

# Ideological Conflict and Attitudes Toward Immigrants in Canada

Anja Kilibarda

COLUMBIA UNIVERSITY

September 17, 2019

## **Lead In Consent Page**

You are invited to participate in a research study that will take approximately 10 minutes to complete. You will be asked to answer some questions about yourself and your preferences. There are no known or anticipated risks to you for participating. Participation in this study is completely voluntary. You are free to decline to participate, or to end participation at any time for any reason. The researcher will not know your name, and no identifying information will be connected to your survey answers in any way. The survey is therefore anonymous. However, your account is associated with an RID that the researcher must be able to see; in some cases these IDs are associated with public profiles which could, in theory, be searched. For this reason, although the researcher will not be looking at anyone's public profiles, the fact of your participation in the research (as opposed to your actual survey responses) is technically considered "confidential" rather than truly anonymous. Only the researcher involved in this study and those responsible for research oversight will have access to the information that you provide.

Please note that this survey requires that Javascript be enabled on your browser. You will not be able to participate without Javascript enabled.

If you would like to participate, simply click the 'I agree to participate' box below, then click the "⇒" button to start the survey.

(Second Page Following Lead In)

Please enter your postal code in the field below to proceed.

## **Issue and Group Questions**

Q1. Generally speaking, how do you usually think of yourself in terms of your political alignment?

- Liberal Party
- New Democratic Party
- Conservative Party
- Bloc Québécois
- Other party

Q2. How important is religion in your life?

- Not important at all
- Not that important
- Somewhat important
- Very important

**Here are some opinions that people have on political issues in Canada today. Please tell me whether whether you strongly agree, somewhat agree, somewhat disagree, or strongly disagree with each statement.**

Q3. Abortions should be allowed in all cases, regardless of the reason.

- Strongly agree
- Somewhat agree
- Somewhat disagree
- Strongly disagree

Q4. Environmental regulations should be stricter, even if it leads to consumers facing higher costs.

- Strongly agree
- Somewhat agree
- Somewhat disagree
- Strongly disagree

Q5. The federal government should spend more money on welfare.

- Strongly agree

- Somewhat agree
- Somewhat disagree
- Strongly disagree

Q6. Marriage should only be between a man and a woman

- Strongly agree
- Somewhat agree
- Somewhat disagree
- Strongly disagree

## Experimental Design

### Prompt

This study considers immigration and who is permitted to live in Canada. There are different opinions about what sorts of people from other countries should be allowed to (permanently live here/be citizens). We'd like to know your opinion.

Some immigrants applying for (permanent residency/citizenship) in Canada answered the same questions as you did about abortion, environmental regulation, welfare spending and party alignment. You will see their responses to these questions as well as some other basic information about them below.

For each pair of people you see, please indicate which of the two you would prefer be given (official permission to permanently live in Canada/Canadian citizenship) or whether you would prefer that neither be given (permission/citizenship).

Table 1: Immigrant traits with levels to be randomized

Attributes	Levels
Gender	Woman Man
Country of Origin	Germany Syria Mexico Guatamala Poland India China Somalia Iraq
Language	Speaks fluent (English/French) Speaks broken (English/French) Requires a translator in (English/French)
Profession	Nurse Fruit picker Child care provider Doctor Computer programmer
Job Experience	Mostly unemployed Mostly employed Continuously employed
Religion	Christian Muslim None
Abortion opinion	Agrees with legal abortion Disagrees with legal abortion
Environment opinion	Wants stricter environmental regulation Doesn't want stricter environmental regulation
Welfare opinion	Wants more welfare spending Doesn't want more welfare spending
Gay marriage opinion	In favour of gay marriage Against gay marriage
Party identification	Liberal Party New Democratic Party Conservative Party Bloc Québécois Other party

Q1. If you had to choose between them, which of these two immigrants would you prefer to (live permanently in Canada/receive Canadian citizenship)?

- Immigrant 1
- Immigrant 2

- Neither

Q2. On a scale of 1 to 7, where 1 indicates that you would definitely not want the immigrant to (live permanently in Canada/receive Canadian citizenship) and 7 indicates that you would definitely want the immigrant to (live permanently here/receive citizenship), how would you evaluate Immigrant 1?

Q3. Using the same scale, how would you evaluate Immigrant 2?

## Demographic Questions

You're almost done! To make sure we are talking to a diversity of Canadians, we need to get a little bit of information about your background.

First, in what year were you born?

- 1900 - 1998

What is your gender?

- Woman
- Man
- Other / Refuse

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

- No schooling
- Some elementary school
- Some secondary / high school
- Some technical, community college, CEGEP, College Classique
- Some university
- Bachelor's degree
- Master's degree

- Professional degree or doctorate
- Don't know

Please tell me your religion, if you have one?

- Protestant (Baptist, Methodist, Non-denominational, Lutheran, Presbyterian, Pentecostal, Episcopalian, Reformed, Church of Christ, Jehovah's Witness)
- Roman Catholic (Catholic)
- Mormon (Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints/LDS)
- Orthodox (Greek, Russian, or some other orthodox church)
- Jewish (Judaism)
- Muslim (Islam)
- Buddhist
- Hindu
- Atheist (do not believe in God)
- Agnostic (not sure if there is a God)
- Just Christian
- Unitarian (Universalist)
- Other
- Don't know

Were you born in Canada?

- Yes
- No

To what ethnic or cultural group do you belong? Choose all that apply.

- Canadian
- Irish
- British
- Chinese
- Filipino
- German
- Polish



- Dutch
- Latino
- Indian
- Ukrainian
- Korean
- French Canadian
- Inuit, Metis, Aboriginal
- Syrian
- Quebecois
- Other
- Don't know

Are you currently self-employed, working for pay, retired, unemployed, or looking for work, a student, caring for a family, or something else?

- Self-employed (with or without employees)
- Working for pay (full or part time, includes on paid leave)
- Retired
- Unemployed/looking for work
- Student
- Caring for a family
- Disabled
- Student and working for pay
- Caring for a family and working for pay
- Retired and working for pay
- Other

Please tell me which of these broad categories your total household income before taxes falls into for the year 2017? Be sure to include income from all sources to the nearest thousand dollars.

- Less than \$30,000
- Between \$30,000 and \$60,000
- Between \$60,000 and \$90,000

- Between \$90,000 and \$110,000
- More than \$110,000
- Don't know
- Prefer not to say

## Randomization

### Prompt

The prompt is randomized such that half the sample receives the prompt asking them to consider immigrants applying for (a) permanent residency while the other half receives the prompt asking them to consider immigrants applying for (b) citizenship. The text in brackets should thus be accordingly randomized.

### Conjoint Profiles

Each respondent sees and evaluates eight immigrant profiles – there are two profiles in each task and each person completes four tasks. The levels of the attributes are randomized for each immigrant using complete random assignment. In other words, there is complete random assignment of the levels of each attribute for each profile. The attributes are considered to exist in three groups: sociodemographic attributes (education, profession, country of origin, and religion), attitudinal attributes (abortion question response, environment question response, welfare question response, and gay marriage question response), and party identification.

The order of the attribute *groups* is randomized across respondents but constant within respondents. For example, one respondent will see attribute groups in the order: sociode-

mographic, party identification, attitudinal (for every profile they view), while another respondent will see attribute groups in the order: attitudinal, sociodemographic, party identification (for every profile they view). Within each attribute group, the order of the randomly assigned levels is also randomized across respondents but consistent within respondents. For example, in the attitudinal group, one respondent will see the levels in the order: abortion question response, environment question response, welfare question response, gay marriage question response (for every profile they view), while another respondent will see the levels in the order: gay marriage question response, welfare question response, abortion question response, environment question response.

Finally, whether a respondent sees the binary outcome question or the 7-point outcome questions about which immigrant they prefer is randomized across respondents but constant within respondents. For example, one respondent will always see the binary question first and the 7-point questions second. Another respondent will see the 7-point questions first and the binary question second.

## **Restrictions**

Immigrants who are Muslim cannot have Mexico, Guatemala or Poland as their countries of origin, given that the Muslim populations of these countries are less than 1%. This restriction prohibits immigrant profiles that give rise to counterfactuals too unrealistic to be meaningfully evaluated.

## **Translation Note**

English respondents will be randomized to attributes indicating the putative immigrants' fluency in *English*. In the French translation of the survey, respondents should be asked

about putative immigrants' fluency in *French*; this fact is highlighted by the (English/French) indication in the levels for Language Proficiency attribute.