Discrimination Experienced by Immigrants, Visible Minorities, and Indigenous Peoples in Hamilton

An Empirical Study by the Hamilton Immigration Partnership Council

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Executive Summary

This report provides insight into the discrimination experiences of immigrants, visible minorities, and Indigenous Peoples in Hamilton, Ontario, in order to support the development of evidence-based anti-discrimination initiatives at the local level. To this end, a representative survey (N = 784) was conducted in March 2021 to examine the extent and context of discrimination experienced by immigrants, visible minorities, and Indigenous Peoples in Hamilton, in comparison to people who are not members of these groups. The survey also investigated the presumed basis for this discrimination, who is perpetrating these acts of discrimination, and whether specific forms of discrimination are taking place. In addition, the survey examined how individuals respond to these experiences of discrimination, including how they cope with discrimination and feel about it, and their more general feelings of acceptance and welcome in the community.

A methodological strength of this research was the targeting of substantial numbers of immigrants and visible minorities and Indigenous Peoples for inclusion, and the recruitment procedure that used random digit dialing, ensuring relatively representative samples. Immigrants and visible minorities were combined for the majority of analyses because of the substantial overlap between these two groups in Hamilton (though we of course acknowledge that not all immigrants in Hamilton are visible minorities and not all visible minorities in Hamilton are immigrants). In our Immigrants & Visible Minorities group, over 70% of respondents were both immigrants and visible minorities.

The results show that approximately 8 out of 10 Indigenous Peoples and 6 out of 10 Immigrants & Visible Minorities reported experiencing discrimination in Hamilton in the last three years compared to 5 out of 10 respondents in the comparison White Non-immigrants group. Immigrants & Visible Minorities and Indigenous Peoples perceived their experiences of discrimination as based on ethnocultural factors related to different minority group statuses (e.g., race or skin colour, indigenous identity, and ethnicity or culture). In contrast, comparison White Non-immigrants tended to perceive their experiences of discrimination as based on more universal factors (e.g., age, gender, physical appearance, and income level).

On average, Indigenous Peoples reported experiencing discrimination in more contexts than Immigrants & Visible Minorities, and Immigrants & Visible Minorities reported experiencing discrimination in more contexts than White Non-immigrants. For both Immigrants & Visible Minorities and Indigenous Peoples, three contexts were among the top five most frequently mentioned contexts in which respondents had experienced discrimination. These included when applying for a job or promotion, while using public areas (e.g., parks and sidewalks), and while

using public transit (e.g., buses, trains or taxis). For Immigrants & Visible Minorities top contexts also included at social gatherings and when attending schools or classes. For Indigenous Peoples, top contexts also included at their job (e.g., from supervisors, co-workers, or clients) and when looking for housing.

In terms of specific types of discrimination that were experienced, from the list provided, respondents in all three groups were most likely to indicate inappropriate jokes, derogatory language and verbal abuse. Furthermore, in all three groups, respondents identified perpetrators as male and female, although males were mentioned more often than females. Also, perpetrators were most commonly reported to be middle aged and White. Of interest, in the Indigenous Peoples group, 1 in 5 respondents also reported perpetrators to be other Indigenous Peoples.

In all three groups, respondents reported that discrimination experiences were more likely to lead to feelings of discouragement, exclusion and powerlessness than shame. However, Indigenous Peoples tended to experience more negative emotions than respondents in the other two groups. Also, on average, respondents in all three groups reported experiencing anxiety and depression to some extent as a result of their discrimination experiences. To cope with their discrimination experiences, respondents reported using both active and passive coping strategies. This was particularly the case among respondents in the Immigrants & Visible Minorities group as well as the White Non-immigrants group. Finally, in all three groups, respondents who had not experienced discrimination tended to have a slightly higher sense of acceptance and welcome in Hamilton than those who had experienced discrimination.

Recommendations for counteracting this discrimination focus on three areas. First, it is important to promote an environment that encourages victims of discrimination to report their experiences. Only experiences that are acknowledged can be addressed. Second, the findings suggest that it is important to help victims of discrimination to use effective coping strategies so that they do not internalize the discrimination that they experience. As a primary focus of the recommendations, the third recommendation focuses on strategies for preventing and counteracting the discrimination reported in Hamilton. These strategies should take into account the findings of the current research in terms of the context and nature of discrimination in Hamilton, as well as the research literature on effective anti-discrimination strategies. In this way, Hamilton can work toward becoming a more welcoming community in which all groups are treated with respect, and discriminatory treatment becomes an exception rather than an everyday occurrence for members of certain groups.

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Overview

This report describes the results of a representative survey (March 2021, N = 784) examining discrimination experienced by immigrants, visible minorities[1], and Indigenous Peoples in Hamilton, Ontario. Although there have been a number of previous large-scale national surveys on discrimination conducted in Canada (e.g., Environics Institute, 2010; Ibrahim, 2018), small sample sizes at the local level have precluded the ability to examine results of these surveys for specific communities outside of the large metropolises. The study described in this report fills this gap by examining local experiences of discrimination in Hamilton. Gaining insight into these experiences is crucial as a basis for developing anti-discrimination evidence-informed initiatives for the community that target where discrimination is occurring, who is most likely to be perpetrating and experiencing discrimination, and how to reduce its negative impact. These anti-discrimination initiatives would help make Hamilton a more just and equitable community, and would protect its residents from the harmful negative outcomes that experiencing discrimination can produce. Additionally, relationships between people of different groups would be improved as a result of anti-discrimination initiatives, making Hamilton a more neighbourly community. Furthermore, anti-discrimination initiatives would help make Hamilton a more welcoming community that could attract, integrate, and retain diverse individuals, an integral part of Canada's strategy to sustain the economy (Government of Canada, 2020; Morency et al., 2017).

The study described in this report examined the extent and context of discrimination experienced by immigrants, visible minorities, and Indigenous Peoples in comparison to people who are not members of these groups, whether specific forms of discriminations are being experienced, the presumed basis for this discrimination and its perpetrators, and how targets of discrimination respond to these experiences (how they cope with those experiences and feel about them). In the following sections we provide background and context for the need for this research, describe the results of the survey, and provide recommendations that are informed by these results.

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[1] This report uses the term 'visible minorities' as utilized by Statistics Canada (2020a). However, we acknowledge that in the current discourse, the term racialized persons may be preferred in public discussions of the findings. Indigenous Peoples are not included in this category.

Discrimination

Discrimination refers to inappropriate and unfair treatment of people simply because they belong to certain groups. Discrimination includes both negative behaviour toward a member of another group based on their group membership, and less positive behaviour toward them than toward a member of one's own group in comparable situations (Dovidio et al., 2010). Discriminatory treatment can occur as a result of cultural understandings, policies, and practices that deny members of certain groups equal treatment, referred to as institutional discrimination (Dovidio et al., 2010). For instance, European understandings, policies, and practices related to governance, land ownership, and education have resulted in significant mistreatment and injustice experienced by Indigenous Peoples throughout Canada's history, the impact of which still persists today (Neylan, 2018). Additionally, immigration related policies and practices have historically denied or made it difficult for people from visible minority groups to enter Canada (Dench, 2000). These examples of unfair treatment towards immigrants, visible minorities, and Indigenous Peoples describe how institutional discrimination can become a systemic form of mistreatment experienced by people who belong to certain minority groups.

Discrimination also occurs between individuals. At an individual level, discrimination refers to behaviour that disproportionately favours or provides an advantage to people belonging to some groups while disadvantaging or harming people belonging to other groups (Dovidio et al., 2010). Discriminatory behaviour can be overt or take more subtle forms. Overt forms of discrimination are clearly recognizable as unfair, are generally viewed as unacceptable, are often unlawful, and are for the most part intentional (e.g., verbal and physical assault; Jones et al., 2016). Subtle forms of discrimination (e.g., being avoided or ignored, inappropriate jokes; Jones et al., 2016) can appear as though they are harmless, can be viewed as acceptable, are typically lawful, and are more likely to be seen as unintentional. Therefore, people may experience discrimination in a variety of ways, be they through institutional systems or through overt and subtle discriminatory behaviour perpetrated by individuals.

Discrimination in Canada

In Canada, immigrants, visible minorities, and Indigenous Peoples tend to experience discriminatory behaviour individually as well as systemically, through unequal access to employment, housing, education, and private and public services (Environics Institute, 2010; Environics Institute for Survey Research, 2019; Esses, 2021). These experiences are based on a variety of factors such as ethnicity, race, and religion, which typically do not disadvantage their native-born White counterparts. Furthermore, they experience discrimination across a variety of settings as they attempt to engage in day-to-day life such as when walking in the streets, using

public transit, frequenting stores and restaurants, in the workplace, in educational settings, when accessing health care, when engaging with the police and criminal justice system, when attempting to rent places to live, and when travelling across borders and through airports (Environics Institute for Survey Research, 2019; Nangia, 2013; Novac et al., 2002). A recent national study revealed that the majority of Indigenous (53%) and Black (54%) Canadians have personally experienced discrimination based on their race or ethnicity, with South Asian (38%) and Chinese (36%) Canadians, and Canadians of other racialized groups (32%) also reporting experiences of discrimination (Environics Institute for Survey Research, 2019).

Discrimination experienced by immigrants, visible minorities, and Indigenous Peoples has unfortunately been on the rise over the last decade. For instance, hate crimes (criminal offenses motivated by hate that target specific populations such as particular ethnic, racial, and religious groups) have been increasing. Data collected by Statistics Canada reveal that approximately 2,000 hate crimes in Canada were noted by police in 2019, a marked increase from the approximately 1,200 noted in 2013 (Moreau, 2021). Of the hate crimes reported in 2019, most (46%) were motivated by hate based on race or ethnicity, followed by a large portion (32%) motivated by religion. The data also reveal that the most common types of hate crimes being committed include general mischief, uttering threats, and assault. Additionally, the data reveal that Black and Jewish people are the targets of most hate crimes, while Indigenous youth are the youngest population to be victims and to sustain injuries from the incidents. Furthermore, the data reveal that hate crimes targeting Arab or West Asian populations, the Black population, and Muslims are on the rise. These hate crimes tend to occur in public spaces such as the street or parks, educational and religious institutions, and commercial businesses (Moreau, 2021).

Hate-based behaviours are also prevalent on social media. A recent study conducted for the Canadian Race Relations Foundation revealed that Canadians are concerned about hate speech occurring online and would like to see more being done to address the issue (Abacus Data, 2021). In that study, racialized people were found to experience online hate more so than non-racialized people. Results of that study also revealed that online hate was occurring in the form of offensive name calling, racist comments, comments inciting violence, and threats of physical harm. Similarly, data collected by Statistics Canada reveal that online hate crimes tend to target Muslim, Jewish, and Black populations and occur in the form of uttering threats, public incitement of hatred, and harassment (Moreau, 2021).

Immigrants, visible minorities, and Indigenous Peoples in Canada also experience everyday discrimination as they attempt to build secure lives. In the context of employment, immigrants who do not have English sounding names, who are religious minorities (e.g., Muslim), and who are visible minorities (e.g., Black, South Asian), are given fewer opportunities to interview for

jobs, and when they do interview, they are evaluated less favourably than Canadian-born applicants (Esses et al., 2014; Oreopoulos, 2011). Similarly, the results of a large-scale Canadian survey conducted by Statistics Canada revealed that immigrants tend to experience discrimination at their places of work and when applying for a job or a promotion (Ibrahim, 2018). Immigrants, visible minorities, and Indigenous Peoples also experience discrimination when attempting to secure housing. A study conducted by researchers in collaboration with the Canada Mortgage and Housing Corporation found that immigrants, visible minorities, and Indigenous Peoples tend to be denied access to rental units by landlords more often than White Canadian-born people (Novac et al., 2002). Additionally, high-profile incidents highlight Indigenous Peoples' experiences of discrimination when attempting to access health care. Recently, one Indigenous woman fell victim to demeaning racial slurs, swearing, and neglect from hospital staff and ultimately passed away in their care (Shingler, 2020).

There is also evidence of systemic injustices and disadvantage experienced by immigrants, visible minorities, and Indigenous Peoples in Canada. For instance, many immigrants are admitted into Canada based on their skills and credentials; however, after they immigrate, their foreign credentials and experience are often not recognized by employers and they often do not qualify for licensure from Canadian regulatory bodies (Ertorer, et al., 2020; Ng & Gagnon, 2020). That lack of recognition leaves immigrants unemployed or underemployed (i.e., in jobs for which they are overqualified), particularly if they are visible minorities (Esses et al., 2007; Ng & Gagnon, 2020). Rooted in a long history of oppression, Black and Indigenous populations tend to be disproportionately overrepresented in the criminal justice system, have poorer economic and health conditions, and lower educational attainment (Truth and Reconciliation Commission of Canada, 2015; United Nations Human Rights Council, 2017). Canada's historical Indian residential school policy physically removed Indigenous children from their homes and families in an attempt to remove their Indigenous cultures and assimilate them to European ways of thinking and being, and included experiences of psychological trauma and physical harm, resulting in substance abuse, poor family dynamics, violence, and self-harm passed down over generations (Loppie et al., 2014; Palmater, 2014).

A recent Statistics Canada survey (2020b) revealed that immigrants, visible minorities, and Indigenous Peoples reported experiencing more discrimination during the COVID-19 pandemic than the average reported incidents by all respondents. Again, these incidents were often based on race, ethnicity, and culture. Most incidents of discrimination experienced by these groups occurred when frequenting a store, bank, or restaurant, while at work or when applying for a job, and when walking on sidewalks or at parks. The COVID-19 pandemic has also resulted in increased anti-Asian discrimination in Canada. The Chinese Canadian National Council Toronto Chapter received 1,150 reports of racist attacks targeting the Asian community between March

2020 and February 2021 (Kong et al., 2020). Of the incidents included in the analyses (643 incidents reported between March 2020 and December 2021) most occurred in public spaces, parks, streets, or sidewalks, and in grocery stores and restaurants in Ontario and British Columbia. Most incidents took the form of verbal and physical assaults, unwanted physical contact, as well as being coughed at or spit on. A qualitative analysis of the reported incidents revealed that many of these attacks were perpetrated in a blatant and ruthless manner, were instigated by blame for the COVID-19 pandemic, targeted vulnerable people (the elderly and youth), and caused severe physical and psychological harm. The COVID-19 pandemic has also highlighted the rise of Islamophobia in Canada. Recently, the media has covered alarming forms of discrimination against Muslims including brutal physical attacks (e.g., a Muslim woman wearing a hijab having a gun shot at her; Baig, 2021). These findings reveal how experiences of discrimination can increase in frequency and severity in response to contextual factors, and how the specific groups that become targets of discrimination can vary, leaving them vulnerable to and unprepared for the negative consequences of such experiences.

Correlates and Consequences of Experiences of Discrimination

Experiences of discrimination leave victims feeling that they are not welcome and do not belong in the community. These experiences are associated with mistrust of and lack of confidence in institutions, as well as with poor physical and mental health. For instance, discrimination has been found to be associated with a lower sense of belonging to Canada among immigrants and visible minorities (Painter, 2013; Reitz & Banerjee, 2007). Results of a recent study conducted by Statistics Canada (2020b) suggest that experiences of discrimination are also associated with mistrust and less confidence in institutions. In that study, experiencing discrimination was associated with less trust in the court system among Indigenous Peoples. Similarly, experiencing discrimination was associated with less confidence in the police among Black respondents.

Discrimination experienced by immigrants, visible minorities, and Indigenous Peoples has also been associated with poor physical health and psychological distress (Currie et al., 2012; Spence et al., 2016; Williams et al., 2003). For instance, Spence and colleagues (2016) found that experiences of discrimination were associated with stress among a community sample of Indigenous Peoples in Canada. Similarly, in a qualitative study, Currie and colleagues (2012) found that Indigenous university students in Canada described experiencing distress including frustration, helplessness, and hopelessness because of experiences of discrimination. Additionally, in a large-scale review of empirical research on the impact of discrimination, Williams and colleagues (2003) found strong evidence suggesting that experiences of discrimination are associated with psychological distress including depression and anxiety among immigrants and visible minorities.

There is also some evidence to suggest that discrimination is associated with psychological distress through different ways of thinking about and responding to those negative experiences (Noh et al., 1999, 2007; Noh & Kaspar, 2003). For instance, perceptions of exclusion, powerlessness, shame, and discouragement can intensify the association between discrimination and psychological distress (Noh et al., 2007). These negative outcomes of discrimination can therefore make it difficult for immigrants, visible minorities, and Indigenous Peoples to enjoy a healthy, happy, and satisfying life.

Hamilton

The study described in this report was conducted to examine everyday experiences of discrimination in Hamilton, located in Southern Ontario on the western end of the Niagara Peninsula wrapping around the westernmost part of Lake Ontario. It is a mid-sized area with diverse industries, with top industries including health care and social assistance, advanced manufacturing, retail trade, and educational services (City of Hamilton, 2020). In contrast to Toronto and Mississauga, two larger cities in the region, Hamilton is a more affordable city offering both the benefits of a well-connected and culturally diverse city as well as access to nature and parks (City of Hamilton, 2021b).

Hamilton's Sociocultural Context

The City of Hamilton is situated upon the traditional territories of the Erie, Neutral, Huron-Wendat, Haudenosaunee and Mississaugas (City of Hamilton, 2021c). The land is covered by the Dish with One Spoon Wampum Belt Covenant as well as the Between the Lakes Purchase, 1792. The Dish with One Spoon is a treaty between the Anishinaabe, Mississaugas and Haudenosaunee that bound them to share the territory and protect the land. The Between the Lakes Purchase, 1792, is an agreement between the Mississaugas of the Credit First Nation and the Crown. Today, the City of Hamilton is home to Indigenous people from across North America (City of Hamilton, 2021d).

The land on which Hamilton is located was first visited by French explorers in the 17th century (Britannica, 2021). In 1778, settlement began after the arrival of loyalists from the American colonies. The city was named after George Hamilton who laid out the original town in 1815. Up until the early 1960s, the cultural composition of Hamilton was predominantly White people of European descent, as was the case in the rest of Canada (Banting & Kymlicka, 2003; Boyd & Vickers, 2000). However, with changes to federal immigration policies in the late 1960s that removed barriers faced by people from non-European countries trying to enter Canada (i.e.,

Canada's Immigration Act, 1967), not only did Hamilton begin to receive more immigrants, but the cultural composition of Hamilton started to become more diverse. This increasing cultural diversity is a result of more newcomers immigrating from non-European countries over the past few decades.

Immigrant Population in Hamilton (Hamilton Census Division) by Census Year from 1981 to 2016
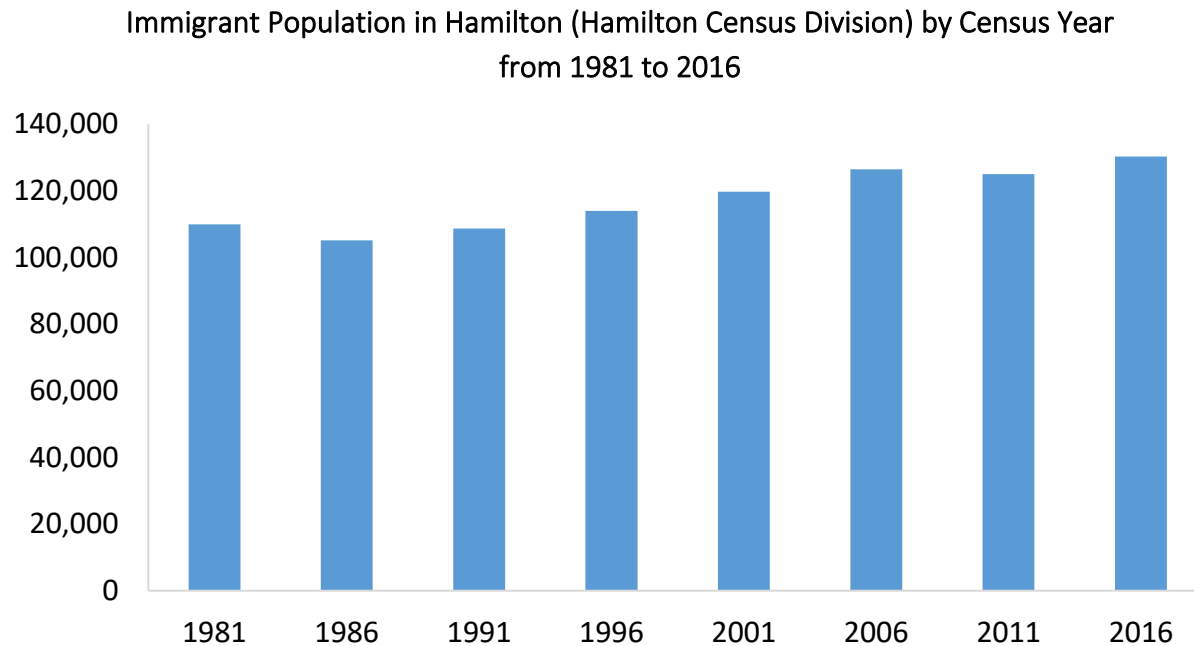
Source: Statistics Canada (1981, 1986, 1991, 1996, 2001, 2006, 2013, 2017).

According to the 2016 Census, the population of Hamilton (census division) consists of approximately 536,900 individuals (Statistics Canada, 2017). Of these individuals, a bit over 12,100 individuals identified as Aboriginal in the 2016 Census. In terms of the immigrant population in Hamilton, over 130,000 individuals were born outside of Canada, representing 25% of Hamilton's population. Approximately half of the immigrant population was born outside of Europe, with 32.0% being born in Asia, 13.0% in the Americas, and 5.7% in Africa (Statistics Canada, 2017). In terms of the visible minority population, approximately 100,000 visible minority group members live in Hamilton (19% of the population). This represents a growth of 90% since 2001. The largest visible minority groups are South Asians, Blacks, Chinese and Arabs.

Immigrant Region of Birth by Census Year
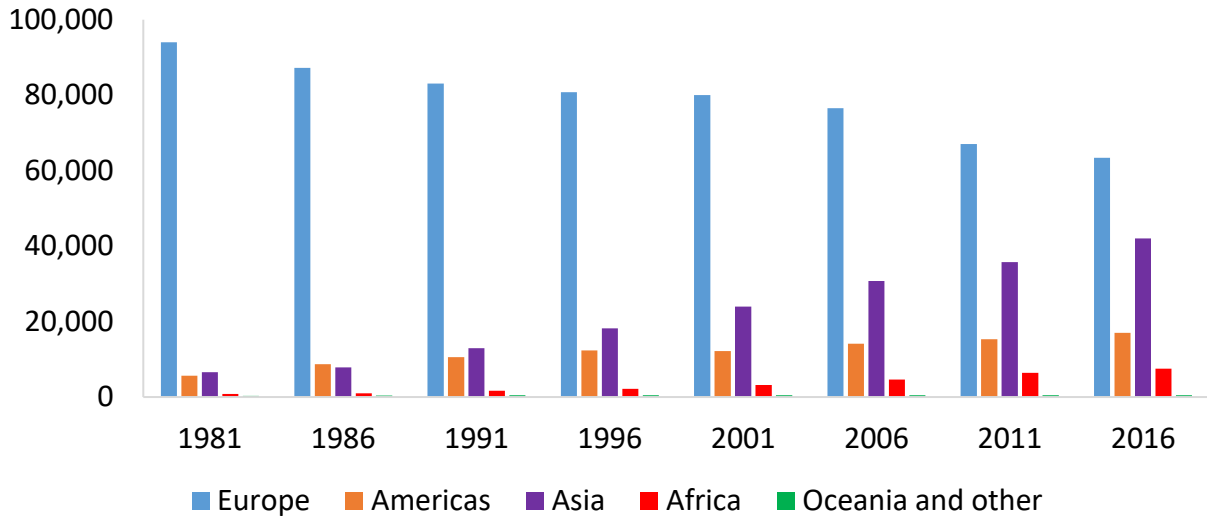
Source: Statistics Canada (1981, 1986, 1991, 1996, 2001, 2006, 2013, 2017).

Visible Minority Population by Census Year
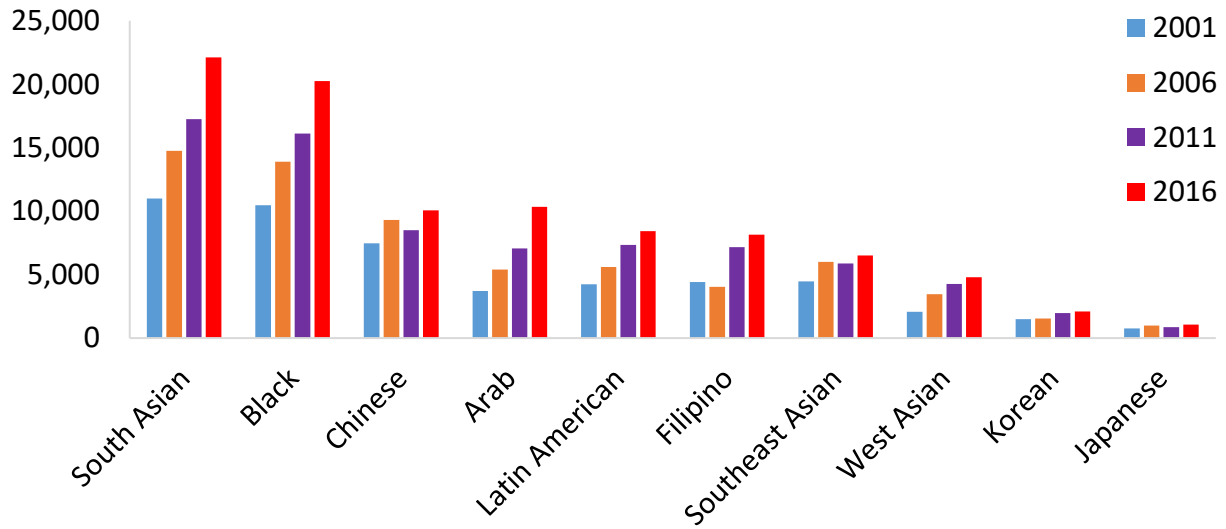
Source: Statistics Canada (2002, 2006, 2013, 2017).

Discrimination in Hamilton

Several media reports have been published documenting discrimination incidents in Hamilton. For example, in 2019, demonstrations in front of city hall escalated between Yellow West Protestors who were joined by alt-right groups, and other people in the crowd (Craggs, 2019b). In the same year, a group of people crashed the Pride festival promoting homophobic slogans on signs and through a loudspeaker, causing an altercation during which several people were injured (Craggs, 2021b). More recently, in 2021, a woman used the N-word during a dispute with her neighbour (Hristova, 2021c). In another case, the daughter and wife of the Imam of the Hamilton Downtown Mosque were in a parking lot when a man shouted racial slurs at them and threatened their lives (O'Reilly, 2021). Another example is the case of a man whose pro-Palestine sign on his lawn was stolen and replaced with a racist note telling him to go back to where he came from (Hristova, 2021b). Yet another example is the case of a man in Hamilton who promoted hatred against Muslims online (Hristova, 2021d). This man was arrested by police on August 16, 2021, based on the charge of 'wilful promotion of hatred'. This was the first time that the police laid this charge.

In addition to these media reports, there is also evidence of discrimination in Hamilton found in a 2019 survey conducted by the Hamilton Anti-Racism Resource Centre (HARRC, Craggs, 2019c). The survey was completed by 575 residents, almost half of whom were members of a racialized group and eight percent were Indigenous. The survey found that 79 percent of respondents experienced or witnessed racism within the previous year and that this most frequently happened in public places.

Hamilton also made national headlines when Statistics Canada published a report on police-reported hate crimes in 2018 (Deuling, 2019; Moreau, 2020). According to the report, Hamilton was ranked as number one in hate crimes per capita in the entire country. The same was the case in 2019 (Moreau, 2021). Since then, the hate crime statistics have decreased (Statistics Canada, 2021). In 2020, according to Hamilton Police, 80 hate/bias incidents were reported to police (including both suspected hate/bias incidents and criminal offences, Mendes, 2021). Most of the reported incidents were based on racial bias, followed by religion and sexual orientation. Among the most frequently targeted groups were members of the Black community, the Jewish community and the 2S and LGBTQIA+ community. Other targeted groups included Arabs and West Asians (four incidents), South Asians (four incidents), East and South East Asians (two incidents), Muslims (one incident) and Whites (one incident).

However, hate crime statistics have been criticized for several reasons. For example, there are concerns about the definition used to classify hate experiences. Hate experiences may vary and

some types of hate incidents may not reach the level of a criminal offence, suggesting that the actual number of incidents may be higher than reported (Mitchell, 2021). Furthermore, concerns have been raised about the fact that victims may be reluctant to report their experiences (Christie, 2021; Sultan et al., 2021). For example, a member of the Hamilton Police Service board acknowledged that not everyone comes forward to report an incident, noting also that, in 2020, for example, no hate crimes and incidents toward Indigenous people were reported (Hristova, 2021a).

In 2020, Hamilton police implemented an additional option for victims of hate and their friends and family members to report incidents online (Hamilton Police Service, 2021). In an attempt to provide an alternative reporting solution, the Hamilton Centre for Civic Inclusion is currently developing an independent online community-based hate reporting platform (Sultan et al., 2021). The goal is to allow community members and those impacted by experiences of hate and racism to decide how they would like to collectively respond to these incidents (Brown, 2021a).

Besides these initiatives, several other initiatives have been put in place to support victims of hate and to prevent and mitigate these experiences. For example, in 2018, after the shooting at a Quebec Mosque, the Hamilton and District Labour Council (HDLC) released a Shut Down Hate pledge "asking labour and community groups to band together to commit to anti-racism and anti-fascism through words and deeds" (SPRC, 2018, p. 1). In the same year, the Hamilton Anti-Racism Resource Centre (HARRC) was launched to offer resources that address issues facing Hamilton residents experiencing racism and discrimination (Craggs, 2019c). However, the HARRC was temporarily paused in 2019 due to insufficient reach and the need for reorganization (Craggs, 2019a). A new executive director of HARRC was announced in August 2021 (City of Hamilton, 2021a). In 2019, the Hamilton Community Legal Clinic, the Hamilton Roundtable for Poverty Reduction, and the John Howard Society of Hamilton, Burlington & Area launched the 'No Hate In The Hammer' campaign (Brown, 2021b). In May of 2021, the campaign organized a three-day summit with various stakeholders to connect and collaborate with each other to work toward a more inclusive Hamilton. The campaign is also planning to develop an anti-hate toolkit to serve as a practical guide on how to tackle hate at the individual and collective level in the community (Brown, 2021b).

The City of Hamilton also conducted consultations with equity-seeking groups, people with lived experiences of discrimination, residents and other stakeholders to develop their Hate Prevention and Mitigation Initiative policies, procedures and practices (City of Hamilton, n.d.). In July 2021, Hamilton Police announced that they are working on establishing a Hate Crime Case Review Team. The goal of the team is to work collaboratively with community organizations to "develop comprehensive recommendations to improve outcomes for hate crime victims."

Another key player in efforts to counteract racism and discrimination is the Hamilton Immigration Partnership Council (HIPC). HIPC was founded in 2009 and is funded by Immigration, Refugees and Citizenship Canada. It is one of over 80 Local Immigration Partnerships now operating across the country with the goals of improving coordination of services to facilitate immigrant settlement and integration, facilitating community knowledge sharing and local strategic planning, and promoting more welcoming communities for newcomers. As such, HIPC works to create a welcoming and inclusive sociocultural environment including through various anti-racism and anti-discrimination initiatives. The study described in this report is part of HIPC's anti-racism and anti-discrimination work to promote a more welcoming community in Hamilton.

Study on Experiences of Discrimination in Hamilton

Although there is evidence that discrimination takes place in Hamilton, and indeed experiences of discrimination in Hamilton are being brought to light through the media and official hate crime statistics, a comprehensive understanding of these experiences is lacking. Such an understanding is crucial for effective evidence-informed anti-discrimination initiatives to be developed. Thus, the goal of this study was to systematically examine discrimination experienced by immigrants, visible minorities, and Indigenous Peoples (in comparison to individuals who do not belong to these groups) in Hamilton through a representative survey conducted in March 2021. The survey examined who is experiencing discrimination, in what contexts, on what basis, who is perpetrating these acts of discrimination, and whether specific forms of discrimination are taking place. The study also examined how immigrants, visible minorities, and Indigenous Peoples respond to these experiences of discrimination (coping strategies and feelings of psychological distress), and associated feelings of being accepted and welcomed in the community.

A community sample of Hamilton residents was recruited to take part in the study, including people who identify as (a) immigrants or visible minorities (Immigrants & Visible Minorities group), (b) Indigenous (Indigenous Peoples group), and (c) residents who do not identify with any of these groups (comparison White Non-immigrants group). The immigrants and visible minorities were combined for our target numbers and for the majority of analyses because of the substantial overlap between these two groups in Hamilton (though we of course acknowledge that not all immigrants in Hamilton are visible minorities and not all visible minorities in Hamilton are immigrants). Where possible, analyses were conducted in which we separated immigrant-visible minorities, immigrant-not visible minorities, and visible minorities-not immigrants.

Forum Research Inc., a market research firm, was retained by Hamilton Immigration Partnership Council to recruit participants, administer the survey, and collect the data. The research was

conducted through random digit dialing of phone numbers in the region, and if individuals then qualified to participate and agreed, they were sent the link to the online survey via SMS text message or email. Targets of 300 Immigrants & Visible Minorities, 200 Indigenous Peoples, and 300 White Non-immigrants were set, and the final sample included 315 Immigrants & Visible Minorities, 176 Indigenous Peoples, and 293 White Non-immigrants. This ensured a relatively representative sample of participants within each of the three groups. The survey took approximately 10 minutes to complete, and was available in both English and French. Ethics approval for this study was obtained from Western University's research ethics board.

The survey included questions about whether respondents had experienced discrimination or been treated unfairly in the past three years in different contexts (e.g., in a store, bank, or restaurant; when applying for a job or promotion), the presumed basis of this discrimination (e.g., race or skin colour, status as an immigrant, accent, gender), whether the respondents had experienced specific types of discrimination (e.g., inappropriate jokes, verbal abuse), and who the main perpetrators of this discrimination were (gender, age, race or ethnicity). One question asked respondents whether their experiences of discrimination have changed during the COVID-19 pandemic. The survey also asked how people coped with (active and passive coping) and felt about (powerless, shame, excluded, discouraged) their experiences of discrimination, and their psychological distress (anxiety and depression) in response to discrimination in the past three years. Questions about how accepted and welcomed participants felt in Hamilton at the present time were also asked. Finally, a set of demographic questions were included. The survey was based on established measures where available, with the language adapted to plain language (for full details on the measures, see Appendix).

Profile of Respondents

Immigrants & Visible Minorities reported speaking languages other than English more and reported more diverse religions than Indigenous Peoples and White Non-immigrants. Immigrants & Visible Minorities also tended to be more highly educated. Despite this, Immigrants & Visible Minorities, and Indigenous Peoples, reported lower annual household incomes than White Non-immigrants. Additionally, White Non-immigrants tended to be on average quite a bit older and less likely to be employed compared to the other two groups. Finally, the Indigenous Peoples group had more male respondents than female respondents. The opposite was the case for the other two groups.

In terms of the specific characteristics of Immigrants & Visible Minorities, members of this group were most likely to be Christian, Muslim, or have no religion. The top race/ethnicity categories were East Asian and Southeast Asian, South Asian, and Black. Approximately 76% were not born

in Canada. When immigrant status and visible minority status were separated, just over 71% were both immigrants and visible minorities, over 24% were non-immigrant visible minorities, and only 4% were immigrants but not visible minorities. About a third of the immigrants entered Canada as economic immigrants, and a third as temporary residents; a bit less than a quarter of immigrants entered Canada as family class immigrants. The majority of immigrants were now permanent residents or citizens of Canada. Close to 60% had been in Canada under 10 years.

Respondent Demographics

	Immigrants & Visible Minorities (*N* = 315)	Indigenous Peoples (*N* = 176)	Comparison White Non-immigrants (*N* = 293)
Gender			
Female	52.4%	42.6%	54.6%
Male	47.3%	56.8%	44.0%
Non-binary	0.3%	0.6%	1.0%
Other	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%
No response	0.0%	0.0%	0.3%
Age	Range: 18-77 Average: 37 years	Range: 18-69 Average: 38 years	Range: 18-88 Average: 49 years
18 to 24 years	19.0%	10.2%	6.8%
25 to 35 years	31.1%	33.5%	16.0%
36 to 50 years	32.1%	43.2%	25.9%
Older than 50	14.3%	10.2%	46.1%
No response	3.5%	2.8%	5.1%
Language(s) Most Often Spoken at Home			
English only	44.4%	76.7%	94.9%
English and another language	34.3%	19.3%	2.7%
Another language only	20.0%	4.0%	2.4%
No response	1.3%	0.0%	0.0%

Employment Status

Employed full-time/part-time/self-employed	71.1%	69.9%	54.3%
Other employment (includes unemployed, retired, student, homemaker, and other)	24.1%	28.4%	41.3%
Multiple employment statuses	4.1%	1.1%	3.1%
No response	0.6%	0.6%	1.4%

Education Level

Secondary/high school and less	15.9%	46.0%	24.9%
College/vocational training	16.5%	29.5%	34.5%
University undergraduate degree	36.8%	18.2%	19.8%
University graduate degree and Professional degree	29.5%	5.7%	20.1%
No response	1.3%	0.6%	0.7%

Annual Household Income

Less than $45,000	36.8%	34.1%	27.0%
$45,001 to $80,000	31.1%	31.3%	27.0%
$80,001 and more	25.1%	32.4%	34.8%
No response	7.0%	2.3%	11.3%

Years Living in Hamilton

	Range: 0-74 Average: 10 years	Range: 0-62 Average: 25 years	Range: 0.3-89 Average: 30 years
Less than 5 years	44.1%	12.5%	6.8%
5 to 10 years	27.3%	10.2%	13.7%
10 to 20 years	16.5%	19.9%	15.7%
Longer than 20 years	11.4%	57.4%	63.5%
No response	0.6%	0.0%	0.3%

Religion

Christian	34.0%	33.5%	60.1%
Traditional/Spirituality	3.2%	30.1%	1.0%
No religion (atheist or agnostic)	18.1%	19.3%	33.1%
Other religion (includes Baha'i, Buddhist, Hindu, Jewish, Mennonite, Muslim, Sikh and other) and multiple religious categories	44.8%	17.0%	5.8%
No response	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%

Sense of Belonging to Religious Group(s)	Average: 3.51	Average: 3.60	Average: 3.41

(Scale of Very Weak = 1 to
Very Strong = 5)

Religion of Immigrants & Visible Minorities

Christian	34.0%
Muslim	19.7%
Hindu	10.5%
Buddhist	6.7%
Sikh	4.8%
No religion (atheist or agnostic)	18.1%
Other religion (includes Baha'i, Jewish, Mennonite, Traditional / Spirituality, and other) and multiple religious categories	6.3%
No response	0.0%

Race/Ethnicity

White	4.1%	0.0%	99.3%

First Nations, Métis, or Inuk (Inuit)	0.0%	90.9%	0.0%
Visible minority, other, and multiple races/ethnicities	95.9%	9.1%	0.7%
No response	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%
Sense of Belonging to Racial/Ethnic Group(s) (Scale of Very Weak = 1 to Very Strong = 5)	Average: 3.37	Average: 3.58	Average: 4.03

Race/Ethnicity of Immigrants & Visible Minorities

East Asian and Southeast Asian	33.7%
South Asian	26.3%
Black	19.0%
Arab	6.7%
White	4.1%
Other (includes Latin American, West Asian, or other) and multiple races/ethnicities	10.2%
No response	0.0%

Born in Canada

Yes	24.4%
No	75.6%
No response	0.0%

Immigrant & Visible Minority Status

Immigrant visible minority	71.4%
Non-immigrant visible minority	24.4%
Immigrant non-visible minority	3.8%
No response	0.3%

Immigrants: Status Upon Arrival to Canada

Economic class immigrant	33.6%
Temporary resident (temporary foreign worker, work visa or student)	33.2%
Family class immigrant	23.1%
Other entry class (includes resettled refugee, refugee claimant, temporary resident on visitor visa, undocumented, other)	10.1%
No response	0.0%

Immigrants: Current Immigration Status

Canadian citizen	52.5%
Permanent resident	26.5%
Other status (includes temporary resident, protected person, refugee claimant, undocumented, other)	21.0%
No response	0.0%

Immigrants: Years living in Canada	Range: 0.17-61 Average: 12 years
Less than 5 years	25.6%
5 to 10 years	32.4%
Longer than 10 years	42.0%
No response	0.0%

Experiences of Discrimination

To what extent have Immigrants & Visible Minorities, Indigenous Peoples, and comparison White Non-immigrants experienced discrimination in Hamilton in the past three years?

In all three groups, a substantial percentage of respondents reported experiencing discrimination in one or more contexts in Hamilton in the last three years. However, there were considerable differences between the three groups, with Indigenous respondents especially likely to report experiencing discrimination, followed by respondents in the Immigrants & Visible Minorities group.

Percentage of Respondents Who Experienced Discrimination in One or More Contexts in the Past Three Years

| Immigrants & Visible Minorities | Indigenous Peoples | White Non-immigrants |
| 59.0% | 83.0% | 48.5% |
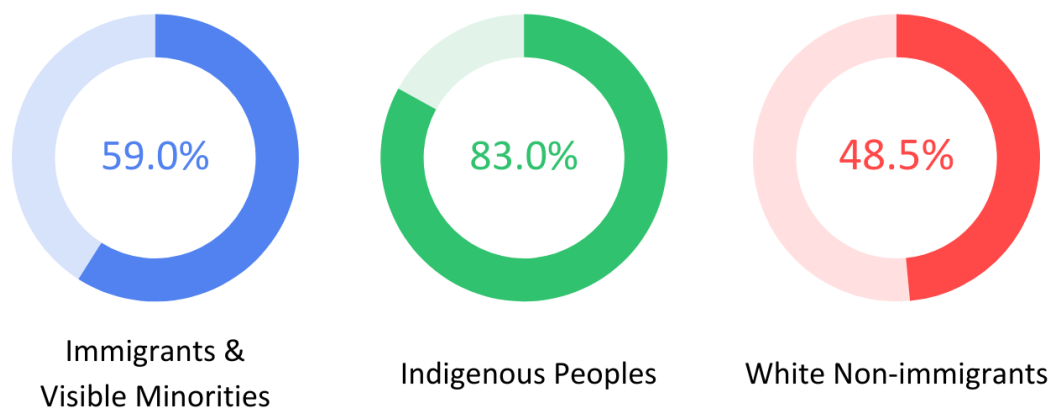
Within the three groups, to what extent do experiences of discrimination differ as a function of demographic characteristics?

The role of gender

In the Immigrants & Visible Minorities group, female respondents were slightly more likely to report experiencing discrimination in Hamilton than male respondents. In the Indigenous Peoples group and in the White Non-immigrants group, the share of female and male respondents who reported experiencing discrimination in Hamilton was very similar.

Percentage of Respondents Who Experienced Discrimination by Gender

Immigrants & Visible Minorities
61.2%
57.0%

Indigenous Peoples
84.0%
82.0%

White Non-immigrants
48.1%
48.4%

Female   Male
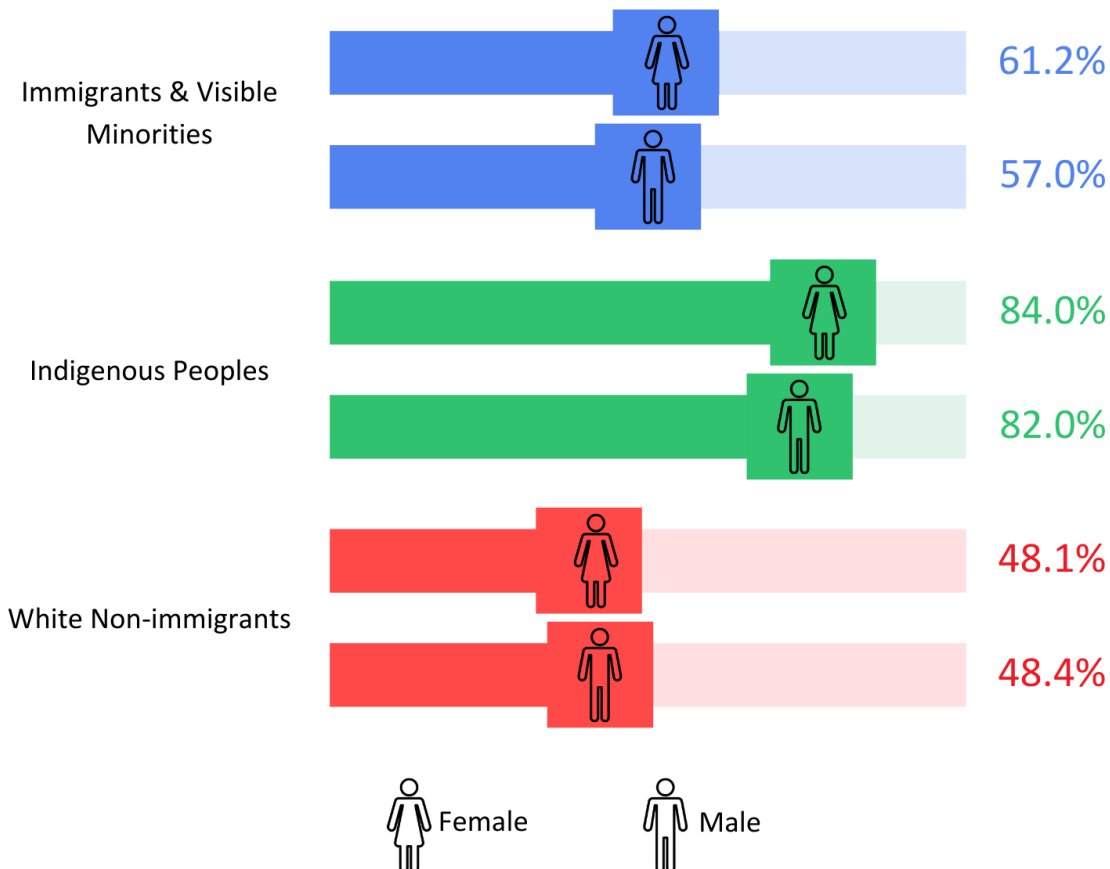
The role of age

In the Immigrants & Visible Minorities group and in the White Non-immigrants group, younger respondents were more likely to report experiencing discrimination in Hamilton than older respondents. In contrast, in the Indigenous Peoples group, the youngest respondents were least likely to report experiencing discrimination in Hamilton. The highest share of respondents who reported experiencing discrimination in Hamilton was among Indigenous Peoples aged 36 to 50 years old.

Percentage of Respondents Who Experienced Discrimination by Age

Immigrants & Visible Minorities

68.3%

63.3%

53.5%

44.4%

Indigenous Peoples

72.2%

78.0%

90.8%

77.8%

White Non-immigrants

75.0%

63.8%

46.1%

40.0%

18 - 24   25 - 35   36 - 50   > 50
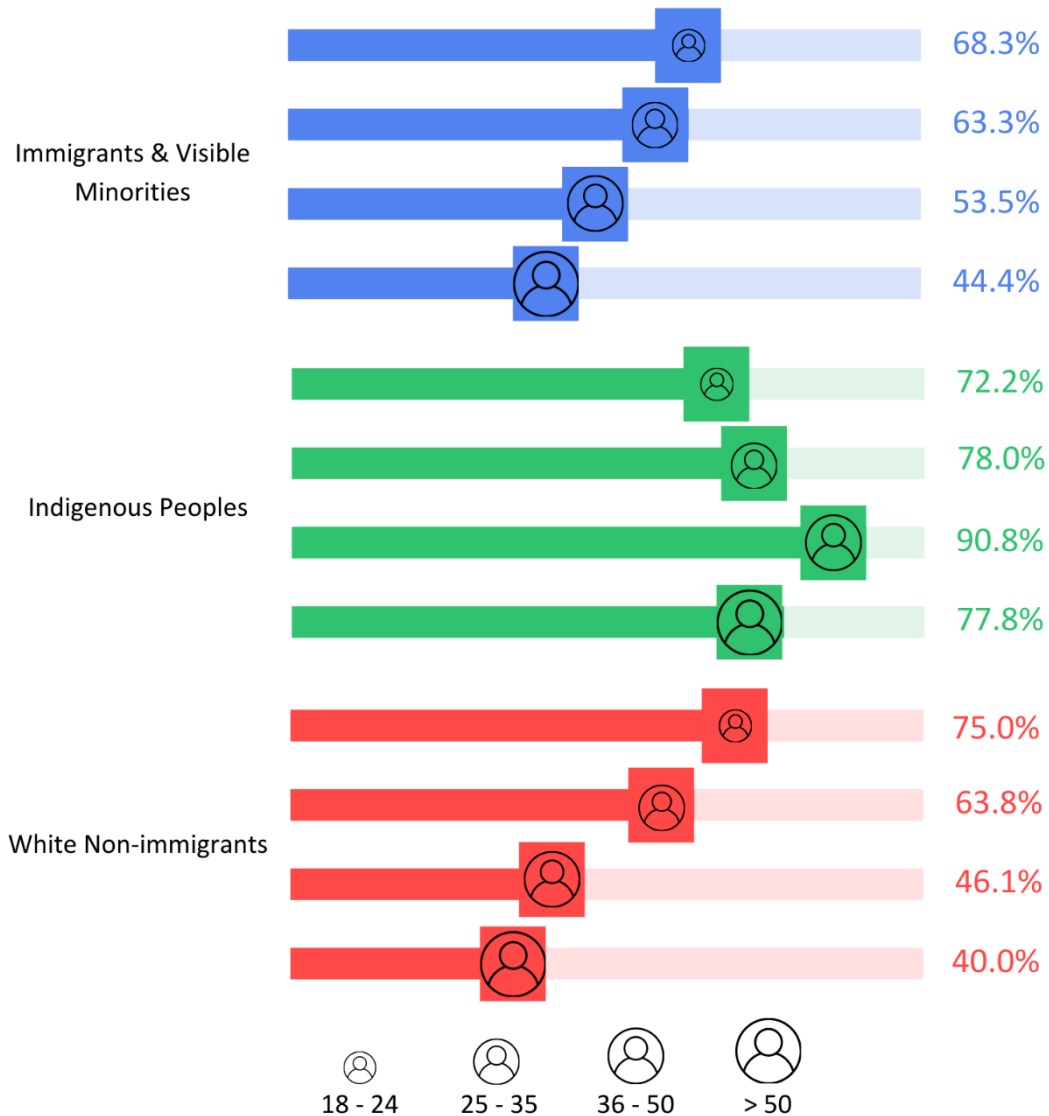
The role of employment status

In all three groups, respondents who were employed (full-time/part-time) or self-employed were more likely to report experiencing discrimination in Hamilton than respondents with other or multiple employment statuses.

Percentage of Respondents Who Experienced Discrimination by Employment Status

Immigrants & Visible Minorities

60.7%

53.9%

Indigenous Peoples

84.6%

80.8%

White Non-immigrants

54.7%

40.0%

Full-time/Part-time/Self-employed   Other and Multiple
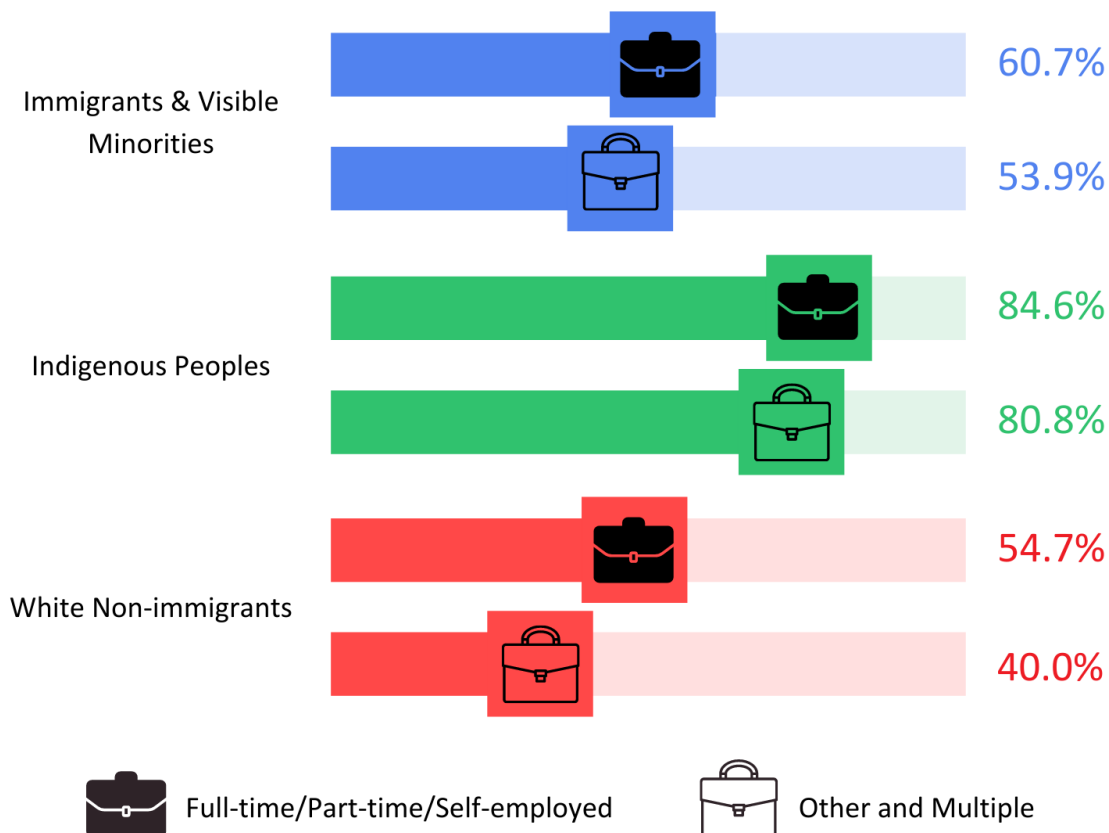
Note: The "Other and Multiple" employment status category includes people who indicated that they are unemployed, retired, students, homemakers, or other, as well as people who indicated more than one employment status (e.g., homemaker and retired).

The role of education level

In the Immigrants & Visible Minorities group and in the White Non-immigrants group, those with graduate and professional degrees were most likely to report experiencing discrimination in Hamilton. In the Indigenous Peoples group, the level of education produced fewer differences. Indigenous Peoples with secondary school and less or an undergraduate degree were slightly more likely to report experiencing discrimination in Hamilton than Indigenous Peoples with college and vocational training or a graduate or professional degree.

Percentage of Respondents Who Experienced Discrimination by Highest Level of Education

Immigrants & Visible Minorities
- 58.0%
- 55.8%
- 52.6%
- 68.8%

Indigenous Peoples
- 84.0%
- 80.8%
- 84.4%
- 80.0%

White Non-immigrants
- 46.6%
- 48.5%
- 44.8%
- 54.2%

Secondary School or Less   College/Vocational

Undergraduate   Graduate/Professional
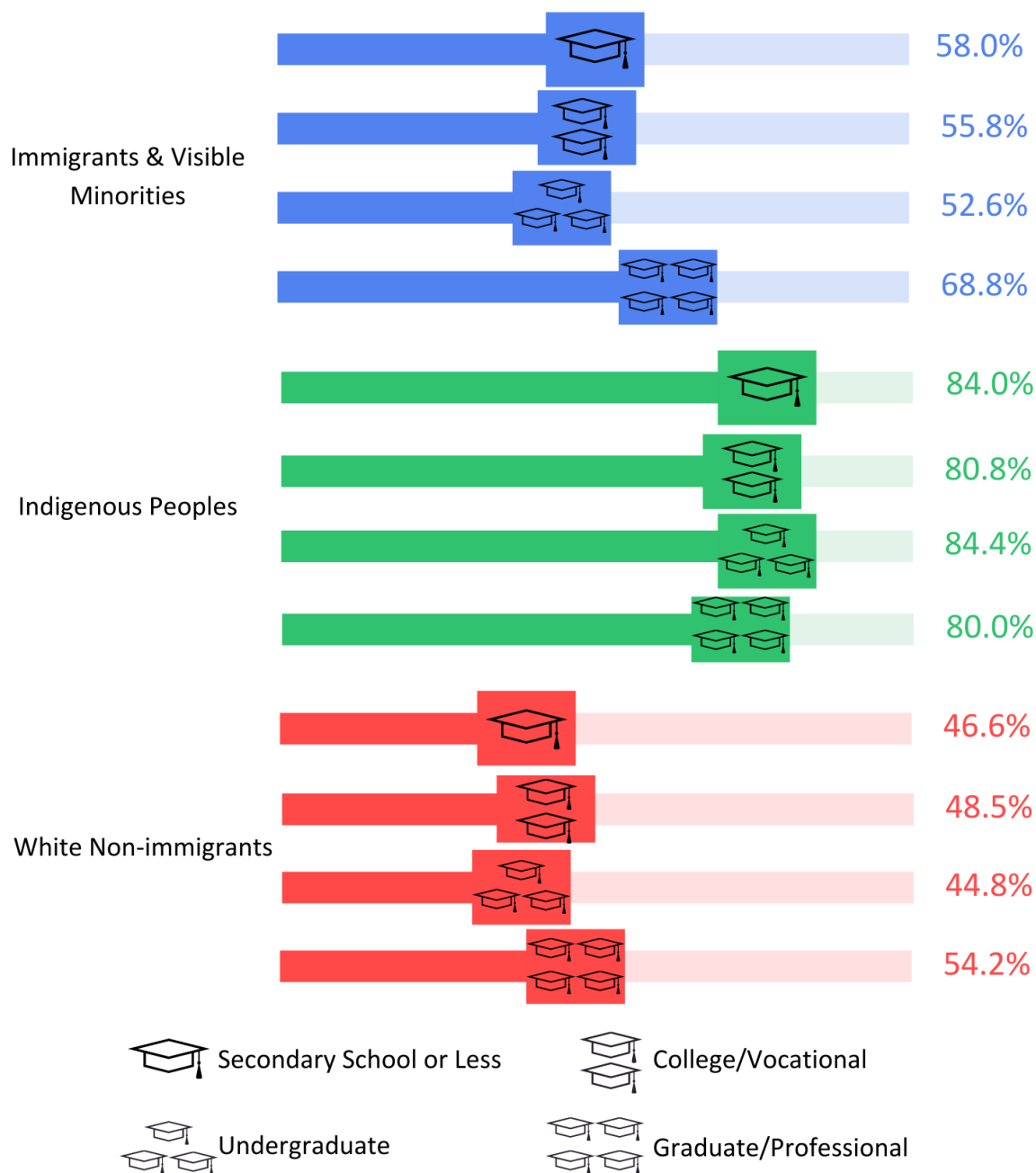
Note: Due to the small cell size, the findings for Indigenous Peoples with a graduate/ professional degree are suggestive only.

The role of annual household income

In the Immigrants & Visible Minorities group and in the Indigenous Peoples group, respondents with an annual household income above $80,000 were most likely to report experiencing discrimination in Hamilton. In particular, in both groups, the share of respondents who reported experiencing discrimination was approximately 10% higher in the above $80,000 category compared to the other income categories. In contrast, in the comparison White Non-immigrants group, respondents with an annual household income between $45,001 and $80,000 were most likely to report experiencing discrimination in Hamilton, closely followed by respondents with an annual household income of $45,000 or less.

Percentage of Respondents Who Experienced Discrimination by Annual Household Income

Immigrants & Visible Minorities
$ 57.8%
$$ 55.1%
$$$ 67.1%

Indigenous Peoples
$ 81.7%
$$ 81.8%
$$$ 91.2%

White Non-immigrants
$ 51.9%
$$ 54.4%
$$$ 43.1%

$ $45,000 or Less $$ $45,001 to $80,000 $$$ $80,001 or More
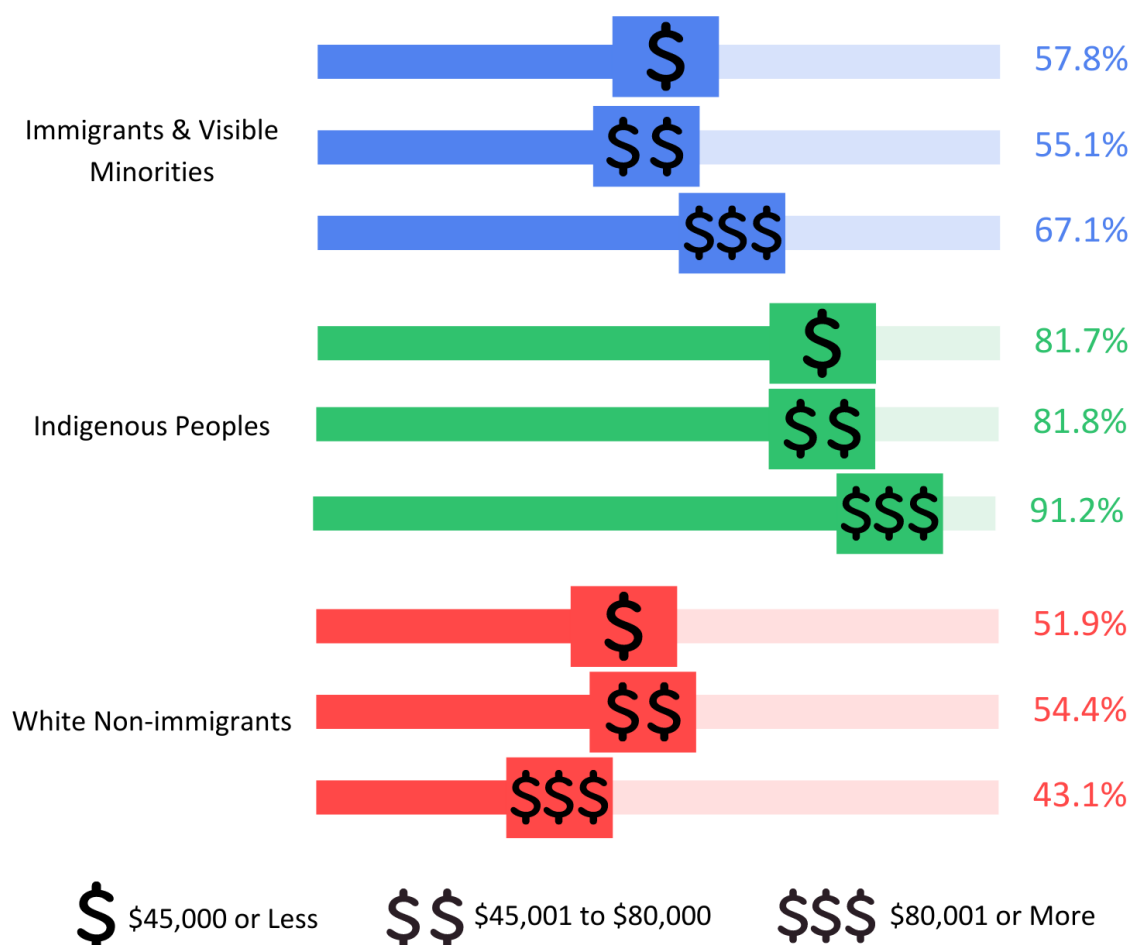
The role of length of time residing in Hamilton

In the Immigrants & Visible Minorities group and in the White Non-immigrants group, respondents who had lived in Hamilton between 5 and 10 years or between 10 to 20 years were most likely to report experiencing discrimination in Hamilton. In the Indigenous Peoples group, respondents who had lived in Hamilton for over 20 years were most likely to report experiencing discrimination in Hamilton.

Percentage of Respondents Who Experienced Discrimination by Length of Time Residing in Hamilton

Immigrants & Visible Minorities
- 54.7%
- 64.0%
- 63.5%
- 58.3%

Indigenous Peoples
- 77.3%
- 83.3%
- 74.3%
- 87.1%

White Non-immigrants
- 50.0%
- 60.0%
- 56.5%
- 44.1%

< 5 Years   5 - 10 Years   10 - 20 Years   > 20 Years
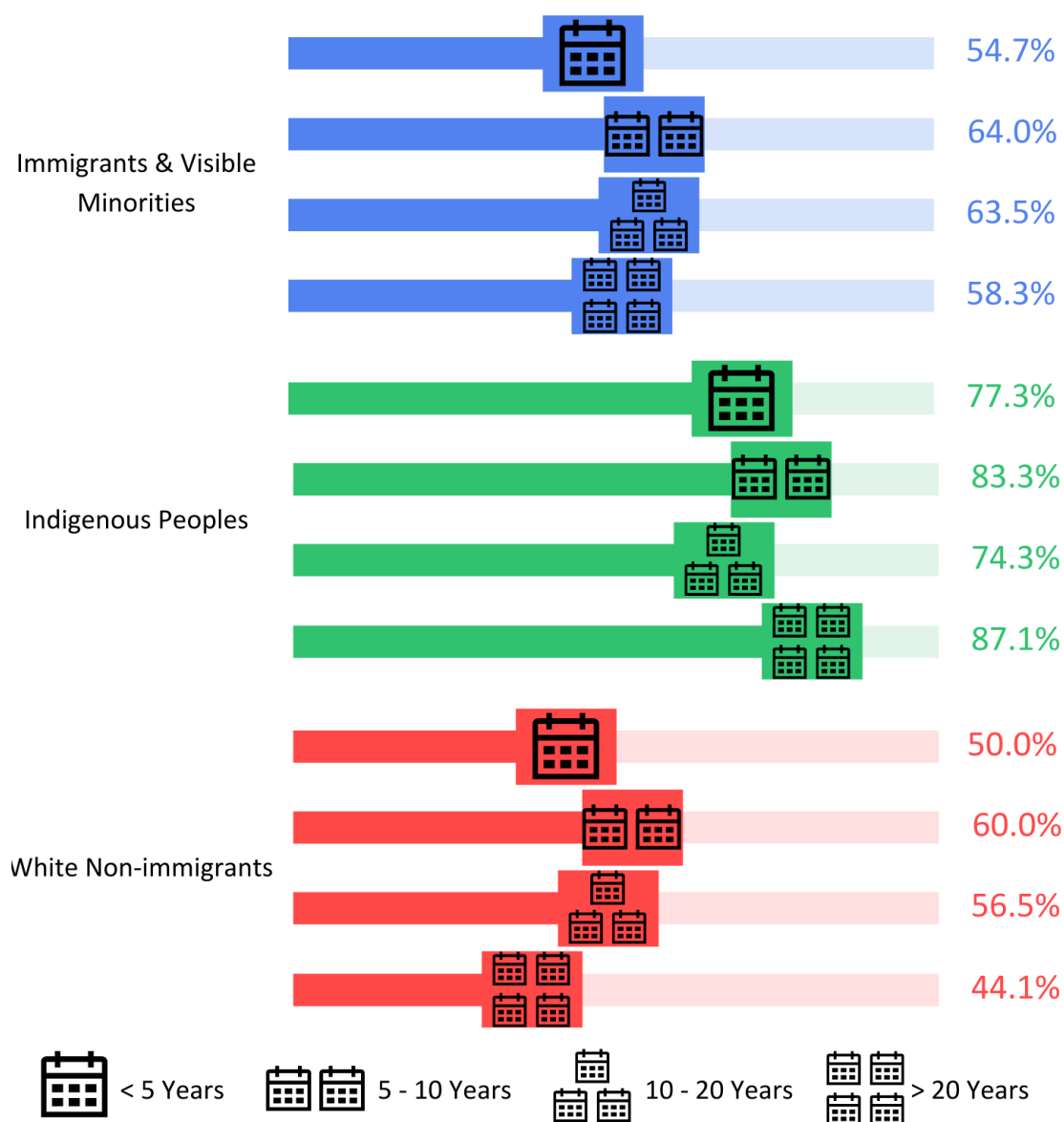
Immigrants and visible minorities: The role of religion

In the Immigrants & Visible Minorities group, Muslim respondents as well as respondents with other and multiple regions or no religion (atheist or agnostic) were most likely to report experiencing discrimination in Hamilton.

Percentage of Immigrant and Visible Minority Respondents Who Experienced Discrimination by Religion

Other and Multiple Religions	65.0%
Muslim	62.9%
No Religion (Atheist or Agnostic)	61.4%
Christian	57.9%
Hindu	54.5%
Sikh	53.3%
Buddhist	52.4%
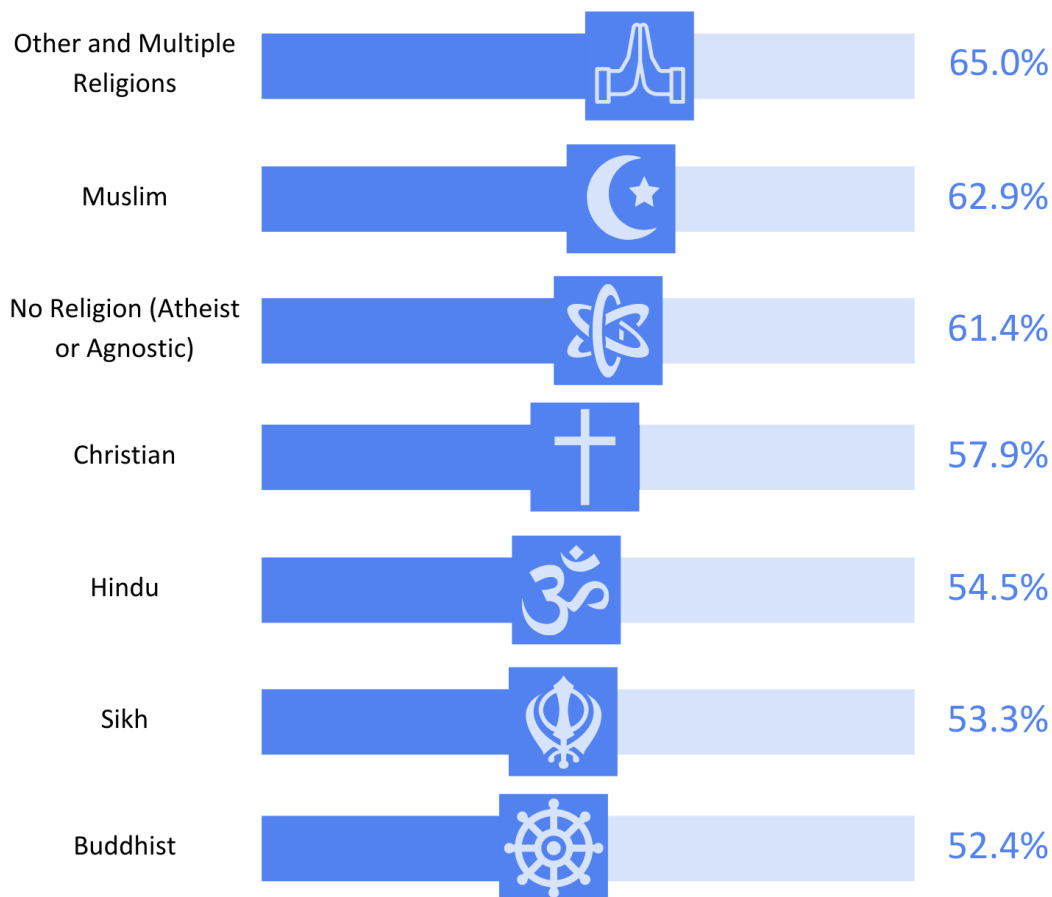
Note: The "Other and Multiple" religions category includes people who indicated that they are Baha'i, Jewish, Mennonite, Traditional / Spirituality, or other, as well as people who indicated more than one religion.

Immigrants and visible minorities: The role of ethnicity/race

In the Immigrants & Visible Minorities group, Blacks and Arabs were most likely to report experiencing discrimination in Hamilton. At the same time, Whites were least likely to report experiencing discrimination in Hamilton.

Percentage of Immigrant and Visible Minority Respondents Who Experienced Discrimination by Ethnicity/Race

Ethnicity/Race	Percentage
Black	76.7%
Arab	66.7%
East and Southeast Asian	58.5%
South Asian	51.8%
Other and Multiple Categories	50.0%
White	38.5%
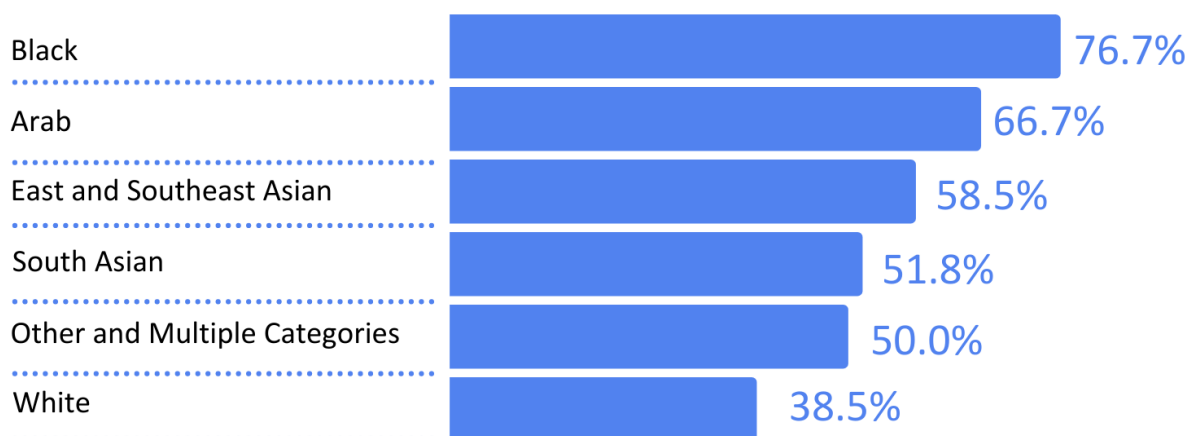
Note: The "Other and Multiple" category includes people who indicated that they are Latin American, West Asian, or other, as well as people who indicated more than one race/ethnicity. Also, due to the small cell size, the findings for Whites are suggestive only.

Immigrants and visible minorities: The role of immigrant and visible minority status

In the Immigrant & Visible Minorities group, non-immigrant visible minorities were most likely to report experiencing discrimination, followed by immigrants who are visible minorities.

Percentage of Immigrant and Visible Minority Group Respondents Who Experienced Discrimination as a Function of their Immigrant and Visible Minority Statuses

Non-Immigrant Visible Minority — 79.2%

Immigrant Visible Minority — 53.8%

Immigrant Non-Visible Minority — 33.3%

Note: Due to the small cell size, the findings for immigrant non-visible minorities are suggestive only.

Immigrants: The role of current immigration status

Of the immigrant respondents, Permanent Residents were most likely to report experiencing discrimination in Hamilton.

Percentage of Immigrants Who Experienced Discrimination by Current Immigration Status

Permanent Resident — 60.3%

Canadian Citizen — 52.0%

Other Immigration Status — 44.0%

Note: The "Other immigration status" category included protected persons, temporary residents, refugee claimants, and those who are undocumented.

Immigrants: The role of length of time in Canada

Of the immigrant respondents, those who had lived in Canada between 5 to 10 years were more likely to report experiencing discrimination in Hamilton in the last three years than recent immigrants (< 5 years) and more established immigrants (> 10 years).

Percentage of Immigrants Who Experienced Discrimination by Length of Time in Canada

< 5 Years   45.9%

5 - 10 Years   64.9%

> 10 Years   47.0%

In how many contexts is discrimination being experienced?

The survey included a list of 16 contexts in which respondents might be experiencing discrimination, including an other category to capture any contexts not included. On average, Indigenous Peoples reported experiencing discrimination in more contexts, followed by Immigrants & Visible Minorities.

Average Number of Contexts in Which Respondents Experienced Discrimination in the Past Three Years

M = 6.91

M = 3.93

M = 2.89

| Immigrants & Visible Minorities | Indigenous Peoples | White Non-immigrants |
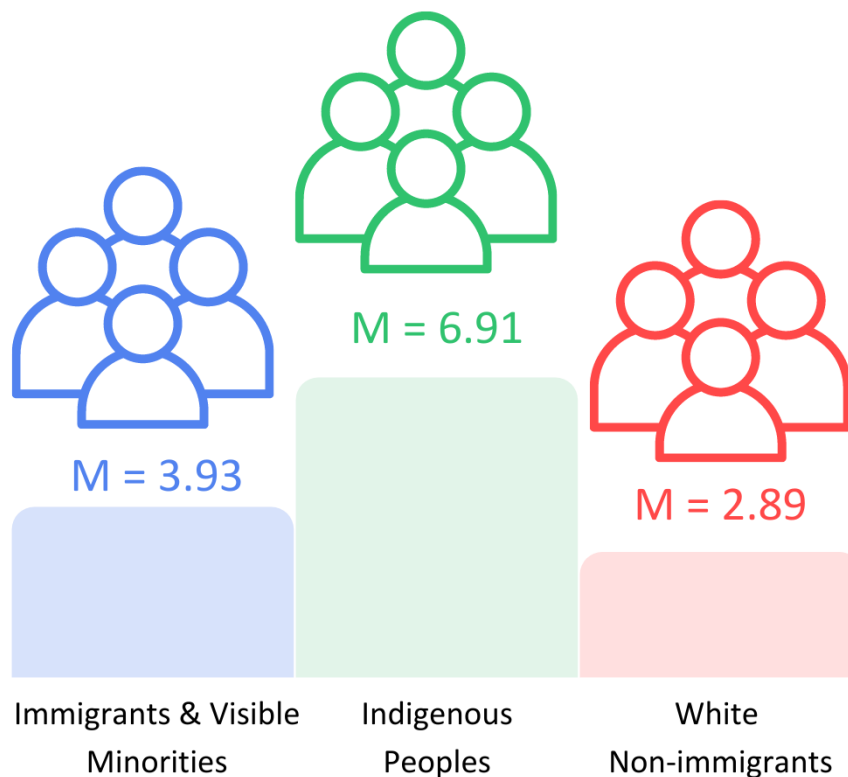
In what contexts is discrimination being experienced?

Overall, Immigrants & Visible Minorities were most likely to experience discrimination in Hamilton when applying for a job or promotion, while using public areas (e.g., parks and sidewalks), while using public transit (e.g., buses, trains or taxis), while attending social gatherings, and when attending school or classes.

Immigrants & Visible Minorities: Contexts in Which Discrimination Occurred

Context	Percentage
When applying for a job or promotion	33.7%
While using public areas, such as parks and sidewalks	32.7%
While using public transit, such as buses, trains or taxis	32.7%
While attending social gatherings	30.2%
When attending school or classes	29.2%
In a store, bank, or restaurant	28.3%
At your job - for example, from supervisors, co-workers, or clients	27.6%
When looking for housing (for example, buying a house or renting an apartment)	26.7%
When interacting with your neighbours	26.3%
When participating in a club, meeting, or organization	22.9%
When interacting with the police	21.3%
While using libraries, community/recreational centres, arenas	21.0%
When interacting with hospitals or health care workers	19.4%
When applying for a program or benefit	17.1%
When interacting with the courts	12.4%
In another situation	11.4%

Overall, Indigenous Peoples were most likely to report experiencing discrimination in Hamilton at their job (e.g., from supervisors, co-workers, or clients), when applying for a job or promotion, while using public areas (e.g., parks and sidewalks), when looking for housing (e.g., buying a house or renting an apartment), and while using public transit (e.g., buses, trains or taxis).

Indigenous Peoples: Contexts in Which Discrimination Occurred

Context	Percentage
At your job - for example, from supervisors, co-workers, or clients	50.6%
When applying for a job or promotion	48.9%
While using public areas, such as parks and sidewalks	48.3%
When looking for housing (for example, buying a house or renting an apartment)	48.3%
While using public transit, such as buses, trains or taxis	47.2%
When applying for a program or benefit	46.6%
While using libraries, community/recreational centres, arenas	46.0%
In a store, bank, or restaurant	46.0%
While attending social gatherings	46.0%
When interacting with the police	44.9%
When attending school or classes	42.6%
When interacting with your neighbours	42.6%
When participating in a club, meeting, or organization	42.6%
When interacting with hospitals or health care workers	42.0%
When interacting with the courts	36.9%
In another situation	11.9%

Overall, White Non-immigrants were most likely to experience discrimination in Hamilton when applying for a job or promotion, at their job (e.g., from supervisors, co-workers, or clients), while using public areas (e.g., parks and sidewalks), when interacting with their neighbours, and while attending social gatherings.

White Non-immigrants: Contexts in Which Discrimination Occurred

Context	Percentage
When applying for a job or promotion	24.9%
At your job - for example, from supervisors, co-workers, or clients	22.9%
While using public areas, such as parks and sidewalks	22.5%
When interacting with your neighbours	21.2%
While attending social gatherings	20.8%
When interacting with hospitals or health care workers	20.1%
In a store, bank, or restaurant	19.8%
When applying for a program or benefit	18.8%
When interacting with the police	17.4%
While using public transit, such as buses, trains or taxis	17.1%
When looking for housing (for example, buying a house or renting an apartment)	16.7%
When attending school or classes	16.0%
While using libraries, community/recreational centres, arenas	15.4%
When participating in a club, meeting, or organization	15.4%
In another situation	10.6%
When interacting with the courts	9.9%

What are the presumed bases of experiences of discrimination?

Those respondents who reported that they had experienced discrimination in at least one context in the last three years were asked to indicate what they thought the main reasons were for their experiences of discrimination (respondents could choose more than one reason). Almost two-thirds of respondents in the Immigrants & Visible Minorities group indicated that the discrimination they experienced was based on their race or skin colour. Other frequently mentioned bases of discrimination included their ethnicity or culture and accent.

Immigrants & Visible Minorities Who Had Experienced Discrimination: Percentage Who Indicated Each Basis of Discrimination

Basis	Percentage
Race or skin colour	65.6%
Ethnicity or culture	39.2%
Accent	29.0%
Religion	23.7%
Language	19.4%
Physical appearance	15.6%
Gender	11.8%
Clothing	11.3%
Status as an immigrant	10.2%
Age	5.4%
Income level	5.4%
Indigenous identity	4.8%
Physical or mental disability	2.7%
Other	1.6%
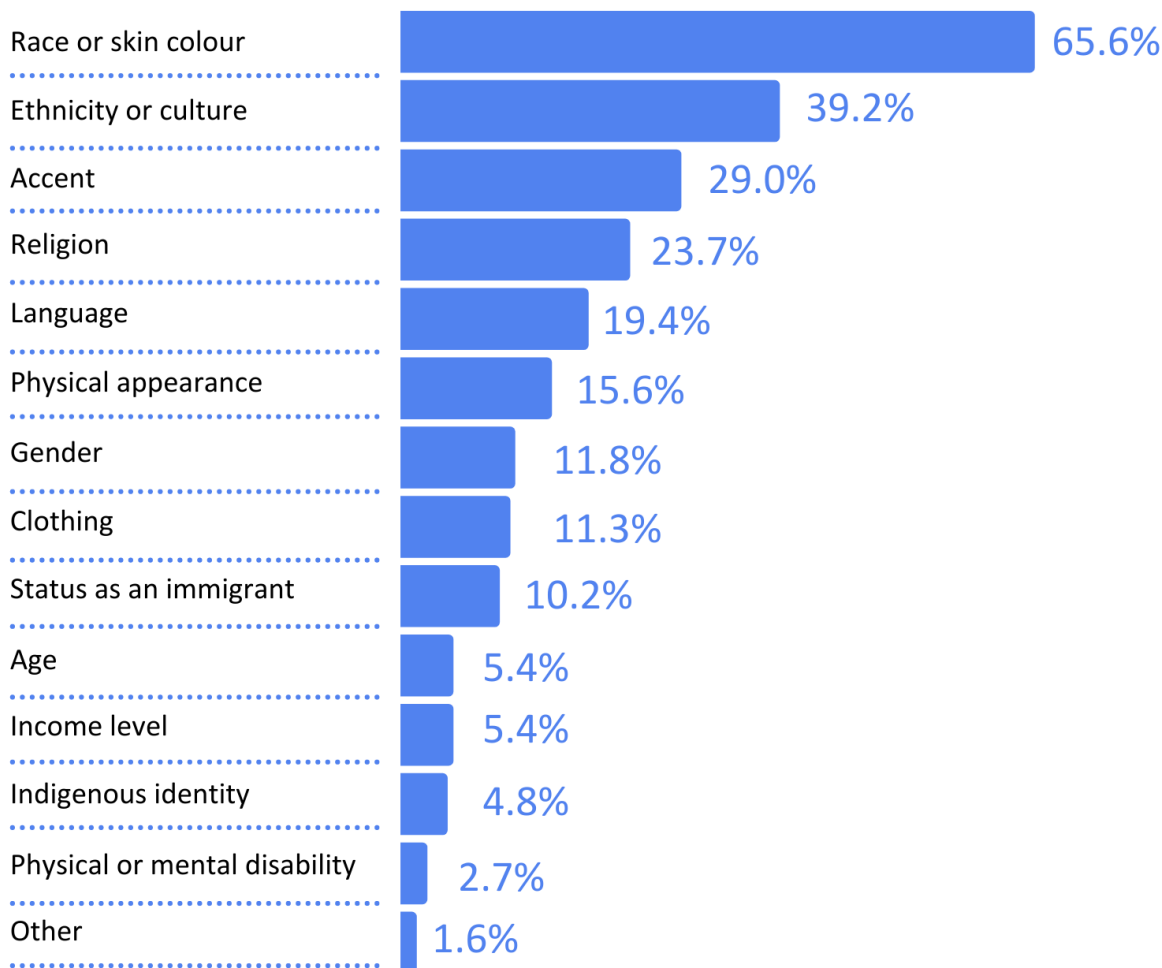
Indigenous Peoples were most likely to indicate that the discrimination that they had experienced was based on their indigenous identity and ethnicity or culture, followed by race or skin colour.
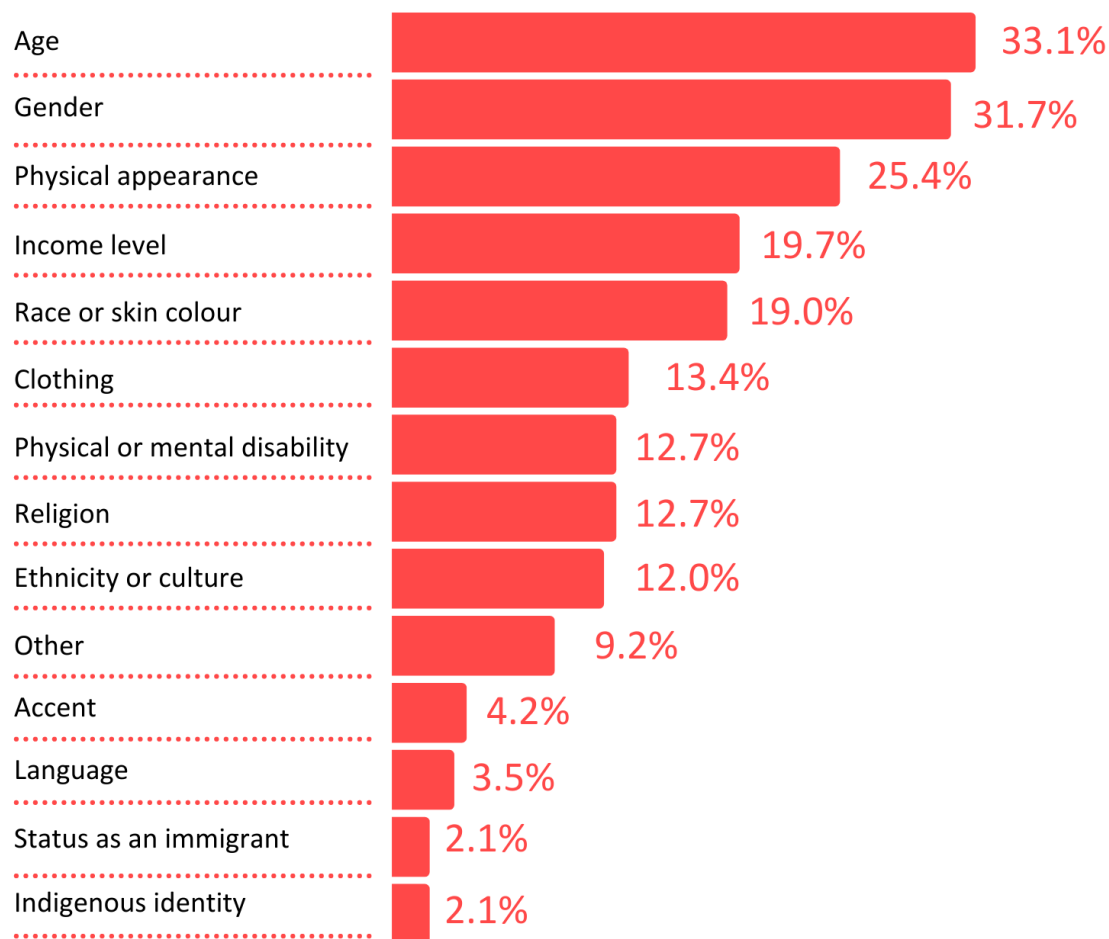
Indigenous Peoples Who Had Experienced Discrimination: Percentage Who Indicated Each Basis of Discrimination

Basis	Percentage
Indigenous identity	61.6%
Ethnicity or culture	32.9%
Race or skin colour	28.8%
Physical appearance	25.3%
Income level	24.7%
Religion	22.6%
Language	17.8%
Gender	17.1%
Clothing	16.4%
Accent	15.8%
Physical or mental disability	11.6%
Age	6.8%
Status as an immigrant	2.7%
Other	1.4%
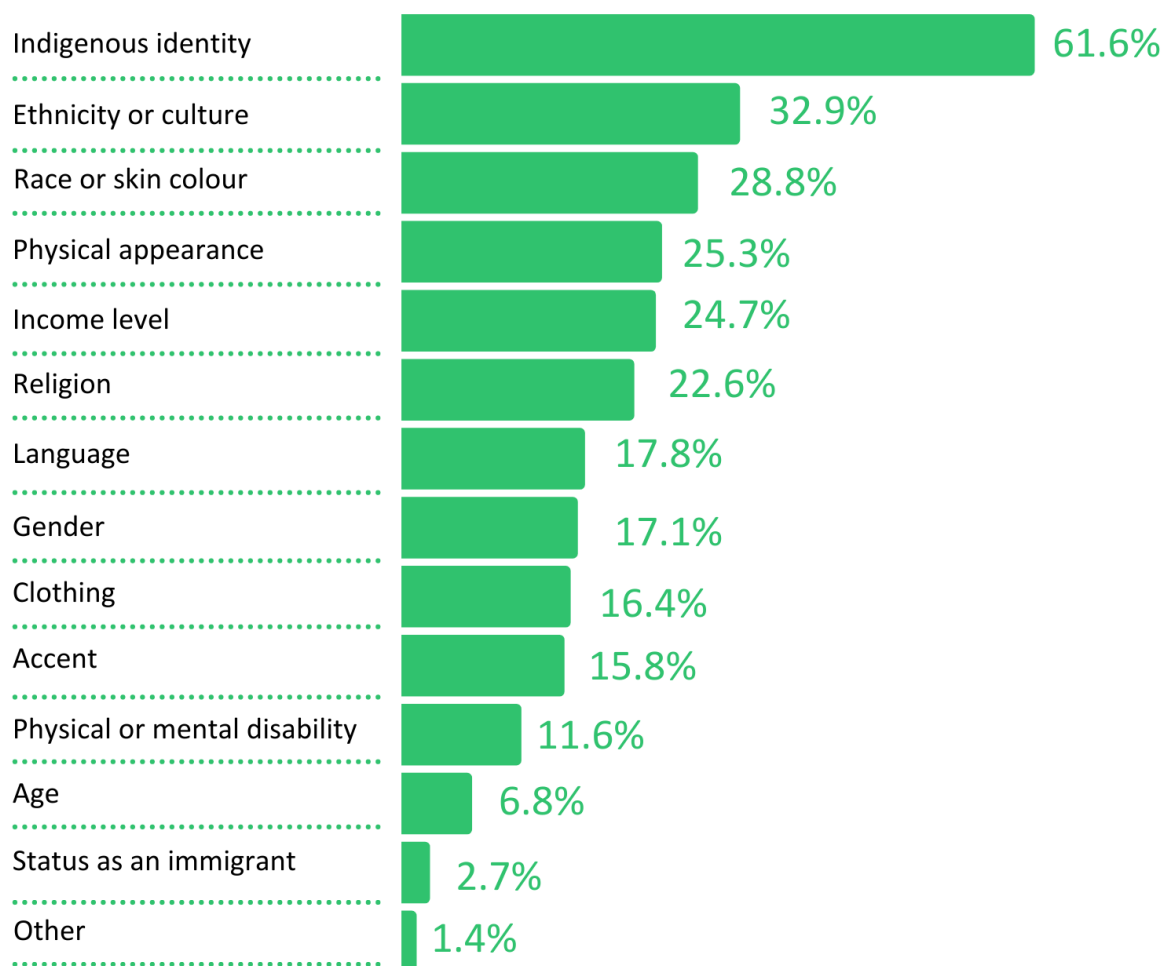
Note: A few respondents in the Indigenous Peoples group selected 'status as an immigrant' as one of the bases of their discrimination experiences. It is possible that these respondents perceived themselves as 'immigrants' in Hamilton even though they were born in Canada. Alternatively, this is attributable to random error in responding.

White Non-immigrants were most likely to indicate that the discrimination that they had experienced was based on their age, gender, and physical appearance.

White Non-immigrants Who Had Experienced Discrimination: Percentage Who Indicated Each Basis of Discrimination

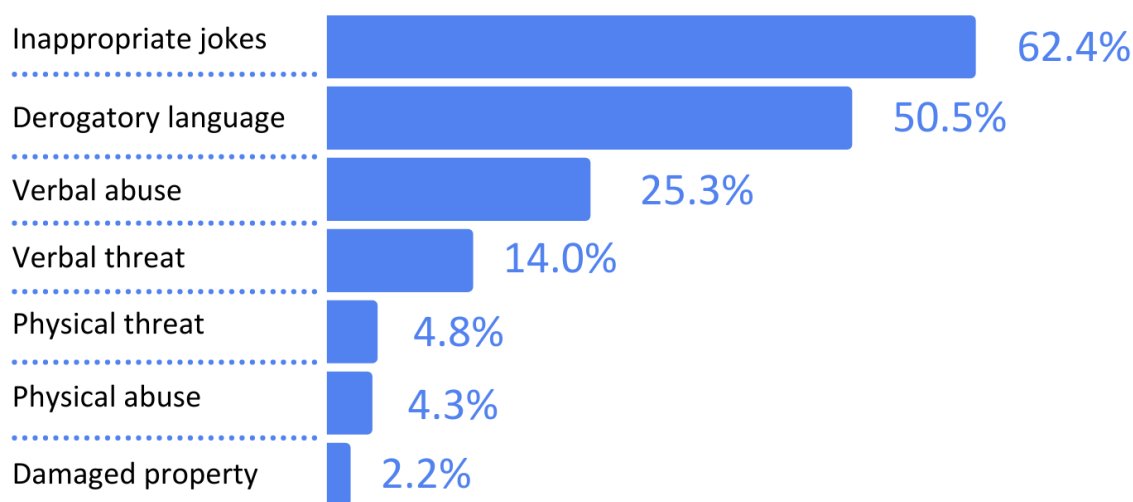| Basis	Percentage
Age	33.1%
Gender	31.7%
Physical appearance	25.4%
Income level	19.7%
Race or skin colour	19.0%
Clothing	13.4%
Physical or mental disability	12.7%
Religion	12.7%
Ethnicity or culture	12.0%
Other	9.2%
Accent	4.2%
Language	3.5%
Status as an immigrant	2.1%
Indigenous identity	2.1%

Note: A few respondents in the White Non-immigrants group selected 'status as an immigrant' as one of the bases of their discrimination experiences. It is possible that these respondents perceived themselves as 'immigrants' in Hamilton even though they were born in Canada. Alternatively, this is attributable to random error in responding.

These results suggest that Immigrants & Visible Minorities and Indigenous Peoples perceived their experiences of discrimination as based on ethnocultural factors related to different minority group statuses, such as race or skin colour, indigenous identity, and ethnicity or culture). In contrast, comparison White Non-immigrants tended to perceive their experiences of discrimination as based on more universal factors, such as age, gender (largely driven by female respondents of whom 44.2% reported discrimination based on gender as compared to 17.5% of males), and physical appearance.
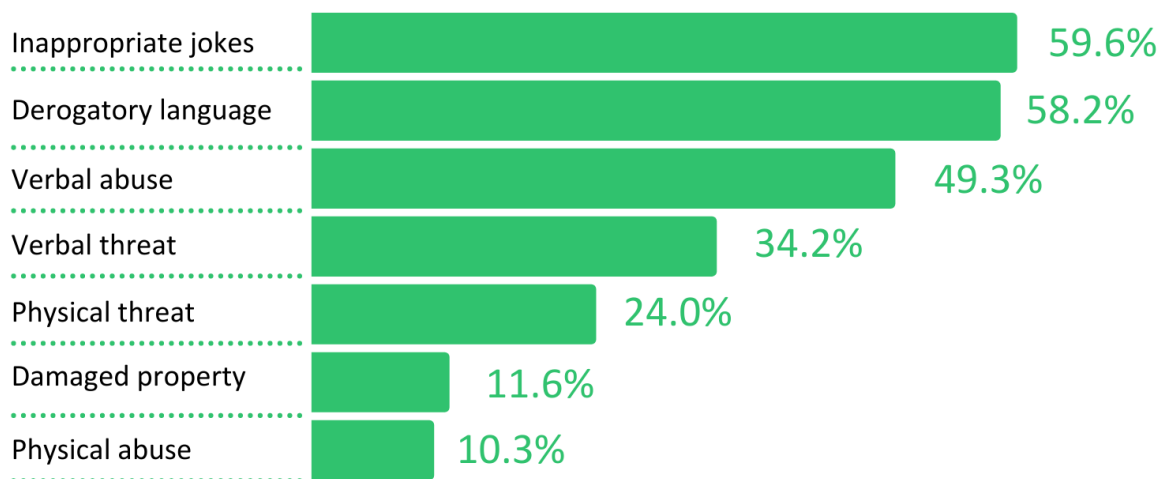
Are specific types of discrimination being experienced?

Those people who reported that they had experienced discrimination in at least one context in the last three years were asked to indicate whether they had experienced specific types of discrimination (respondents could choose more than one type). In all three groups, respondents most frequently reported experiencing discrimination in the form of inappropriate jokes and derogatory language followed by verbal abuse, verbal threat, and physical threat. The two least common types of reported discrimination experiences included physical abuse and damaged property.
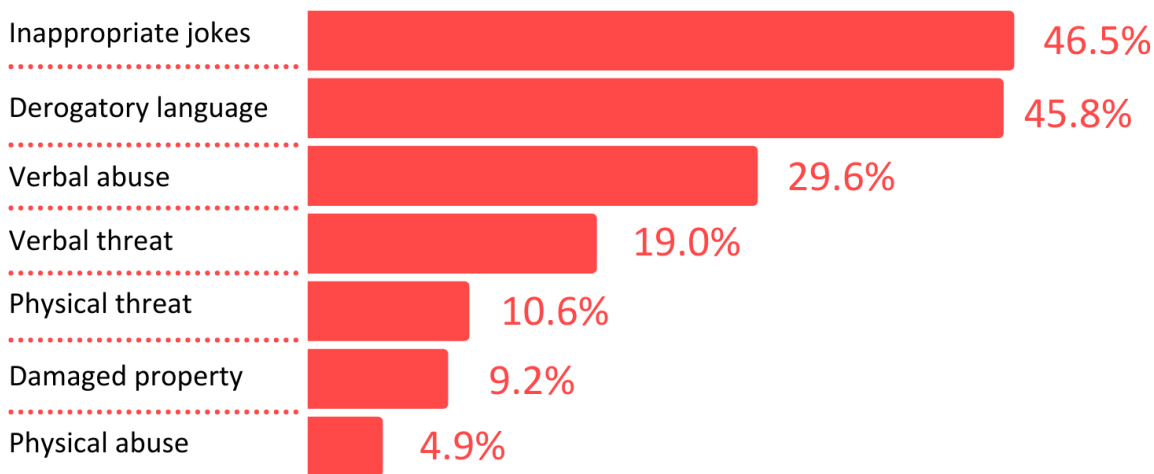
Immigrants & Visible Minorities Who Had Experienced Discrimination: Percentage Who Had Experienced Each Type of Discrimination

Type	Percentage
Inappropriate jokes	62.4%
Derogatory language	50.5%
Verbal abuse	25.3%
Verbal threat	14.0%
Physical threat	4.8%
Physical abuse	4.3%
Damaged property	2.2%

Indigenous Peoples Who Had Experienced Discrimination: Percentage Who Had Experienced Each Type of Discrimination

Type	Percentage
Inappropriate jokes	59.6%
Derogatory language	58.2%
Verbal abuse	49.3%
Verbal threat	34.2%
Physical threat	24.0%
Damaged property	11.6%
Physical abuse	10.3%

White Non-Immigrants Who Had Experienced Discrimination: Percentage Who Had Experienced Each Type of Discrimination

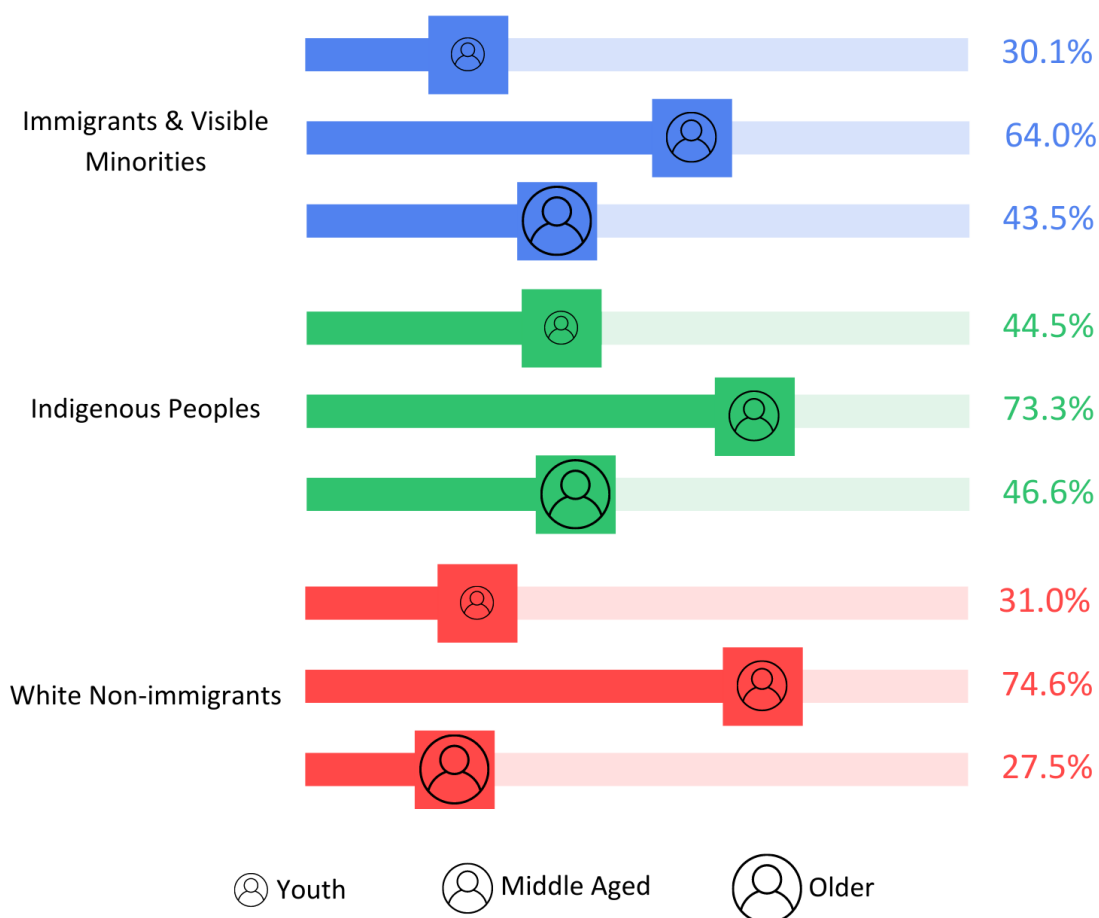| Type	Percentage
Inappropriate jokes	46.5%
Derogatory language	45.8%
Verbal abuse	29.6%
Verbal threat	19.0%
Physical threat	10.6%
Damaged property	9.2%
Physical abuse	4.9%

Who are the perpetrators of discrimination?

Those respondents who reported that they had experienced discrimination in at least one context in the last three years were asked to describe who generally discriminated against them, including perpetrators' gender, age, and race or ethnicity (respondents could choose more than one response for each category).

Perpetrator age

In all three groups, respondents were most likely to identify perpetrators as middle aged individuals. The extent to which respondents in each group thought that perpetrators were young or older varied a bit. For example, among respondents in the Indigenous Peoples group, young and older individuals were seen as almost equally likely to be perpetrators. In contrast, among respondents in the Immigrants & Visible minorities group, younger individuals were less likely to be seen as perpetrators than older individuals. Finally, among respondents in the comparison White Non-immigrants group, younger individuals were slightly more likely to be seen as perpetrators than older individuals.
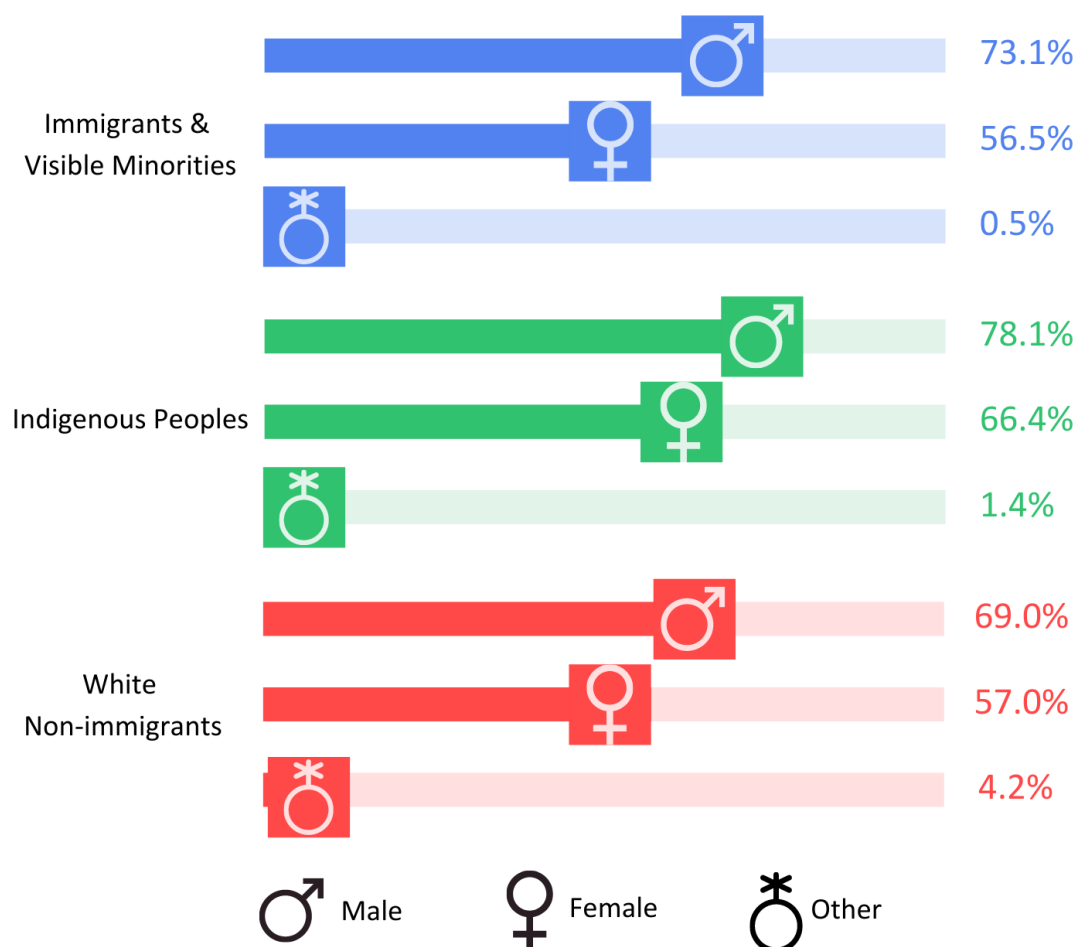
Respondents Who Had Experienced Discrimination: Percentage Who Indicated Each Perpetrator Age Group

Immigrants & Visible Minorities
- 30.1%
- 64.0%
- 43.5%

Indigenous Peoples
- 44.5%
- 73.3%
- 46.6%

White Non-immigrants
- 31.0%
- 74.6%
- 27.5%

Youth   Middle Aged   Older

Perpetrator gender

In all three groups, respondents indicated that perpetrators of discrimination included both genders, although males were mentioned more frequently than females.
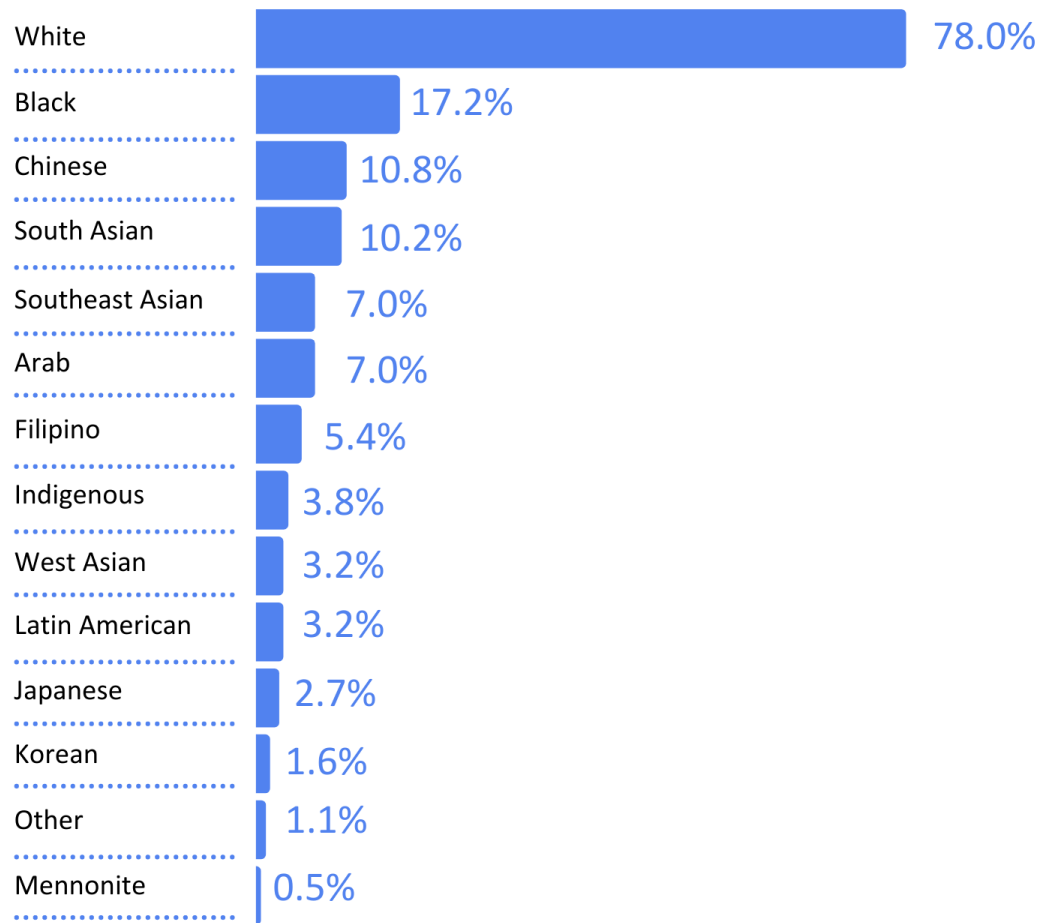
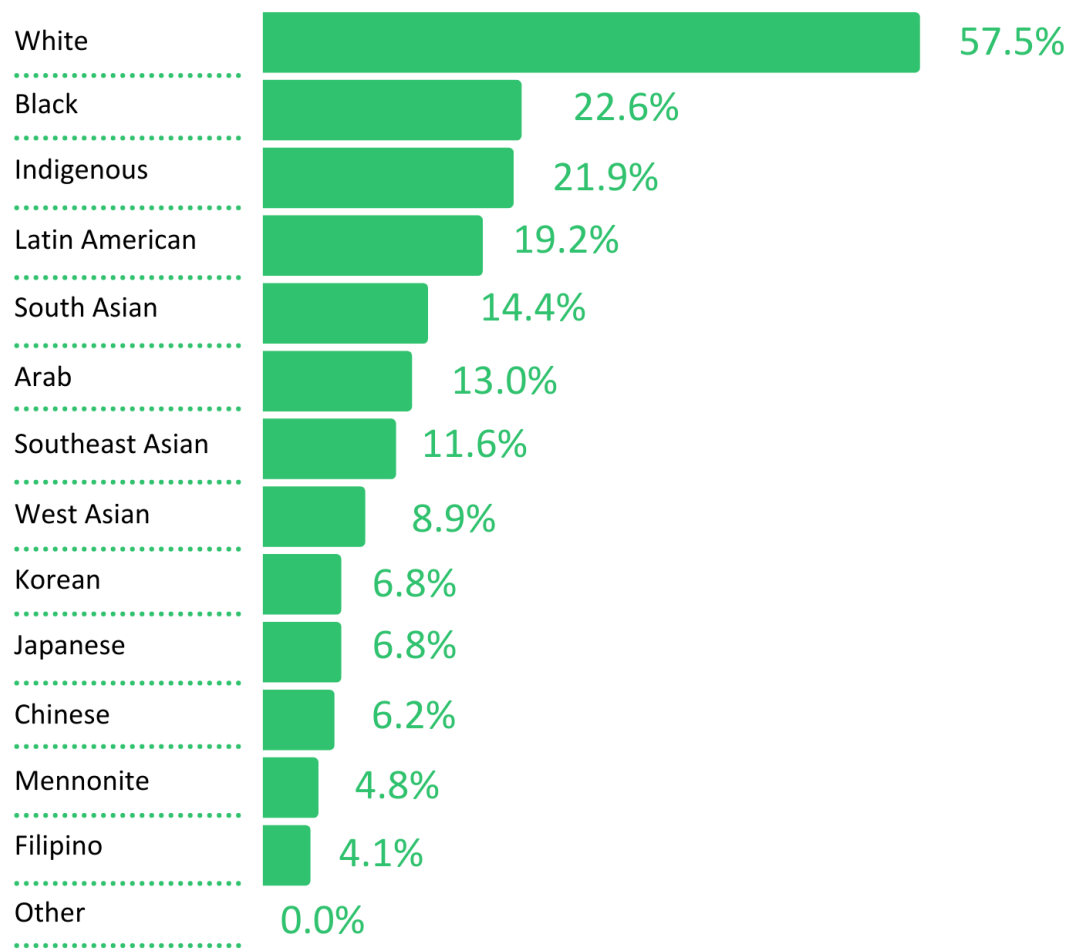Respondents Who Had Experienced Discrimination: Percentage Who Indicated Each Perpetrator Gender

Immigrants & Visible Minorities	♂ 73.1%
	♀ 56.5%
	⚥ 0.5%
Indigenous Peoples	♂ 78.1%
	♀ 66.4%
	⚥ 1.4%
White Non-immigrants	♂ 69.0%
	♀ 57.0%
	⚥ 4.2%

♂ Male   ♀ Female   ⚥ Other

Perpetrator race or ethnicity

In all three groups, White individuals were seen as the most common perpetrators of discrimination. Interestingly, in the Indigenous Peoples group, approximately 1 in 5 respondents also reported that other Indigenous Peoples were perpetrators of discrimination.
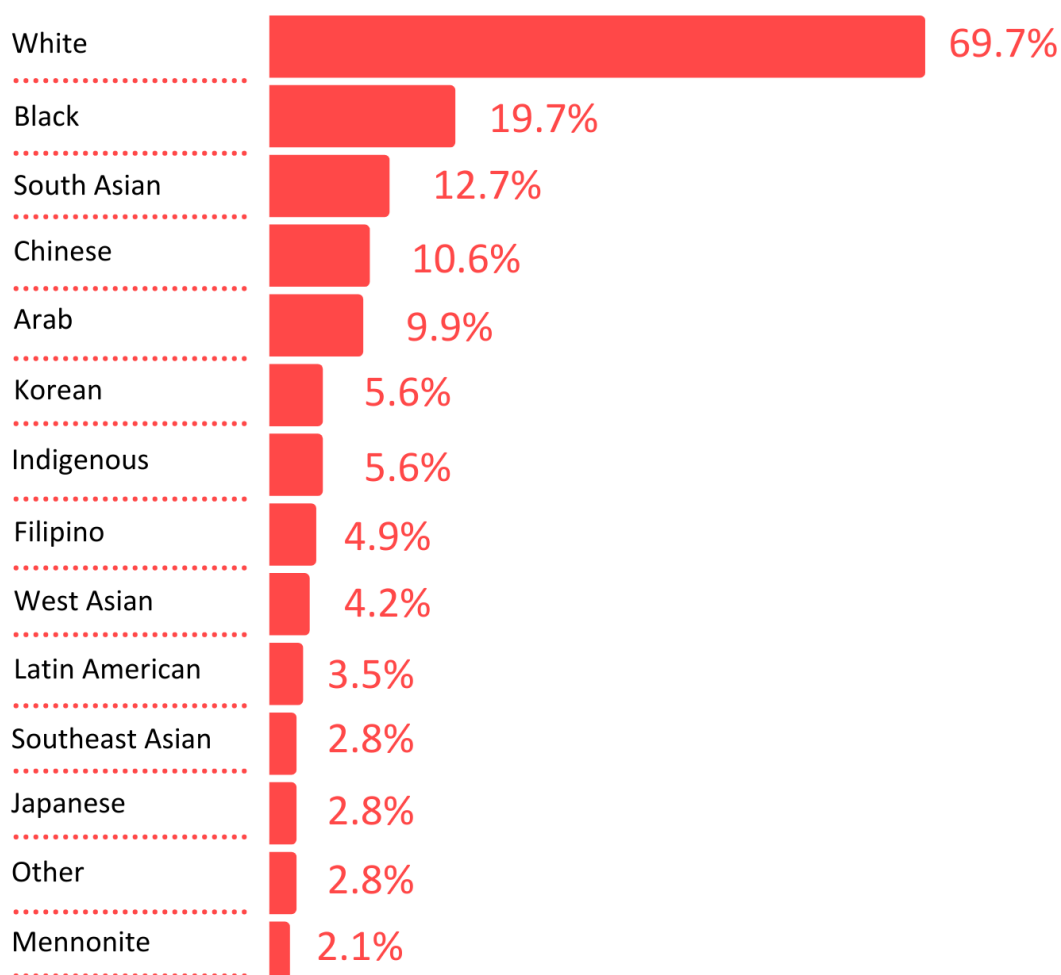
Immigrants & Visible Minorities Who Had Experienced Discrimination: Percentage Who Indicated Each Perpetrator Race/Ethnicity

Race/Ethnicity	Percentage
White	78.0%
Black	17.2%
Chinese	10.8%
South Asian	10.2%
Southeast Asian	7.0%
Arab	7.0%
Filipino	5.4%
Indigenous	3.8%
West Asian	3.2%
Latin American	3.2%
Japanese	2.7%
Korean	1.6%
Other	1.1%
Mennonite	0.5%

Indigenous Peoples Who Had Experienced Discrimination: Percentage Who Indicated Each Perpetrator Race/Ethnicity

| Race/Ethnicity	Percentage
White	57.5%
Black	22.6%
Indigenous	21.9%
Latin American	19.2%
South Asian	14.4%
Arab	13.0%
Southeast Asian	11.6%
West Asian	8.9%
Korean	6.8%
Japanese	6.8%
Chinese	6.2%
Mennonite	4.8%
Filipino	4.1%
Other	0.0%

White Non-Immigrants Who Had Experienced Discrimination: Percentage Who Indicated Each Perpetrator Race/Ethnicity

Race/Ethnicity	Percentage
White	69.7%
Black	19.7%
South Asian	12.7%
Chinese	10.6%
Arab	9.9%
Korean	5.6%
Indigenous	5.6%
Filipino	4.9%
West Asian	4.2%
Latin American	3.5%
Southeast Asian	2.8%
Japanese	2.8%
Other	2.8%
Mennonite	2.1%

Have experiences of discrimination increased or decreased during the COVID-19 pandemic?

Those people who reported that they had experienced discrimination in at least one context in the last three years were asked to indicate whether their experiences of discrimination have increased or decreased during the COVID-19 pandemic. Members of all three groups reported that their experiences of discrimination decreased during the COVID-19 pandemic, perhaps attributable to the lockdowns which reduced the frequency of interactions with others. However, respondents in the comparison White Non-immigrants group reported a larger decrease than respondents in the Immigrants & Visible Minorities and Indigenous Peoples groups.

Average Change in Experiencing Discrimination During the COVID-19 Pandemic

Immigrants & Visible Minorities	Indigenous Peoples	White Non-immigrants
-0.25	-0.28	-0.65
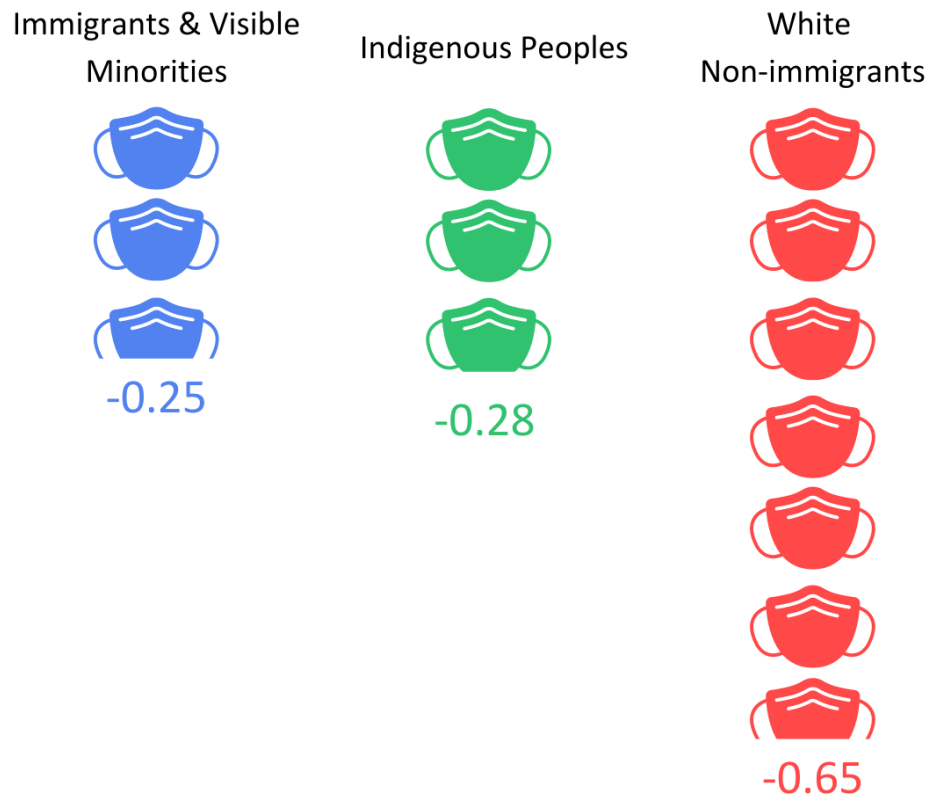
Note: Scale ranged from 2 = much higher to -2 = much lower.

Potential Coping Strategies and Emotions in Response to Discrimination

What coping strategies are used in response to discrimination?

Those people who reported that they had experienced discrimination in at least one context in the last three years were asked to what extent they engaged in 12 coping strategies in response to the discrimination, which were then combined into active (e.g., tried to do something about it) and passive (e.g., accepted it as the way things are) coping strategies. All three groups reported engaging in both active and passive coping strategies to a considerable degree. Of note, although passive coping strategies were more likely to be used by all three groups, this differentiation between passive and active coping was especially evident for Immigrants & Visible Minorities and White Non-immigrants.

Average Use of Active and Passive Coping Strategies in Response to Discrimination
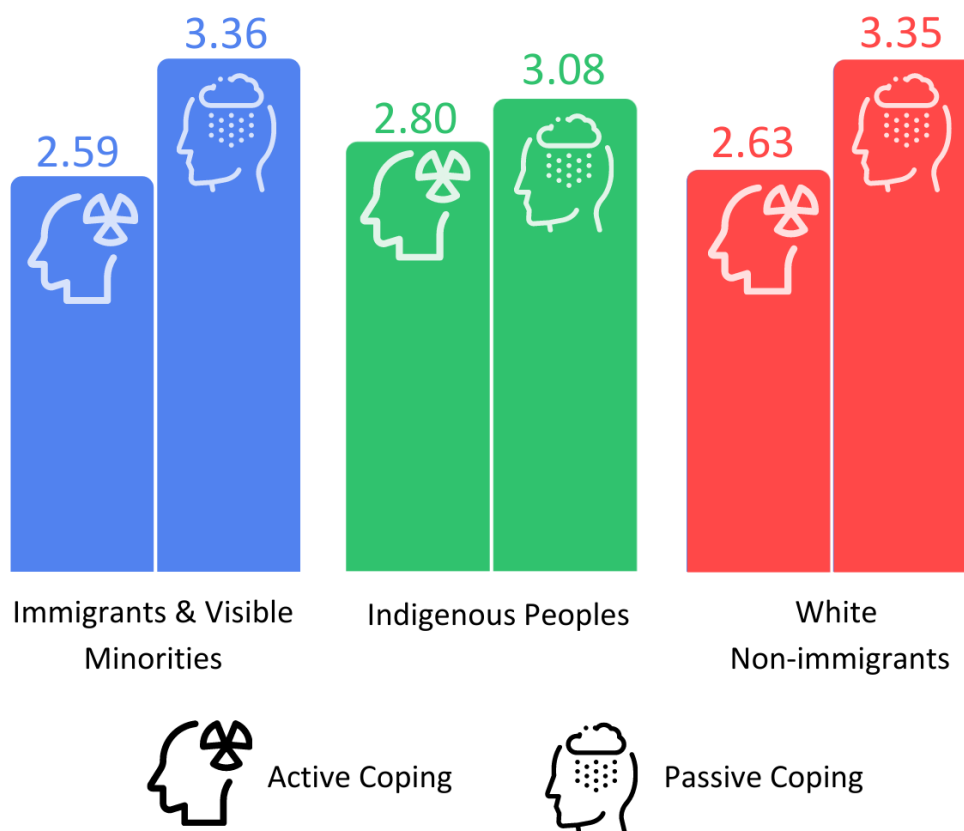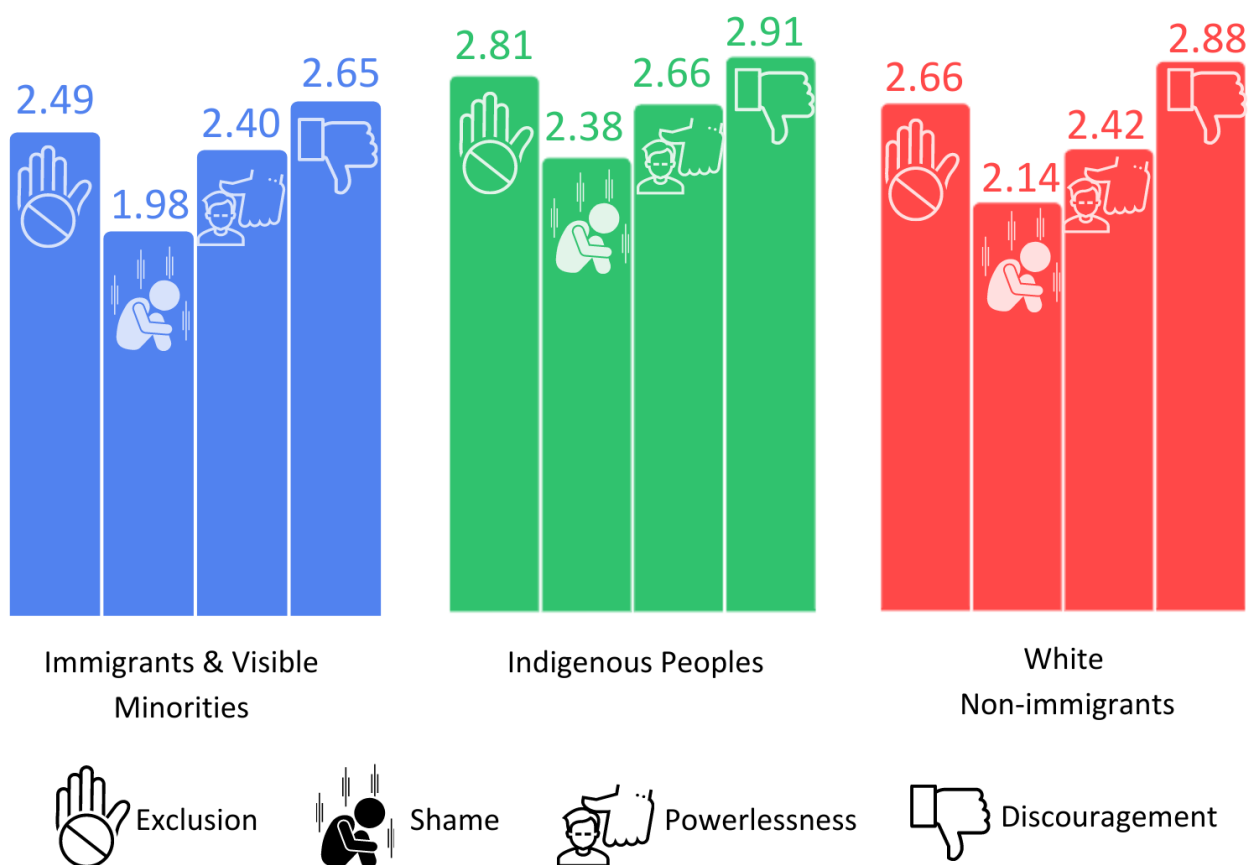

Note: Possible responses could range from never (1) to always (5).

What feelings are elicited by experiences of discrimination?

Those people who reported that they had experienced discrimination in at least one context in the last three years were asked to what extent they experienced 12 different feelings in response to this discrimination, which were then combined into exclusion (e.g., rejected), shame (e.g., ashamed), powerlessness (e.g., helpless), and discouragement (e.g., discouraged). All three groups of respondents tended to experience discouragement, exclusion and powerlessness more than shame, though all emotions were experienced. Indigenous Peoples tended to experience all these emotions more than the other two groups of respondents.

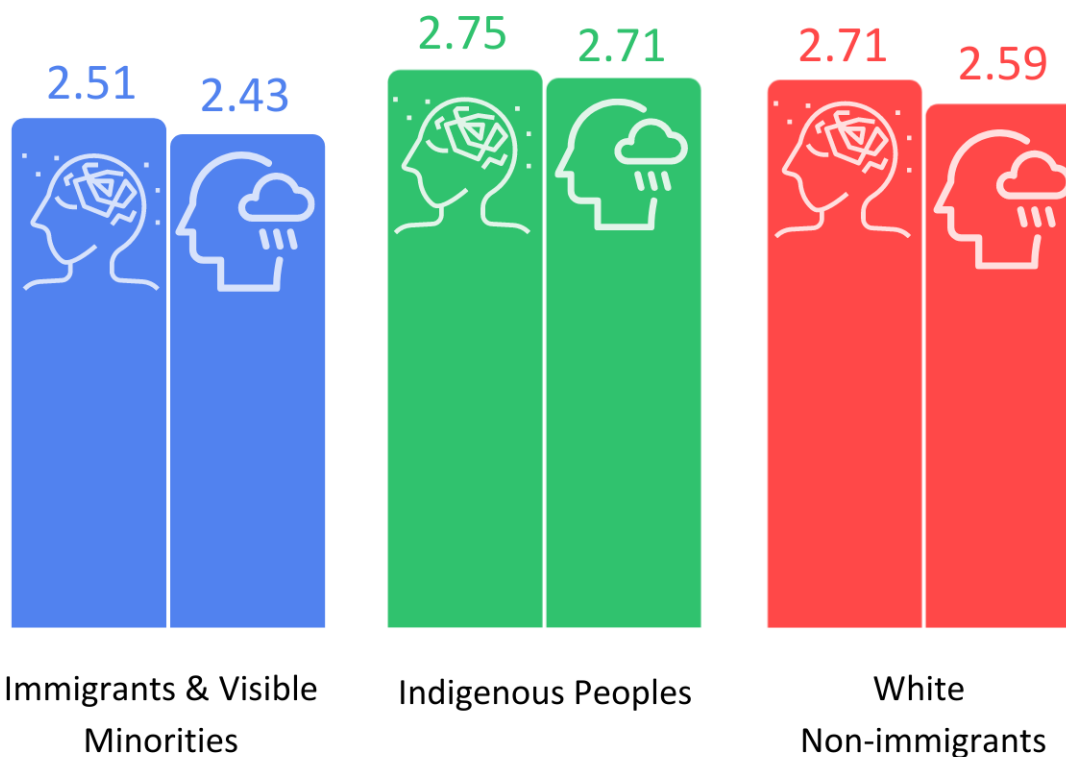Average Feelings of Exclusion, Shame, Powerlessness, and Discouragement in Response to Discrimination

Note: Possible responses could range from never (1) to always (5).

How much psychological distress is experienced in response to discrimination?

Those people who reported that they had experienced discrimination in at least one context in the last three years were asked to what extent they experienced psychological distress in response to the discrimination across 4 items, which were then combined into anxiety (e.g., nervous, anxious, or on edge) and depression (e.g., down, depressed, or hopeless). All three groups of respondents experienced some level of anxiety and depression.

Average Experiences of Anxiety and Depression in Response to Discrimination

Immigrants & Visible Minorities: Anxiety 2.51, Depression 2.43
Indigenous Peoples: Anxiety 2.75, Depression 2.71
White Non-immigrants: Anxiety 2.71, Depression 2.59

Anxiety

Depression

Note: Possible responses could range from never (1) to always (5).

Hamilton as a Welcoming Community

All respondents were asked to what extent they felt accepted and welcomed in Hamilton at the present time using 5 items, which were combined. On average, respondents in the comparison White Non-immigrants group tended to have a stronger sense of acceptance and welcome in Hamilton than the other two groups. Furthermore, in all three groups, respondents who had not experienced discrimination tended to have a slightly higher sense of acceptance and welcome in Hamilton than those who had experienced discrimination.

Average Feelings of Acceptance and Welcome in Hamilton
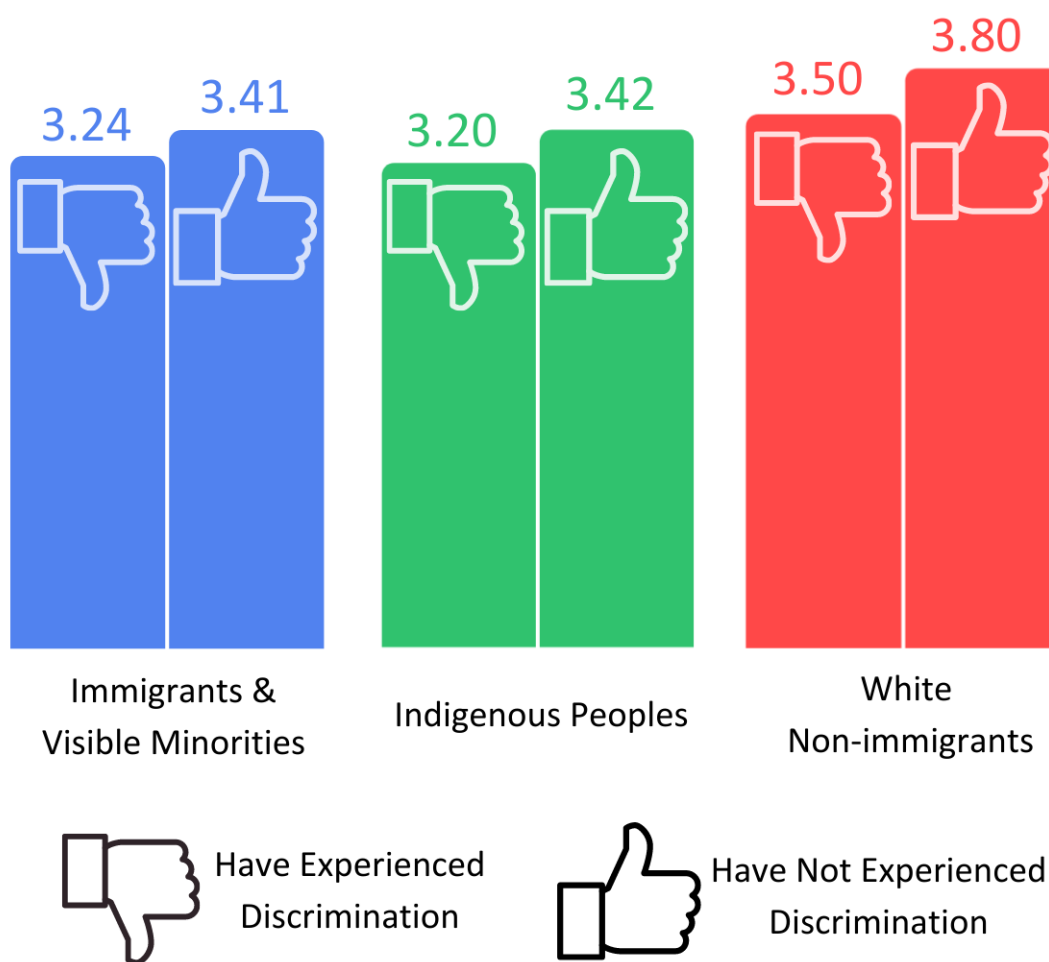
Note: Possible responses could range from not at all (1) to extremely (5).

Summary of Findings

Immigrants & Visible Minorities

Approximately 6 out of 10 respondents in the Immigrants & Visible Minorities group reported experiencing discrimination in Hamilton in the past three years. Younger, more educated respondents and respondents with higher incomes were more likely to report experiencing discrimination in Hamilton. Also, immigrants & visible minorities' ethnicity or race played a role. For example, Black respondents were more likely to report experiencing discrimination in Hamilton than South Asian respondents. Of note, visible minorities who are not immigrants were most likely to report experiencing discrimination, followed by immigrant visible minorities. In terms of specific characteristics of immigrants, permanent residents and those living in Canada between 5 to 10 years were most likely to report experiencing discrimination in Hamilton.

Immigrants & Visible Minorities were most likely to experience discrimination when applying for a job or promotion, while using public areas (e.g., parks and sidewalks), while using public transit (e.g., buses, trains or taxis), while attending social gatherings, and when attending school or classes. The most common bases of discrimination reported by Immigrants & Visible Minorities were their race or skin colour, ethnicity or culture, and accent. In terms of the types of discrimination experienced, Immigrants & Visible Minorities were most likely to experience inappropriate jokes and derogatory language. Both men and women were identified as perpetrators of this discrimination, although males were mentioned more frequently than females. Also, perpetrators were most commonly reported to be middle aged and White.

Experiences of discrimination were more likely to produce feelings of discouragement, exclusion and powerlessness than shame. On average, Immigrants & Visible Minorities also reported experiencing anxiety and depression to some extent as a result of their discrimination experiences. On average, they indicated using both active and passive coping strategies to deal with their discrimination experiences, although they tended to rely more on passive than active coping strategies. Of note, those who had experienced discrimination reported slightly lower feelings of acceptance and welcome in Hamilton than those who had not experienced discrimination.

Indigenous Peoples

In the Indigenous Peoples group, approximately 8 out of 10 respondents reported experiencing discrimination in Hamilton in the last three years. Of note, respondents aged 36 to 50 years old and with higher incomes were most likely to report experiencing discrimination in Hamilton. On average, respondents in the Indigenous Peoples group also reported experiencing discrimination in more contexts than respondents in the Immigrants & Visible Minorities group and the White Non-immigrants group. Indigenous Peoples were most likely to report experiencing discrimination at their job (e.g., from supervisors, co-workers, or clients), when applying for a job or promotion, while using public areas (e.g., parks and sidewalks), when looking for housing (e.g., buying a house or renting an apartment), and while using public transit (e.g., buses, trains or taxis).

The most common bases of discrimination reported by Indigenous Peoples were their indigenous identity, ethnicity or culture, and race or skin colour. In terms of the types of discrimination experienced, respondents were most likely to mention inappropriate jokes, derogatory language and verbal abuse. Similar to the other two groups, respondents in the Indigenous Peoples group identified perpetrators as male and female, although males were mentioned more often than females. Also, perpetrators were most commonly reported to be middle aged and White. Of interest, 1 in 5 Indigenous respondents also reported perpetrators to be other Indigenous Peoples.

As for the other two groups, respondents in the Indigenous Peoples group reported that experiences of discrimination were more likely to lead to feelings of discouragement, exclusion and powerlessness than shame. However, Indigenous Peoples tended to experience all these emotions more than the other two groups. Indigenous peoples reported using both active and passive coping strategies to deal with their discrimination experiences. Of note, those who had experienced discrimination reported slightly lower feelings of acceptance and welcome in Hamilton than those who had not experienced discrimination.

Comparison White Non-Immigrants

Approximately 5 out of 10 respondents in the comparison White Non-immigrants group reported experiencing discrimination in Hamilton in the last three years. White Non-immigrants were most likely to experience discrimination when applying for a job or promotion, at their job (e.g., from supervisors, co-workers, or clients), while using public areas (e.g., parks and sidewalks), when interacting with their neighbours, and while attending social gatherings. White Non-immigrants reported that the main reasons for their discrimination experiences had to do with more

universal factors such as age, gender, and physical appearance. Of interest, White Non-immigrants reported a greater decrease in discrimination experiences during the pandemic than respondents in the other two groups, perhaps due to limited social interactions. Finally, White Non-immigrants also tended to report, on average, stronger feelings of acceptance and welcome in Hamilton than the other two groups.

Methodological Strengths and Limitations

This research has a number of methodological strengths, as well as some limitations. In terms of a major strength, the respondents in our survey were contacted by phone through random digit dialing of phone numbers in the region, and if they qualified to participate and agreed, were then sent the link to the survey. This recruitment procedure ensured a relatively representative sample of participating individuals within each of the three target groups. This contrasts with many of the surveys being conducted to examine racism and discrimination across the country, which advertise their surveys publicly and then allow full self-selection of respondents based on their interest in the topic, which can lead to extreme bias. That is, the random selection of potential respondents at the first stage of our recruitment reduced the probability of biased samples. The targeting of specific, relatively large, numbers of Immigrants & Visible Minorities and Indigenous Peoples based on their population sizes within the region also increased the representativeness of these samples, allowing us to reach conclusions that applied to these groups in general. We note, however, that the margin of error for Indigenous Peoples is a bit larger than for the other two groups, due to the smaller sample size.

Nonetheless, because participation was voluntary, it is likely that interest in the topic had some influence on whether or not eligible individuals participated, leading to some inevitable potential biasing of the samples. This was particularly evident for respondents in the White Non-immigrants group who tended to be older than a random sample would suggest. Having a White Non-immigrants group was of importance, however, in providing an understanding of the experiences of discrimination of the specific groups of interest – Immigrants & Visible Minorities and Indigenous Peoples – in comparison to members of the majority group in the region, and was further enhanced by analyses by specific characteristics such as gender and age.

An additional strength of this research was the use of validated, established measures where available, and the focus not only on whether respondents had experienced discrimination, but a detailed profile of the contexts of this discrimination and its potential consequences. This provides a rigorous evidence base for the development of future strategies for reducing discrimination in the region.

Some may suggest that a limitation of this research is that it is based on self-reports of discrimination by those who are purported to experience it, rather than observations of objective discrimination. Though it is indeed the case that our research depends on self-reports by victims of discrimination, we would argue that understanding the lived experiences of immigrants, visible minorities, and Indigenous peoples in the community, including their experiences of discrimination, is essential as we work toward promoting a more welcoming community in which all can contribute and thrive.

Another possible limitation of the research is that, with one exception, we combined immigrants and visible minorities into one sample for the purpose of the analyses. This decision was based on the fact that there is considerable overlap between these two groups in Hamilton and, indeed, in our Immigrants & Visible Minorities sample over 71% of respondents were both immigrants and visible minorities. We did, however, examine the separate effects of immigrant status and visible minority status on the likelihood of experiencing discrimination.

Finally, it is important to note that because we set targets for the three groups of respondents for this research, the three groups cannot be combined to examine overall levels of discrimination in the community. That is, we can reach conclusions about each of the three groups of respondents and compare them, but cannot combine the three groups to reach overall conclusions irrespective of the groups to which individuals belong. To do so would require weighting of the samples, which is beyond the scope of the current research.

Recommendations

Our recommendations are organized into three categories as follows:

#1: Promote an environment that encourages victims of discrimination to report their experiences

The study revealed that a substantial proportion of respondents had experienced discrimination in the last three years in Hamilton. This was particularly the case among Indigenous Peoples, with 8 out of 10 Indigenous respondents indicating that they had experienced discrimination. This finding is in stark contrast to the findings from the Hate/Bias Statistical Report by the Hamilton Police Service which found that no hate incidents and crimes against Indigenous Peoples had been reported in 2020 (Mendes, 2021). This suggests that many discrimination experiences go unreported, raising the question of why this might be the case. Experiences of discrimination may go unreported because they do not meet the legal threshold of a criminal offence or due to a lack of trust in the system or fear that the incidents may not be taken seriously (Hate Crimes

Community Working Group, 2006; Hristova, 2021a; Mitchell, 2021; Sterritt, 2020; Sultan et al., 2021). It is also the case that in many communities it is not clear to whom one should report discrimination incidents, particularly if they do not seem to be severe enough to be criminal offences. As such, it is important to create an environment that encourages victims of discrimination to come forward and report their experiences through the public provision of resources and locations in which this discrimination can be reported. For example, the Coalition of Muslim Women Kitchener-Waterloo has set up an online reporting tool for people who experience or witness discrimination (https://reportinghate.ca/). Another example is the Elimin8hate reporting tool developed by the Project 1907 in partnership with the Vancouver Asian Film Festival. The Elimin8hate reporting tool records incidents of racism, hate and violence experienced by Asians in Canada (https://www.elimin8hate.org/fileareport). Only experiences that are acknowledged can be addressed.

#2: Help victims of discrimination to use effective coping strategies

The current study found that respondents relied on both active and passive coping strategies to deal with their discrimination experiences, although they tended to rely more on passive coping strategies than active coping strategies. This was particularly the case among respondents in the Immigrants & Visible Minorities group, as well as the White Non-immigrants group. According to past research, active coping strategies and coping strategies that are problem-focused tend to have more positive effects on individuals' mental health (Chao, 2011; Dijkstra & Homan, 2016; Polanco-Roman et al., 2016; Taylor & Stanton, 2007). At the same time, it is important to note that there is no coping strategy that is effective in all situations (Blum et al., 2012; Suls & Fletcher, 1985).

In terms of discrimination experiences that are based on race, past research also suggests that the use and effectiveness of coping strategies may depend on the victims' gender (Liang et al., 2007), their ethnicity (Noh et al., 1999; Noh & Kaspar, 2003), their acculturation or ethnic identification (Kuo, 1995; Yoo & Lee, 2005), and personality traits (Roesch et al., 2006). This suggests that it is important to provide mental health supports to victims of discrimination that help them engage in those coping strategies that are most effective for their specific characteristics and circumstances. These mental health supports should be evidence-based and provided in a culturally sensitive manner.

#3: Engage in effective, evidence-based initiatives to prevent and reduce discrimination

Overall, many respondents in the current study reported experiencing discrimination in Hamilton. This was particularly the case for Indigenous Peoples, and among the Immigrants &

Visible Minorities group, those who were visible minorities (whether immigrants or not). These discrimination experiences tended to be more prevalent in certain contexts. Across all three groups, two contexts were among the top five most frequently mentioned contexts. These contexts included when applying for a job or promotion and while using public areas (e.g., parks and sidewalks). Among Immigrants & Visible Minorities and Indigenous Peoples, the top five contexts also included when using public transit (e.g., buses, trains or taxis). For Immigrants & Visible Minorities, top contexts also included at social gatherings and when attending schools or classes. For Indigenous Peoples, top contexts also included at their job (e.g., from supervisors, co-workers, or clients) and when looking for housing. These findings suggest that anti-discrimination initiatives should focus on these particular contexts, developing common strategies across groups for settings such as employment settings and in public areas, which tend to be common contexts of discrimination across groups, and for Immigrants & Visible Minorities and Indigenous Peoples, on public transit. Targeted strategies for specific groups should also be developed that focus on unique contexts that are problematic for these groups (e.g., Indigenous Peoples seeking housing).

The current study also found that both males and females were identified as perpetrators of discrimination, although males were mentioned more frequently than females. Perpetrators were also most commonly reported to be middle aged and White. These findings suggest that if anti-discrimination initiatives are to be effective, it will be particularly important to include these groups in this programming.

In terms of specific types of discrimination experienced, from the types examined, inappropriate jokes and derogatory language were most frequently mentioned by all three groups, although Indigenous Peoples also reported experiencing quite a bit of verbal abuse. These findings suggest that anti-discrimination initiatives in Hamilton would do well to specifically target these forms of discrimination, which may at times be discounted as unimportant areas of discrimination to counteract.

To reduce discrimination effectively, it is important to adopt a multilevel approach. In other words, anti-discrimination initiatives should address the individual perpetrators of discrimination (e.g., by changing attitudes and behaviors), bystanders (e.g., by providing them with the tools to intervene effectively), and organizations/systems (e.g., by changing policies and practices). By using such an approach, a long-lasting reduction in discrimination is more likely to be achieved. Furthermore, anti-discrimination initiatives should be the result of a collaboration of various community agencies in order to eliminate duplication of effort and resources. Anti-discrimination initiatives should also be evidence-based and evaluated through short-term and long-term criteria. Indeed, we recommend the development of a toolkit of strategies for reducing

discrimination within the community, that can be tested, fine tuned, and utilized by a number of stakeholders in Hamilton.

One of the most commonly used interventions to reduce prejudice and discrimination is diversity training (Bendick et al., 2001; Paluck et al., 2021). Diversity training typically aims to increase awareness of bias and understanding of how it affects behaviour. However, there is only limited research examining the causal impact of diversity training on reducing discrimination (for exceptions, see Chang et al., 2019; Kalev et al., 2006; Moss-Racusin et al., 2016). Also, when diversity training is evaluated, the interpretation of the results is often challenging. This is because diversity training is a broad, heterogeneous set of practices that can incorporate many different types of content (e.g., awareness of bias, various individual level strategies to reduce bias) and use various formats (i.e., lecture, video, group activities). For this reason, diversity training evaluations often lead to inconsistent results and do not offer information on the specific strategies that are effective or ineffective to reduce discrimination.

In terms of effective anti-discrimination initiatives, psychologists have developed several empirically-based discrimination reduction interventions (Dixon et al., 2012; Paluck & Green, 2009; Paluck et al., 2021). The goal of these interventions is to reduce people's prejudice and/or use of group-based stereotypes. The assumption behind these interventions is that by changing people's attitudes, one will also change their discriminatory behaviour. A review of the psychological literature on discrimination reduction interventions points toward the following strategies: increasing intergroup contact, countering stereotypes, encouraging perspective-taking, and finding common ground. In the following paragraphs, we focus on these strategies because they have the most empirical support in the literature and because they are often included as components of diversity training.

#3.1: Increase intergroup contact

With respect to intergroup contact, hundreds of studies across disciplines over the last 70 years have investigated the benefits of establishing contact between people who have different social identities (e.g., race or religion) or backgrounds (e.g., immigration status; De Coninck et al., 2020; Dovidio et al., 2017; Lemmer & Wagner, 2015; Schroeder & Risen, 2016). In order to be most effective, contact between members of different groups should meet several conditions, which are considered optimal but not essential (Allport, 1954; Pettigrew, 1998). In the contact situation, the different groups should have equal status and work interdependently towards achieving a common goal. The contact should also take place in a setting that is guided by social norms that promote and support equality among groups. The main reason why increasing intergroup contact works is because it creates an environment which forces individuals to cooperate with each other

regardless of their group affiliation. Once individuals start to cooperate with each other, they no longer see each other as members of different groups but as members of the same group working toward the same goal. A meta-analysis of over 500 studies noted that research "conclusively show[s] that intergroup contact can promote reductions in intergroup prejudice" (Pettigrew & Tropp, 2006, p. 751).

#3.2: Counter stereotypes

Another strategy to reduce discrimination is to counter stereotypes (Dasgupta & Greenwald, 2001; Kawakami et al., 2000; Kawakami et al., 2007; King & Ahmad, 2010; King et al., 2006; Singletary & Hebl, 2009). Stereotypes are major drivers of discrimination. To counter stereotypes means to present someone with information that is inconsistent with the stereotype that the person holds. This can take many forms. For example, one option is to present someone with images of a person who is counter-stereotypical. Another option is to ask someone to read about someone who is counter-stereotypical. Yet another option is to meet someone in person who defies stereotypes. Research suggests that when people have information that directly contradicts stereotypes, they are less likely to be prejudiced and engage in discriminatory behaviour.

#3.3: Encourage perspective-taking

A third strategy to reduce prejudice and discrimination is perspective-taking (Batson et al.,1997; Finlay & Stephan, 2000; Vescio et al., 2003). Perspective-taking refers to the active consideration of another person's psychological experience (Dovidio et al., 2004). According to Todd et al. (2011), perspective taking helps to reduce the automatic expression of racial biases without "simultaneously decreasing sensitivity to ongoing racial disparities" (Todd et al., 2011, p. 1). This strategy is supported by research investigating the long-term effects of perspective-taking (Broockman & Kalla, 2016; Todd et al., 2011).

#3.4: Find common ground

The final strategy to reduce prejudice and discrimination that has support from the psychological literature is to find common ground. Finding common ground refers to finding something in common with a person from another group. This could, for example, be a common activity or experience, value, preference, identity, or background. This strategy has also been called creating a "common ingroup identity" or "superordinate identity" in the psychological literature (Gaertner & Dovidio, 2000). This strategy builds on Social Identity Theory and the idea that people have a preference for members of their ingroup (Turner et al., 1979). By finding common ground, people

broaden the circle of others who they consider to be ingroup members. In other words, by viewing people from other groups as ingroup members due to a shared common ground, people show the same "ingroup" preference to those people they previously viewed as "outgroup" members. Research suggests that the strategy of finding common ground can be effective to reduce prejudice and discrimination (e.g., Cortland et al., 2017; Riek et al., 2010).

#3.5: Support bystanders of discrimination

As stated earlier, to produce long-lasting results, it is important not only to change the attitudes and behaviour of individual perpetrators of discrimination, but also to implement anti-discrimination strategies that support bystanders who wish to become allies. In terms of bystanders, the literature suggests that bystanders will often not intervene in discriminatory situations because they are not sure whether discrimination is taking place and/or are not confident that they have the skills to intervene effectively (Collins et al., 2021). Thus, if potential bystanders are trained to identify incidents of discrimination and how to react effectively, that is, if they believe that their actions have a high probability of success, they are more likely to intervene (Collins et al., 2021).

#3.6: Address discriminatory policies and practices at the organizational and system levels

To produce long-lasting results, it is also important to focus on organizational and system level strategies to counteract discrimination, implemented by institutions, businesses, corporations, organizations, and the City. Making social justice a central value at all levels of one's organization is the first step in this process. This requires not only the hiring of Equity, Diversity, Inclusion, and Decolonization (EDID) specialists, but the commitment and actions of leaders who hold high rank and privilege to ensure long-lasting change (Collins et al., 2021; Ruggs et al., 2011). It also requires an examination and possible adjustment of organizational policies and culture, as well as training of all members. This may involve diversity training that leverages knowledge of effective anti-discrimination strategies, as discussed earlier. Policies and practices within organizations that require examination include recruitment, selection, placement and promotion procedures, as well as workflow policies and practices. Identity-conscious staffing policies (as opposed to identity-blind policies) are recommended, as well as formal policies that prohibit discrimination in any form (Ruggs et al., 2011). At the system level this may involve a review of all relevant policies and programs through an anti-discrimination lens in order to dismantle those that are discriminatory.

Utilizing a variety of these strategies, Hamilton can work toward becoming a more welcoming community in which all groups are treated with respect, and discriminatory treatment becomes an exception rather than an everyday occurrence.

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Appendix:

Survey on Experiences of Discrimination in Hamilton

The next questions are about your experience with discrimination in the past 3 years (or in the time you have lived in the Hamilton area if that time is less than 3 years).

In that time, how often have you experienced discrimination or been treated unfairly by others in the Hamilton area in the following situations.

1. While using libraries, community/recreational centres, arenas.

   □ Never   □ Rarely   □ Sometimes   □ Often   □ Always   □ Does Not Apply

2. While using public areas, such as parks and sidewalks.

   □ Never   □ Rarely   □ Sometimes   □ Often   □ Always   □ Does Not Apply

3. While using public transit, such as buses, trains or taxis.

   □ Never   □ Rarely   □ Sometimes   □ Often   □ Always   □ Does Not Apply

4. In a store, bank, or restaurant.

   □ Never   □ Rarely   □ Sometimes   □ Often   □ Always   □ Does Not Apply

5. When applying for a job or promotion.

   □ Never   □ Rarely   □ Sometimes   □ Often   □ Always   □ Does Not Apply

6. At your job – for example, from supervisors, co-workers, or clients.

   □ Never   □ Rarely   □ Sometimes   □ Often   □ Always   □ Does Not Apply

7. When interacting with the police.

   □ Never   □ Rarely   □ Sometimes   □ Often   □ Always   □ Does Not Apply

8. When interacting with the courts.

   □ Never   □ Rarely   □ Sometimes   □ Often   □ Always   □ Does Not Apply

9. When attending school or classes.

   □ Never   □ Rarely   □ Sometimes   □ Often   □ Always   □ Does Not Apply

10. When looking for housing (for example, buying a house or renting an apartment).

   □ Never   □ Rarely   □ Sometimes   □ Often   □ Always   □ Does Not Apply

11. While attending social gatherings.

   □ Never   □ Rarely   □ Sometimes   □ Often   □ Always   □ Does Not Apply

12. When interacting with your neighbours.

   □ Never   □ Rarely   □ Sometimes   □ Often   □ Always   □ Does Not Apply

13. When participating in a club, meeting, or organization.

   □ Never   □ Rarely   □ Sometimes   □ Often   □ Always   □ Does Not Apply

14. When interacting with hospitals or health care workers.

   □ Never   □ Rarely   □ Sometimes   □ Often   □ Always   □ Does Not Apply

15. When applying for a program or benefit.

   □ Never   □ Rarely   □ Sometimes   □ Often   □ Always   □ Does Not Apply

16. In another situation that you were not asked about – Please describe that situation:
   _____

   □ Never   □ Rarely   □ Sometimes   □ Often   □ Always

17. You indicated that in the past 3 years you have been discriminated against or treated unfairly by others in the Hamilton area.

   What do you think were the main reasons for this discrimination or unfair treatment? (You can choose more than one.)

   □ Your Indigenous identity
   □ Your race or skin colour
   □ Your ethnicity or culture
   □ Your status as an immigrant
   □ Your religion
   □ Your language
   □ Your accent
   □ Your gender
   □ A physical or mental disability
   □ Your income level
   □ Your clothing

□ Your physical appearance (not including skin colour) such as weight, height, hair style or colour, jewelry, tattoos and other physical characteristics
□ Some other reason

18. In the past 3 years, have you experienced any of the following specific forms of discrimination or mistreatment? (You can choose more than one.)

□ Inappropriate jokes
□ Derogatory language
□ Verbal threat
□ Verbal abuse
□ Physical threat
□ Physical abuse
□ Damaged property

19. Generally speaking, were those who discriminated against you:

(You can choose more than one.)

□ Male
□ Female
□ Other gender

Were they:
□ Youths
□ Middle aged
□ Older

Were they:
□ Arab
□ Black
□ Chinese
□ Filipino
□ First Nations, Métis, or Inuk (Inuit)
□ Japanese
□ Korean
□ Latin American
□ Mennonite
□ South Asian (e.g., East Indian, Pakistani, Sri Lankan)
□ Southeast Asian (e.g., Vietnamese, Cambodian, Laotian, Thai)
□ West Asian (e.g., Iranian, Afghan)
□ White
□ Other (Please specify)

20. During the COVID-19 pandemic, on average how much have your experiences of discrimination or mistreatment changed? During the pandemic have they been:

□ Much Lower   □ Somewhat Lower   □ About the Same   □ Somewhat Higher   □ Much Higher

21. In response to being discriminated against or treated unfairly in the past 3 years in the Hamilton area how often did you do each of the following?

a. Tried to do something about it.

□ Never   □ Rarely   □ Sometimes   □ Often   □ Always

b. Accepted it as the way things are.

□ Never   □ Rarely   □ Sometimes   □ Often   □ Always

c. Ignored it.

□ Never   □ Rarely   □ Sometimes   □ Often   □ Always

d. Told yourself they were ignorant.

□ Never   □ Rarely   □ Sometimes   □ Often   □ Always

e. Worked harder to prove them wrong.

□ Never   □ Rarely   □ Sometimes   □ Often   □ Always

f. Felt that you brought it on yourself.

□ Never   □ Rarely   □ Sometimes   □ Often   □ Always

g. Talked to someone about how you were feeling.

□ Never   □ Rarely   □ Sometimes   □ Often   □ Always

h. Reminded yourself of your rightful place in Canada.

□ Never   □ Rarely   □ Sometimes   □ Often   □ Always

i. Expressed anger or got mad.

□ Never   □ Rarely   □ Sometimes   □ Often   □ Always

j.   Prayed about the situation.

□ Never   □ Rarely   □ Sometimes   □ Often   □ Always

k.   Avoided situations where it could happen again.

□ Never   □ Rarely   □ Sometimes   □ Often   □ Always

l.   Felt that it was something about them and not you.

□ Never   □ Rarely   □ Sometimes   □ Often   □ Always

22. In response to being discriminated against or treated unfairly in the past 3 years in the Hamilton area how often did you feel …

a. Unwanted

□ Never   □ Rarely   □ Sometimes   □ Often   □ Always

b. Rejected

□ Never   □ Rarely   □ Sometimes   □ Often   □ Always

c. Helpless

□ Never   □ Rarely   □ Sometimes   □ Often   □ Always

d. Weak

□ Never   □ Rarely   □ Sometimes   □ Often   □ Always

e. Intimidated

□ Never   □ Rarely   □ Sometimes   □ Often   □ Always

f. Puzzled

□ Never   □ Rarely   □ Sometimes   □ Often   □ Always

g. Stupid

□ Never   □ Rarely   □ Sometimes   □ Often   □ Always

h. Foolish

□ Never   □ Rarely   □ Sometimes   □ Often   □ Always

i. Ashamed

□ Never □ Rarely □ Sometimes □ Often □ Always

j. Frustrated

□ Never □ Rarely □ Sometimes □ Often □ Always

k. Discouraged

□ Never □ Rarely □ Sometimes □ Often □ Always

l. Humiliated

□ Never □ Rarely □ Sometimes □ Often □ Always

23. In response to being discriminated against or treated unfairly in the past 3 years in the Hamilton area, how often were you bothered by the following problems?

a. Feeling nervous, anxious, or on edge.

□ Never □ Rarely □ Sometimes □ Often □ Always

b. Not being able to stop or control worrying.

□ Never □ Rarely □ Sometimes □ Often □ Always

c. Feeling down, depressed, or hopeless.

□ Never □ Rarely □ Sometimes □ Often □ Always

d. Little interest or pleasure in doing things.

□ Never □ Rarely □ Sometimes □ Often □ Always

24. How much do you feel that you are accepted in the Hamilton area?

□ Not at all □ Slightly □ Moderately □ Very □ Extremely

25. How much do you feel welcome in the Hamilton area?

□ Not at all □ Slightly □ Moderately □ Very □ Extremely

26. How much do you feel a sense of belonging to the Hamilton area?

□ Not at all □ Slightly □ Moderately □ Very □ Extremely

27. How much do you feel recognized as part of the Hamilton area?

☐ Not at all   ☐ Slightly   ☐ Moderately   ☐ Very   ☐ Extremely

28. How much do you feel safe in the Hamilton area?

☐ Not at all   ☐ Slightly   ☐ Moderately   ☐ Very   ☐ Extremely

29. What is your gender?

☐ Female
☐ Male
☐ Non-binary (e.g., gender fluid, queer)
☐ Other (Please specify) _____

30. What is your age? _____

31. Were you born in Canada?

☐ Yes
☐ No

32. What was your status when you first arrived in Canada?

☐ Immigrant - Economic Class (Skilled Worker, Canadian Experience Class, Provincial Nominee Program, or Business Programs)
☐ Immigrant - Family Class (Sponsored Spouse, Sponsored Parent or Grandparent, or Other Immigrant Sponsored by Family)
☐ Resettled Refugee (Government Assisted, Privately Sponsored, Blended Visa Office-Referred Program)
☐ Refugee Claimant (or Asylum Seeker)
☐ Temporary Resident - Student on Student Visa
☐ Temporary Resident - Temporary Foreign Worker including Agricultural Worker or Live-In Caregiver
☐ Temporary Resident - In Canada on Visitor Visa
☐ Temporary Resident - In Canada on Work Visa
☐ Person Without Status, Undocumented Individual
☐ Other

33. What is your current immigration status?

☐ Canadian Citizen
☐ Permanent Resident
☐ Protected Person
☐ Temporary Resident
☐ Refugee Claimant

□ Undocumented
□ Other

34. How long have you lived in Canada? _____(months)

35. How long have you lived in the Hamilton area? _____(months)

36. What language(s) do you speak most often at home? (You can choose more than one)

□ English
□ French
□ Other (Please specify) _____

37. What is your current employment status? (You can choose more than one)

□ Employed full-time (30 hours a week or more)
□ Employed part-time (Less than 30 hours a week)
□ Self-employed or own your own business
□ Unemployed, looking for work
□ Unemployed, not looking for work
□ Retired
□ Student
□ Homemaker
□ Other (Please specify) _____

38. How would you describe your ethnic or racial identity? (You can choose more than one)

□ Arab
□ Black
□ Chinese
□ Filipino
□ First Nations, Métis, or Inuk (Inuit)
□ Japanese
□ Korean
□ Latin American
□ Mennonite
□ South Asian (e.g., East Indian, Pakistani, Sri Lankan)
□ Southeast Asian (e.g., Vietnamese, Cambodian, Laotian, Thai)
□ West Asian (e.g., Iranian, Afghan)
□ White
□ Other (Please specify) _____

39. How would you describe your sense of belonging with other [group chosen] people?

| □ Very Weak | □ Somewhat Weak | □ Moderate | □ Somewhat Strong | □ Very Strong |

[Repeated for each group chosen.]

40. With regard to religion, how do you presently identify yourself or think of yourself as being? (You can choose more than one)

□ Baha'i
□ Buddhist
□ Christian
□ Hindu
□ Jewish
□ Mennonite
□ Muslim
□ Sikh
□ Traditional/Spirituality
□ No religion (atheist or agnostic)
□ Other (Please specify) _____

41. How would you describe your sense of belonging with other [group chosen] people?

□ Very Weak   □ Somewhat Weak   □ Moderate   □ Somewhat Strong   □ Very Strong

[Repeated for each group chosen.]

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

□ Less than elementary school
□ Elementary school
□ Secondary/high school
□ College/vocational training
□ University undergraduate degree
□ University graduate degree
□ Professional degree (e.g., Medicine, Law, Engineering)

43. Please indicate your approximate annual household income, from all sources, before taxes.

□ No income
□ Less than $45,000
□ $45,001 to $80,000
□ $80,001 to $130,000
□ More than $130,000
□ I prefer not to answer