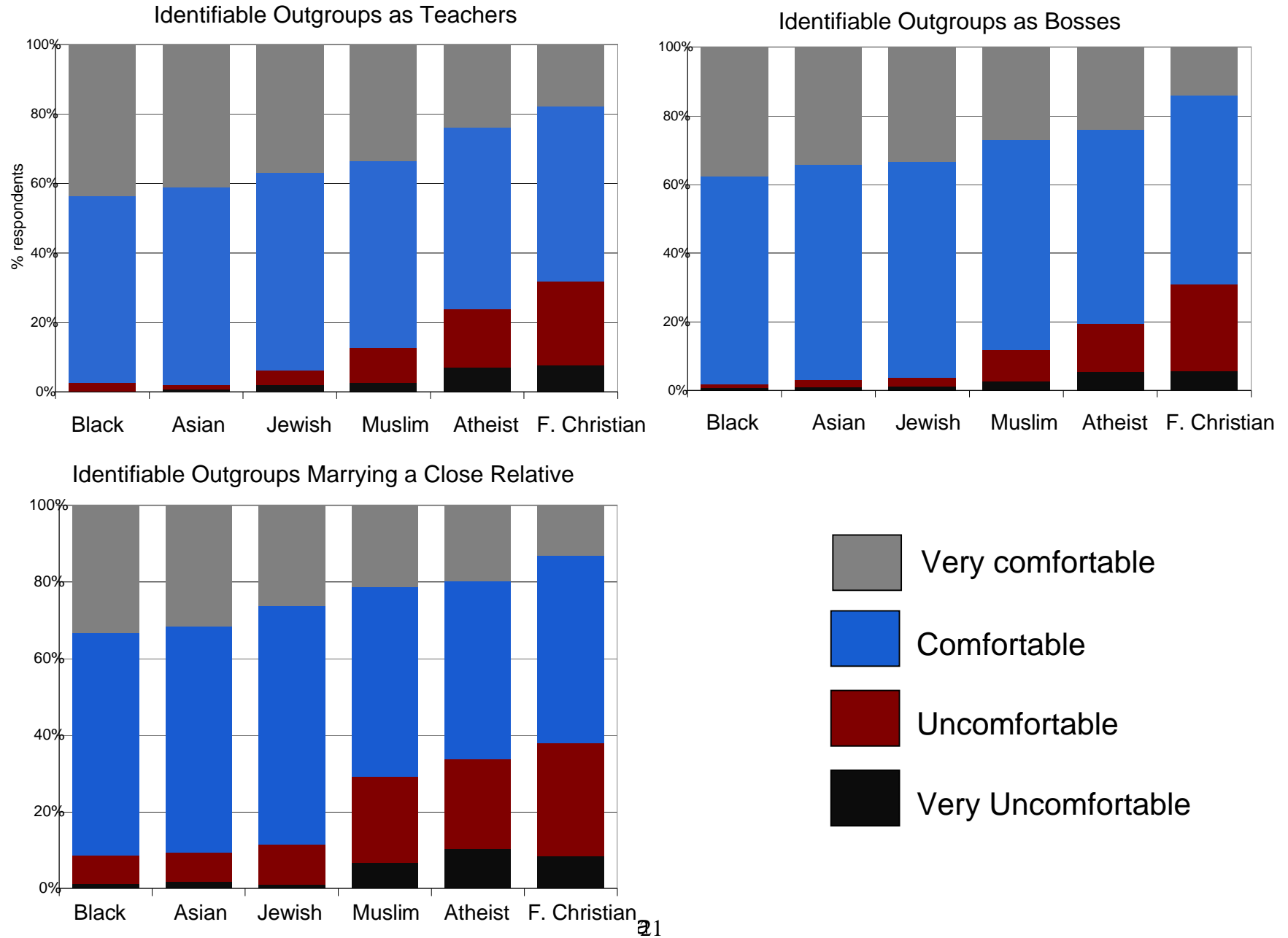


Table 1. Individual Comfort Ratings of Outgroup Teachers and In-Laws

	Non-Asian Comfort with Asian as a Teacher	Non-Asian Comfort with Asian Marrying a Relative	Non-Muslim Comfort with Muslim as a Teacher	Non-Muslim Comfort with Muslim Marrying a Relative	Non-Atheist Comfort with Atheist as a Teacher	Non-Atheist Comfort with Atheist Marrying a Relative
<i>Multiculturalism</i>	1.081* (0.087)	1.045 (0.272)	1.014 (0.743)	1.112*** (0.006)	0.990 (0.821)	1.031 (0.452)
<i>Push</i>	1.149*** (0.003)	1.056 (0.243)	1.139*** (0.002)	1.095** (0.039)	1.037 (0.404)	0.953 (0.292)
<i>Intermarry</i>	0.989 (0.818)	1.212*** (0.000)	1.047 (0.293)	1.164*** (0.000)	1.104** (0.029)	1.125*** (0.007)
<i>Tackle</i>	1.008 (0.898)	1.075 (0.189)	1.168*** (0.006)	1.099* (0.070)	1.017 (0.776)	0.946 (0.315)
<i>Base</i>	1.136*** (0.004)	1.004 (0.917)	1.063 (0.132)	0.989 (0.785)	1.087* (0.051)	1.004 (0.916)
<i>Street</i>	1.431*** (0.000)	1.363*** (0.001)	1.430*** (0.000)	1.198** (0.035)	1.314*** (0.002)	1.130 (0.170)
<i>Gay</i>	1.460*** (0.000)	1.471*** (0.000)	1.330*** (0.000)	1.591*** (0.000)	1.371*** (0.000)	1.575*** (0.000)
<i>Religiosity</i>	1.022 (0.740)	1.070 (0.291)	1.063 (0.316)	1.324*** (0.000)	1.333*** (0.000)	1.754*** (0.000)
<i>Ethnicity</i>	1.027 (0.709)	1.039 (0.571)	0.996 (0.948)	1.007 (0.916)	1.020 (0.784)	1.022 (0.749)
<i>Vismin</i>	0.836 (0.546)	0.646* (0.091)	0.498*** (0.008)	0.961 (0.873)	0.783 (0.370)	0.716 (0.180)
<i>Educ</i>	1.325*** (0.000)	1.087 (0.155)	1.195*** (0.002)	1.029 (0.612)	1.208*** (0.002)	1.006 (0.924)
<i>Income</i>	1.051 (0.173)	1.017 (0.617)	0.990 (0.748)	1.059* (0.082)	1.019 (0.594)	1.027 (0.457)
<i>Urban</i>	1.314 (0.274)	1.016 (0.942)	1.416 (0.120)	0.828 (0.357)	1.212 (0.412)	0.824 (0.359)
<i>Sex</i>	0.837 (0.354)	0.688** (0.038)	0.838 (0.319)	0.500*** (0.000)	0.803 (0.247)	0.615*** (0.007)
<i>Age</i>	0.908* (0.064)	0.947 (0.283)	0.896** (0.019)	0.895** (0.019)	0.893** (0.018)	0.890** (0.022)
<i>Language</i>	1.444 (0.101)	0.948 (0.797)	0.487*** (0.000)	0.697* (0.062)	1.649** (0.022)	2.335*** (0.000)
<i>Born</i>	0.674 (0.173)	0.754 (0.261)	0.724 (0.212)	0.676 (0.113)	0.754 (0.285)	0.594** (0.038)
<i>Job</i>	1.481** (0.037)	1.148 (0.428)	1.452** (0.032)	1.067 (0.696)	1.410* (0.061)	0.815 (0.252)
<i>Marry</i>	0.977 (0.802)	0.955 (0.611)	1.066 (0.438)	1.097 (0.270)	0.989 (0.895)	1.067 (0.472)
<i>Observations</i>	643	638	630	618	530	531

Cell entries are ordered logit coefficients; p values are in parentheses.

* significant at 10%; ** significant at 5%; *** significant at 1%

Figure 2. Predicted Probabilities of Outgroup Comfort Ratings and Comfort Hearing Outgroup Languages on the Streets

