

Report on Attitudes and Perceptions of Race Relations and Issues for Cultural Groups in Sudbury

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- Contact interculturel francophone de Sudbury
- BA Native Studies students
- MSW and BSW students taking research courses in social work during 2003-2004

**ATTITUDES AND PERCEPTIONS OF RACE RELATIONS
AND ISSUES FOR CULTURAL GROUPS IN SUDBURY**

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EXECUTIVE SUMMARY

This research project examined attitudes to various cultural groups and experiences of stereotyping and discrimination among key linguistic and cultural groups in the City of Greater Sudbury including Aboriginal people, Francophones, and visible minorities. The attitudes and perspectives of Anglophones of European origins toward these groups were also examined.

The study was conducted between December 2003 and March 2004. In the first phase of the study, 270 residents of the City of Greater Sudbury (CGS) completed questionnaires for the Neighbourhood Survey. The sample includes residents from various areas of the city as well as the outlying communities. A majority of the respondents were women (61%). The average (mean) age of the participants was 49 while the range was 20 to 88 years. The sample was diverse in terms of educational attainment and included those with varying levels of education from less than a high school education to graduate level university degrees. Most respondents reported French origins (28%), British Isles origins (26%), or Canadian origins (16%). A fifth of the sample (20%) mentioned European origins. Four percent of the respondents (n=29) reported that they were Inuit, Metis, or North American/Status Indian. One percent stated that they were of Latin American, African, or Asian origins. Taking into account the multiple responses given about the languages spoken “well enough to conduct a conversation,” nearly all of the respondents (98%) stated that they can speak English, and 41 percent reported that they can speak French. Students from various programs at Laurentian University and different cultural streams (i.e. Anglophone, Francophone and Native) also completed the same self-administered questionnaire that was used in the Neighbourhood Survey. In total, 141 students participated in the survey. The second phase of the study involved surveys of three groups—Aboriginal people, visible minorities and Francophones. The sample of 134 participants included 44 Aboriginals, 40 Francophones and 50 members of visible minority groups. In the third phase of the study, group interviews (focus group discussions) and individual interviews were conducted to obtain qualitative data on the perspectives and experiences of Aboriginal people, Francophones, and visible minorities regarding experiences of discrimination in Sudbury.

Results

- 47% of the participants of the Neighbourhood Survey reported that their ancestry was important or very important to them. A slightly larger proportion (52%) stated that their ethnic or cultural identity was very important. These findings are consistent with Statistics Canada’s (2003) recent survey on ethnic diversity which showed that half of Canadians reported a “strong sense of belonging to their ethnic or cultural group.”
- 57% of Francophones reported a strong connection to their cultural group. These results are similar to the finding by Statistics Canada (2003) that 60 percent of French Canadians were strongly connected to their cultural group. Aboriginal people (87%) and members of visible minorities (88%) reported a much stronger sense of connection to their ethnic or cultural group than did Anglophones and Francophones.

Residents’ Attitudes towards Aboriginal People

- 42% held the view that the gains made by Aboriginal people in the areas of land, hunting, and fishing rights are excessive.
- 54% opposed affirmative action policies to improve employment opportunities for Aboriginals.

- 44% denied that there is systemic discrimination within large corporations.
- About a third of the participants believed that Aboriginal people's problems within the labour market stem from a lack of effort, lack of emphasis on education and training, and unwillingness to take available low paid jobs and work their way up.
- About a third to half of the respondents reported beliefs that are consistent with negative stereotypes of Aboriginal people: a lack of self-respect and respect for others among Aboriginal teenagers and adults, weakness and instability in Aboriginal families as the root cause of Aboriginal problems, poor school achievement for Aboriginal children stemming from parents' attitudes about learning.

Residents' Attitudes towards Visible Minorities

- There was somewhat less opposition (prejudice) expressed toward visible minorities compared to Aboriginals.
- About a third denied that structural forms of discrimination impact on the employment opportunities and promotions for visible minorities.
- 50% believed that visible minorities should simply take any available job and then work their way up.
- 57% opposed affirmative action policies to improve job prospects for visible minorities.

Positive Responses to Aboriginal People and Visible Minorities

- Approximately half of the respondents favoured expressions of respect to Aboriginal people by governments and the news media, indicated that they understood the anger of Aboriginal people, acknowledged that forms of discrimination exist, supported economic benefits that Aboriginals have received in recent years, and supported Aboriginal demands for change and equal rights.
- Between a third to half of the respondents also provided positive ratings of these aspects for visible minorities.

Residents' Attitudes on Discrimination and Diversity

- Between 25 to 45 percent of the respondents indicated that discrimination against ethnic minorities is non-existent or exaggerated, is caused by members of ethnic minorities themselves, or that accusations of discrimination are used by ethnic minorities to improve their own situation.
- 41% were concerned that reverse discrimination against the dominant cultural groups is as much a problem as discrimination against minorities.
- 57% believed that hard work is all that is required to succeed in Canada.
- 47% agreed that it is important to learn about the cultures of ethnic minorities.
- 28% rejected the view that ethnic activist groups are a negative force in race-relations.

Anglophone Residents' Attitudes towards Francophones

- Results suggest that there was considerable resentment of Francophones.
- 52% asserted that underqualified Francophones are given preferential treatment in hiring.
- 50% stated that Francophones expect preferential treatment from officials.
- 54% disagreed that Francophone issues in Sudbury are poorly understood by the community.
- Over a third believed that Francophones exaggerate the extent of cultural inequality and discrimination they experience and that Francophones are prejudiced against the majority Anglophone population.

- A third of the respondents also expressed disapproval of financial aid and public services provided to Francophones.

Participation in the Community: Comparison of Neighbourhood Sample and Cultural Groups

- Whereas a majority of those in the Neighbourhood Survey (65%) had never felt out of place due to their cultural heritage, this was indicated by a minority of those in the Cultural Groups Survey (39%). Using the same measure, Statistics Canada (2003) reported that 78% of Canadians had never felt out-of-place because of their cultural background.
- Less than a sixth of Anglophones and Francophones stated that they felt uncomfortable because of their cultural background but 46 percent of visible minorities and 61 percent of Aboriginals stated that they felt out-of-place some, most, or all of the time for this reason. In contrast, Statistics Canada (2003) reported that 24% of visible minorities in Canada felt uncomfortable because of their ethnic or cultural background.
- 70% of Aboriginals and 36 percent of visible minorities stated that they had been treated unfairly in Sudbury during the last five years because of their culture or race. A majority of Aboriginals (58%) said that they have been unfairly treated sometimes or often while nearly half of visible minorities (48%) reported such treatment sometimes or often. The Statistics Canada (2003) survey on ethnic diversity showed much lower rates of discrimination by visible minorities; the national study indicated that about 20 percent of visible minorities experienced discrimination sometimes or often in the previous five years.

Aboriginal and Visible Minority Experiences of Discrimination and Racism

- About two-thirds of Aboriginal and visible minority people reported that they are affected by racism in Sudbury; 76% of Aboriginal respondents stated that they are affected by racism.
- 62% stated that people of their race have been discriminated against (86% of Aboriginals reported discrimination against people of their race).
- 47% believed that many people in Sudbury are prejudiced (58% of Aboriginal respondents).
- 46% stated that they had heard negative comments at work or school about their race or another race (57% of Aboriginals).
- Only 46% believed that teachers and school staff treat everyone the same regardless of race (31% of Aboriginals).
- 70% of those who have observed race- or culture-based discrimination saw it happen in a store or restaurant in Sudbury.
- 69% of those who have experienced race- or culture-based discrimination stated that it happened in a store or restaurant in Sudbury.
- 23% of Aboriginal respondents stated that they experience discrimination very often.

Participants' Recommendations for Change

The participants of the interviews and the Cultural Groups survey made recommendations for change in Sudbury to address prejudice and discrimination. These recommendations pertained to four areas:

- education and public awareness;
- developing and implementing programs at the community and organizational level;
- government leadership and legislative change; and
- individual change (speaking out against discrimination and racism).

ATTITUDES AND PERCEPTIONS OF RACE RELATIONS AND ISSUES FOR CULTURAL GROUPS IN SUDBURY

INTRODUCTION

The broad issue of race relations in the City of Greater Sudbury has not been adequately addressed from a research perspective. A previous study conducted by the Social Planning Council of Sudbury (SPCS) of racism among seniors (Kauppi & Pallard, 2000) demonstrated that many of the project participants could not articulate an awareness of the range of attitudes toward various ethnic and cultural groups in the community or even acknowledge their own experiences of marginalization and exclusion as comprising forms of stereotyping and discrimination.

A recent research project conducted on homelessness by the SPCS has shown that homeless Aboriginal women described discrimination as a key factor contributing to the problems they experience (Kauppi, 2003). A study conducted in Thunder Bay (Haluza-Delay, 2002) also provided evidence about the extent of discrimination in a Northern community; the study showed that Aboriginal and visible minority community members believed that they had experienced discrimination in retail environments, from the police, in the educational institutions, at work, and when receiving services from government, health care providers, and other organizations. The populations of Sudbury and Thunder Bay are similar with respect to the proportion of residents who are members of a visible minority group (about 2%). In both cities, the size of the Aboriginal population (5% in Sudbury and 7% in Thunder Bay) is more than double that of the visible minority population. However, a key difference between the two cities pertains to the size of the Francophone community; in Thunder Bay, those with Aboriginal identity outnumber Francophones whereas Sudbury has a large French-speaking population (about 30% of the total).

While our prior reports on homelessness have provided information about forms of discrimination experienced by Aboriginal people in Sudbury, a systematic study of the issue has not been conducted. New research is required in order to describe the experiences of Aboriginal people and members of the visible minority population. By conducting a study in Sudbury that gathers some of the same data as the earlier study in Thunder Bay, trends and patterns in the two Northern communities can be compared. The study can also provide information required to inform local policy making on the issue and can strengthen efforts to mobilize community action.

When examining the relationships between cultural groups in Sudbury, it is important to consider the nature of relations between Francophones and Anglophones. Heller (1999) has drawn attention to the struggles for voice among Franco-Ontarians who live within largely unilingual Anglophone social settings. Francophones face contradictions associated, on the one hand, with an emerging globalizing perspective that emphasizes pluralism and “French as an economic resource” but, on the other, with the challenges of maintaining the authenticity and integrity of the French language (Heller, 1999, p. 336). Indeed, much Canadian research has revealed the volatile nature of the language issue. Parkin & Turcotte (2004) have reported that most Anglophones express general support for the concept of bilingualism; however, commitment to bilingualism policies may decrease when there is an indication that substantial resources are required to support bilingualism or when

it is feared that bilingualism policies will impact negatively on the employment opportunities of those who do not speak French. Consideration of the relationships between the dominant Anglophone population and the sizable Francophone minority group is a vital dimension of any study on cultural groups in Sudbury.

In examining relations between racial and ethnic/cultural groups, definitional issues must be addressed. *Ethnic groups* are differentiated from each other on the basis of elements of culture (such as language and traditions) and ancestry. In contrast, the term *race* focuses on skin colour and other physical characteristics but is viewed by many, if not most, social theorists as a flawed concept. As Satzewich (1998, p. 29) argued “...attempts to define racial categories and correlate them with social and cultural abilities are fraught with difficulties. Within population biology and branches of physical anthropology, racial classifications have no scientific validity...” Nevertheless, race is a social construct that is used frequently to justify and perpetuate inequalities between ethnic and cultural groups. Small (1998, p. 71) noted that the terms race and racism are strongly contested but discussions of the topic cannot avoid the use of these terms. Rather, the recommended approach is to acknowledge the factors “that entail explicit reference to race, such as beliefs about the existence of races, prejudice and discrimination based on such beliefs”.

The current research project examined attitudes to various cultural groups and experiences of stereotyping and discrimination for key linguistic and cultural groups in the City of Greater Sudbury including Aboriginal people, Francophones, and visible minorities. The attitudes and perspectives of Anglophones of European origins toward these groups were also examined. The objectives of the project are fivefold:

- To examine the beliefs and attitudes on issues related to diversity and race relations among residents of Sudbury. Attitudes about cultural and minority groups (i.e. Aboriginal people, Francophones, and members of visible minority groups) will be compared.
- To examine perceptions of various forms of stereotyping and discrimination in Sudbury.
- To explore and describe the perceptions of experiences of racism and discrimination among Aboriginal people, Francophones, and visible minorities.
- To describe the commonalities and differences in forms of stereotyping and discrimination experienced by various linguistic/cultural groups.
- To compare results from the current study with a subset of findings from a prior study conducted in Thunder Bay in 2002, with findings from a recent Statistics Canada study on ethnic diversity (2003), and with American research on racial/cultural attitudes.

METHODOLOGY

Neighbourhood Survey

Sample

In the first phase of the study, 270 residents of the City of Greater Sudbury (CGS) completed questionnaires for the Neighbourhood Survey. The sampling strategy was designed to include residents of the outlying areas (i.e. former Regional Municipalities) of Sudbury as well as those living within the former City of Sudbury. The sample comprises residents from various areas of the city including the Flour Mill, Gatchel, Garson, New Sudbury, Robinson Lake, Ramsey Lake, Minnow Lake, Nepahwin, and the south end (70.6%). The remaining 29.4 percent of participants lived in the outlying communities of Val Therese, Dowling, Val Caron, Onaping, Chelmsford, Capreol, Lively, and Copper Cliff. Residents of the former City of Sudbury are over-represented in the sample since, according to the 2001 census, 46 percent of the population of Greater Sudbury reside in the outlying areas.

A map of the CGS was used for the cluster sampling method in order to select grids in which more than one-quarter of the area was populated. In total, there were 17 high, 17 medium and 19 low-density grids. Five grids were selected at random from each category (15 grids altogether). Households in the selected neighbourhoods were systematically sampled. However, since the questionnaire was typically completed by the person who answered the door (most often a woman), the sample may not be completely random.

Procedure

Following approval from Laurentian University's Research Ethics Board, the neighbourhood survey was conducted between 12 December 2003 and 19 January 2004 (excluding the holiday period between 23 December and 2 January). Sixteen Research Assistants were trained to collect the data and they were paired to form eight teams. At each household, one member of the team explained the purpose of the study, outlined the ethical considerations and administered the consent form and the survey, while the second recorded responses.

The survey was conducted in the evening between 6 and 9 PM on working days and 12 to 5 PM on weekends. The Research Assistants knocked on the door and identified themselves as researchers with the Social Planning Council and Laurentian University (they wore identification cards containing the name and logo of the SPC). The residents were provided with a letter outlining the study and the contents of the letter were explained, including the ethical principles to be followed in the study. Following an initial screening to ensure that the residents were 18 years or older, they were asked if they wished to participate in the survey.

In order to enable participation in the survey by residents with low literacy, willing participants were given a choice of participating in a face-to-face interview or of individually completing the self-administered questionnaire. Residents who opted to complete the questionnaire individually were given a copy of the questionnaire and an envelope in which to seal the completed questionnaire. Members of the research team then discussed arrangements to pick up the envelopes at a stipulated time or provided a postage-paid, return envelope so that the respondent could mail the questionnaire to the SPC. A small proportion of the residents chose to participate via the structured interview method.

Survey of Laurentian University Students

Students from various programs at Laurentian University (sociology, psychology, law and justice, Native studies, and social work) and different cultural streams (i.e. Anglophone, Francophone and Native) completed the same self-administered questionnaire that was used in the Neighbourhood Survey. In total, 141 students from the university participated in the survey.

Cultural Groups Survey

Sample

The second phase of the study was conducted between 16 January and 25 March 2004 and involved surveys of three groups—Aboriginal people, visible minorities and Francophones. The sample of 134 participants included 44 Aboriginals, 40 Francophones and 50 members of visible minority groups.

Procedure

Questionnaires were distributed by members of the research team or by local organizations. Following a Band resolution to support the project, a community survey was conducted on the Whitefish Lake First Nation. The procedure used in the Neighbourhood Survey was followed. Aboriginal Research Assistants conducted the survey face-to-face or provided copies of the self-administered questionnaire. Members of one in four households participated in the survey (n=25). N'Swakamok Native Friendship Centre (NNFC) provided access to an urban Aboriginal sample. On 12 February 2004, individuals in an adult literacy class at NNFC completed the questionnaire. This class included Aboriginal people with a wide range of characteristics based on age (18 to 60 years) and occupation.

Participation in the survey by visible minority people was facilitated by the Sudbury Multicultural and Folk Arts Association (SMFAA). The Association has 12 visible minority organizations as its members. These organizations were contacted by SMFAA and were asked to provide a list of their members who would be willing to participate in the survey. From the list

provided by each organization a random selection was made of the required sample size (n=50). The survey was conducted by the staff of SMFAA during 14 February to 22 March 2004.

Various organizations within the Francophone community in Sudbury assisted us to obtain a diverse sample of French speaking residents. The sample included persons from a range of occupations, students, and seniors. The surveys were conducted among teachers and other staff in two schools (École Jeanne Sauve and École Macdonald Cartier), students of a special education class at College Boreal, seniors attending Centre de Sante Communautaire, employees of Le Carrefour Francophone as well as staff of businesses located in the same building, and members of Contact interculturel francophone de Sudbury. The latter organization describes its mission as follows:

Le Contact interculturel francophone de Sudbury est un organisme d'accueil, de rencontre et d'échange s'adressant aux membres des différentes cultures francophones d'ici et d'ailleurs, ainsi qu'à ceux et celles qui partagent les valeurs francophones.

Thus, the Francophone sample was generated from a range of community organizations, businesses, and the education sector. The French language version of the questionnaire was used to collect data from Francophones.

Individual and Group interviews

A combination of group interviews (focus group discussions) and individual interviews was conducted to obtain qualitative data on the perspectives and experiences of Aboriginal people, Francophones, and visible minorities regarding discrimination in Sudbury. Group interviews with Aboriginal and visible minorities were held on 3 March 2004. In each focus group discussion, five members from the respective cultural group participated. The visible minority group consisted of participants from various regions of the world. Ten individual interviews were conducted with Francophones (n=2), visible minorities (n=4) and Aboriginals (n=4). The interviews were tape recorded and transcribed for analysis. The individual interviews were conducted by social work students enrolled in a graduate research class.

Key themes from the interviews were identified. Verbatim quotations have been included throughout the report to provide data on the perspectives and experiences of Aboriginal people, visible minorities and Francophones.

Data Collection Instruments

A common set of questions was used in the Neighbourhood and the Cultural Groups Surveys. The data collection instrument included demographics, background questions, and experiences of discrimination from a recent survey on ethnic diversity conducted by Statistics Canada (2003). These questions included ethnic and cultural origins, importance of ethnic/cultural

identity, language(s) spoken, participation in community groups or organizations, interaction with society, and discrimination. A set of questions used in a Thunder Bay study of cultural diversity (Haluza-DeLay, 2002) was also included. These questions focussed on satisfaction with community living, sense of belonging to the community, and treatment by professionals and businesses in the community. A research tool used in the published literature to study negative affect was also used: feeling thermometers measured affect toward various linguistic and cultural groups including Anglophones of European origins, Francophones of European origins, Aboriginals, and visible minorities. A thermometer was shown associated with a scale from 1 (cool) to 10 (warm) and respondents were asked to rate how they felt about each group.

The neighbourhood survey also included four instruments developed in the US to measure attitudes toward cultural groups. The Modern Racism Scale (McConahay, 1986), the Pro-Black and Anti-Black scales (Katz & Hass, 1988), and the Discrimination and Diversity Scales (Wittenbrink et al., 1997) were adapted to identify Aboriginals, visible minorities, and Francophones as the “out-groups”. The Cultural Groups Survey included questions from the Thunder Bay survey that focussed on experiences of prejudice and discrimination. The qualitative interview protocol from the Thunder Bay study (Haluza-DeLay, 2002) was used for the focus groups and individual interviews.

RESULTS

Diversity of the Population in the CGS and Background Characteristics of the Sample

Ethnicity, Culture, and Race

The survey included detailed questions about ethnic and cultural origins, cultural identity and belonging to racial/cultural groups, and the existence of relatives in other countries. Statistics Canada provides information on the ethnic/cultural origins of the population in the country and allows respondents to specify as many groups as are applicable to them. Census data for the City of Greater Sudbury (CGS) based on single and multiple responses regarding cultural origins, showed that nearly half of the Sudbury population claimed North American, and particularly Canadian, origin (Nangia et al., 2003). Thirty-six percent reported their ethnic origin to be from the British Isles, 39 percent had French origins, 29 percent claimed European origins, less than seven percent had Aboriginal origins, and two percent were members of a visible minority group.

Language

The results of the 2001 census showed that 63 percent of the population in the CGS reported English, 29 percent French, and 8 percent non-official languages as their mother tongue. The concentration of the population with French as mother tongue was much higher in Sudbury

compared to the country or the province. French was the mother tongue for 23 percent of the population in Canada and only 4 percent in Ontario.

Immigration

Given that the Sudbury is affected by the out-migration of youth and population aging, immigration is an important factor for economic development. According to the 2001 census, 18 percent people in Canada and 27 percent in Ontario are immigrants, but in Greater Sudbury only 7 percent population was considered to be immigrant. Immigration to the city declined from 24 percent during 1961-70, to 11 percent during 1971-80, to the current level under 10 percent.

A large majority of the immigrants (78 percent) in Greater Sudbury have their origins in Europe. Nearly one-tenth of the immigrants come from countries in the north, central and south America, and another 9 percent come from Asia. The contribution of Africa (3 percent) and Oceania (less than one percent) is very small to the overall migration in the city.

The largest proportion of the immigrant population in Greater Sudbury is from Italy (21 percent), followed by the United Kingdom (13 percent). The other important contributors to immigration in the city are Germany, the European component of the former USSR., Poland, former Yugoslavia, and the United States.

Background Characteristics (Neighbourhood Survey)

A majority of the 270 respondents in the Neighbourhood Survey were women (61%). This finding is consistent with our prior research on homelessness in which we used the same methodology to conduct neighbourhood surveys. In seven neighbourhood surveys on homelessness, we found that women were over-represented both because women more often answered the door and also because men who came to the door more often refused to participate in the survey. The average (mean) age of the participants was 49 while the range was 20 to 88 years. A fifth (22 percent) of the respondents were below 35 years of age and 13 percent were seniors (65 and over).

The sample was diverse in terms of educational attainment and included those with varying levels of education from less than a high school education to graduate level university degrees. However, the overall educational attainment of the sample was somewhat higher than that of the general adult population in Sudbury. For example, the proportion of participants without a high school diploma (13%) was lower than the general population, while the proportion of those with a university degree was higher (20%). In contrast, the 2001 census showed that in the CGS, the proportion of those with less than a high school graduation certificate ranged from 13 percent for those aged 20 to 34 years to 33 percent for those aged 45 to 64 years. Moreover, the proportion with university education ranged from 17 percent among 20 to 34 year-olds to 14 percent among 45 to 64 year-olds (Statistics Canada, 2003).

The sample included participants whose family income ranged from under \$10,000 per year to over \$100,000. A fifth of the sample had incomes up to \$25,000 while a tenth stated that the family income was over \$100,000. The largest group within the sample (41%) had family incomes between \$50,000 and \$100,000; this is consistent with the 2001 census which showed that median family income for all families was \$56,165 and \$62,011 for couple families. Close to a quarter of the respondents in the survey (23%) were renting their housing compared to a third of the total Sudbury population (34%) according to the 2001 census (Statistics Canada, 2003).

Cultural Background

Based on responses to the question “What is your ethnic or cultural identity?,” just over a third of the respondents reported multiple cultural backgrounds (i.e. they mentioned two or three cultural groups; however only two individuals reported that they belonged to three cultural groups)¹. The data on total responses (single and multiple) show that most respondents reported French origins (28%), British Isles origins (26%), or Canadian origins (16%). A fifth of the sample (20%) mentioned European origins, most notably German, Italian, Finnish, Ukranian, or Polish.

Those who reported that they were Anglophones of European origins were combined into a single group for analysis. Also included in this group were those who stated that they were Caucasian or North American (see Figure 1). Four percent of the respondents (n=29) reported that they were Inuit, Metis, or North American/Status Indian. One percent stated that they were of Latin American, African, or Asian origins. Nine out of ten in the sample population were born in Canada. As noted above, the most recent census data also showed that less than one-tenth of the population in Sudbury was immigrant. Nearly half of the participants (45%) in the Neighbourhood Survey reported that they had family members living in other countries. About two thirds of these respondents (65%, n=77) stated that they stay in contact with these relatives.

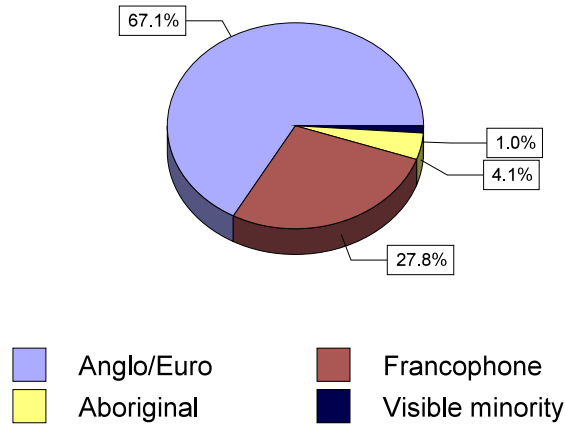
Within the sample, the ethnic/cultural backgrounds of the residents were more mixed compared to their family members of the previous generation. Thirty percent of the respondents reported multiple ethnicity of their ancestors on mothers’ side and 28 percent on their fathers’ side, which is lower compared to the respondents themselves (38 percent). On the mothers’ side, the ethnicity of ancestors (single and multiple combined) was highest for French origins (39 percent), followed by British Isles origins (32 percent) and Canadian origins (26 percent). Six percent of the respondents reported Aboriginal ancestry on their mother’s side.

On the fathers’ side, French origin (35 percent) was also the most dominant ancestry closely followed by British (34 percent). Those of Canadian ancestry comprised 27 percent of the sample and Aboriginals represented five percent on fathers’ side. The proportion of respondents

¹ This includes single and multiple response. Some of the respondents did not reply to all the questions. The information here is processed only for those respondents who replied to the question on cultural origins.

with French and Canadian ancestry on fathers' side was higher in outskirts compared to the former City of Sudbury, whereas the proportion with British and other European ancestry was higher in Sudbury compared to the outlying areas (i.e. the former Regional Municipalities).

Figure 1: Cultural Origins for Participants of Neighbourhood Sample



Language

Most of the respondents (94 percent) reported that they had learned only one language in their childhood. English was the mother tongue to 60 percent of the respondents and French to 31 percent. Nine percent reported that European languages or Cantonese had been their first language. Among Aboriginal respondents, a fifth (21%) had learned Ojibwe or Cree in childhood. Nearly all of the participants (97%) reported that they still spoke the language they had first learned at home in childhood.

Taking into account the multiple responses given about the languages spoken “well enough to conduct a conversation,” nearly all of the respondents (98%) stated that they can speak English, and 41 percent reported that they can speak French. A further 12 percent stated that they spoke a range of European (Italian, German, Spanish, or Polish) or other languages. These findings indicate that the sample reflects the distribution of the population in Greater Sudbury on the basis of mother tongue as shown by the Statistics Canada.

While 41 percent of the respondents stated that they can speak French well enough to conduct a conversation, only 18% reported that French is the language they speak most often at home. Over three-quarters (79%) of the participants in the neighbourhood survey stated that they speak

English at home most often. A small group of respondents (3%) indicated that they usually speak a language other than English or French at home such as Italian, Spanish, or Polish. Two of the Aboriginal respondents (5%) stated that they can still speak Ojibway or Cree well enough to conduct a conversation.

Self-Reported Racial Group Membership

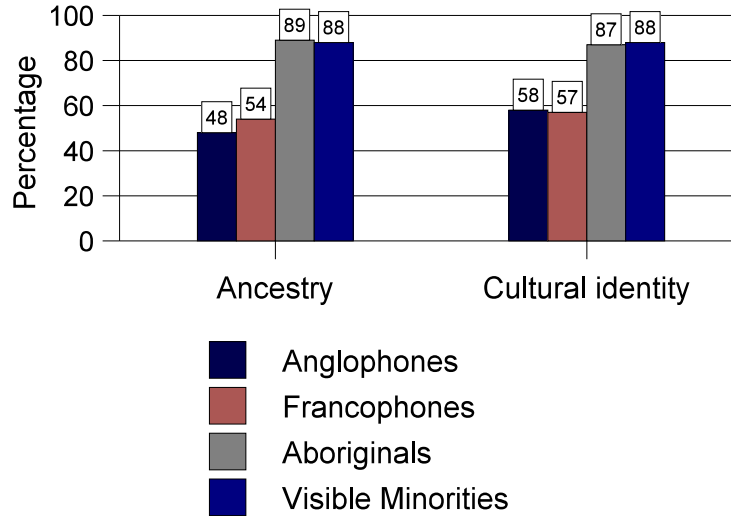
The survey participants were given a checklist containing various racial and cultural groups and asked to indicate all groups that applied to them. Reflecting the findings reported above regarding the ethnic/cultural composition of the Neighbourhood sample, 93 percent of the respondents reported that the category representing “White people” applied to them. Seven percent of the respondents indicated that they were Chinese (n=3), Black (n=1), Latin American (n=2), or Aboriginal (n=14; 5%).

Importance of Ancestry and Ethnic or Cultural Identity

When asked about the importance of their ancestry to them, nearly half of the participants of the neighbourhood survey (47%) reported that they felt it was important or very important to them while a quarter indicated that it was unimportant to them (the remainder, 28%, were ambivalent). A slightly larger proportion (52%) stated that their ethnic or cultural identity was very important. These findings are consistent with Statistics Canada’s (2003) recent survey on ethnic diversity which showed that half of Canadians reported a “strong sense of belonging to their ethnic or cultural group” (p. 11).

There is considerable variation in connectedness to ancestry and cultural background, however. Figure 2 shows the responses of Anglophones, Francophones, visible minorities, and Aboriginals to these questions. Similar proportions of Anglophones and Francophones indicated a strong sense of belonging to their cultural group. The results for Francophones are consistent with the finding by Statistics Canada (2003) that 60 percent of French Canadians were strongly connected to their cultural group. Aboriginal people in Sudbury and members of visible minorities reported a much stronger sense of connection to both their ancestry and their ethnic or cultural group than did Anglophones and Francophones.

Figure 2: Strong Connection to Ancestry and Ethnic or Cultural Group



Education and Income Inequalities: A Comparison of Anglophones, Francophones, Visible Minorities and Aboriginal People

The educational attainments and incomes of the study participants reflect generalized inequalities between Aboriginals and non-Aboriginal people in Canada. In Sudbury, the immigrant and visible minority subsample reported high educational attainments. Indeed, a majority of the visible minority sample (63%) had one or more university degrees. The high educational attainment of the visible minority population is consistent with more general trends in Canada showing that the proportion of immigrants with university degrees doubled between 1980 and 2000 to 44 percent of immigrant men and 38% of immigrant women (Statistics Canada, 2003b). Most of the visible minority participants of the Cultural Groups Survey (88%) were immigrants; thus, this sample was more highly educated than the general population of Canadian immigrants.

In comparison, within the Aboriginal sample of the Cultural Groups Survey, over a third (38.1%) had not completed high school. This proportion is more than triple the percentage of the Anglophone (10%) and Francophone (11.9%) participants who had not completed high school. Aboriginal respondents described their experiences in high school as being difficult:

It [high school] sucked! I hated it! I quit a bunch of times.... There were lots of groups, but I wasn't in any of them. You know, they didn't really want me to be... At lunch when there were just a couple of seats, the people would move rather than have to sit with us and then they said things to you when they went by your

locker, said rude things and called you names. Oh you know, Indian, you know, red face, and squaw and wagon burner. I didn't like it very much. I quit a bunch of times but my Mom kept forcing me to go back. She never finished school and she really wanted us to graduate (Aboriginal respondent).

I always felt stupid in high school cause I just wasn't getting it. You know, high school just wasn't a good place so I would miss a lot of days... I quit high school a few times and came back and I never graduated from high school (Aboriginal respondent).

The lower educational attainments of the Aboriginal participants and higher attainments of the visible minority sample were also reflected in employment rates. Most Anglophones (74.9%), Francophones (66%), and visible minorities (80.5%) had been employed in the last 12 months but only a minority of the Aboriginal sample had been employed (44.2%). In addition, a majority of the Aboriginal sample (53.8%) reported annual incomes below \$25,000 per year compared to 20.1 percent of Anglophones, 25.0 percent of Francophones, and 25.0 percent of visible minorities. Finally, while most Anglophone (60.7%) and Francophone (62.8%) respondents owned their housing, most of the visible minority respondents (60.5%) and Aboriginals (66.7%) were renting their housing.

Summary Results on the Modified Modern Racism Scale (MRS), Anti-Black Scale (ABS), and Pro-Black Scale (PBS)

Several standardized instruments were used in the current study to measure the attitudes of local residents to Aboriginal people, visible minorities, and Francophones. These scales were developed in the US and have been used mainly to study the attitudes of Caucasian Americans to African Americans. However, the scales have been adapted in other countries, notably European countries and Canada, to measure attitudes to various visible minority groups. In a similar manner, we adapted these scales to the local context in northern Ontario.

Modern Racism Scale (MRS)

The MRS has been widely used in the US since 1986 as an instrument for measuring attitudes towards African Americans. Sears et al. (1997) have described the attitudes measured by the MRS as constituting a subtle form of racism that is less blatant than “old fashioned racism”; the latter is based on theories about the supposed biological inferiority of African Americans and on negative stereotypes. In comparison, modern forms of racism are said to incorporate the perspectives that racial discrimination has largely disappeared and that minority groups must simply work harder in order to succeed. Attachment to a hegemonic ingroup is also thought to be a key element of modern racism; the dominant group seeks to maintain its privileged position through oppression.

The MRS has been modified for use in other countries in order to examine attitudes to visible minorities such as Moroccan and Surinamese people (Gordijn, Koomen & Stapel, 2001). It has also been modified for use in Canada (Bobocel, Son Hing, Davey, Stanley, & Zanna, 1998) by identifying visible minorities rather than African Americans as the “out group”. Others have similarly adapted the scale to measure attitudes toward Asian Canadians (Son Hing, 2002). In the current study, we adapted the MRS to study attitudes towards Aboriginal people (Aboriginal MRS) and visible minorities (Visible Minority MRS).

Overall, the analysis of all individual items within the Aboriginal and Visible Minority MRS, ABS, and PBS as well as the scale scores indicate that approximately a sixth to about half of the local residents in the sample held views consistent with modern racism (i.e. prejudice) toward Aboriginal people. Further analysis of the areas in which there were more prejudiced responses pertained to a few key issues. This summary section provides an overview of areas in which approximately a third to half of the respondents indicated opposition (i.e. prejudiced responses) to Aboriginal and visible minorities.

Participants’ Responses to Aboriginal Issues

There was a strong reaction among many respondents of Anglophone or Francophone European origins to issues pertaining to economic benefits, land rights, and equal rights for Aboriginal people.

- Over forty percent of the Neighbourhood sample held the view that the gains made by Aboriginal people in the areas of land, hunting, and fishing rights are excessive.
- Over half of the Anglophone and Francophone respondents opposed affirmative action policies to improve employment opportunities for Aboriginals.
- Close to half of the respondents denied that there was systemic discrimination within large corporations.
- About a third of the participants subscribed to the individualist view that Aboriginal people’s problems within the labour market stem from a lack of effort, lack of emphasis on education and training, and unwillingness to take available low paid jobs and work their way up.

About a third to half of the respondents reported beliefs that are consistent with negative stereotypes of Aboriginal people.

- About a third of the respondents believed that Aboriginal teenagers do not respect themselves or anyone else.
- A third held the view that a root cause of problems for Aboriginal people is weakness and instability in Aboriginal families.
- Nearly half believed that poor school achievement for Aboriginal children stems from attitudes about learning among Aboriginal parents.
- About a third believed that one of the biggest problems for Aboriginal people is a lack of self-respect.

Participants' Responses to Issues Relating to Visible Minorities

On the whole, there was somewhat less opposition (prejudice) expressed toward visible minorities compared to Aboriginals. However, about a third to half of the sample held beliefs consistent with modern racism:

- About a third denied that structural forms of discrimination impact on the employment opportunities and promotions for visible minorities.
- About half believed that visible minorities should simply take any available jobs and then work their way up.
- Over half of the study participants opposed affirmative action policies to improve job prospects for visible minorities.

Positive Responses to Aboriginal People and Visible Minorities

Despite the findings about the denial of systemic discrimination, opposition to affirmative action policies, and stereotyped beliefs about Aboriginal people on the part of a substantial proportion of the sample, about half of the respondents rated many statements in the MRS, PBS, and ABS in a manner that indicated low prejudice. In particular, respondents favoured expressions of respect to Aboriginal people on the part of governments and the news media, indicated that they understood the anger of Aboriginal people, acknowledged that forms of discrimination exist, supported economic benefits that Aboriginals have received in recent years, and supported Aboriginal demands for change and equal rights. Between a third to half of the respondents also provided positive ratings of these aspects for visible minorities.

In addition, a majority of the Neighbourhood residents who participated in the survey expressed views consistent with the values of multiculturalism policy by acknowledging that Aboriginal people and visible minorities have unrealized potential to make a positive contribution to society and by indicating that the dominant society would benefit by incorporating positive aspects of Aboriginal culture and the cultures of visible minority groups.

Overall, a slightly larger proportion of the respondents acknowledged the existence of discrimination against Aboriginal people than they did against visible minorities. There was also less acceptance of the potential benefits to society of incorporating positive elements of the cultures of visible minorities than there was of Aboriginal peoples. An examination of the overall scale scores on the PBS indicates that the slightly higher ratings of Aboriginal people compared to visible minority people were evident among all subsamples examined (see Tables 5 and 6 below).

Cultural Stereotypes of Aboriginal People

The trends on the PBS noted above were reversed on items of the ABS that measured attitudes about cultural stereotypes; visible minorities were rated more positively than were Aboriginals. The findings suggest that negative stereotypes about Aboriginal families, leadership, and motivation in schooling and work persist quite strongly. These types of stereotypes are held less

often about visible minorities (i.e. less than a fifth of the sample rated people from visible minority groups negatively on seven of the ten statements in the ABS while half or more expressed positive attitudes about visible minorities).

Comparison of Results with the Published Literature

In relating our findings on the standardized instruments to the published literature, it is important to recognize that responses to questions about cultural groups and race-relations are affected by the self-conscious efforts of participants to answer in a manner that reflects fair-mindedness. It has been widely acknowledged that survey respondents are subject to “pressures to conform to socially desirable or politically correct norms” (Hewstone, Rubin, & Willis, 2002, p. 576). This tendency must be kept in mind as we compare the results of the standardized scales (MRS, PBS, and ABS) from the Sudbury sample to those from American studies of the attitudes of Whites toward African Americans (cf. Monteith & Spicer, 2000).

The pattern of results from the current study is consistent with those from American studies in that the average (mean) scores reflecting Sudburians’ attitudes toward Aboriginal people and visible minorities were just below the neutral response; this pattern was produced because of polarized attitudes on many issues. Furthermore, the strongest views pertained to key elements of modern racism, as noted above. Reitz & Breton (1998) have similarly argued that discriminatory attitudes are revealed through individualist explanations of economic inequality. This view was also reinforced by the results of a study by Monteith & Spicer (2000) that was designed to assess whether the views measured by the MRS reflect a general discomfort with the out-group (i.e. African Americans in their study and Aboriginals and visible minorities in our study) or simply a conservative perspective. Monteith & Spicer (2000, p. 148) concluded that the MRS “does measure dislike” of the out-group. Our study also examined experiences of prejudice and discrimination among Aboriginal people and visible minorities; as will be shown below, their reports of experiences of racism and discrimination reinforce the findings of the Neighbourhood Survey which suggest that various forms of racism—explicit and implicit—exist in Sudbury.

Detailed Results on the Modern Racism (MRS), Anti-Black (ABS) and Pro-Black (PBS) Scales

Table 1 shows the responses of local residents to the seven items in the revised Aboriginal MRS and six items in the revised Visible Minority MRS. The results indicate that approximately a sixth to a quarter of local residents held views consistent with modern racism theory (i.e. prejudice) toward Aboriginal people. In Tables 1 to 11, ratings that correspond to prejudiced responses are labelled “negative” and non-prejudiced responses are labelled “positive”. In particular, there were more prejudiced responses on issues pertaining to economic benefits, land rights, and equal rights. Over a third (42%) of local residents held the view that the gains made by Aboriginal people in the areas of land, hunting, and fishing rights are excessive. Indeed, there

were more negative (i.e. prejudiced) than positive views expressed on this item. In contrast, a slight majority of the local residents in the sample expressed approval of the respect shown to Aboriginal people by government and the news media, thought that discrimination against Aboriginal people in Sudbury is a problem, and believed that Aboriginal people are not pushing themselves where they are not wanted.

Table 1: Residents’ responses to the Aboriginal MRS ^a and the Visible Minority MRS ^a

Attitude Measure	Negative rating %	Positive rating %
<i>Aboriginal MRS</i>		
Extent of respect shown by government and news media .	17.7	51.5
Understanding of the anger of Aboriginal people.	22.7	43.1
Belief in discrimination against Aboriginal people Sudbury.	16.4	51.0
Aboriginal people deserve economic benefits received in recent years.	27.9	40.9
Views on Aboriginal land, hunting and fishing rights.	42.4	28.8
Views on demands by Aboriginal people for equal rights.	26.7	34.9
Aboriginal people’s push for change.	12.2	56.1
<i>Visible Minority MRS</i>		
Extent of respect shown by government and news media.	19.2	52.3
Understanding of the anger of visible minorities.	27.5	40.3
Belief in discrimination against visible minorities in Sudbury.	20.9	37.8
Visible minorities deserve economic benefits received in recent years.	17.8	50.2
Views on demands by visible equal rights.	19.7	42.9
Visible minorities’ push for change.	15.2	49.8

^a Similar to the approach used by Bobocel et al. (1998), the Modern Racism Scale (McConahay, 1986) was modified for the Canadian context. ***Negative ratings indicate more prejudice and positive ratings indicate less prejudice.***

Results on items that defined visible minorities as the “out group” were similar to those for Aboriginal people. Approximately a sixth to a quarter of the respondents expressed prejudiced attitudes. However, a smaller proportion of local residents believed that visible minorities had made too many economic gains or were pressing too hard for equal rights compared to responses about Aboriginal people. A slight majority of the local residents approved of respect being shown to visible minorities by the government and news media and were in favour of visible minorities making economic gains. Close to half of the respondents did not oppose a push for change by visible minority people.

Scale scores were computed on the Aboriginal MRS and the Visible Minority MRS to enable comparisons with prior research. The results for the Sudbury sample were similar to American studies of the attitudes of Whites toward African Americans (cf. Monteith & Spicer, 2000) in that the mean scores reflecting Sudburians’ attitudes toward Aboriginal people and visible minorities were just below the neutral response, reflecting polarized views. The mean scale scores ranged from 1.0 (lowest prejudice) to 5.0 (high prejudice) on the five-point scale.² Over a quarter of the participants’ scores on the Aboriginal MRS (29%) and Visible Minority MRS (26%) were below 2 indicating low prejudice. Moreover, only a small minority of the participants’ scores on the Aboriginal MRS (2.4%) and the Visible Minority MRS (2.7) were above 4 indicating the highest levels of prejudice.

Table 2 compares the results for the Caucasian respondents in the Sudbury neighbourhood sample and university sample with a study of Canadian university students in Waterloo (Bobocel et al., 1998). The results indicated that university students had slightly more positive attitudes (i.e. held somewhat less prejudice) toward visible minorities compared with Sudbury residents (the group differences were statistically significant³). In addition, the mean score for the Waterloo university sample was slightly lower (indicating less prejudice) than the university sample in Sudbury.

That’s the way I feel about Laurentian [University]. It depends on who it is [that your dealing with], like in the financial aid department. I feel second rate. I feel as if they don’t have time except for the younger non-Native students (Aboriginal respondent).

Table 3 compares the scores of Anglophones, Francophones and Aboriginals on the Aboriginal MRS and the Visible Minority MRS. The group differences were statistically significant⁴ and suggest that Aboriginals held more positive attitudes (less prejudice) toward both Aboriginal people and visible minorities compared with Anglophones and Francophones.

² The range of scale scores was similar for the Aboriginal MRS (1.0 to 4.9) and the Visible Minority MRS (1.0 to 5.0).

³ $p < .01$

⁴ $p < .01$

Well sometimes [there is] an attack on a specific language or culture, ok? Um and not just the French, I mean, if I'm talking about the comments that are made, you know, towards the Native community. Native people as well [as Francophones], you know? "Oh, they're just a bunch of dumb drunks and those kinds of things" Those are very discriminatory comments. Those are very racial comments (Francophone respondent).

Being Aboriginal, I deal with racism constantly. Every day, even just going to grocery store. I make bank lineups nervous (Aboriginal respondent) .

Table 2: Comparison of scores on Aboriginal MRS ^a and Visible Minority MRS, Sudbury Samples with Visible Minority MRS scores in Waterloo (Bobocel et al., 1998)

Attitude Measure	Number (N)	Mean (M)	Standard Deviation (SD)
<i>Neighbourhood sample ^b:</i>			
Sudbury Aboriginal MRS	247	2.67	0.80
Sudbury Visible Minority MRS	247	2.63	0.74
<i>University samples:</i>			
Sudbury Aboriginal MRS	77	2.24	0.71
Sudbury Visible Minority MRS	76	2.19	0.61
Waterloo Visible Minority MRS	83	2.00	1.37

^a Similar to the approach used by Bobocel et al. (1998), the Modern Racism Scale (McConahay, 1986) was modified for the Canadian context. ***Higher scores indicate more prejudice.***

^b For this analysis, Aboriginal and visible minority participants were excluded.

Table 3: Comparison of scores on Aboriginal MRS ^a and Visible Minority MRS among Cultural Groups in Sudbury

Cultural Groups:	Aboriginal MRS			Visible Minority MRS		
	N	M	SD	N	M	SD
Anglophones	214	2.54	0.80	210	2.54	0.72
Francophones	94	2.61	0.78	94	2.41	0.79
Aboriginals	29	1.38	0.36	28	1.70	0.61

As noted above, the Modern Racism Scale (McConahay, 1986) was modified for the Canadian context. *Higher scores indicate more prejudice.*

Modified Pro-Black and Anti-Black Scales

Pro-Aboriginal and Pro-Visible Minority Scales (Modified Pro-Black Scale or PBS)

Sometimes, I personally feel that with my education and experience that I should have gotten a better job. Some people that are less educated and have less experience than I do have better paying positions and better titles (Visible minority respondent).

The results for the modified Pro-Black Scale reflecting the extent to which respondents held positive or negative feelings toward Aboriginals (Aboriginal PBS) and visible minorities (Visible Minority PBS) are shown in Tables 4a to 6. Approximately a third or more of the respondents expressed negative (prejudiced) attitudes about Aboriginals and visible minorities.

The areas in which the greatest negative sentiments were expressed pertained to employment issues. Over half of the residents in the sample were not in favour of affirmative action policies that are perceived to give Aboriginal and visible minority people “special treatment” in employment (see second item in Tables 4a and 4b). Similarly, a third or more of the participants did not believe that there is continuing discrimination against Aboriginals and visible minorities in the workplace. Most of the respondents in the sample denied that there is systemic discrimination against visible minorities within big corporations.

However, over half of the respondents acknowledged that some forms of discrimination against Aboriginal people exist, and over a third believed that there is discrimination against visible minorities. A majority of the sample indicated that there is a lack of understanding among Caucasians about the problems of Aboriginal people and most agreed that the positive elements of Aboriginal cultures and Aboriginal people are not, but should be, recognized. There was a generalized acceptance that Canada would be better off if the positive elements of other cultures were incorporated into the dominant culture.

I see racial [incidents], I hear racism, discrimination, happening on a regular basis and I'm, I'm talking about in many milieux, and I'm talking about mostly towards Native people because I work in an environment where we have a big population that they service our Natives. I'm often in meetings and in contact with people to look at these types of services. And sometimes there's comments that are made that I feel are pretty discriminatory (Francophone respondent).

Table 4a: Residents' Responses to the Aboriginal PBS ^a

Aspects of the PBS Attitude Measure	Negative rating %	Positive rating %
<i>Aboriginal PBS</i>		
Employment opportunities of Aboriginals and Whites.	32.8	40.6
Special consideration in hiring Aboriginal job seekers.	53.9	20.9
Views on discrimination against Aboriginal people.	18.4	51.2
Achievement of Aboriginal people despite obstacles.	30.7	29.1
Difficulty obtaining employment and promotions because of culture & skin colour.	35.0	35.1
Views on equal treatment of Aboriginals and Whites by big corporations.	44.1	18.1
Potential to contribute society versus what they have been allowed to show.	14.1	53.0
Benefits to this country of assimilating the good things from Aboriginal cultures.	13.0	54.4
Lack of understanding by Whites of the problems that Aboriginal people face.	15.6	61.9

^a The Anti-Black Scale (Katz & Hass, 1988) was modified for the Canadian context. ***Negative ratings indicate more prejudice and positive ratings indicate low prejudice.***

Um, you know in stores, often times people are served ahead of me or you know there's always a big hassle. You know the clerk will always ask "Are you going to use your status card"? And, you know, the way they say it is with a real bad attitude towards it, you know, like I shouldn't be using it or it's a big inconvenience for them, when I use my status card. And you know sometimes they'll put my order through and then I will give them my status card when I go to pay. And they often, well, sometimes, they even yell at me and say, "Why didn't you show me this before?" and "You're suppose to show me this before and I'm not taking the taxes off now". And you know, I really have to argue with them about doing that. I find some other times, well they really watch me when I'm in the change rooms or something or they count my stuff. And you know they treat me as though I'm going into their change room to steal from them. And they watch and they hang around and sometimes they even open the door. Or they're just really treating me like I'm some kind of criminal because I've walked into their store (Aboriginal respondent).

Table 4b: Residents' Responses to the Visible Minority PBS ^a

Attitude Measure	Negative rating %	Positive rating %
<i>Visible Minority PBS</i>		
Employment opportunities of visible minorities and Whites.	36.8	29.3
Special consideration in hiring visible minority job seekers.	56.9	19.3
Views on discrimination against visible minority people.	25.2	40.2
Achievement of visible minorities despite obstacles.	30.0	28.8
Difficulty obtaining employment and promotions because of culture & skin colour.	36.1	31.7
Views on equal treatment of visible minorities and Whites by big corporations.	52.6	13.5
Potential to contribute to society versus what they have been allowed to show.	17.0	44.1
Benefits to this country of assimilating the good things from the cultures of visible minority people.	16.7	48.6
Lack of understanding by Whites of the problems that visible minorities face.	17.8	50.6

^a The Anti-Black Scale (Katz & Hass, 1988) was modified for the Canadian context. ***Negative ratings indicate more prejudice and positive ratings indicate low prejudice.***

I went into Wal-Mart... and we were waiting for 20 minutes waiting at the cash while the two young ladies were looking at their magazines. After 25 minutes one of them finally ask if we need something. And of course, we wanted to pay and go. I was very angry (Visible minority respondent).

The responses on attitudes towards visible minorities were similar to those found for Aboriginals. However, overall, the ratings were slightly less positive than those pertaining to Aboriginal people. As shown in Table 4b, on eight of the nine items in the Visible Minority PBS, fewer than half of the participants of the Neighbourhood survey gave responses that displayed positive sentiments toward visible minorities.

A slight trend toward more positive ratings on the Aboriginal PBS compared to the Visible Minority PBS is also reflected in the results shown in Tables 5 and 6 for the neighbourhood and university samples, and the cultural groups (Anglophones, Francophones, and Aboriginal people).

Table 5: Comparison of Scores on Aboriginal PBS ^a and Visible Minority PBS, Neighbourhood and University Samples

Attitude Measure	N	M	SD
<i>Neighbourhood sample ^b:</i>			
Aboriginal PBS	221	3.16	0.66
Visible Minority PBS	220	3.00	0.67
<i>University sample:</i>			
Aboriginal PBS	76	3.34	0.67
Visible Minority PBS	75	3.15	0.66

^a The Pro-Black Scale (Katz & Hass, 1988) was modified for the Canadian context. ***Higher scores indicate less prejudice.***

^b For this analysis, Aboriginal and visible minority participants were excluded.

In our community, we don't have a lot of diversity but I believe that we generally welcome newcomers and value them. It is, however, not an easy time for many considering the world situation (Anglophone respondent, Neighbourhood Survey)

Table 6: Comparison of scores on Aboriginal PBS ^a and Visible Minority PBS among Cultural Groups in Sudbury

Cultural Groups ^b :	Aboriginal PBS			Visible Minority PBS		
	N	M	SD	N	M	SD
Anglophones	212	3.20	0.65	211	3.00	0.66
Francophones	94	3.21	0.69	94	3.13	0.69
Aboriginals	29	4.09	0.57	28	3.93	0.49

^a As noted above, the Pro-Black Scale (Katz & Hass, 1988) was modified for the Canadian context. ***Higher scores indicate less prejudice.***

^b The mean scores of Aboriginal respondents were significantly higher than those of Anglophones and Francophones on both the Aboriginal PBS and the Visible Minority PBS ($p < .01$).

Anti-Aboriginal and Anti-Visible Minority Scales (Modified Anti-Black Scale or ABS)

I have been trying to get a job for years with the [Agency X] here. They got a look at me. Forget it. I can't even get a student job which they had four openings. Because I am caught in the middle, I not white enough, and I'm not Indian enough. I'm getting sick of it. I can get a job in the Yellowknife of the Northwest Territories but here it seems really hard. I even showed one lady my Métis card and it states on there "Aboriginal status". She said you are not Aboriginal and I said "What am I then?" (Aboriginal respondent).

Tables 7a to 9 show the results of ratings on the Anti-Black Scale modified to measure the extent of negative sentiments about Aboriginal people (Aboriginal ABS) as well as visible minorities (Visible Minority ABS). The findings indicate that a quarter or more of the sample gave negative ratings on all ten items in the Aboriginal ABS. Correspondingly, fewer than half of the respondents in the Neighbourhood Survey held pro-Aboriginal attitudes. These results suggest that the anti-Aboriginal sentiment in Sudbury is fairly pervasive.

...the school assumes that because I am Native that my children are coming from a home that is not functioning properly (Aboriginal respondent).

Many items in the ABS reflect attitudes about cultural stereotypes pertaining to Aboriginal families, leadership, and motivation in schooling and work. Schooling and employment were areas in which approximately half of the sample gave negative responses. However, nearly half of the respondents disagreed that there is weak leadership among Aboriginal people (46%). Approximately a third or more of the participants rejected the view that Aboriginal families are unstable, that they do not value education, and that they are not motivated to obtain employment (i.e. they are not looking for a “free ride”).

On the whole, the ratings of visible minorities were more positive for the statements on the ABS. A majority asserted that visible minorities stress education and training and use opportunities to operate small businesses. The participants were also less inclined to see visible minority families as being unstable, to view visible minority leadership as weak, and to hold the view that visible minorities are not motivated to obtain education and work. Less than a fifth of the sample rated people from visible minority groups negatively on seven of the ten statements in the ABS while half or more expressed positive attitudes about visible minorities.

The tendency of the study participants to rate visible minorities more positively than Aboriginal people is also reflected in the scale scores shown in Tables 8 and 9. This trend was evident among the respondents of the Neighbourhood Survey and the university sample, as well as Anglophones and Francophones. Similar to the results for the MRS and the PBS, Aboriginal respondents held the most positive views of their own group and of visible minorities.

I am not a visible minority but I am married to a Native person and our son, who is not obviously Native, has Native ancestry. Because people are sometimes not aware of his ancestry, I often hear negative comments about Native people. The public tries to be politically correct, but when they are not obviously in the presence of someone of a visible minority, their true prejudices shine through (Anglophone respondent, Neighbourhood Survey)

Overall, life in Sudbury is great. However, more needs to be done to help our Aboriginal people accepted more by White Canadians. However, for the past two weeks, CBC Radio has been doing documentaries called “Under Our Skin” This, I feel has been a start for White Canadians to learn how to treat our other ‘Canadians’ with more respect (Anglophone respondent, Neighbourhood Survey).

Sudbury is not a close community. People tend not to care about different cultures, etc. They just want to live in what seems to me [to be] their own bubble. There is not much respect among people in this town (Aboriginal respondent, Neighbourhood Survey).

Table 7a: Residents’ Responses to the Aboriginal ABS ^a

Attitude Measure	Negative rating %	Positive rating %
Link between the social and economic ills of Aboriginal people and the weakness and instability of their families.	32.3	35.0
Lack of strong community organizations or leadership among Aboriginal people.	27.5	45.5
Lack of emphasis on education and training among Aboriginal people.	31.9	37.0
Lack of respect themselves or anyone else among Aboriginal teenagers.	31.4	30.7
Failure of Aboriginal people to use opportunities to own or operate little shops or businesses.	27.6	29.2
Aboriginal people looking for a free ride.	25.6	41.0
School achievement of Aboriginal children and their parents’ attitudes about learning.	48.6	21.8
Importance for Aboriginal people of taking available jobs and then working their way up to better jobs.	55.4	14.2
Lack of self-respect among Aboriginal people a problem.	40.6	23.3
Drive and determination to get ahead among Aboriginal people.	23.7	32.0

^a The Anti-Black Scale (Katz & Hass, 1988) was modified for the Canadian context. ***Negative ratings indicate more prejudice and positive ratings indicate an absence of prejudice.***

I’m always thinking about what people mean by that [incidents], or why are they looking at me that way. I try to be pretty positive. I try to think good things about people but then, when they do stuff, it makes it hard, really fucking hard! I don’t want to be around a lot of people sometimes. I don’t want to be around a lot of white people, especially if I don’t know them. You know, cause I’m scared. Like, my sister and I try to go out every once in a while and...people didn’t want to have anything to do with us. Then, we would have to take the bus home. Like I would be afraid on the bus. There was a group of people calling us names or just even staring at us. I would be afraid (Aboriginal respondent).

It happens all the time, at line ups people cut in front of you. [They] assume that you're nothing but a bum. I say "Get to the back of the line." I can only put up with so much (Aboriginal respondent).

Table 7b: Residents' Responses to the Visible Minority ABS ^a

Attitude Measure	Negative rating %	Positive rating %
<i>Visible Minority ABS</i>		
Link between the social and economic ills of visible minority people and the weakness and instability of their families.	16.3	49.6
Lack of strong community organizations or leadership among visible minority people.	18.4	49.8
Lack of emphasis on education and training among visible minority people.	15.5	55.7
Lack of respect for themselves or anyone else among visible minority teenagers.	18.8	47.1
Failure of visible minority people to use opportunities to own or operate little shops or businesses.	15.2	52.3
Visible minority people looking for a free ride.	25.6	46.4
School achievement of visible minority children and their parents' attitudes about learning.	22.6	44.4
Importance for visible minority people of taking the jobs that are available and then working their way up to better jobs.	49.8	13.0
Lack of self-respect among visible minority people a problem.	15.7	41.3
Drive and determination to get ahead among visible minorities.	6.6	61.6

^a The Anti-Black Scale (Katz & Hass, 1988) was modified for the Canadian context. ***Negative ratings indicate more prejudice and positive ratings indicate lower prejudice.***

It is very hard because I do not deal with many other groups [social isolation]...I think it has more to do with the [lack of] acceptance of the people. I have to live with it and that's the way it is (Visible minority respondent).

Table 8: Comparison of Scores on Aboriginal ABS ^a and Visible Minority ABS, Neighbourhood and University Samples

Attitude Measure	N	M	SD
<i>Neighbourhood sample ^b:</i>			
Aboriginal ABS	220	3.01	0.67
Visible Minority ABS	216	2.61	0.64
<i>University sample:</i>			
Aboriginal ABS	76	2.76	0.59
Visible Minority ABS	74	2.44	0.55

^a The Anti-Black Scale (Katz & Hass, 1988) was modified for the Canadian context. ***Lower scores indicate less prejudice.***

^b For this analysis, Aboriginal and visible minority participants were excluded.

Table 9: Comparison of scores on Aboriginal ABS ^a and Visible Minority ABS among Cultural Groups in Sudbury

Cultural Groups ^b:	Aboriginal ABS			Visible Minority ABS		
	N	M	SD	N	M	SD
Anglophones	211	2.91	0.64	207	2.52	0.61
Francophones	94	3.07	0.69	93	2.63	0.66
Aboriginals	29	2.21	0.88	28	2.29	0.68

^a As noted above, the Anti-Black Scale (Katz & Hass, 1988) was modified for the Canadian context. ***Lower scores indicate less prejudice.***

^b The mean scores of Aboriginal respondents were significantly lower than those of Anglophones and Francophones on both the Aboriginal PBS and the Visible Minority PBS ($p < .01$).

The people I have met, up to now, in Sudbury have been very friendly, no matter what culture, gender, or race (Francophone respondent, Neighbourhood Survey).

Attitudes about Discrimination and Diversity

Like the responses to the MRS, PBS, and ABS, the results for the Discrimination and Diversity Scale indicated that many of the study participants were ambivalent about maintenance of diverse cultural traditions and rejected the view that discrimination is an issue in Sudbury. However, many expressed egalitarian attitudes and did not believe that minorities stay in lower paying jobs because of a lack of motivation. At the same time, between 25 to 45 percent of the respondents indicated that discrimination is non-existent or exaggerated, is caused by members of ethnic minorities themselves, or is used by ethnic minorities to improve their own situation. Well over a third of the study participants were concerned that reverse discrimination against the dominant cultural groups is as much a problem as discrimination against minorities. A majority of the respondents held the view that hard work is all that is required to succeed in Canada. Most of the respondents denied that there is continuing structural discrimination.

These findings may be interpreted through comparisons with American research on this topic. Reitz and Breton (1998) reviewed American research on blatant/overt/explicit racism (which attributes and justifies Black-White inequality on the basis of the assumed inferiority of Blacks) versus hidden/symbolic/implicit racism. The latter type attributes Black disadvantage as stemming from a lack of motivation and effort. Reitz and Breton have argued that Americans who deny structuralist explanations of Black disadvantage (and accept the individualist explanation that focuses on lack of motivation) have been more likely to hold traditional prejudices similar to those of overt racists compared to Americans who acknowledge that discrimination in education and the workforce are key factors in limiting opportunities for Blacks.

Previous Canadian research on attitudes towards minority group disadvantage has shown that, in the late 1980s, about 70 percent of respondents adopted an individualist explanation. This proportion was the same as that among Americans at the time (Sniderman et al., 1991). The results of the current study in Sudbury have indicated that a third to a half of the respondents subscribed to an individualist explanation of ethnic inequality. While this finding suggests that there has been a continued decline in forms of racism, a substantial proportion of the population hold views consistent with theories of modern racism that are strongly rooted in anti-egalitarianism and the denial of discrimination.

At the same time, a large proportion of the respondents (47%) appeared to support multiculturalism and the importance of learning about the cultures of ethnic minorities. Similarly, over a quarter rejected the view that ethnic activist groups are a negative force in race-relations. These findings suggest that many participants of the Neighbourhood Survey have accepted the official government position on multiculturalism in Canada. The government position emphasizes the positive dimensions of a multicultural society such as respect and acceptance of diverse cultures, religions, languages and traditions. As many theorists have argued, however, the official policy overlooks the tensions between cultural groups and the

extent to which relations of exploitation are perpetuated by emphasizing the divisions between subordinate ethnic and cultural groups and a lack of political action to reduce inequalities.

I think that prejudice and isolation are everywhere... When we first came here, we would experience it every day. I would try to shake hands, introduce myself, or start a conversation. The person wouldn't even reply—just go away...(Visible minority respondent).

Table 10: Residents' Attitudes about Discrimination and Ethnic Diversity ^a

Attitude statements	Negative rating %	Positive rating %
Views on discrimination against ethnic minorities in Sudbury.	27.9	38.2
People being judged by their skin colour or culture in Sudbury.	28.8	37.2
Ethnic minorities blame Whites too much for their problems.	32.9	22.2
Exaggeration of the extent of suffering from racial or cultural inequality.	28.7	28.7
Ethnic minorities blaming the system vs. striving to improve their situation themselves.	45.1	17.5
Reverse discrimination against Whites is as problematic as discrimination against visible minorities or Aboriginal people.	41.4	26.1
Ethnic minorities' use of accusations of racism/discrimination for their own advantage.	39.5	20.7
Responsibility of ethnic minorities for the state of race relations in this country.	18.2	43.5
Link between lack of motivation to succeed and lower paid employment among ethnic minorities.	16.3	53.7
Lack of understanding among ethnic minorities of the need to work hard to achieve success.	19	53.2
As a land of opportunity, success in Canada is based only on hard work.	56.8	19.8
View that emphasis on cultural diversity is dangerous and divisive for Canada.	30.2	41.5
The maintenance of cultural traditions a barrier to racial/ethnic equality.	25.7	38.6
Importance for Whites of learning about the culture of ethnic minorities to achieve positive inter-ethnic relations.	18.7	46.8
Role of ethnic activist groups and coalitions in preventing successful racial integration.	27.5	31.2

^a The Discrimination and Diversity Scale (Wittenbrink et al., 1997) was modified for the Canadian context. ***Negative ratings indicate more prejudice and positive ratings indicate lower prejudice.***

Francophone Issues

I'm French Canadian. I value my culture—I value [the fact that] I speak both languages and I'm proud of that (Francophone respondent).

I think there's some [discrimination]. On occasions, there's comments that are made to myself that I think are personal attacks of my language. And on occasions I have felt that. Sometimes in my work area, sometimes out in the community when you're out shopping or you know, that kind of thing. Sometimes it's comments that they will not say to me directly but they'll relate to language; it's language, you know. "Oh yeah, all you Frenchmen talk like that" or, you know, that kind of stuff (Francophone respondent).

Table 11 shows the responses of non-Francophone participants on issues pertaining to Francophones in Sudbury. The results suggest that there was considerable resentment of Francophones within the study sample. Over half of the respondents asserted that underqualified Francophones are given preferential treatment in hiring and that Francophones expect preferential treatment from officials. Furthermore, there is not much sympathy for the view that Francophone issues in Sudbury are poorly understood by the community. While there is some polarization of attitudes, over a third believed that Francophones exaggerate the extent of cultural inequality and discrimination they experience and that they are prejudiced against the majority Anglophone population. Similarly, a third of the respondents also expressed disapproval of financial aid and public services provided to Francophones. These findings reveal the volatile nature of the language issue. According to Parkin & Turcotte (2004), while most Anglophones express support for bilingualism in principle, their commitment to such policies decreases when they sense that governments are devoting substantial resources to support bilingualism or when they fear that bilingualism policies will impact negatively on their own employment opportunities.

There seems to be a lack of respect. I know at one point when we were hiring a lot of people, a lot of jobs were promoted, you know for Francophones or women or First Nation [people]. And this created some tension. You know? With coworkers who thought, actually, I remember they were clearly saying that we were getting the positions, not based on our qualities, just based on our tongue [language] (Francophone respondent).

Overall, anti-Francophone sentiment was somewhat stronger than that expressed against Aboriginal people and visible minorities. The mean of the ten statements was above the neutral mid-point (3.13) indicating more prejudice compared with the Aboriginal and Visible Minority MRS scores described above which were slightly below 3 (refer to Table 2). As Driedger (2003) has observed, there has been a long history of language conflicts in Ontario and Francophones have struggled to retain language rights. Nevertheless, Driedger (2003) argues that the ideology

of bilingualism has generally been accepted in the “bilingual belt” between Moncton, NB and Sault Ste. Marie in which Sudbury is located. Our data suggest that the struggle for language rights is ongoing given evidence of negative attitudes on the part of many Anglophones.

Well, our [flag] used to be at civic square and raised by the Canada flag and it's no longer [there]. It has now been taken down. [We're] Franco-Ontario—this represents who we are... [but] it's no longer at the civic square. Our politicians (pauses)—things are happening, so when I look at that I say, “We've gone back 20, 30, 40 years in our progress to be equal”. Like the English still don't understand [chuckle]. Yeah. It's about a misunderstanding of what it is. I mean... some [people] knew and some didn't: “It represents Québec eh?” that's what they said to me. Being a Franco-Ontarian...it was sad. It gave us an opportunity to talk about [it] in our house. And you know, we could explain it to our kids. And in truth I don't even know if our kids really had a sense of who they are, and being Francophone and, I think, the history. Our kids don't know the history and the struggles (Francophone respondent).

Table 11: Residents’ Attitudes ^a about Francophone Issues ^b

Attitude statements	Negative rating %	Positive rating %
Preference in hiring Francophones even if underqualified for the job.	52.2	27.1
The cost of offering public services in French.	32.4	40.3
The right of Francophone people to extra financial aid.	33.4	34.6
Attention and respect given to Francophones by the government and news media.	26.8	35.9
Expectation of preferential treatment from officials among Francophones.	50.4	30.3
Discrimination against Francophones.	42.5	29.4
Francophones’ ability to speak English and need for public services in French.	31.4	48.1
Francophone prejudice against Anglophones.	37.4	28.4
Francophone exaggeration of the extent to which they suffer from cultural inequality.	44.0	25.7
Lack of understanding of the problems that Francophones face.	53.6	15.2

^a Francophone respondents were excluded from this analysis. Results are based on 151 non-Francophone participants.

^b These questions were adapted from questions in the MRS and the Discrimination and Diversity Scale and some original questions. *Negative ratings indicate more prejudice and positive ratings indicate lower prejudice.*

I had an experience with the French people. If you don't speak French you are not welcome there. I met a few people, who speak French, they are very nice. I don't understand why they are trying to push the French language. They are trying to be on the French side. Maybe it is something like having a culture. They are authentic families. They speak French when I am around. It is disrespectful. You can speak any language, but have to know the time and place to speak it. You have to respect the people who live beside you (Visible minority respondent).

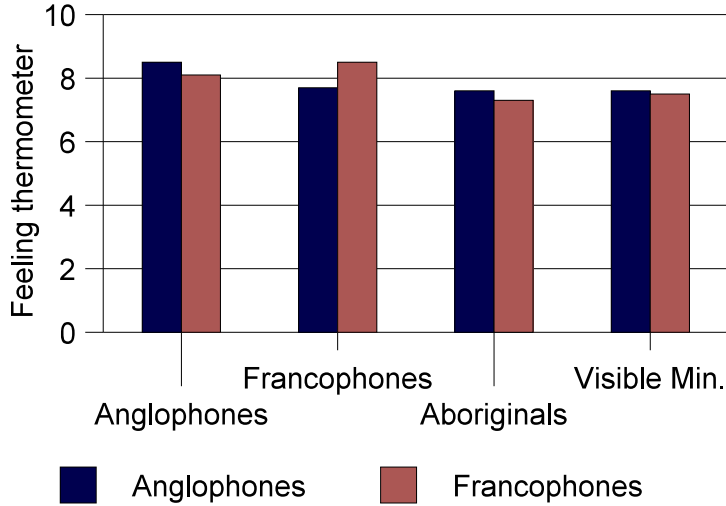
Positive and Negative Affect

Survey participants rated a series of “feeling thermometers” (measured on a scale from 1 to 10, with 1 indicating cool and 10 indicating warm) that have been commonly used to measure the extent of negative affect in American research on race-relations. As Sears et al. (1997) noted, feeling thermometers have been used by researchers as a simple index of prejudice. Figure 3 shows the overall ratings of respondents in the Neighbourhood Survey for each cultural group and Figure 4 shows the results for various cultural groups rating each other. The results indicate that Anglophones and Francophones in the Neighbourhood survey rated each cultural group similarly. However, Anglophones indicated warmest feelings toward other Anglophones while Francophones felt warmest toward other Francophones. As Figure 4 indicates, this pattern was also found among Aboriginals and visible minorities. The mean rating was highest within each of the four cultural groups while every other group was rated somewhat lower. A few respondents wrote extremely negative comments about visible minorities on the questionnaires.

These results are consistent with prior research that has examined the level of comfort that Canadians have with people from other ethnic or cultural groups. Canadians have had the highest levels of comfort with individuals born in Canada who are of British, French, or other European origins, including Jewish Canadians; they have had the lowest comfort levels with Aboriginal people and immigrants who are members of various visible minority and religious groups including West Indian Blacks, Muslims, Arabs, and Sikhs (McMullin, 2004). The results from the feeling thermometers demonstrated the same patterns (some data not shown). Hence, the use of ethnic and racial markers to gauge one's comfort level with those from other cultural groups is a common practice. As Satzewich (1998) argues, “admitting that racism is a problem in society can lead to greater self-understanding and to positive change” (p. 12). Examining attitudes to particular groups, the extent of negative affect, and individual as well as institutional practices are key aspects of engaging in a discussion about the nature of the changes required to address the problem.

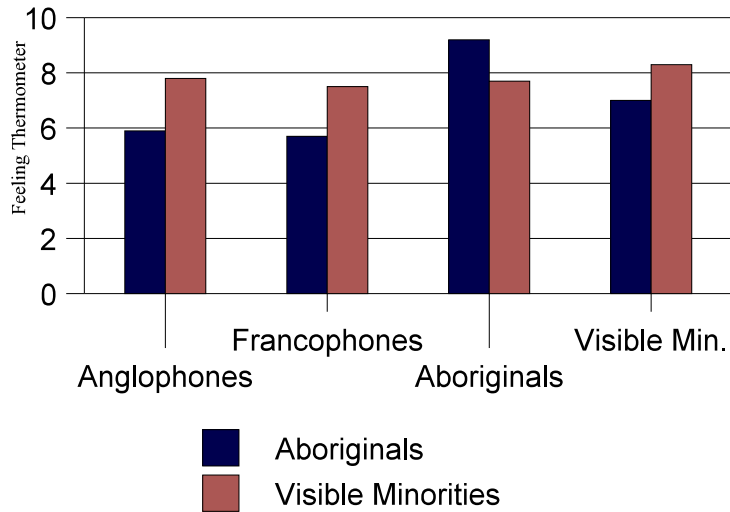
I would say that ninety percent of the people are friendly with me. Ten percent of the people at work are not friendly... They gave me the impression that I was not somebody to be trusted. Other colleagues, because they were not from my country [Indo-Pakistani], did not have these problems... At work, I don't feel very welcome (Visible minority respondent).

Figure 3: Positive and Negative Affect:
Neighbourhood Sample



Note: These results show the ratings by Anglophones and Francophones of all other cultural groups

Figure 4: Positive and Negative Affect:
Cultural Groups Survey



Note: These results show the ratings by Aboriginals and visible minorities of all other cultural groups

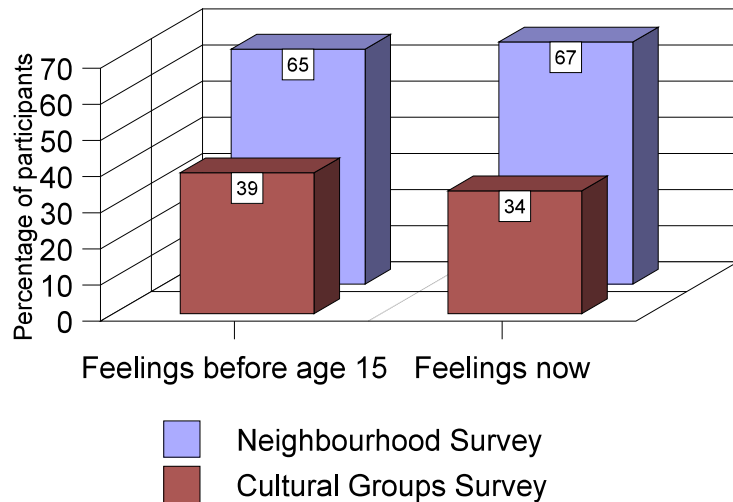
Participation in the Community: Comparison of Neighbourhood and Cultural Groups Surveys

Participants of the Neighbourhood and the Cultural Groups Surveys reported on their participation in groups or organizations in the community. A larger proportion of the participants of the Cultural Groups Survey stated that they had participated (67%) compared with those in the Neighbourhood Survey (49%). Statistics Canada (2003) also reported that 46% of the Canadian population had taken part in one or more groups or organizations. Those in the Sudbury Neighbourhood Survey most often reported that they had taken part in a religious group whereas those in the Cultural Groups survey most often mentioned their involvement in a cultural group or an ethnic or immigrant organization.

Respondents also reported on experiences of discomfort because of ethnicity, culture or race (see Figure 5). Overall, a larger proportion of the participants of the Cultural Groups survey stated that they had felt uncomfortable or out of place some of the time compared with those in the Neighbourhood Survey. Whereas a majority of those in the Neighbourhood Survey (65%) had never felt out of place due to their cultural heritage, this was indicated by a minority of those in the Cultural Groups Survey (39%). Using the same measure, Statistics Canada (2003) reported that 78% of Canadians had never felt out-of-place because of their cultural background.

In Sudbury, the vast majority of those who had felt uncomfortable because of their cultural background or race were participants of the Cultural Groups Survey. There were substantial cultural group differences in reports of feeling uncomfortable in Sudbury because of ethnicity, culture, race, or language. Less than a sixth of Anglophones and Francophones stated that they felt uncomfortable but 46 percent of visible minorities and 61 percent of Aboriginals stated that they felt out-of-place some, most, or all of the time. In contrast, Statistics Canada (2003) reported that 24% of visible minorities in Canada felt uncomfortable because of their ethnic or cultural background.

**Figure 5: Never Felt Out-of-Place
Due to Cultural Background**



As Table 12 shows, participants of the Neighbourhood Survey more often stated that they had felt out-of-place because of their religion or language rather than their ethnicity, culture, or race. A third of those in the Neighbourhood survey who said that they felt out of place because of their language were Francophones; however, the majority were Anglophones of Canadian or British origins. We may speculate that some Anglophones sometimes feel uncomfortable if they do not understand when languages other than English are being spoken.

Table 12: Reasons for Feeling Out-of-Place

Reasons	Neighbourhood Survey %^a	Cultural Groups Survey %^a
Ethnicity or culture	25.7	74.3
Race or skin colour	9.3	90.7
Religion	52.0	48.0
Language	71.3	28.7

^a Represents the percentage of those who stated that they had felt out-of-place due to their cultural background.

Close to half of the participants of the Cultural Groups Survey reported that they had experienced discrimination in Sudbury because of their culture or race within the past five years; over a third reported that this sometimes occurs while eight percent stated that it often occurs (see Figure 6). In contrast, less than a fifth of those in the Neighbourhood Survey reported that they had experienced discrimination because of their ethnic/cultural, racial or linguistic background and a similar proportion stated that it occurs sometimes or often.

Aboriginal people and visible minorities reported more discrimination than other cultural groups. Seventy percent of Aboriginals and 36 percent of visible minorities stated that they had been treated unfairly in Sudbury during the last five years because of their culture or race. A majority of Aboriginals (58%) said that they have been unfairly treated sometimes or often while nearly half of visible minorities (48%) reported such treatment sometimes or often. The Statistics Canada (2003) survey on ethnic diversity showed much lower rates of discrimination by visible minorities; the national study indicated that about 20 percent of visible minorities experienced discrimination sometimes or often in the previous five years.

The largest number of respondents of the Cultural Groups Survey stated that they experience discrimination in a store, bank, or restaurant whereas those in the Neighbourhood Survey more often reported discrimination in the workplace (see Table 13). Table 14 also shows that a larger proportion of the participants in the Cultural Groups Survey felt that they had been treated

unfairly or had been served in an unhelpful manner by professionals and staff in Sudbury. Nearly half of the participants in the Cultural Groups Survey reported unfair treatment by social services staff or retail staff. Similarly, a third or more of this group stated that their dealings with health care professionals or teachers/school staff could be characterized as unhelpful or unfair. The Statistics Canada (2003) survey on cultural diversity showed that discrimination was reported most frequently in the workplace (56% of those who were treated unfairly) or in a store, bank or restaurant (35% of those who perceived discrimination).

**Figure 6: Experienced Discrimination
In Sudbury Due to Cultural Background**

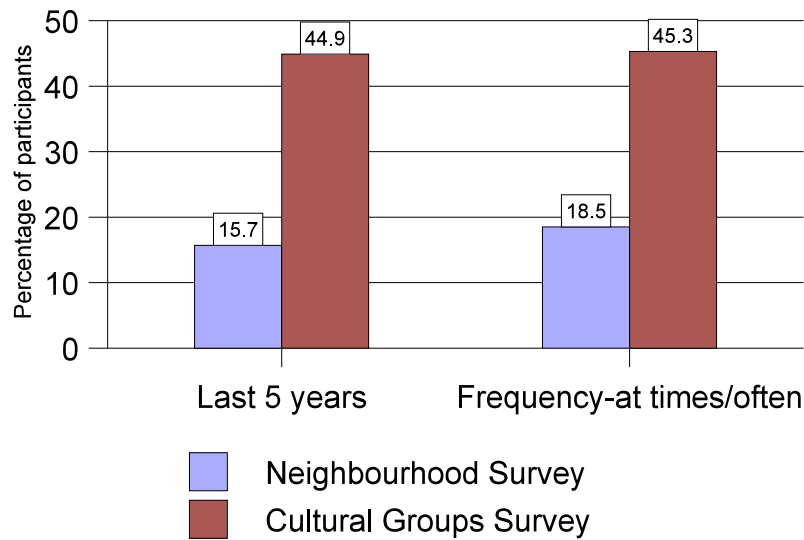


Table 13: Location for Experiences of Discrimination in Sudbury

Locations or Circumstances	Neighbourhood Survey		Cultural Groups Survey	
	n ^a	% ^a	n ^a	% ^a
On the street	15	33.3	30	66.7
In a store, bank, or restaurant	37	44.0	47	56.0
At work or when applying for a job or promotion	43	57.3	32	42.7
When dealing with police or courts	14	42.4	19	57.6

^a Based on the percentage of those who had felt out-of-place due to their cultural background.

Table 14: Experiences of Unfair Treatment by Professionals and Retail Staff in Sudbury

Professional/Staff Group	Neighbourhood Survey ^b		Cultural Groups Survey ^c	
	n	% ^a	n	% ^a
Doctors and nurses	46	18.5	43	29.7
Social Service workers	49	30.8	49	43.8
Retail staff	50	19.8	70	47.6
Teachers and school staff	50	23.8	50	36.5

^a Represents the percentage of those who did not agree that they had been treated in a helpful and fair manner.

^b Number of respondents ranged from 221 to 253.

^c Number of respondents ranges from 112 to 147

The only bad experience [related to health care] would be in the Walk-In Clinic. They wouldn't really help me...We had temporary insurance...I asked her [receptionist] for the form that had to be filled out and she wouldn't understand what I was saying. She said that I would have to pay for it [medical visit]. And I agreed. It was frustrating at the time. People were looking at us (Visible minority respondent).

Cultural Groups Survey

Participants provided information about their views on diversity, discrimination, and racism in Sudbury. Table 15 contrasts the perspectives of Aboriginal and visible minority respondents. The results indicate that substantially more Aboriginal people believe that the treatment they receive is based on their ethnic background. Less than a third of the Aboriginal respondents stated that their cultural background is **not** a factor in people's decisions of how to treat them. In contrast, most of the visible minority respondents stated that the treatment they receive is not based on their ethnic or racial background. It is notable, though, that 18 percent of visible minority respondents indicated that they are unsure whether their race or ethnic background is a factor in how they are treated. Given the prevalence of "polite" or symbolic forms of racism evident in Sudbury, some members of ethnic and cultural groups may sense that they are being treated differently on the basis of their ethnic or cultural origins but there may be considerable ambiguity about these situations.

While both Aboriginal and visible minority respondents believed that having a culturally diverse population is a positive aspect of community life, not all respondents believed that relationships between various cultural groups are positive. Compared to visible minorities, a larger proportion of the Aboriginal people believed that problems related to race relations make Sudbury a less desirable place to live. Over half of the Aboriginal respondents agreed with this statement. About a third also felt that racial diversity in Sudbury makes community decision-making more difficult. In contrast, relatively few of the visible minorities in the sample (less than a fifth) believed that race-relations made Sudbury a less desirable place in which to live or that it creates problems for community decision-making. Despite evidence of some tension and division, over three-quarters of the Aboriginal and visible minority respondents reported that they have friends from other racial or ethnic backgrounds.

**Table 15: Perceptions of Diversity and Discrimination in Sudbury:
Aboriginals and Visible Minorities**

Statements	Aboriginals ^a		Visible Minorities ^b	
	Percentage ^c		Percentage	
	Don't Know	Agree	Don't Know	Agree
I am sure that people generally use my race or ethnic background to decide how to treat me.	4.8	41.9	17.6	8.8
Having people from many ethnic backgrounds and races makes Sudbury a better place to live.	3.2	75.8	9.1	78.8
Problems related to race make Sudbury a less desirable place to live.	8.1	56.5	9.1	18.2
Racial diversity makes it more difficult to make community decisions in Sudbury	12.9	30.6	15.6	12.5
My workplace is ethnically or racially diverse.	35.7	26.8	3.3	56.7
I have friends from other racial or ethnic backgrounds.	1.7	78.3	3.2	87.1

^aNumber of respondents ranged from 56 to 62.

^bNumber of respondents ranges from 30 to 33.

^c Represents the percentage of those who were in agreement with the statements

Perceptions of Racism and Discrimination in Sudbury

The participants of the Cultural Groups Survey reported on their experiences of racism and discrimination (see Table 16). A majority of the respondents stated that they were directly affected by racism and discrimination in Sudbury. For example, only a third stated that racism did not affect them while close to two-thirds agreed that people of their race have experienced discrimination. A third of the respondents reported that race-based discrimination has made it difficult for them to obtain employment, and a fifth stated that it had made it difficult for them to obtain medical help in the past year.

A substantial proportion (a third to nearly half) have heard negative comments about race while shopping, at school or at work. Just over a third believed that social service workers treat everyone the same regardless of race. Over half of the respondents (56%) stated that they had observed discrimination based on race against someone else in Sudbury during the previous year. Discrimination based on race had been observed in schools, at the college and university, at work, in a store or restaurant, in government services, in health care services, and in recreation services. Retail stores were the most often cited as locations where discrimination was witnessed.

Table 16: Perceptions of Racism in Sudbury: Aboriginals and Visible Minorities

	Agreement^a	
	n	%
Percentage indicating agreement with the following statements:		
Racism does not affect me.	51	34.7
People of my race have been discriminated against.	87	61.7
Racism is a personal problem not a community problem.	35	24.8
Many people in Sudbury are prejudiced.	62	47.0
While shopping in the last year, I have heard negative comments about my race/other race.	61	43.8
I believe social service workers treat everyone the same regardless of race.	48	39.0
At work/school in the past year, heard negative comments made about my race/other race.	62	46.3
At work in the past year, people have commented that someone got a job because of race.	42	36.5
I believe discrimination based on race has made it hard for me to get the work I deserve.	41	33.6
I believe that I have had trouble in the past year getting medical help because of discrimination based on race.	25	19.3
I believe teachers and school staff treat everyone the same regardless of race.	63	46.3

^a Represents the percentage of those who were in agreement with the statements

Perceptions of Discrimination: Comparison of Experiences in Sudbury and Thunder Bay

Table 17 compares results of the Sudbury Cultural Groups Survey with those of an earlier study conducted in Thunder Bay (Haluza-DeLay, 2002) with regard to observations of discrimination based on race. In Thunder Bay, a sample of 212 individuals (total community sample) had provided data on observations of discrimination. However, in Sudbury, the respondents in the Cultural Groups Survey and Aboriginal respondents in the Neighbourhood Survey provided this information; a majority of these respondents (56%; n=75) stated that they had witnessed discrimination against someone else in Sudbury. A larger proportion of the Aboriginal respondents reported that they had observed discriminatory acts (76%) compared with the other respondents in the Cultural Groups Survey. In Table 17, the percentage of respondents in the Sudbury and Thunder Bay studies who had witnessed discrimination in various social locations is shown. For every social location, a larger percentage of the Sudbury respondents reported that they had observed discrimination. This finding may in part be due to the differences in the samples since the Sudbury sample was based on members of minority groups while the Thunder Bay sample was a community sample (mostly members of the dominant culture, i.e. Anglo-Euro). The locations in which discrimination was reported most, in both Sudbury and Thunder Bay, were schools, work, and stores or restaurants. In Sudbury, among the subsample of participants who had witnessed incidents of discrimination, a majority had seen it happen in a store or restaurant.

Table 17: Observations of Discrimination based on Race against Someone Else in Sudbury and Thunder Bay

	Sudbury ^a	Thunder Bay ^a
Social locations of race-based discrimination:	%	%
School	48.0	26.9
College/university	32.0	25.5
Work	33.3	25.5
Store or restaurant	72.0	51.4
Government services	33.3	12.7
Health services	24.0	15.5
Recreation	33.3	18.9
Other	21.3	15.3

^a Represents the percentage of respondents who reported that they had observed discrimination.

I am discriminated against and I think most of my family is. People are always saying things or looking at us funny—like we are criminals or something. It happens to my whole family all of the time (Aboriginal respondent).

The participants of the Cultural Groups Survey and Aboriginal respondents also reported on their personal experiences of racism in these contexts. A majority (56%, n=64) stated that they had experienced discrimination in the previous year because of their racial background. A larger proportion of the Aboriginal respondents reported experiences of discrimination (72%) compared with other respondents. A quarter or more reported discrimination in schools, at college or university, at work, in stores or restaurants, and when accessing government or health services. Retail stores were the most frequent locations in which racism was experienced. Table 18 compares the results for Sudbury and Thunder Bay. The results for the two cities were similar, except that the Sudbury participants reported more discrimination in schools and in stores or restaurants. In contrast, the Thunder Bay participants reported more discrimination in the workplace and in recreational settings. A larger proportion of the Aboriginal respondents stated that they had experienced discrimination (72%) when compared with other respondents; most of these experiences were reported to have occurred in stores or restaurants.

Table 18: Experienced Discrimination based on Race in Sudbury and Thunder Bay

	Sudbury	Thunder Bay
Social locations of race-based discrimination:	%	%
School	37.5	26.8
College/university	29.7	23.2
Work	25.0	39.8
Store or restaurant	75.0	53.6
Government services	25.0	26.8
Health services	21.9	21.4
Recreation	17.2	25.0
Other	28.1	32.1
Number of respondents	64	56

^a Based on the percentage of respondents who reported that they had observed discrimination.

Well especially because I came from the Middle East [and] because I am Muslim and I am Arab, so this [discrimination] is definitely there.... Some people look at us and they know that we are Muslim—they say those are [the people who are] terrorists... (Visible minority respondent).

To me it seems like, at school there is a lot of international students that are there. And I wouldn't really say that they have priority status or anything like that but I have noticed that they are, some of them are treated kind of lower class than some of the non-Native people. It seems like if you are any shade of color, you are put into a group of, I guess you would call it a secondary, you are not held at a higher status as people of non-color (Aboriginal respondent).

Figures 7 and 8 compare the results for Sudbury and Thunder Bay on the frequency with which respondents had observed instances of discrimination. The overall pattern of results is similar except that a larger proportion of the Aboriginal respondents in Sudbury reported that they observe discrimination very frequently. In addition, a smaller proportion of the Thunder Bay sample believed that discrimination occurred *often* rather than *very often*.

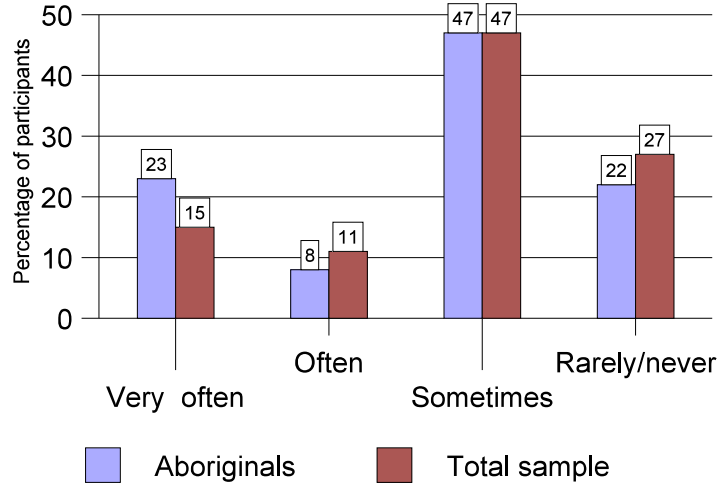
The respondents to the Cultural Groups Survey also rated the frequency with which they believed that discrimination occurs against various cultural/ethnic/racial groups in Sudbury. Figure 9 shows that over half of the survey participants believed that Aboriginal people frequently experience discrimination while over a third believed that visible minorities frequently experience discrimination. Francophones and Caucasian Anglophones are seldom believed to have such experiences. Given these findings, it is not surprising that half of the respondents believed that many people in Sudbury are prejudiced.

I would imagine, like, people who can't tell the difference between red skin and brown skin would probably have a problem with black skin too... This Francophone thing, I think is kind of funny. Like we are talking about just French people—I think that it's perfectly good to be French, you know, everybody wants to be French. The government wants you to be French, the school makes you take French, and you know, I can't see how being French is a bad thing. I'd like to be French (laughs). French is probably good in Sudbury and being Black is probably bad (Aboriginal respondent).

I don't see anywhere discriminations against Francophones in this community. I think many people are at the bottom of the totem pole. In the city, there are not that many visible minorities... I find though, that the treatment that comes from the Francophone community against Native people is worse than some other cultural groups (Aboriginal respondent).

I know that if you're French, you get good treatment. Like you can get a job if you could speak French... That's for darn sure. Not anything else because it always says bilingual. So I'm bilingual—I speak Cree and English but that's not bilingual because I don't speak French. And when it says wanted "clerk", bilingualism is an asset, that cuts me out (Aboriginal respondent).

Figure 7: Frequency of Discrimination
Observed in Sudbury



Well if you go out every day, then something happens every day [discrimination]... But I would say, six or seven times a week and if you got on the bus and went to uptown, that's two right there, you know. For sure somebody is going to say something or do something. For sure. Always (Aboriginal respondent).

Figure 8: Frequency of Discrimination
Observed in Thunder Bay

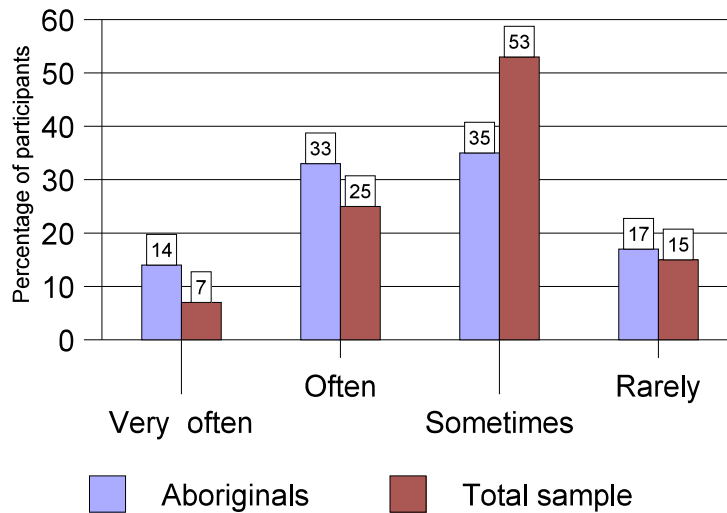
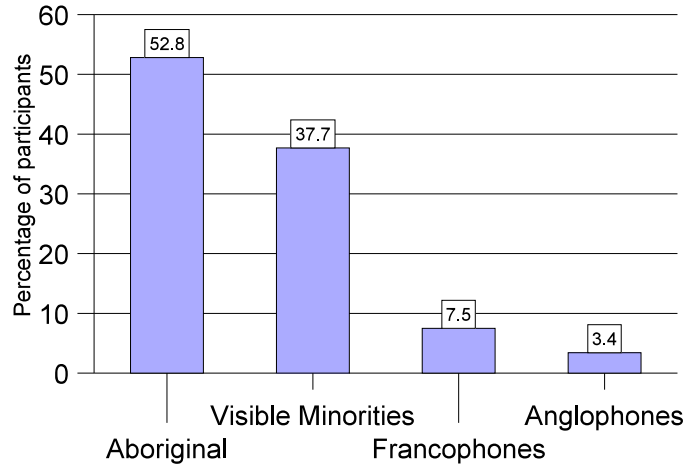


Figure 9: Belief in Extent of Discrimination Against Cultural Groups



[What's it like to be a Native woman in Sudbury?] It's lonely. It's like we have to stick together—you know, my family and I are really close and we have to be close. But sometimes it would be nice if I had more friends. I was thinking about how many times I was scared or lonely or just kind like uncomfortable in places like at the movies or coming home from the movies. You know, I ran away a few times but I didn't really have anywhere to go, so that didn't work out so good. I don't know, there just isn't a lot to do, like it's [Sudbury] not a good place to be if you are Native (Aboriginal respondent).

Impact of Prejudice and Discrimination

Participants of the Cultural Groups Survey provided explanations about the kinds of incidents of discrimination and racism they had experienced or witnessed. Over a third of those who provided written comments described the recurrent features of discriminatory behaviours as comprising rude jokes about minorities, staring, poor treatment by sales clerks, name-calling, unfriendly attitudes, racist comments, stereotyping and labelling, and general mistreatment. Some commented that Aboriginal people were most frequently the targets of discrimination and racism; however, it was also noted that East Indian people and African-Canadians are treated poorly in Sudbury.

As the results from the Neighbourhood Survey showed, ethnic/cultural “hostility” (in the sense of the negative attitudes and behaviours described above) and discrimination are closely connected to control over resources such as employment and, in the case of Aboriginal people, land, fishing

and hunting rights. Moreover, members of visible minorities and Aboriginal people reported on the impacts of discrimination in a range of social settings in Sudbury, including school and the workplace. In addition, over two-thirds of the respondents stated that being poor affects how people are treated. The respondents believed that poor people are labelled as being drunk, lazy, and “welfare bums,” that they have poorer access to resources than do those who are more affluent, that they are generally judged on the basis of their social status, and that they are treated disrespectfully by businesses and service providers.

The impacts of such behaviours and actions take a toll at a psychological level. Francophones, Aboriginals and visible minorities described the hurtful nature of prejudiced and discriminatory actions. The participants reported on their reactions to these incidents. They mentioned a range of reactions including anger, rage, outrage, sadness, loneliness and depression. Aboriginal and visible minority participants described how they cope with racist encounters:

Well you just have to ignore it, because you can't say anything. Because you don't want to fight with people so you must try to close your ears and keep your eyes open and just ignore it... Then I just get mad inside and I can feel my heart pounding and I just keep thinking to myself “ You're going to be home, you're going to be home, you're going to be home”... Sometimes it makes me depressed because I feel like I'm not important or I'm not a good person. Or, you know, like I'm sad, then sometimes I'm mad—and I think, “You don't have the right to say things to me like that because I am a good person”. I guess it does lots of different things to me (Aboriginal respondent).

Well, if [the incident] is something that I cannot do anything about, I just turn away—try to ignore it. Sometimes it becomes very difficult. In certain situations, I would explain myself and if that doesn't work, I ignore it. I try to be very polite. Normally, I would say that I don't really do anything. I try not to respond... [These experiences are] frustrating and very disturbing. Normally, things are not bad, but sometimes it causes health issues such as stress, panic attacks, and anxiety (Visible minority respondent).

Some of the Aboriginal participants stated that they have developed active strategies of resistance. Some stated that they address incidents directly by speaking out when they encounter racism in stores or restaurants. It was also mentioned by a respondent that her children retaliate when harassed by non-Aboriginal children. However, given the systematic nature of racism against Aboriginal people, there is a sense that they must be careful:

It seems like everyone is pointing the finger and watching them [children] constantly. [It's] as if there is a camera on them all the time. [We're] under surveillance at all times and if something goes wrong, then you hear about it right away (Aboriginal respondent).

We were followed all the way home from downtown a few weeks ago. And we parked the car at our house and the cops stop right there at our front doors. We just said "Hello" and walked into our house. They were just profiling us, I think. They probably assumed we were drinking because it was late Saturday night (Aboriginal respondent).

Scrutiny, surveillance, degradation and rejection were described as common experiences in many social contexts in Sudbury including stores, restaurants, recreational settings, health care settings, government services, the workplace, schools, colleges, university, busses and, as described in the quote above, in interactions with police. Patterns of racialized inequality clearly exist in Sudbury and affect Aboriginal people most. The survey and interview data from Aboriginal respondents contrast starkly with the results from the Neighbourhood survey, in which many Sudburians expressed neutral, ambivalent, or positive attitudes about Aboriginal people and visible minorities. It seems that the social distance between the dominant cultural groups (i.e. Anglophones and Francophones of European origins) and Aboriginal people as well as some visible minorities contributes to exclusion and social isolation for members of the latter groups. Many Aboriginal people do not appear to view neutral stances as reflecting acceptance. Patterns of exclusion are perpetuated by institutional structures, practices, beliefs and images of ethnic and cultural groups. As Small (1998) has observed, describing the pervasiveness of racialized relations is of no comfort; but the result of ignoring widespread prejudice and discrimination is further injustice. The way forward begins with acknowledging and understanding it.

CONCLUSIONS

The issues pertaining to relations between groups based on ethnicity, culture, language, and race are complex and often emotionally charged. Racialized relations and discrimination are topics that many people choose not to discuss. However, many researchers, social theorists, and activists have argued that the only way to achieve positive change is to acknowledge the extent of the problem, engage in a process of self- and mutual-understanding, and work out solutions.

The findings of the Neighbourhood Survey showed that there is considerable polarization in the attitudes of the dominant groups (Francophones and Anglophones of European origins) toward Aboriginal people and visible minorities. A small percentage of the participants (less than 3%) expressed the most extreme racist views in response to the standardized scales. Yet the results also showed that about a third of the local residents of Anglophone/European backgrounds held negative stereotypes about Aboriginal people and expressed views about other cultural/linguistic groups that are consistent with modern racism theory. These attitudes include the denial of ongoing racism and discrimination, resentment toward forms of affirmative action, and the acceptance of individualistic explanations of inequality.

In addition, the survey data must be interpreted in the light of knowledge about response patterns toward questions about ethnic and race-relations. It is well known that respondents are often affected by *social desirability response bias* and that they provide answers that conform to norms of politeness or political correctness (Monteith & Spicer, 2000). Satzewich (1998, p. 11) has described the tendency of Canadians to mask negative attitudes toward other racial or cultural groups:

Historically, many Canadians have been reluctant to admit that they, their ideas and their behaviours have contributed to the social marginalization, denigration and inferiorization of others based on the negative evaluation of “race” difference. Furthermore, one of our most enduring national myths is that there is less racism here than in the United States.

The various phases of the current study have provided for data triangulation. This aspect of the study design has enabled us to describe both the attitudes of Anglophone and Francophone residents and the experiences of racialization and discrimination experienced by Aboriginal people and visible minorities. The data have shown that Aboriginal people and visible minorities encounter discrimination on a regular basis in Sudbury.

The comparison of the current study findings with results from a national survey by Statistics Canada (2003) suggests that cultural minorities in Sudbury perceive more racism and discrimination than do others in Canada as a whole. While the sample for the Cultural Groups Survey cannot be said to be representative of the visible minority population in Sudbury and thus the results are not generalizable, it is noteworthy that the visible minority participants were highly educated and had a high rate of employment. Therefore, this group was more advantaged than the general population in many respects. The indication that visible minorities in the Sudbury sample felt less comfortable due to their cultural background and reported more discrimination than did their counterparts in other communities in Canada is disturbing. In addition, a comparison of experiences of discrimination in Sudbury and Thunder Bay (based on the same measures) showed that the participants of the Cultural Groups Survey in Sudbury reported more race-based discrimination, particularly in stores and restaurants.

Other key findings of this study regard the attitudes of Anglophone residents toward Francophones. Negative views were prevalent among a third to half of the respondents. The most salient aspects of anti-Francophone feelings pertained to employment issues—about half of the local residents in the sample held the view that underqualified Francophones receive preference in hiring. The results also indicated that a substantial proportion of the respondents believed that Francophones exaggerate the level of cultural inequality they experience. Written comments in the questionnaires revealed resentment of French language rights. Anglophones expressed the belief that the existence of Francophone groups or organizations represents a form of reverse discrimination against Anglophones. Others stated that they feel uncomfortable when French is

being spoken because they cannot understand what is being said. Some described a perception that Francophones are unfriendly to Anglophones.

Despite these findings, consideration must also be given to indications of openness and acceptance of various cultural groups in Sudbury. As noted above, the attitudes expressed by the participants of the Neighbourhood sample were quite polarized. Thus, a strong minority of respondents professed positive attitudes toward Aboriginal people, visible minorities, and Francophones. Some participants provided written comments on questionnaires that revealed pride in Sudbury's bilingual character and satisfaction that Sudbury is becoming a more diverse community. These results suggest that there would be a strong base of support for initiatives aimed at overcoming discriminatory and racist attitudes in the community.

PARTICIPANTS' RECOMMENDATIONS FOR CHANGE

The participants of the interviews and the Cultural Groups survey made recommendations for change in Sudbury to address prejudice and discrimination. These recommendations pertained to four areas:

- education and public awareness;
- developing and implementing programs at the community and organizational level;
- government leadership and legislative change; and
- individual change.

The largest number of suggestions pertained to the need for education and public awareness about the issues of racism, prejudice, and discrimination. The participants stated that education and an understanding of various cultures must be introduced to children at an early age, both at home and in school.

If you are watching TV and there are Black people on it, and [the parents] say racial remarks, your kids will learn it. If you teach them and show them that we are the same and it doesn't matter what colour, you just have to respect them...I think it is education [that is key] (Visible minority respondent).

Well sometimes people call you names, or they just stare at you or point. You know, [they] say things to their children like "Don't look at the Indian". It's amazing how rude some people can be...(Aboriginal respondent).

Well I think they have to educate people starting with the first grade that you go to school, all the way through school, that, you know, we're all people. And I think that whatever colour you are or whatever you are, whether you're White, Black, Native or not, think that everybody has got to stop the arguing and sit down and

talk to each other, but more importantly, listen. Everybody just talks and yells and they don't pay attention to everybody else's discussions (Aboriginal respondent).

It was noted that training must be provided to teachers and school curriculum must be reviewed in order to ensure that the educational system is not contributing to the problems of prejudice, discrimination, and racism. In an interview, an Aboriginal respondent commented that separate Aboriginal schools are required so that Aboriginal students can feel that they belong to the school community:

You know, they always want everybody to go to the same school and do all the same stuff. But you know, Natives aren't "supposed" to be at that school. So maybe we need to just be by ourselves because we would feel, like, obviously we would be, part of the group. I thought that maybe might help for high school (Aboriginal respondent).

The participants also recommended that public education campaigns be introduced to reach the general public. It was suggested that profiles of successful members of visible minority groups could generate more positive perceptions of various cultural groups within the general public. It was also believed that there should be more cultural events held in Sudbury to promote various minority groups. In addition, it was noted that the mass media are an important source of negative information about minority groups and also as a potential mechanism for change if more positive content were to be disseminated.

Generally the solution is to put some taps on the media. They should understand their responsibility because people take them seriously (Visible minority respondent).

So, the media has a role to play. Certainly, putting articles in papers that talk about what these differences are [between cultural groups]... Some advertisements and some programs [are needed]. The film industry plays a role as well...um books and the internet and those kinds of things. I think children are more tolerant than what we adults are... But again, the North American culture is very, very strong. We're very influenced by what the Americans do and say and act. So it's more difficult today to try to hang on to your culture and your language and your norms because of the mass media (Francophone respondent).

I think they have to just keep showing people that we're good, and you know being out there and being police officers, or health care aids, or you know that kind of stuff so people will stop thinking that we're lazy or stupid or that we don't belong here (Aboriginal respondent).

A second set of recommendations focussed on the need to make change at the community and organizational levels. The development of partnerships between cultural groups was suggested as a way of promoting interaction and mutual understanding. It was also believed that organizations must hold sensitivity training workshops for staff.

I think it is a collective mindset of the whole community...People are individuals. The mind learns what it sees (Visible minority respondent).

A third area of change was through government leadership and legislative change. Some participants advocated for affirmative action programs that would assist Aboriginal people and visible minorities in obtaining employment.

The government has to do something about education. They have to give much better education to the people. The government has to teach the people to respect the people (Visible minority respondent).

I think we need more Native voices at the local, municipal, federal, and provincial level. We need a chief for Prime Minister. They [Aboriginals] need to be more in the inside [of government], not [just] a lot of representatives in the community. You know, like there's not that many people running for Council or anything. The Native people here in the city should have applicants in all areas, not only in the First Nations organizations—particularly in the City, the high schools, the universities... (Aboriginal respondent).

Finally, a number of participants stated that change must be made at the individual level. Individual community members should speak up to denounce racist and discriminatory actions, policies, and practices.

I guess [racism] is a community problem because the people in the community, if they don't stand up and say things to stop people from being racist and making comments and things, well, then it's the whole community's problem... I don't think everybody is racist. Not everybody. But there's a few and they always seem to get some other people doing it. So if you could get those couple of people from being so rude, then maybe others wouldn't be either. So I guess it's the whole community that has to educate themselves (Aboriginal respondent).

The people have to talk. They have to look inside themselves and be very honest with every member of the family—don't hide anything (Visible minority respondent).

RECOMMENDATIONS

The following recommendations are based on the strategies for local change that were mentioned by the study participants.

Educational Institutions

1. Implement local strategies to ensure that schools and educational institutions do not contribute to racism and discrimination in Sudbury.
2. Develop and implement local strategies, including teacher training, that promote the full inclusion of various cultural groups in schools and other community settings.
3. Engage cultural groups and organizations in Sudbury in a process of ensuring that school curricula and educational materials do not contain information that promotes prejudice or negative stereotypes about ethnic and cultural groups.

Public Education/Awareness

4. Work with cultural groups and organizations in Sudbury to develop strategies to dispel negative stereotypes about cultural groups (e.g. by celebrating the accomplishments of their community members and leaders).
5. Work with the local media to ensure that local coverage does not perpetuate negative stereotypes, prejudice, and racism.

Community Programs and Organizations

6. Develop strategies for cultural groups to interact with each other, in order to develop mutual understanding, and to enable them to work together to combat discrimination and racism in the community.
7. Hold sensitivity training sessions for the staff of local agencies and organizations in order to address racism and discrimination in the workplace.

Private Sector and Government

8. Develop strategies for working with the private sector in Sudbury to combat racism and discrimination in stores, restaurants, and other private businesses.
9. Lobby all levels of government to develop leadership and legislative change to address racism and discrimination and achieve social equality for all ethnic and cultural groups.

Individuals

10. Develop strategies and educational materials for children and the general public to make positive change at the individual level (e.g. by providing information about how to recognize discriminatory language, behaviour, and policies and how to speak out to expose and denounce such practices).

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