



Confederation
of Tomorrow

Attachment & identity

**Environics
Institute**
For Survey Research

2025 SERIES

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The Environics Institute for Survey Research was established by Michael Adams in 2006 with a mandate to conduct in-depth public opinion and social research on the issues shaping Canada's future. It is through such research that Canadians can better understand themselves and their changing society.

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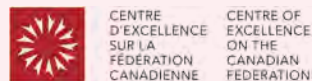


The Confederation of Tomorrow surveys give voice to Canadians about the major issues shaping the future of the federation and their political communities. They are conducted annually by an association of the country's leading public policy and socio-economic research organizations.

The 2025 study consists of a survey of 5,391 adults, conducted between May 1 and June 16, 2025 (92% of the responses were collected between May 6 and May 29); 90% of the responses were collected online. The remaining responses were collected by telephone (both landline and cell phone) from respondents living in the North or on First Nations reserves, or from francophone respondents in New Brunswick.

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This version of the report includes corrections made on July 2, 2025.



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Background

The issues of Canadian identity and unity came to the fore in the first few months of 2025, in the face of the threatening policies and pronouncements of returning U.S. president Donald Trump. Canadian citizens and political leaders vociferously rejected the president's repeated suggestion that Canada renounce its independence and join the United States. Canadian opinions of the U.S. itself soured, and many stopped buying American goods or changed their travel plans to avoid American destinations. At the same time, concern about the strength of the Canadian economy grew in the wake of the imposition of U.S. tariffs.

How did these events impact Canadians' feeling of attachment to their country? And how, if at all, did it shift the extent to which identification with Canada overshadows other regional or community identities?

The 2025 survey finds that there has been a modest increase in the strength of the Canadian identity. In some cases, however, the trend has been unfolding for several years, pre-dating the most recent events relating to Canada-U.S. relations. And, despite this change, Canadians remain as likely to feel an attachment to their province or territory as they are to feel an attachment to the country.

The 2025 survey finds that there has been a modest increase in the strength of the Canadian identity.





Key Findings

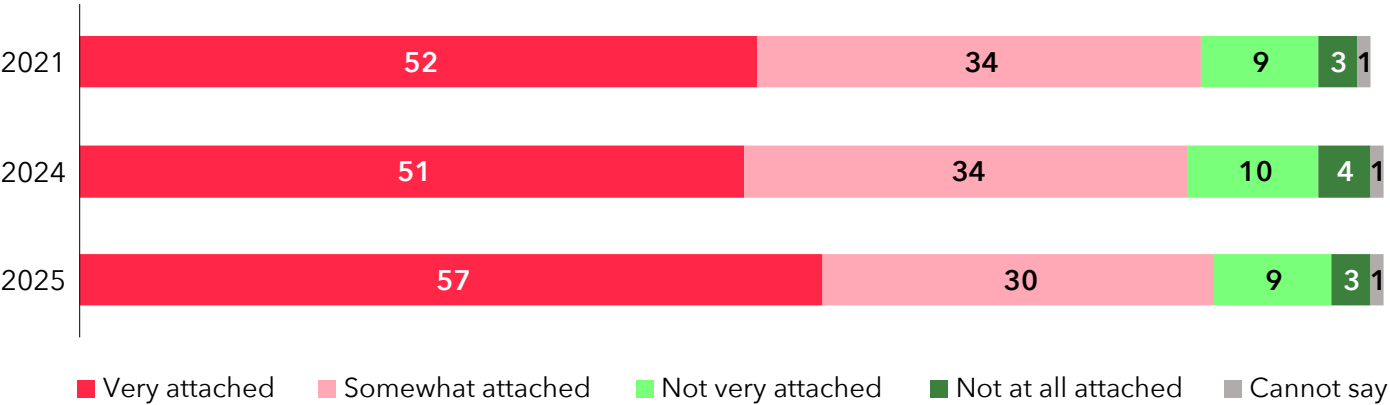
- Almost **nine in ten Canadians** (87%) say they feel either **very or somewhat attached to Canada**. A similar proportion (86%) express the same degree of attachment to the province or territory in which they live.
- Between 2024 and 2025, the proportion that say they are **very attached to Canada** has increased by six percentage points, from 51 to 57 percent.
- Four in five Canadians (79%) are at least somewhat attached **to both Canada and to their province or territory**.
- Among people who identify as Indigenous, **three in four** (74%) say they feel very or somewhat **attached to their Indigenous nation or community**. Attachment is higher among those who identify as First Nations (79%).
- In almost every province, **the proportion of residents who are very attached to Canada is greater than the proportion who are very attached to their province**. The exceptions are Newfoundland and Labrador, where residents are equally likely to say they are very attached to Canada and very attached to their province; and Quebec, where residents are much more likely to say they are very attached to their province than they are to say they are very attached to Canada.
- The proportion that **considers themselves to be a Canadian only or first**, rather than someone from their province only or first, has increased by five percentage points since last year, and is now **higher than at any time** since the Confederation of Tomorrow annual survey was launched in 2019.
- Since 2019, **a shift toward the Canadian identity is especially evident in Atlantic Canada**, and also in Alberta and British Columbia.
- In **Newfoundland and Labrador**, the proportion that considers themselves to be a Canadian only or first is, for the first time, greater than the proportion that identifies as a Newfoundlander or Labradorian only or first.
- **Seven in ten** (70%) of those who **identify as Indigenous also express a mix of identities** – identifying both as a Canadian and as an Indigenous person.
- Despite these varying identities, Canadians have one thing in common: **in every region, a majority feels their province's culture is misunderstood by the rest of the country**.

Attachment to Canada

Almost nine in ten Canadians (87%) say they feel either very or somewhat attached to Canada, including 57 percent who feel very attached. Twelve percent are not very or not at all attached to the country.

The overall level of attachment has changed very little since 2024 (from 84% to 87%); however, the proportion that say they are very attached to Canada has increased by six percentage points, from 51 to 57 percent.

Figure 1
Attachment to Canada
Canada, 2021 - 2025



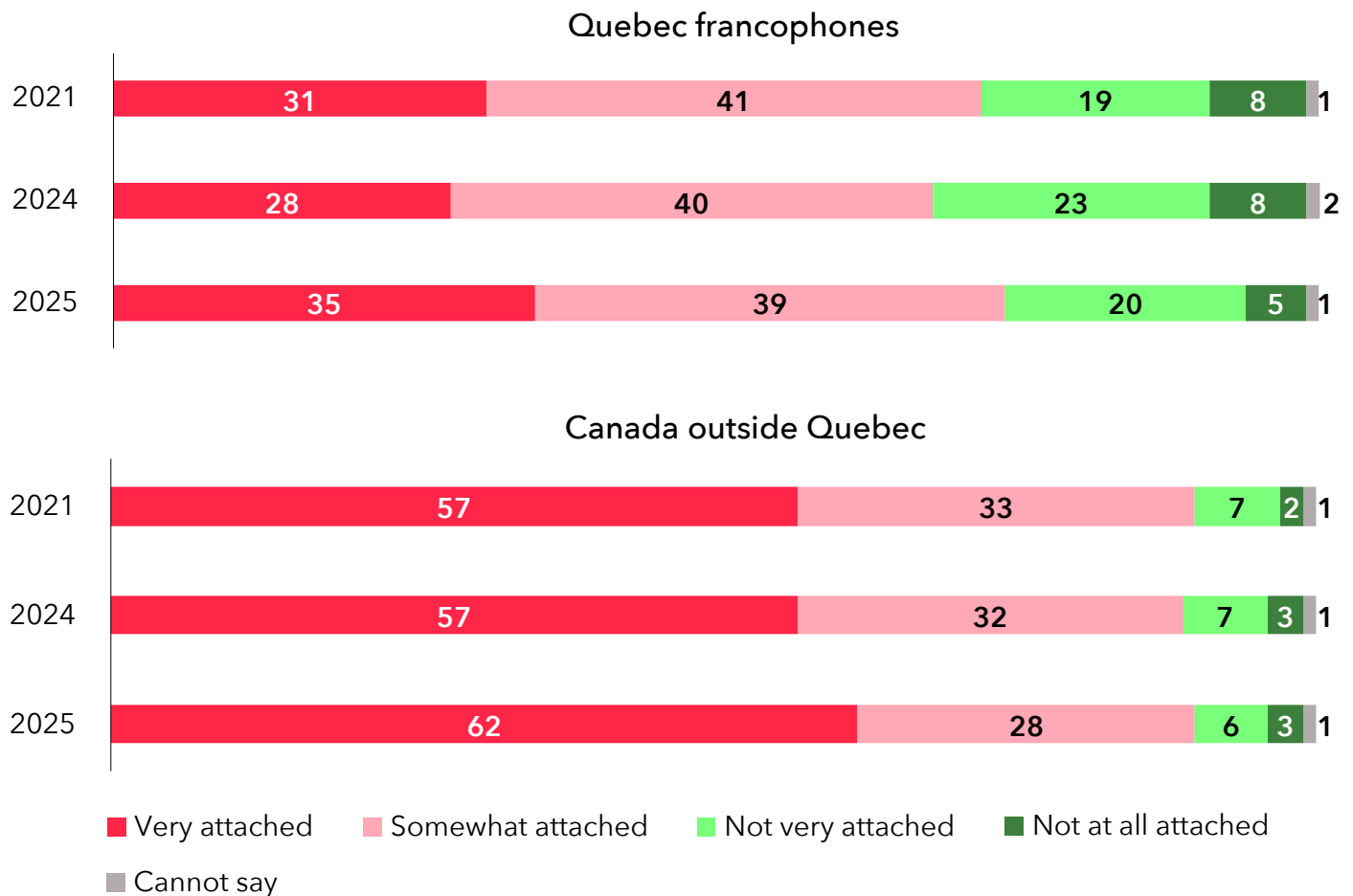
How attached do you feel to each of the following: to Canada?

Strong attachment to Canada remains much higher outside Quebec (62%) than among Quebec francophones (35%); however, the proportion expressing this degree of attachment has increased by similar amounts in both cases (by 5 and 7 points, respectively).

Figure 2

Attachment to Canada

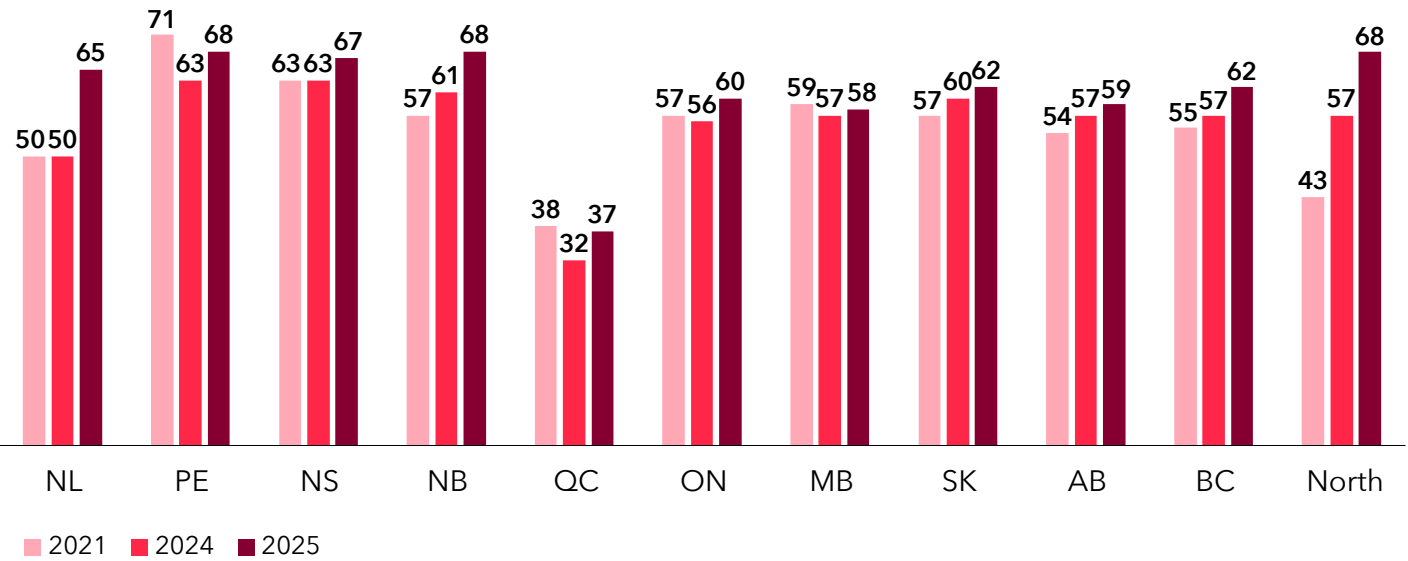
2021 - 2025, Quebec and the rest of Canada



How attached do you feel to each of the following: to Canada?

Roughly nine in ten residents of every province outside Quebec feel either very or somewhat attached to Canada. And in every province, as well as in the North, the proportion that feels very attached to Canada has increased since 2024 (ranging from a 15-percentage point increase in Newfoundland and Labrador, to only an insignificant one-point increase in Manitoba).

Figure 3
Very attached to Canada
2021 - 2025, by province/territory



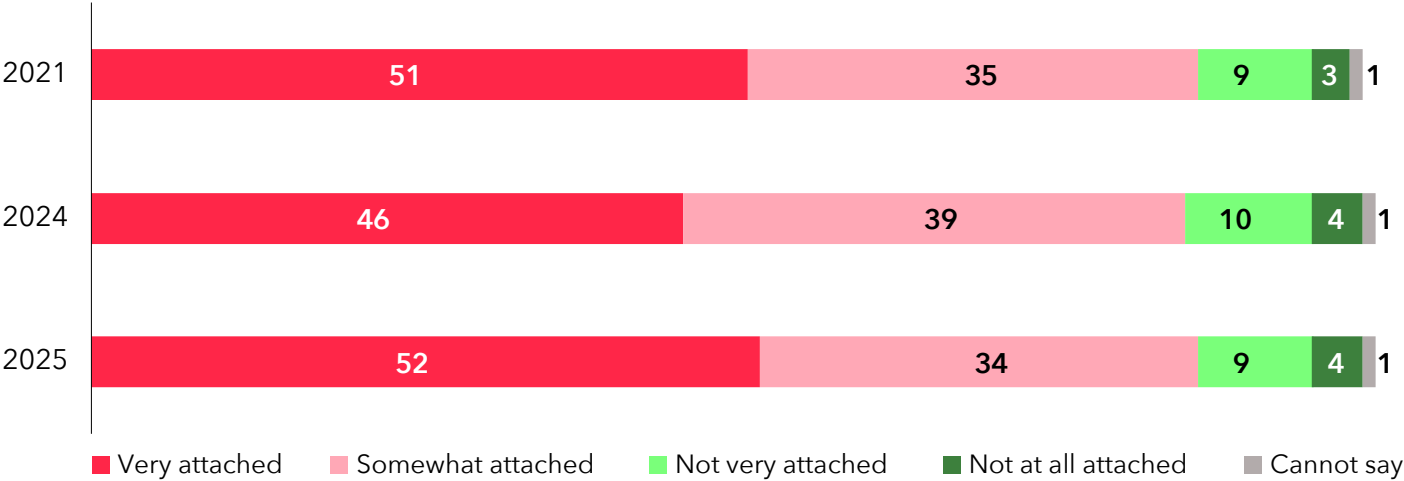
How attached do you feel to each of the following: to Canada?



Attachment to province or territory

Canadians also express a similar degree of attachment to the province or territory in which they live: 86 percent are very or somewhat attached, including 52 percent who are very attached. The overall level of strong attachment to one’s province or territory is up by six points compared to 2024.

Figure 4
Attachment to province or territory
Canada, 2021 - 2025



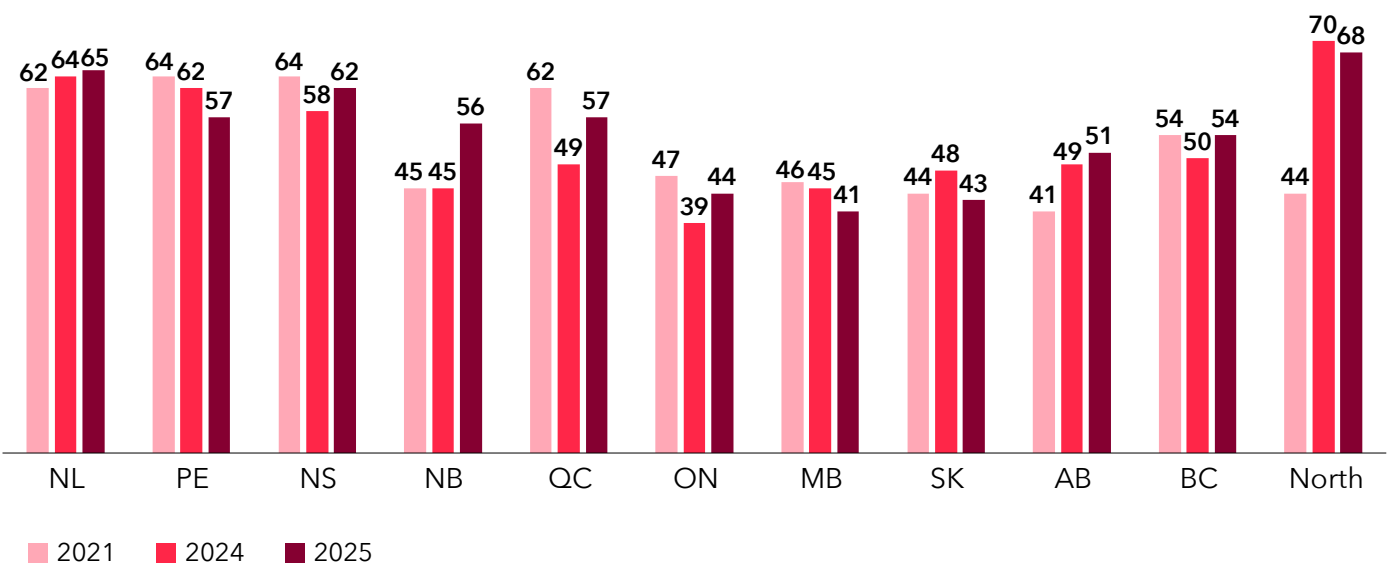
How attached do you feel to each of the following: to [name of province or territory]?

Quebecers (57%), and particularly francophone Quebecers (62%), are more likely than Canadians outside the province (50%) to say they are very attached to their province or territory. However, it is currently in the North where the level of strong attachment to one’s province or territory is the highest (68%). Also, the proportion that are very attached to their province is as high in Newfoundland and Labrador (65%), and in Nova Scotia (62%) as it is in Quebec.

Figure 5

Very attached to province or territory

2021 - 2025, by province/territory



How attached do you feel to each of the following: to [name of province or territory]?

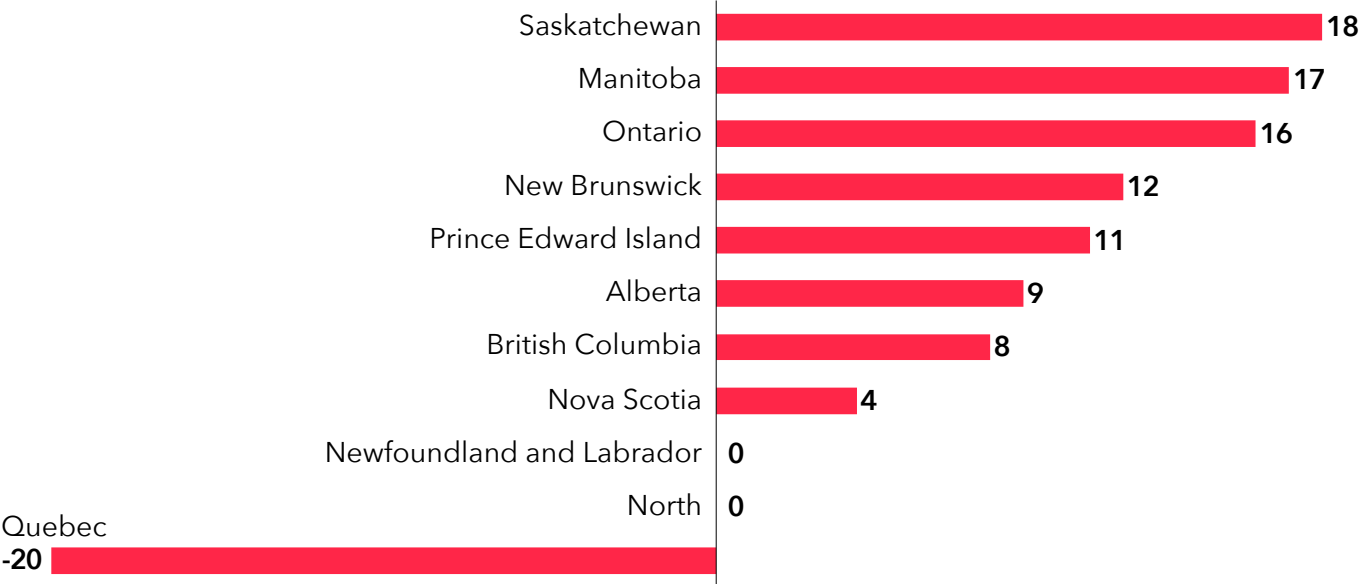
In almost every province, the proportion of residents who are very attached to Canada is greater than the proportion who are very attached to their province. The difference is greatest in Saskatchewan (18 percentage points), Manitoba (17 points) and Ontario (16 points).

In Newfoundland and Labrador, residents are equally likely to say they are very attached to Canada and very attached to their province. This is also the case in the North (in terms of attachment to territory).

The main exception to the pattern is Quebec, where residents are much more likely (by 20 points) to say they are very attached to their province than they are to say they are very attached to Canada.

In almost every province, the proportion of residents who are very attached to Canada is greater than proportion who are very attached to their province.

Figure 6
Very attached to Canada minus very attached to province/territory
(difference in percentage points)
2025, by province/territory



Overlapping attachments

Four in five Canadians (79%) are at least somewhat attached to *both Canada and to their province or territory*. This figure is lower in Quebec (66%) and higher outside of the province (82%).

Overall, 39 percent across the country are *very attached* to both Canada and to their province or territory. The proportion that feels this strong attachment to both is highest in Prince Edward Island (57%) and Nova Scotia (57%), and lowest in Quebec (27%).

One in five francophone Quebecers (20%) are attached to their province but not to Canada. Outside Quebec, only four percent share this sentiment. In no province outside Quebec do more than seven percent of residents feel this way.

Table 1
Combined attachment to Canada and to province or territory

| | Very attached to Canada and to province | Very attached to Canada / somewhat attached to province | Very attached to province / somewhat attached to Canada | Somewhat attached to both | Attached to Canada / not attached to province | Attached to province / not attached to Canada | Not attached to either | Cannot say to either or both |
|---------------------------|---|---|---|---------------------------|---|---|------------------------|------------------------------|
| Prince Edward Island | 57 | 14 | 5 | 14 | 0 | 0 | 10 | 0 |
| Nova Scotia | 57 | 8 | 6 | 15 | 4 | 4 | 4 | 1 |
| Newfoundland and Labrador | 53 | 9 | 11 | 13 | 7 | 4 | 1 | 3 |
| North | 52 | 13 | 12 | 9 | 4 | 7 | 2 | 1 |
| New Brunswick | 50 | 15 | 5 | 18 | 6 | 2 | 5 | 0 |
| British Columbia | 46 | 14 | 6 | 19 | 5 | 4 | 4 | 2 |
| Ontario | 38 | 19 | 5 | 19 | 9 | 2 | 7 | 1 |
| Alberta | 37 | 16 | 10 | 15 | 11 | 7 | 3 | 1 |
| Manitoba | 36 | 20 | 5 | 18 | 9 | 2 | 9 | 1 |
| Saskatchewan | 36 | 22 | 7 | 17 | 9 | 5 | 3 | 1 |
| Quebec | 27 | 6 | 18 | 15 | 9 | 17 | 5 | 2 |
| Canada | 39 | 14 | 9 | 16 | 8 | 7 | 5 | 1 |
| Quebec francophones | 28 | 4 | 20 | 16 | 6 | 20 | 5 | 2 |
| Rest of Canada | 42 | 17 | 7 | 17 | 8 | 4 | 5 | 1 |

Note: "Attached" combines "very" and "somewhat" attached. "Not attached" combines "not very attached" and "not at all attached"

Attachment to Indigenous nation or community

Among people who identify as Indigenous, three in four (74%) say they feel very or somewhat attached to their Indigenous nation or community, including 44 percent who feel very attached and 30 percent who feel somewhat attached.

Attachment is considerably higher among those who identify as First Nations (79% feel attached to their Indigenous nation or community, including 49% who feel very attached) and somewhat lower among those who identify as Métis (65% feel attached, including 31% who feel very attached). Among First Nations people living on-reserve, attachment reaches 91 percent, including 65 percent who feel very attached to their Indigenous nation or community.

As with other Canadians, Indigenous Peoples have overlapping attachments. About seven in ten Indigenous Peoples (68%) say they are very or somewhat attached to both Canada and to their Indigenous nation or community (the figure is slightly higher for First Nations people, at 72%). By comparison, 19 percent are attached to Canada but not to their Indigenous nation or community, and only six percent are attached to their Indigenous nation or community but not to Canada (for First Nations people, the figures are 16% and 6%, respectively).

68% of Indigenous Peoples say they are very or somewhat attached to both Canada and to their Indigenous nation or community (the figure is slightly higher for First Nations people, at 72%).



Canadian and provincial identities

While many Canadians feel attached to both the country and to their province, some may identify more with one than the other. To explore this, the survey asks whether they consider themselves to be:

- A Canadian only;
- A Canadian first, but also as someone from your province;
- Equally a Canadian and someone from your province;
- Someone from your province first, but also a Canadian;
- Someone from your province only.¹

In 2025, about one in two (48%) Canadians consider themselves to be a Canadian only or first, 25 percent say they are equally a Canadian and someone from their province, and 24 percent identify with their province only or first.

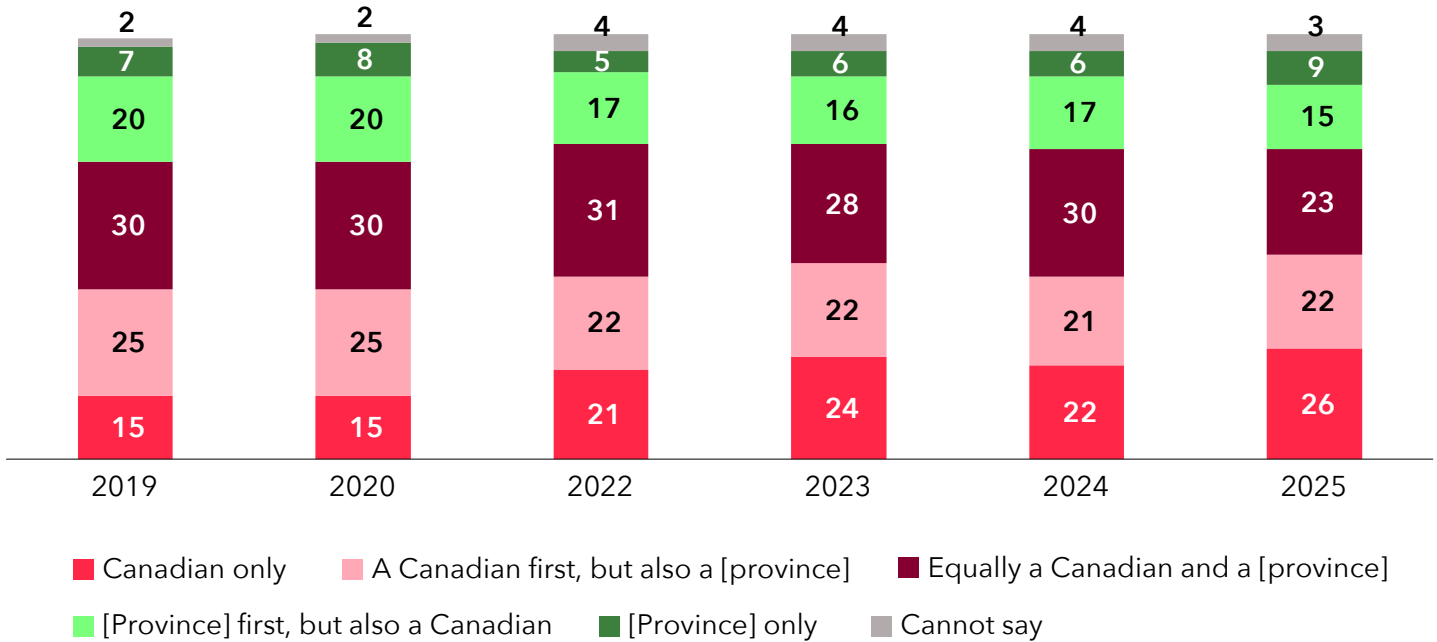
Another way to look at the results is to combine those who choose both identities to some degree, and those who choose only one. A majority (63%) consider themselves to be both a Canadian and someone from their province, while 34 percent prefer to think of themselves as only one or the other.

¹ In the survey, the words “someone from your province” are replaced with the appropriate term for residents of each province, for instance, an Albertan, a Quebecer or a Nova Scotian. This question was not asked in the territories. This question is only asked to people who are not Indigenous, as Indigenous Peoples are asked a separate question.

Figure 7

Identity: Canadian, provincial or both?

Canada, 2019 - 2025



People have different ways of defining themselves. Do you consider yourself to be: A Canadian only; A Canadian first, but also someone from your province; Equally a Canadian and someone from your province; Someone from your province, but also a Canadian; Someone from your province only. (Non-Indigenous respondents only; not asked in the territories).

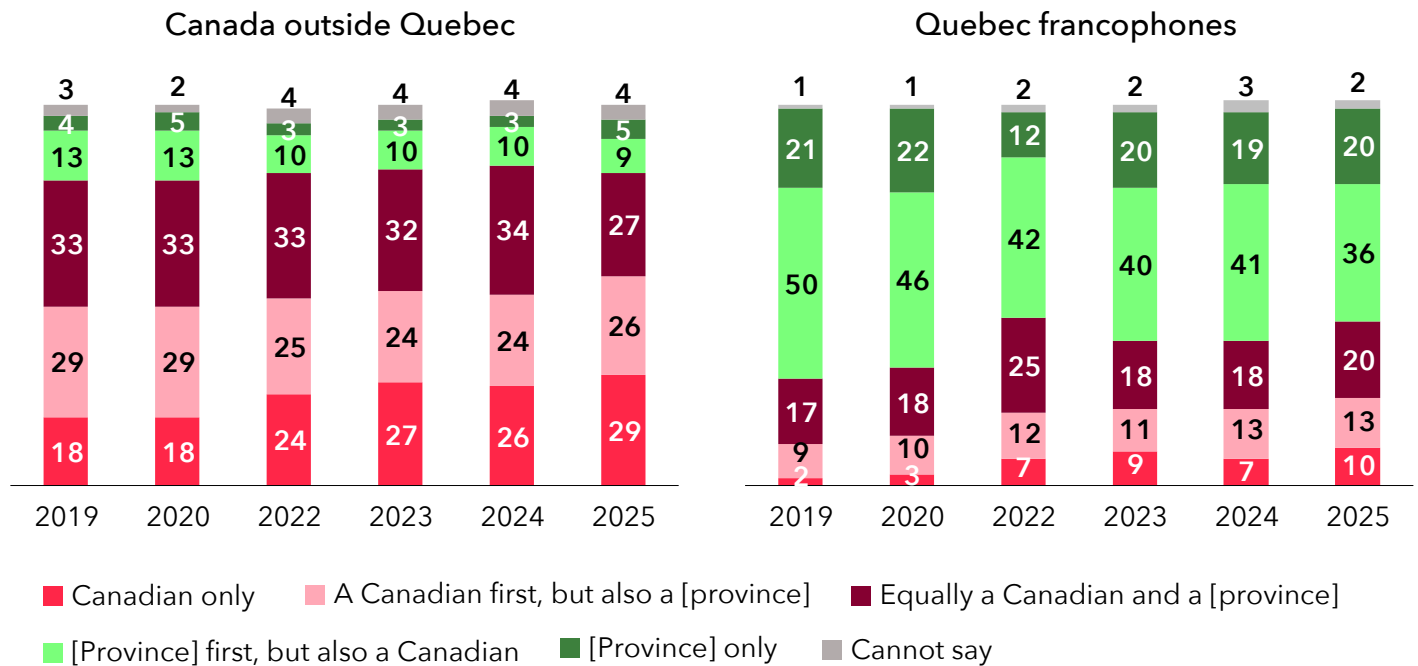
The proportion that considers themselves to be a Canadian only or first has increased by five percentage points since last year, and is now higher than at any time since the Confederation of Tomorrow annual survey was launched in 2019. This trend is apparent both outside Quebec and among Quebec francophones.

The proportion that considers themselves to be a Canadian only or first has increased by five percentage points since last year, and is now higher than at any time since the Confederation of Tomorrow annual survey was launched in 2019.

Figure 8

Identity: Canadian, provincial or both?

2019 - 2025, Quebec and the rest of Canada



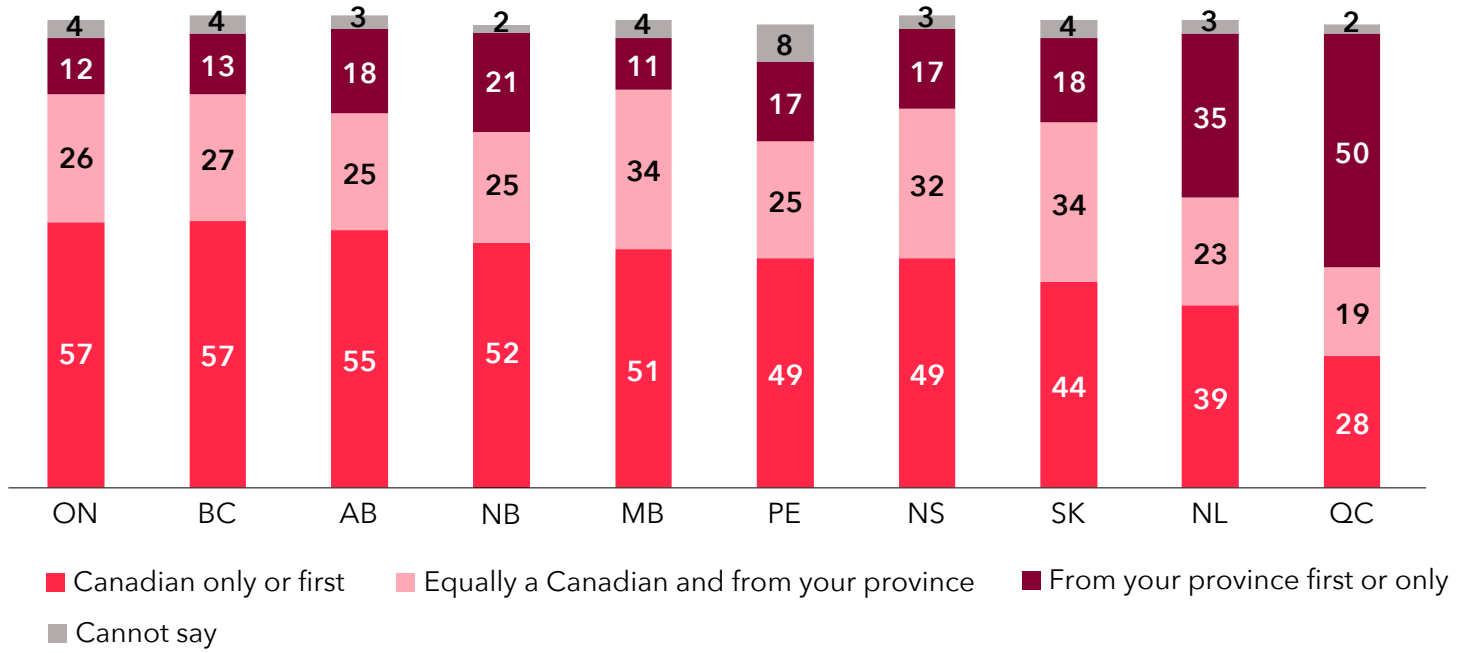
People have different ways of defining themselves. Do you consider yourself to be: A Canadian only; A Canadian first, but also someone from your province; Equally a Canadian and someone from your province; Someone from your province, but also a Canadian; Someone from your province only. (Non-Indigenous respondents only; not asked in the territories).

The relative mix of Canadian and provincial identities, however, continues to vary significantly across the country. The proportion that identifies as a Canadian only or first is highest in Ontario (57%), British Columbia (57%) and Alberta (55%). The proportion that identifies as someone from their province only or first is highest in Newfoundland and Labrador (35%), and in Quebec (50% - the figure for francophones in Quebec is 56%).

Figure 9

Identity: Canadian, provincial or both?

2025, by province



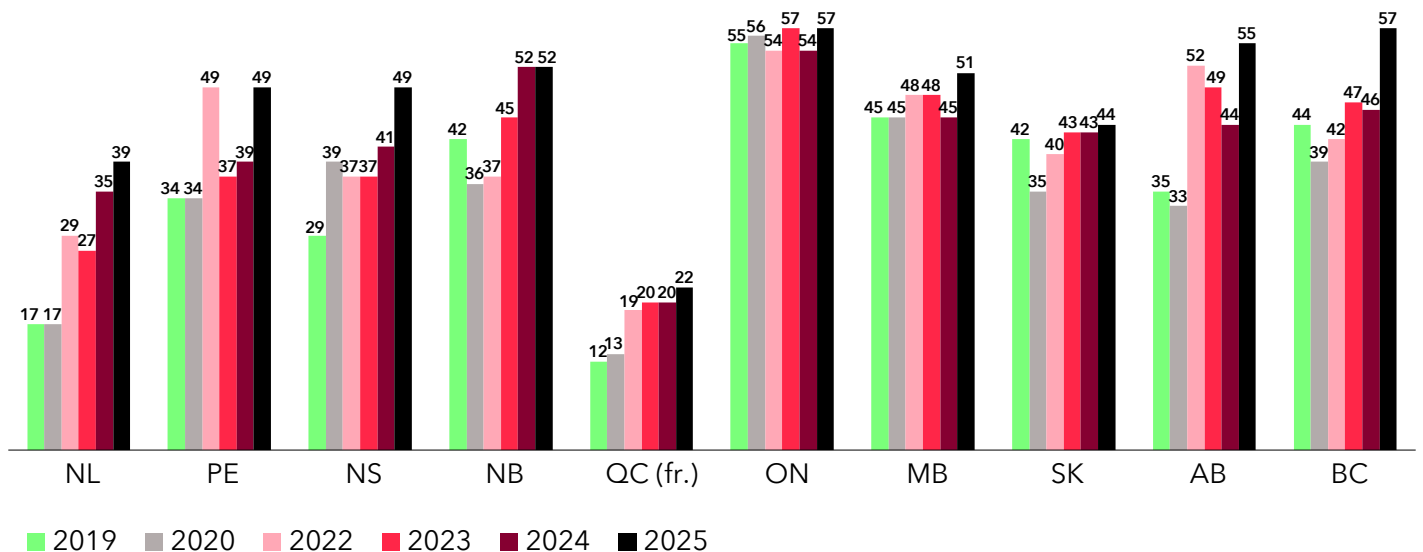
People have different ways of defining themselves. Do you consider yourself to be: A Canadian only; A Canadian first, but also someone from your province; Equally a Canadian and someone from your province; Someone from your province, but also a Canadian; Someone from your province only. (Non-Indigenous respondents only; not asked in the territories).

While the proportion identifying as a Canadian only or first has increased by five percentage points overall since last year, the change is greater in Alberta (up 11 points), British Columbia (up 11 points) and Prince Edward Island (up 10 points).

Figure 10

Identity: Canadian only or first

2019 - 2025, by province



People have different ways of defining themselves. Do you consider yourself to be: A Canadian only; A Canadian first, but also someone from your province; Equally a Canadian and someone from your province; Someone from your province, but also a Canadian; Someone from your province only. (Non-Indigenous respondents only; not asked in the territories).

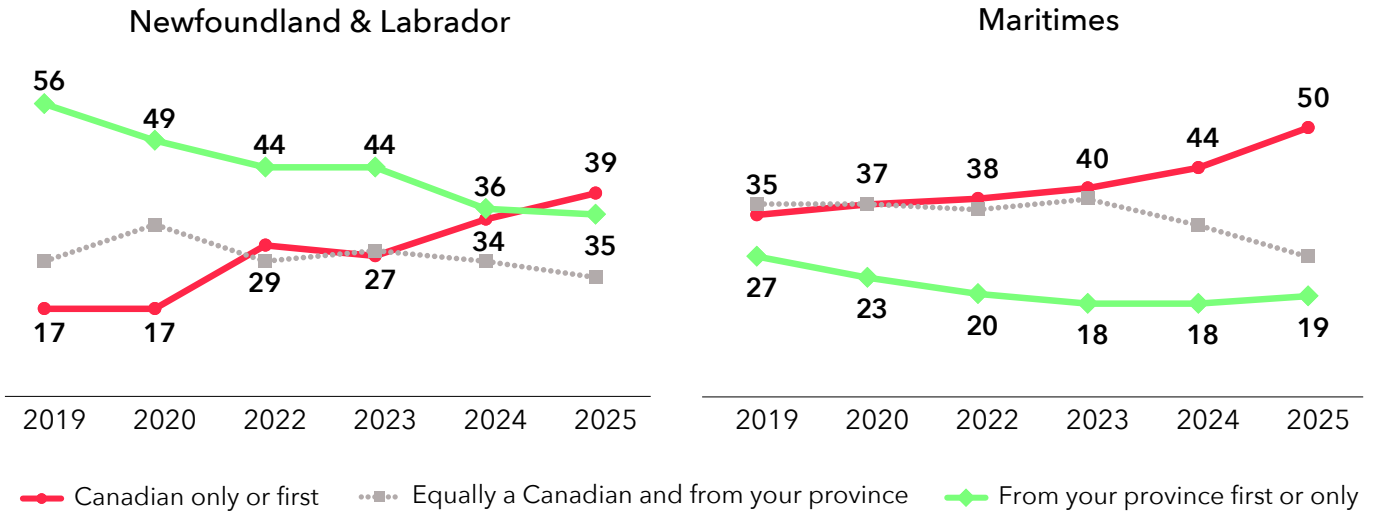
Over the longer term, a shift toward the Canadian identity is especially evident in Atlantic Canada, and also in Alberta and British Columbia.

In Newfoundland and Labrador, the proportion that considers themselves to be a Canadian only or first has more than doubled since 2019, from 17 percent to 39 percent. And in 2025, this proportion is, for the first time, greater than the proportion that identifies as a Newfoundlander or Labradorian only or first.

Figure 11

Identity: Canadian, provincial or both?

2019 - 2025, Atlantic Canada



People have different ways of defining themselves. Do you consider yourself to be: A Canadian only; A Canadian first, but also one from your province; Equally a Canadian and someone from your province; Someone from your province, but also a Canadian; Someone from your province only. (Non-Indigenous respondents only; not asked in the territories).

The same trend is evident in the three Maritime provinces. In 2019, the gap in the Maritimes between the proportion identifying as Canadian only or first, and the proportion identifying as someone from their province only or first, was eight percentage points. In 2025, this gap now stands at 31 points.

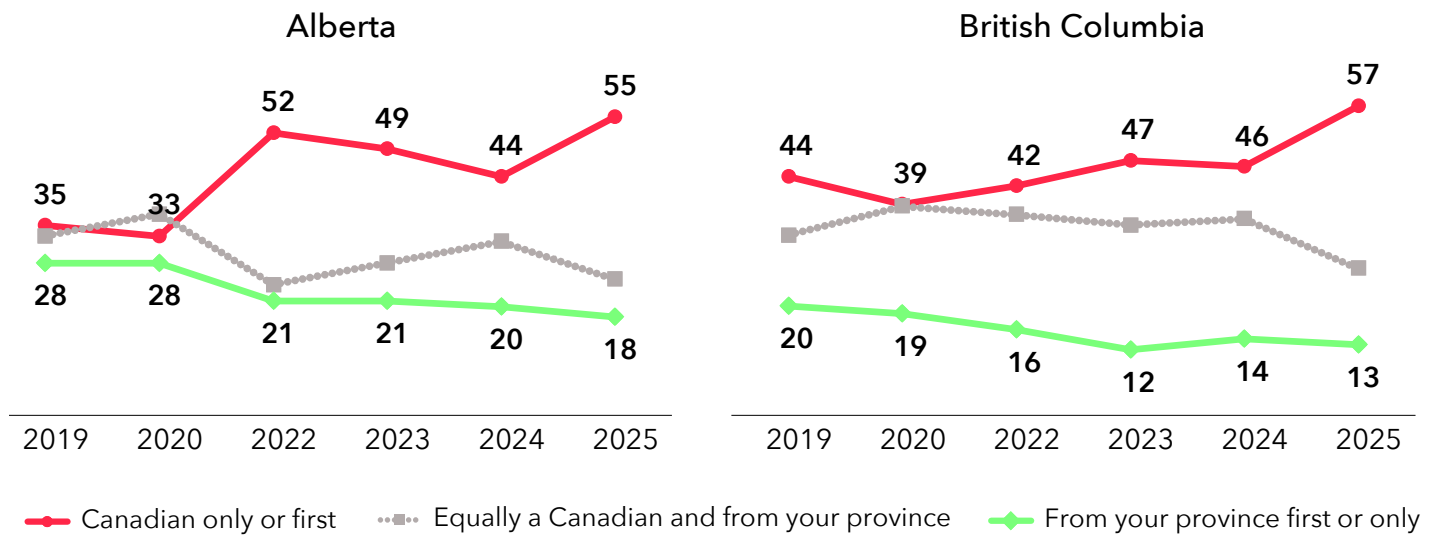
The gap between the two types of identity is also growing in Alberta and B.C. In Alberta, a sharper swing toward the Canadian identity first took place between 2020 and 2022, and then abated somewhat before the latest increase between 2024 and 2025. In 2020, the gap between the proportion of Albertans identifying as Canadian only or first, and the proportion identifying as someone from their province only or first, was as low as five points – but in 2025 this gap now stands at 37 points.

In B.C., there was a gradual shift toward the Canadian identity between 2020 and 2024, preceding the larger recent increase between 2024 and 2025.

Figure 12

Identity: Canadian, provincial or both?

2019 – 2025, Alberta and B.C.



People have different ways of defining themselves. Do you consider yourself to be: A Canadian only; A Canadian first, but also someone from your province; Equally a Canadian and someone from your province; Someone from your province, but also a Canadian; Someone from your province only. (Non-Indigenous respondents only; not asked in the territories).

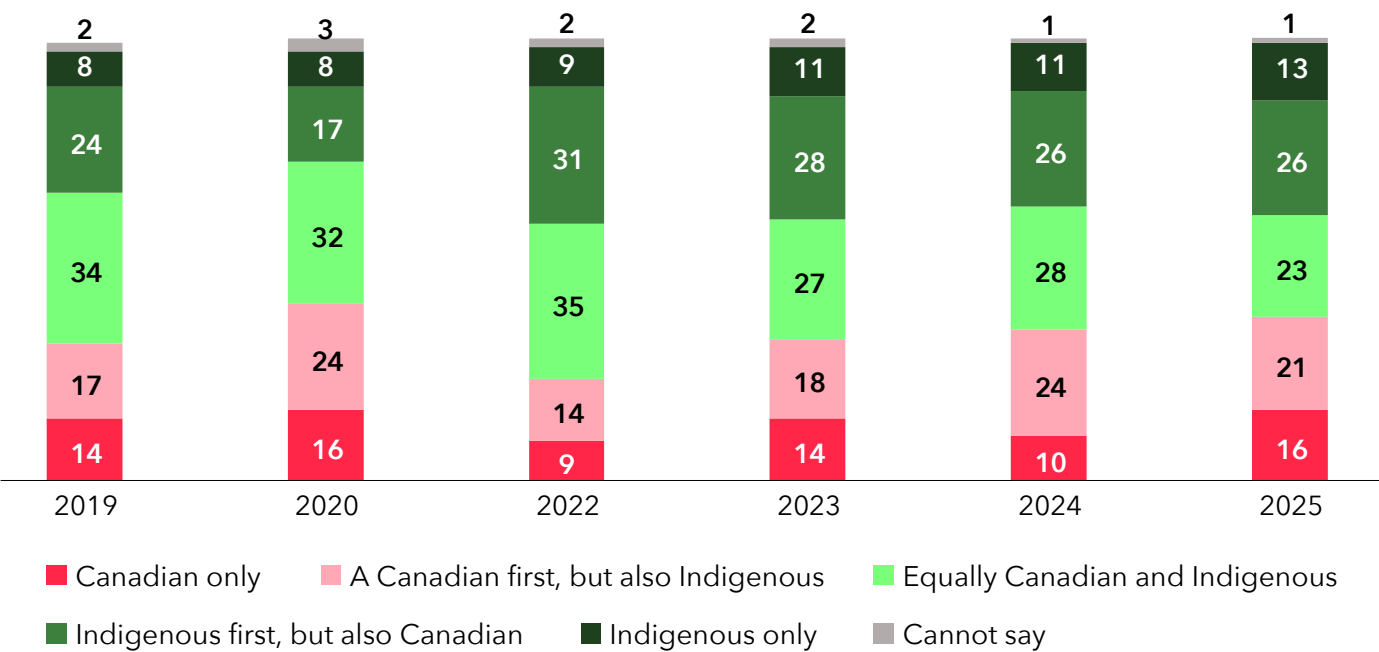
In both provinces, it is possible that the most recent increase in the proportions considering themselves to be a Canadian only or first was in part a reaction to the threats to Canadian sovereignty emanating from U.S. president Donald Trump. But in both cases, the start of the general trend dates back earlier.

Indigenous and Canadian identities

Most people who identify as Indigenous also express a mix of identities – in this case, identifying both as a Canadian and as an Indigenous person. Seven in ten (70%) consider themselves to be both a Canadian and an Indigenous person, compared to 29 percent who identify as only one or the other.

Currently, 39 percent of Indigenous Peoples consider themselves to be an Indigenous person only or first, 36 percent consider themselves to be a Canadian only or first, and 23 percent consider themselves to be equally a Canadian and an Indigenous person. The proportion identifying as an Indigenous person only or first is much higher among First Nations people (48%) than among those who identify as Métis (23%). Conversely, identification as a Canadian only or first is higher among Métis people (47%) than among those who are First Nations (31%).

Figure 13
Indigenous and Canadian identities
2019 – 2025, Indigenous respondents only



People have different ways of defining themselves. Do you consider yourself to be: A Canadian only; A Canadian first, but also an Indigenous person; Equally a Canadian and an Indigenous person; An Indigenous person first, but also a Canadian; or an Indigenous person only.



Most people who identify as Indigenous also express a mix of identities – in this case, identifying both as a Canadian and as an Indigenous person.

Over the period covered by the annual surveys, which began in 2019, there has been a decline in the proportion of Indigenous Peoples considering themselves to be equally a Canadian and an Indigenous person. This proportion has dropped from 34 percent in 2019 to 23 percent in 2025. The proportion considering themselves to be an Indigenous person only or first has increased somewhat (from 32% in 2019 to 39% in 2025), as has the proportion considering themselves to be a Canadian only or first (from 31% in 2019 to 36% in 2025).

Feeling misunderstood

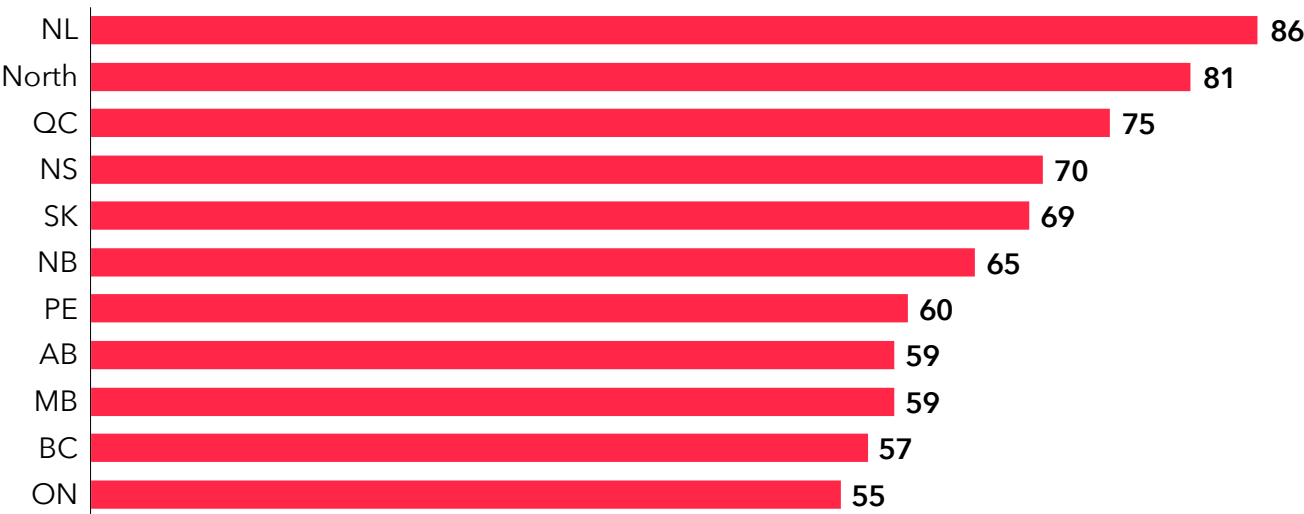
Despite these varying identities, Canadians have one thing in common: in every region, a majority feels misunderstood by the rest of the country.

In 2025, 64 percent of Canadians strongly or somewhat agree that their province or territory “has a distinct culture that is often misunderstood by people living in the rest of Canada.” Agreement ranges from a high of 86 percent in Newfoundland and Labrador, to a low of 55 percent in Ontario.

Figure 14

Agree: my province / territory has a distinct culture that is often misunderstood by people living in the rest of Canada

2025, by province/territory



Agree / disagree: [Name of Province/Territory] has a distinct culture that is often misunderstood by people living in the rest of Canada

Since the question was first asked in 2022, overall agreement has increased somewhat, from 56 percent to 64 percent.

The feeling of being misunderstood is more pronounced among those who consider themselves to be someone from their province only or first (79%), compared to someone who considers themselves be a Canadian only or first (53%). But, in both cases, a majority agrees that their province or territory has a distinct culture that is often misunderstood.



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