

Atlantic Canadians' Attitudes Toward Cultural Difference

by

Kirstie Smith

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Abstract

Atlantic Canadians are often stereotyped as being unwelcoming to people who “come from away,” being too traditional, and being closed minded. However, this reputation is rarely backed up with evidence. Little scholarship considers whether or not there is a distinctive Atlantic Canadian value set. The question is important to examine because the region has a rapidly aging population, out-migration is rampant - especially among younger people. Using Statistics Canada’s General Social Survey 27 on Social Identity, this project explored whether or not Atlantic Canadians’ values towards diversity, their trust in people, and their experiences of discrimination are different from the rest of Canada’s regions. The analyses, based on graphical analysis and logistic regression, reveal that Atlantic Canadians’ reported attitudes may not be all that different from the rest of the country and when they do differ, their attitudes may be more open to cultural difference than the stereotypes portray.

List of Abbreviations

Come From Aways (CFAs)
Census Metropolitan Area (CMA)
General Social Survey (GSS)
Rest of Canada (ROC)

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Chapter 1: Introduction

Atlantic Canada is facing a demographic crisis.¹ Outmigration continues to be a problem and the region has an increasingly aging population (Statistics Canada, 2016a). To counteract these trends, immigration and attracting outsiders from other regions of Canada is important. However, Atlantic Canadians are often stereotyped as being averse to change (O'Neill & Erickson, 2003; Brym, 1979), unwelcoming to outsiders (Baldacchino, 2012), and stuck in their ways (Ivany et al. 2014; Young et al. 2003). Such negative characterizations of the region, however, may be exaggerated. Yet the stereotype is strong enough to be a challenge in attracting immigrants to the region, especially given that many immigrants to Canada still choose to live in major metropolises such as Montreal, Toronto, and Vancouver (Akbari & Mandale, 2005). In spite of the stereotype, opinion polling of Atlantic Canadians repeatedly shows people in the region have more positive attitudes towards diversity and multiculturalism than those in other regions of the country. Because of this, my thesis explores which is more accurate: the stereotype or the opinion polling. I investigate Atlantic Canadians' attitudes towards diversity, their trust in others, and experience of discrimination in the region. My thesis will also see how each of these dimensions varies according to sociodemographic characteristics to understand what, if anything, accounts for trends in the region.

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Using statistical analysis of Statistics Canada data, this thesis argues that Atlantic Canadians may not actually be as negative as the stereotype suggests. Even when accounting for sociodemographic factors, the survey data provides evidence that people in the region hold similar and in some cases more open attitudes, when compared to the rest of the country. Further, the data puts forth the evidence to suggest that Atlantic Canadians experience less discrimination than the rest of English Canada.

I first present a brief literature review of Canadian immigration and multiculturalism as well as what makes Atlantic Canadians distinct from the rest of Canada. In Chapter 2, I delve into the methodology of the study. Chapter 3 goes into the analysis of the data, using both graphical and logistic regression analyses. Finally, Chapter 4 presents a conclusion to the study.

This study fits into the larger research narrative about multiculturalism, immigration, and two-way integration of immigrants in Canada. Canada, as it is known today, is a colonial settler nation. Both French and British peoples landed on this Indigenous land in the 17th and 18th centuries to claim the land as their own, refusing to acknowledge the Indigenous culture (Conrad & Hiller, 2006). The land was settled by immigrants from other European countries during the 19th and 20th centuries (Conrad & Hiller, 2006).

After the Canadian government changed its assimilationist approach to immigration policy, first in the postwar period and more officially in the 1960s and 1970s, the cultural demographics of the country changed dramatically (Banting & Kymlicka, 2010). No longer was immigration policy restricted to accepting Christian, European-born people. A multicultural approach to nation-building was introduced to

recognize other cultures that were becoming more prominent in the country (Banting & Kymlicka, 2010). The policy of multiculturalism was enacted by Prime Minister Trudeau in 1971 and was then enshrined in the Constitution in 1982 (Banting, Courchene, & Seidle, 2007; Kymlicka, 2007; Reitz, 2012). Its intention is to recognize formal equality between citizens whatever their cultural origins and has been adjusted since its inception to adapt to the changing social landscape of the country (Juteau, McAndrew, & Pietrantonio, 1998). Canada accepts between 250,000 and 300,000 immigrants a year and the country has one of the largest foreign-born populations in the world (Reitz, 2011). In fact, one-fifth of the country is now foreign-born (The Environics Institute for Survey Research, 2016; Statistics Canada, 2016b).

However, a large majority of the people who immigrate to Canada settle in the three major metropolises: Montreal, Toronto and Vancouver (Akbari & Mandale, 2005). Regions made up of mostly rural areas or smaller cities, like Atlantic Canada, have problems attracting and retaining immigrants (Akbari & Mandale, 2005). Some immigrants feel as though rural areas do not have enough of what they need and want. A lack of economic opportunity, including less job availability and no local language classes as well as less knowledge about these areas contribute to the low percentage of immigrants willing to move to these smaller communities (Walton-Roberts, 2005; Di Biase & Bauder, 2005). Another problem that impacts Atlantic Canada in particular, according to Akbari and Mandale (2005), is the conscious and unconscious discrimination long-time residents mete out to immigrants, who are sometimes regarded as ‘stealing jobs.’

Some scholars, such as Laaroussi (2005), have shifted the focus to existing residents' attitudes towards immigrants and the strategies that they can employ to make the integration process easier instead of relying on immigrants' adaption to the existing cultural context. In order for communities to be welcoming, their residents need to have open attitudes towards difference. My research engages this side of the relationship to establish whether Atlantic Canadians are self-reportedly open to diversity, and therefore hospitable to incoming immigrants.

Much of the academic literature on attitudes towards cultural difference in Canada focuses on the national level, though some scholars also pay attention to Quebec compared to the Rest of Canada (ROC) (e.g. Berry and Kalin 1995; Soroka, Johnston & Banting, 2006). Other regions of Canada are sometimes explored, including Atlantic Canada. However, the focus of analysis is usually the whole country (Quell, 2005; Reitz, 2011; Anderson, 2010; Langford and Ponting, 1992) rather than the Atlantic region. Because of this, less is known about Atlantic Canadians' attitudes, specifically, compared to Canadians' attitudes more broadly –especially toward diversity, cultural difference, and outsiders. The few works that look at Atlantic Canadian attitudes, such as O'Neil and Erickson (2003), focus on the region's traditions and attitudes towards religion. Given increased immigration to the region and the need to attract outsiders to stem population loss as a result of outmigration (Akbari, 2014) and low fertility (Haan, 2013), it is worth probing the region's attitudes towards cultural difference.

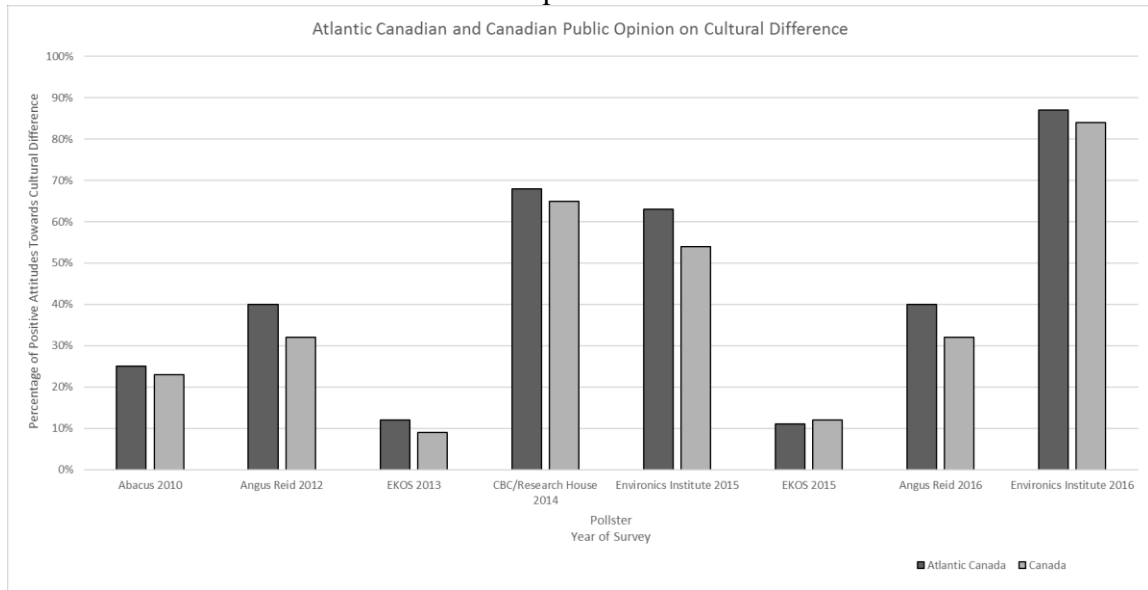
Atlantic Canada is an interesting case to research because the negative portraits of the region are presented by academics, public figures and news media alike. Some researchers, like Baldacchino (2012), have suggested that Atlantic Canadians are less

open to outsiders because of a “come from away” idea that is attached to newcomers. Some view people who are not born in the region as not part of it, and this label excludes many who move to the region from feeling like full participants in society. Political figures like Prime Minister Stephen Harper have criticized the region for being unwilling to change, labelling Atlantic Canadians as “defeatist” and stuck in their ways (CBC News, 2002). Further, journalists often report that the Atlantic Canadians’ “negative attitudes” need to be altered to be more welcoming (Davenport, 2014), and that it is time to stop labelling immigrants as “Come from Aways” or CFAs (The Canadian Press, 2016). Similar calls have also been made by the Ivany Commission struck to look at how to create change in Nova Scotia (OneNS, 2017).

Despite such negative portraits, public opinion polling on Atlantic Canadian attitudes repeatedly shows the people in the region are more open to cultural difference when compared to the other regions in the country. As shown in Figure 2.1, which I compiled results from eight public opinion polls, the region exudes openness and tolerance. Atlantic Canada, shown in dark gray, is consistently more positive towards cultural difference than Canada as a whole, which is shown in lighter grey. The polls summarized in Figure 2.1 ask people about attitudes towards cultural difference (Abacus Data, 2010; Angus Reid, 2012; EKOS Politics, 2013; CBC News, 2014; The Environics Institute, 2015; Graves, 2015; Angus Reid, 2016; The Environics Institute, 2016). Additional polling shows that Atlantic Canadians are also more positive in their reported interactions with those of different backgrounds than people in other regions (e.g. CIIM & ACS, 2016; CBC News, 2014) and those polled in the region report similar rates of discrimination to people in other regions –suggesting that the “come from away” label

might not be different from labels used towards outsiders in other regions (e.g. CBC News, 2014; The Environics Institute, 2015; The Environics Institute, 2016).

Figure 2.1
Atlantic Canadian and Canadian Public Opinion on Cultural Difference



Although the polls counter many of the negative portrayals of the region, they usually rely on small samples of about 400 to 1000 participants which does not allow pollsters to break down opinion according to sociodemographic characteristics. Using a national survey provides much better sample size and the opportunity to break down data by sociodemographic variables. That said, a limitation of relying on public opinion polls or surveys is that they cannot capture actual practices that occur. The respondents of polling and surveys are self-reporting, and therefore their actual interactions with culturally different others – the way they put their attitudes into practice – are not recorded. However, since the limitations are the same across the whole survey, I am able to compare Atlantic Canadians’ reported attitudes to those of people in other regions. This begs the question: what drives Atlantic Canadians’ attitudes towards cultural difference?

Digging into those sociodemographic factors is important because past research shows that public opinion is largely driven by them. For instance, research has shown that region and urban/rural locale affect opinions (Parkin & Mendelsohn, 2003; Palmer, 1996), religion is also a factor (Wilkes, Guppy, & Faris, 2007), as is age (Parkin & Mendelsohn, 2003; Harell, 2009; Wilkes et al. 2007; Reitz, 2011; Soroka & Robertson, 2010), language spoken (Anderson, 2010; Wilkes et al. 2007; Reitz, 2011), immigrant status (Parkin & Mendelsohn, 2003; Palmer, 1996), visible minority status (Berry & Kalin, 1995; Soroka, Johnston, & Banting, 2006), sex (Parkin & Mendelsohn, 2003), and income (Reitz, 2011). Atlantic Canada is uniquely shaped by five of these sociodemographic characteristics.

Compared to the rest of the country, Atlantic Canada has a much larger rural population and smaller urban population (Statistics Canada, 2011a; Statistics Canada, 2011b; Statistics Canada, 2011c; Statistics Canada, 2011d; Statistics Canada, 2011e). Compared to other provinces and regions, Atlantic Canadian provinces all have a high proportion of people living in small rural communities, almost half in all but one province (Statistics Canada, 2011a; Statistics Canada, 2011b; Statistics Canada, 2011c), and cities in the region are comparatively smaller than those in other provinces. In Prince Edward Island, the majority of the population live in rural areas (Statistics Canada, 2011d). For this reason, opinion in the region may be affected by the larger rural population.

Religion is another factor that makes Atlantic Canada distinct. For the vast majority of people in the region, 83%, religion an important or very important part of their lives, and 60% have a great deal or a lot of confidence in organized religion

(O'Neill and Erickson, 2003). Atlantic Canadians are also shown to attend church more often and report higher rates of religious affiliation than all of Canada (Veevers, 1990). The region thus has a more 'traditional,' or less open, value system, which might account for people's attitudes.

Atlantic Canada also has the fastest aging population in Canada. Data from Statistics Canada (2016) shows that all four Atlantic provinces have a higher than average proportion of seniors with 19.2% of Atlantic Canadians being 65 years old or older compared to 16.5% for Canada as a whole (Statistics Canada, 2016a). Again, this could be a factor contributing to the region's attitudes towards cultural difference and outsiders.

The region also has a significant francophone population and New Brunswick is Canada's only officially bilingual province. Much research on regional public opinion has focused on Quebec, which has shown that people in the province are less open to diversity and multiculturalism than those in the rest of Canada (The Environics Institute, 2015; The Environics Institute, 2016; Angus Reid, 2012). While it is important to acknowledge the differences between Quebec francophones and francophones in other provinces (Soroka, Johnson, & Banting, 2006), French language has been shown to affect attitudes towards cultural difference. This too might account for differences in Atlantic Canadians' attitudes compared to other regions.

Informed by these factors, my thesis will explore whether negative characterizations of the region towards outsiders hold true, or whether polling that shows otherwise is right. It will also try to see if the region's unique sociodemographic characteristics affect views towards cultural difference and experience of discrimination

to see what might be driving attitudes in the regions. Unlike polling research, I will conduct my analysis with Statistics Canada's General Social Survey (GSS), Cycle 27, on Social Identity. Unlike polls, the GSS has a large sample, which allows for more robust conclusions. Specifically, I will explore how rurality, religion, age, and language spoken affect views towards cultural difference. In Chapter 2, I will offer more detail on the dataset, variables used, and analytic strategies. Chapter 3 reports basic analysis showing trends in Atlantic Canada compared to other regions, as well as regression analysis to see what specifically drives attitudes and experiences of discrimination. A discussion and conclusion form Chapter 4.

This research is important because if Atlantic Canada is going to remedy the demographic woes it faces, the region will need to attract outsiders: those who are different. This will mean that if the negative characterizations of the region are true, it will have to shed labels like 'from away' and embrace outsiders. If those portrayals are not true, then it is important to bust them as myths and to articulate what drives the region's attitudes.

Chapter 2: Methodology

As noted in Chapter 1, to analyze what affects Atlantic Canadians' attitudes I use data from the General Social Survey: Social Identity (GSS) 2013: Cycle 27. Data was collected from June 2013 to March 2014 by Statistics Canada for a sample of 27,695 (Statistics Canada, 2014a). What makes the survey ideally suited to my research is that it has an over-sample of Atlantic Canadians, allowing for detailed investigation. The confidential master file of this survey was accessed at the Atlantic Research Data Centre. The master file allows for analysis of rural and urban populations and other attributes in the region, which was not possible with the more commonly used Public Use Micro-File.

Attitudes towards cultural difference will be analysed by looking at two dimensions: *attitudes towards diversity* and *trust in people*. In addition to looking at those attitudes, I also look at *experience of discrimination* because although attitude may be positive, people may have negative experiences that account for some of the negative characterizations of the region. Attitudes towards diversity are measured by three variables. The first is *pride in Canada's treatment of all groups in society* (prd_65). It is a 5 point Likert scale that ranges from "very proud" to "not at all proud" (Statistics Canada, 2013). The question measures individuals attitudes towards Canada's treatment of all groups and societies. Presumably, if the respondent has a positive answer to this question, they are accepting of Canada's policies around immigrants, refugees, and multiculturalism. However, it is a limitation that I do not know their perception of Canada's treatment of all groups and societies. Also included are two other 5 point Likert scales, one that looks at perceptions towards statements that ask how well Canadians share values towards *ethnic and cultural diversity* (svr_40) as well as respect for

Aboriginal culture (svr_45) (Statistics Canada, 2013). These questions look at how people feel that others in their society appreciate diversity and cultural difference by evaluating their perceived view of Canadians. The second set of measures looking at attitudes towards cultural difference captures trust in others, specifically those who may be different from the respondent. This is measured by three variables: trust in *people in neighbourhood* (tip_15), *trust in people who speak a different language* (tip_22) and *trust in strangers* (tip_25) (Statistics Canada, 2013). Each is a 5 point Likert scale ranging from “cannot trust” to “can trust.” Whereas the first two dimensions of variables are direct measures of attitudes toward cultural differences, the third set of variables offers a more general understanding of how people view others in their society. Appendix A gives the wording questions asked in relation to these dimensions in the survey.

These dependent variables were re-coded in a similar way to collapse the two most negative categories in Likert-scale questions (“not very proud” and “not at all proud”) to create a “negative attitudes” category versus a “neutral attitudes” (“somewhat proud”), and a “positive attitudes” category which combines the two most positive options (“very proud” and “proud”). These modifications were made because of small cell counts and the need to comply with Statistics Canada policies toward them. They were also done to make the data easier to analyze and understand.

Discrimination experienced is also examined as an additional third dimension. This is done to discover if there is discrepancy between what people report as their attitudes towards difference versus how it is reportedly experienced. This dimension is captured by three variables: *experienced discrimination based on ethnicity or culture* (dis_15), *experienced discrimination based on race or skin colour* (dis_20), and

experienced discrimination based on language (dis_50) (Statistics Canada, 2013). Each is a yes/no question asking whether people have experienced discrimination on each basis during the previous five years. This is useful to my research problem because it considers the reported experiences of the respondents in their day-to-day lives. In a way, it counterbalances the questions about attitudes, indicating how those attitudes turn into practice. Knowing how often people report experiencing discrimination will develop an indirect understanding of openness to diversity.

In order to account for what drives these three dimensions, region and five sociodemographic factors are used as explanatory variables. *Region* (region) captures five regions across the country: Atlantic Canada, Quebec, Ontario, Prairies, and British Columbia. The variable is used to identify who is and is not an Atlantic Canadian. The first sociodemographic factor examined is *urban/rural* (popctr_t) (Statistics Canada, 2013). This variable had five groups, but in order to simplify the data, I combined *core* and *fringe* to make an urban category, and combined *population centre outside CMAs* and *secondary core* to make a small cities category, and kept *rural area* as a rural category. *Religion* (relig17) is also examined (Statistics Canada, 2013). The variable included 17 religious groupings, however because there were cases of small cell counts, the variable was re-coded to just three categories accounting for Christian denominations, all other denominations, and no religion. *Age group of respondent (groups of 10)* (agegr10) is also examined (Statistics Canada, 2013). Its seven groups were reduced to six because of small cell counts in the last category. Instead of *65 to 74 years* and *75 years and over*, the variable was altered to have a *65 years and older* category. Last, *language* (lanhsd) is included (Statistics Canada, 2013). This variable was reduced to reflect speaking an

official language and another language equally and was named bi/multilingual with an official language. Additionally, for cross tabular analysis in the regions British Columbia and the Prairies, *English only* and *French only* had to be combined to create an official language category because of small cell counts. These explanatory variables were chosen based on the literature that makes Atlantic Canada unique compared to the rest of the country.

In addition to those main explanatory variables, four control variables are also examined. *Landed immigrant status* (*bpr_16*) (Statistics Canada, 2013) may affect attitudes towards cultural difference because if one is originally from a different country, and further may be of a different cultural background, one may be more likely to appreciate diversity. This may contribute to accounting for attitudes towards cultural difference and experience of discrimination. Demographically, Atlantic Canada has fewer immigrants compared to other regions of the country (Statistics Canada, 2016b; Baldacchino, 2012) because of greater opportunities in other parts of the country (Akbari, 2014). The measure is a yes/no question where yes represents that a person is an immigrant. *Visible minority status* (*vismin*) is also used as a control variable (Statistics Canada, 2013). This is included because of the region's long history of African Nova Scotian populations as well as because the region has fewer racialized peoples than other parts of the country (Graham & Phillips, 2007; Statistics Canada 2009) – both of which might affect the dimensions of interest. As a person who is visibly different from the mainstream population, one may have different outlook towards cultural difference. It too is a yes/no question where yes represents that a person identifies as a visible minority. *Sex* (*sex*) is also included as a control variable (Statistics Canada, 2013). It measures the

reported sex of the respondent. This variable is included because men's and women's opinions diverge on a number of topics. Last, *income* (incm) (Statistics Canada, 2013) is examined because, as noted in the literature review, it is a predictor of public opinion. Income is used here to measure socioeconomic status as people with higher and lower incomes may hold different attitudes towards cultural difference. The variable includes 15 income categories. These were recoded into six categories because of issues with small cell counts. Because of the large number of people who reporting not knowing their income, refusing, or not stating, they are kept in the analysis, however, they are suppressed in the tables.

The analysis in subsequent chapter is twofold. First, I examine how Atlantic Canada looks compared to other regions, graphic analysis. I use person weights in the graphic analysis, which allows for results that are representative of the entire population. This is followed by logistic regression to understand how variables work together in explaining attitudes towards cultural difference and experience of discrimination. In regression analysis, I use the bootstrap weights provided by and recommended by Statistics Canada. I do this because the bootstrap weight is more conservative than normal weighting procedures and, as a result, offers more robust conclusions. I interpret my statistical analysis to discover whether the negative portraits of Atlantic Canada hold true or if public opinion from polling firms holds weight with a larger sample. I also examine what sociodemographic factors might account for the region's attitudes and experiences of discrimination.

Chapter 3: Analysis

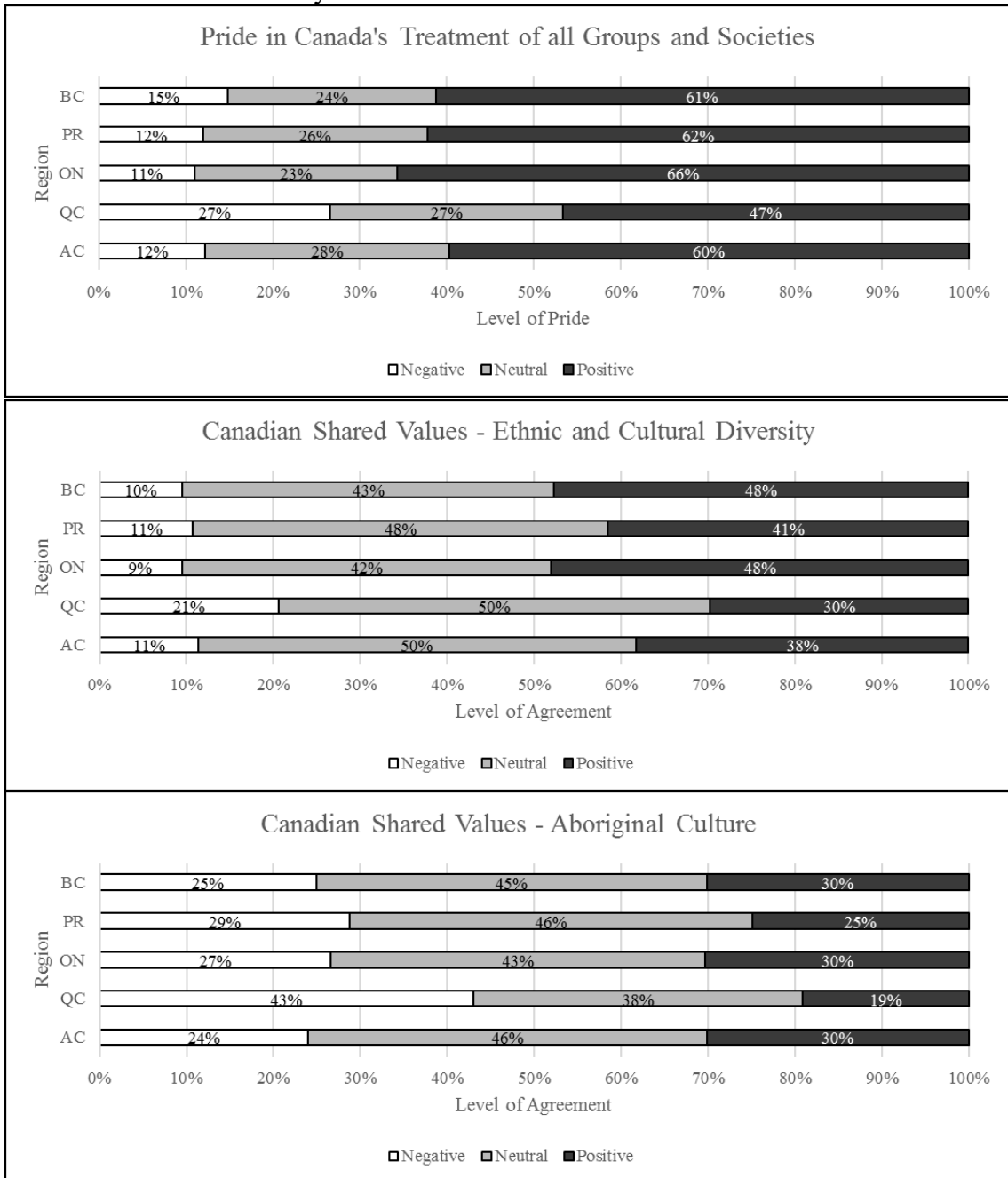
As outlined in Chapters 1 and 2, my aim is to examine how Atlantic Canadians' attitudes towards cultural difference and experience of discrimination compare to those living in other regions of the country. Literature on Canadian Studies and public opinion suggests that both should vary according to urban versus rural living, religiosity, age, and language spoken. In this chapter I begin my analysis by looking at simple cross tabular relationships between regions and the three broad dimensions of attitudes towards diversity, trust in people, and experiences of discrimination with regions. For the purposes of this analysis, I will focus on exploring negative attitudes, not trusting others, and those who have experienced discrimination. I do this because I am specifically testing the negative stereotype surrounding Atlantic Canada. The variables of interest are weighted to the whole population of Canada. I then explore hypotheses around social and demographic factors with logistic regression.

Graphical Analysis

The first dimension examined is attitudes towards diversity, looking at the specific measures of: pride in Canada's treatment of all groups in society, shared values toward ethnic and cultural diversity and shared values toward Aboriginal culture by region. Figure 3.1 shows that Atlantic Canadians share similar views to the rest of English Canadians. For example, 12% of Atlantic Canadian hold negative attitudes towards pride in the treatment of all groups. In the rest of English Canada, negative values range from 11% to 15%. A noticeable difference is seen in Quebec, where 27% of the sample reported negative values, an outlier pattern seen in other questions in this dimension. With respect to negative attitudes towards ethnic and cultural diversity, 11%

of Atlantic Canadian report this, which is similar to the 9% to 11% in the rest of English Canada. Returning to Quebecers, 21% report negative values on this question. Last, when looking at attitudes toward Respect for Aboriginal culture, Atlantic Canadians report the least negativity with 24%. The rest of English Canada ranges between 25% and 29%. Once again, Quebecers are outliers with 43% reporting negative attitudes. Figure 3.1 shows that Atlantic Canadians are no more negative than the rest of English Canada and that perhaps language, more specifically French (with the Quebec region as a proxy for this) may be associated with negative view on this dimension.

Figure 3.1
Attitudes Towards Diversity

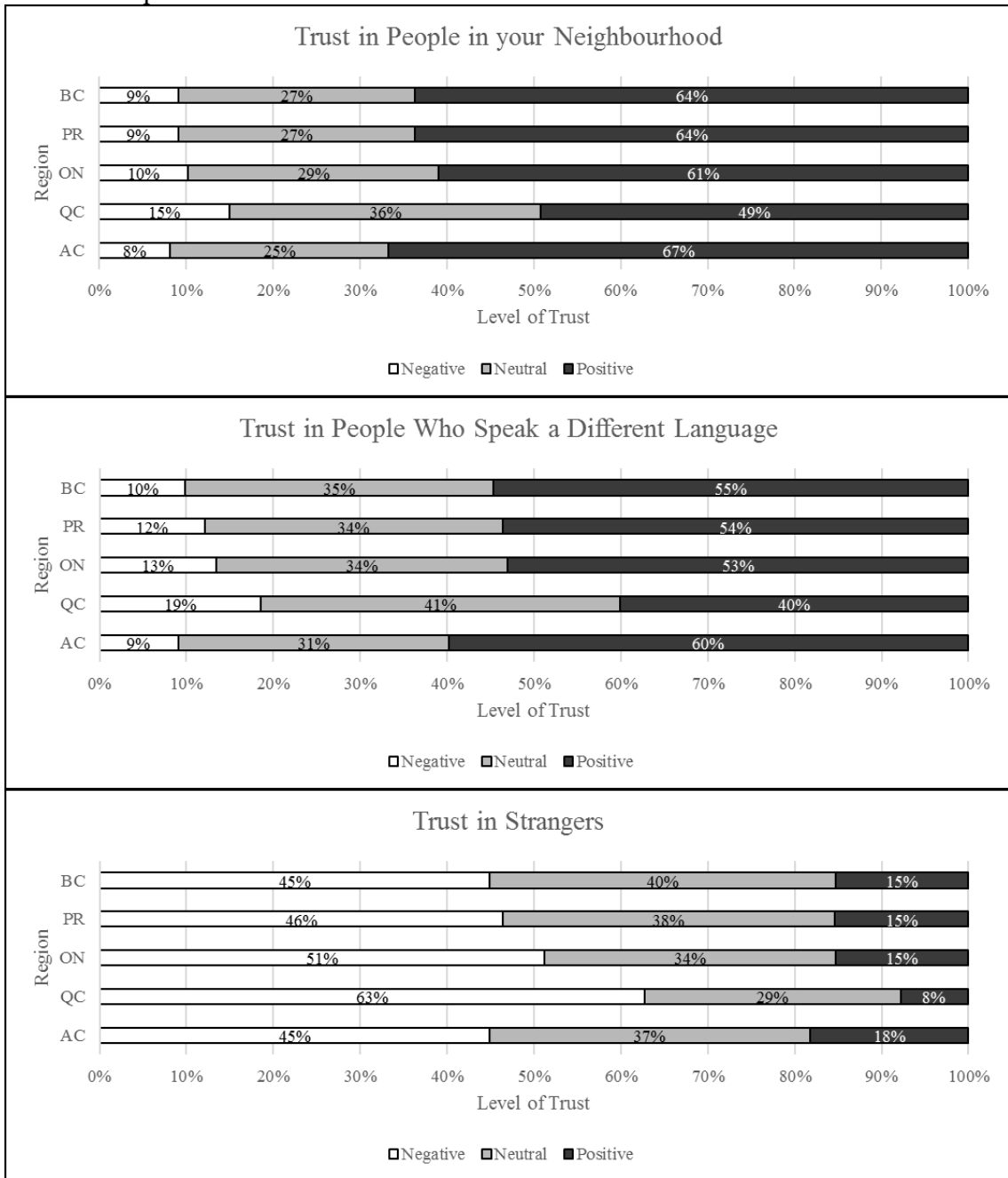


Source: Statistics Canada (2013)

Next, in Figure 3.2 I look at the broad dimension of trust in people with specific measures of trust of neighbours, trust of those that speak a different language, and trust in strangers. Once again, Atlantic Canada is similar to the rest of English Canada and in

some instances, is the least negative compared to other regions. For example, 8% of Atlantic Canadians report that they do not trust their neighbours. The rest of English Canada ranges between 9% and 10%. Quebec is an outlier in this dimension as well with 15% reporting that they do not trust their neighbours. A similar pattern is seen in trust of those speaking a different language with 9% of Atlantic Canadians reporting that they do not trust those people, compared to 10% to 13% in the rest of English Canada and 19% in Quebec. Further, we see that 45% of Atlantic Canadians do not trust strangers, which is comparable to 45% to 51% in the rest of English Canada. Again, Quebecers are outliers with 63% reporting that they do not trust strangers. On each measure of this dimension Quebec is the most negative region in the country. These reported attitudes show that there is little evidence to support the stereotype of Atlantic Canadians as negative to outsiders.

Figure 3.2
Trust in People

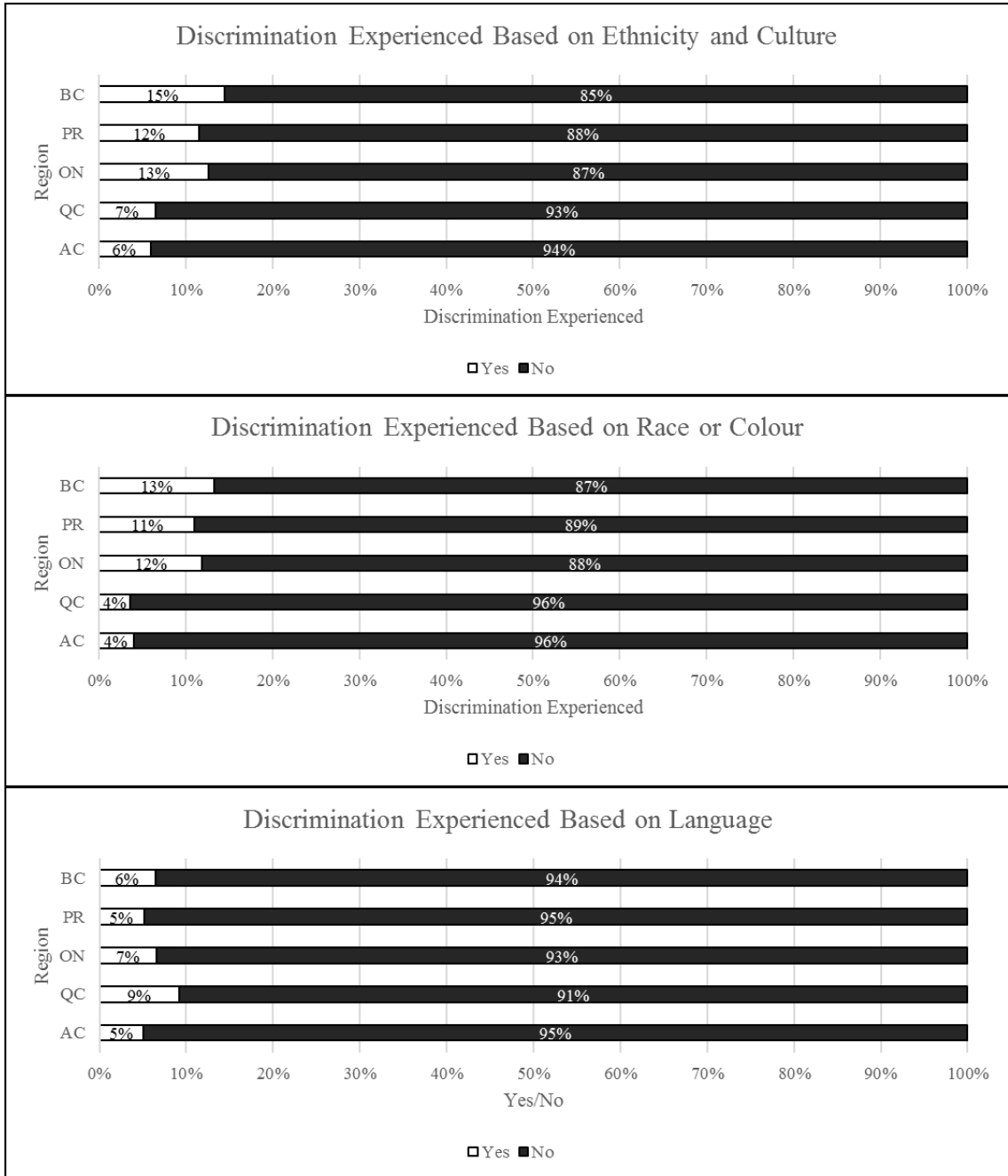


Source: Statistics Canada (2013)

Such a conclusion, is further supported in Figure 3.3, which examines the broad dimension of experience of discrimination by looking at self-reported measure of discrimination based on ethnicity or culture, race or colour, and language. Atlantic

Canadians stand out from the rest of the country in this dimension, reporting fewer experiences of discrimination compared to the other regions. This could be due to the smaller population of minority residents in Atlantic Canada, however. The figure shows that 6% of Atlantic Canadians in the sample report discrimination based on ethnicity or culture, 4% based on race or colour, and 5% based on language. The rate of discrimination in the rest of English Canada is at least double that for ethnicity and culture, as well as race. A possible explanation is that Atlantic Canada has fewer members of visible minorities than the other regions of Canada (Statistics Canada, 2017). Despite being an outlier on the first two dimensions, in Figures 3.1 and 3.2, Quebec reports less discrimination in these two variables in Figure 3.3. The last measure, looking at discrimination based on language, shows that Atlantic Canada reports similar experiences of discrimination as the rest of English Canada, while Quebec has slightly more people reporting this. Presumably, this is because French is the primary language spoken in Quebec, and while it is an official language of Canada, it is still spoken by a minority of people in Canada.

Figure 3.3
Discrimination Experienced



Source: Statistics Canada (2013)

The results reported in Figures 3.1 through 3.3 show that Atlantic Canada looks a lot like the rest of English Canada on the broad dimensions of attitudes toward diversity and trust in people. Fewer people report experience of discrimination in the region. It appears that stereotypes of the region being closed to people “from away” are not

supported by the data from the General Social Survey. I explore this further by concentrating on negative attitudes while accounting for sociodemographic characteristics using logistic regression.

Logistical Regression Analysis

To explore the impact of sociodemographic factors on the three broad dimensions I conducted logistic regression to measure demographic characteristics. Appendix B reports additional cross-tabulations for region and specific demographic factors. Those tabulations generally show, in greater detail, that attitudes change according to demographic factors, and that region does not seem to make much of a difference except for Quebec. As in Figures 3.1 through 3.3, Atlantic Canada looks a lot like the rest of English Canada.

For this reason, the regression analysis focuses around region among a number of other sociodemographic and control variables. The regression analysis is run twice, first as a reduced model containing only demographic features that make Atlantic Canada unique, and then as a full model containing both the explanatory variables and control variables.

Table 3.1 regresses attitudes towards diversity on the reduced and full models. Model 1 shows that being an Atlantic Canadian, compared to being an Ontarian, decreases the odds of having little to no pride in Canada's treatment of all groups and societies by about 2%, while controlling for factors in the model. In Model 2, being Atlantic Canadian increases the odds of having a negative attitude toward Canadians sharing values of ethnicity and culture by about 6% and in Model 3, being in the region decreases the odds of having a negative attitude toward Canadians sharing the value of

respect for Aboriginal culture by 18%. Model 2 is in support of the negative stereotype surrounding the region; however, it is not statistically significant. Models 1 and 3 are in contradiction of the negative stereotype, yet only Model 3 is statistically significant.

When urban versus rural is examined, living in a rural area is used as the reference group because people living in urban areas, as Palmer (1996) suggests, may have a more positive attitude toward cultural diversity than those living in more rural areas, because they are more exposed to it. In the analysis, we see that living in an urban area, compared to living in a rural area, decreases the odds of negative values in Models 1 and 2 by about 16% and 18% respectively and in Model 3 it increases the odds by 6%. The statistical significance in Models 1 and 2 aligns with expectations that urban people are less negative than rural people, when considering all other factors. The odds in Model 3 are not statistically significant.

When religion is analyzed, the reference group is subscribing to a Christian religion. This is because Wilkes et al. (2007) find that when a respondent has a religion other than Catholicism or Protestantism, they are more likely to support increased immigration levels. Subscribing to another religion, compared to a Christian denomination, increases the odds of having negative attitudes by 2% in Model 1. However, more in line with expectations in Models 2 and 3, it decreases the odds by 18% and 5%, respectively. However, only Model 2 is statistically significant in this regard.

When age is examined, the 15-24 year age category is used as the reference group. This is done to examine whether older age groups have negative attitudes toward cultural diversity, as many scholars have demonstrated (e.g. Parkin and Mendelsohn, 2003; Harell, 2009; Wilkes et al. 2007; Reitz, 2011; Soroka and Roberton, 2010). My

findings provide evidence for this. In the analysis, the odds of having negative attitudes towards diversity across all three models tend to increase with older cohorts when compared to the 15-24 year age category, when holding all other factors constant. These findings are statistically significant.

The unilingual 'other language' category is used as the reference group when language spoken is examined. Those Canadians who do not speak one of the two official languages in Canada are more likely to support immigration policy (Anderson, 2010; Wilkes et al. 2007), and there is also evidence that Francophones report stronger support for immigration than Anglophones (Reitz, 2011; Wilkes et al. 2007). My analysis supports this finding. Speaking only French increases the odds by 215%, 118%, and 199% in Models 1 through 3, respectively. Speaking only English increases the odds of having a negative attitude by 113%, 45%, and 159% in Models 1 through 3, respectively, compared to the reference group. All three models achieve statistical significance. Being bilingual increases the odds by 61%, 38%, and 104% in Models 1 through 3, respectively. All values, except for being bilingual in Model 2, achieve statistical significance.

In Models 4 through 6 in Table 3.1, control variables are added. When this is done the odds for regions as well as the other demographic variables of primary concern change marginally. When controls are added only the age categories in Model 6 lose their significance, as do the language categories in Model 5.

We see that being a landed immigrant, compared to not being one decreases the odds of having a negative attitude towards diversity in Models 4 through 6 by between 23% and 40%. It is statistically significant across the final three models in this table. Identifying as a visible minority, compared to those who do not, also decreases the odds

of having a negative attitude towards diversity in Models 4 through 6 by between 15% and 31%, yet the term is only statistically significant in Model 5. Being female, compared to being male, increases the odds of having a negative attitude towards diversity in Models 4 through 6 by between 5% to 17%; however, the term is only statistically significant in Model 4. The income category shows no clear pattern across Models 4 through 6, with some categories decreasing the odds of negative values, compared to the lowest income category, and others increasing them. Further, there is no consistency in which terms are statistically significant.

Variable	Reduced Models						Full Models											
	Model 1		Model 2		Model 3		Model 4		Model 5		Model 6							
	Odds	S.E.	P-value	Odds	S.E.	P-Value	Odds	S.E.	P-value	Odds	S.E.	P-value						
Region (reference: Ontario)																		
Atlantic Canada	0.976	0.081	0.765	1.055	0.087	0.515	0.822	0.055	0.003 ***	0.935	0.077	0.412	0.989	0.082	0.895	0.796	0.053	0.001 ***
Quebec	2.112	0.226	0.000 ***	1.723	0.206	0.000 ***	1.831	0.171	0.000 ***	2.002	0.216	0.000 ***	1.590	0.193	0.000 ***	1.793	0.168	0.000 ***
Prairies	1.013	0.074	0.857	1.119	0.085	0.142	1.055	0.061	0.355	0.982	0.072	0.806	1.060	0.082	0.448	0.996	0.058	0.948
British Columbia	1.318	0.117	0.002 **	0.938	0.091	0.508	0.865	0.059	0.033 *	1.299	0.117	0.004 **	0.930	0.092	0.459	0.858	0.059	0.028 *
Place of Residence (reference: Rural)																		
Urban area	0.843	0.049	0.004 **	0.818	0.055	0.003 **	1.062	0.057	0.270	0.884	0.052	0.036 *	0.864	0.059	0.033 *	1.094	0.060	0.099
Small city	0.947	0.087	0.553	0.929	0.089	0.444	0.993	0.085	0.930	0.956	0.087	0.621	0.939	0.090	0.508	1.002	0.087	0.979
Religion (reference: Christian Denominations)																		
No Religion	1.643	0.104	0.000 ***	1.466	0.109	0.000 ***	1.549	0.083	0.000 ***	1.706	0.111	0.000 ***	1.466	0.112	0.000 ***	1.574	0.086	0.000 ***
Other Religion	1.022	0.075	0.769	0.824	0.059	0.007 **	0.947	0.053	0.326	1.095	0.079	0.206	0.905	0.069	0.190	1.023	0.057	0.683
Age (reference: 15-24 years)																		
25 to 34 years	1.361	0.148	0.005 **	1.354	0.171	0.017 *	1.340	0.112	0.000 ***	1.474	0.172	0.001 **	1.467	0.190	0.003 **	1.289	0.110	0.003 **
35 to 44 years	1.318	0.137	0.008 **	1.356	0.163	0.012 *	1.203	0.091	0.016 *	1.467	0.161	0.001 **	1.464	0.186	0.003 **	1.124	0.091	0.151
45 to 54 years	1.414	0.151	0.001 ***	1.881	0.224	0.000 ***	1.178	0.095	0.043 *	1.563	0.174	0.000 ***	2.014	0.250	0.000 ***	1.105	0.091	0.224
55 to 64 years	1.807	0.170	0.000 ***	2.090	0.232	0.000 ***	1.311	0.100	0.000 ***	1.954	0.193	0.000 ***	2.196	0.254	0.000 ***	1.252	0.099	0.004 **
65 years and older	1.626	0.159	0.000 ***	2.574	0.284	0.000 ***	1.190	0.088	0.019 *	1.684	0.171	0.000 ***	2.710	0.310	0.000 ***	1.213	0.093	0.012 *
Language Spoken (reference: Other Language Only)																		
English only	2.125	0.278	0.000 ***	1.446	0.200	0.008 **	2.589	0.254	0.000 ***	1.568	0.250	0.005 **	0.840	0.133	0.271	1.782	0.211	0.000 ***
French only	3.150	0.471	0.000 ***	2.176	0.360	0.000 ***	2.999	0.373	0.000 ***	2.379	0.409	0.000 ***	1.297	0.241	0.161	2.077	0.295	0.000 ***
Bilingual/Multilingual (with an official language)	1.609	0.261	0.004 **	1.382	0.251	0.075	2.035	0.255	0.000 ***	1.397	0.226	0.039 *	1.078	0.201	0.689	1.719	0.220	0.000 ***
Landed Immigrant Status (reference: Not a Landed Immigrant)																		
Landed immigrant										0.766	0.067	0.002 **	0.602	0.057	0.000 ***	0.688	0.045	0.000 ***
Visible Minority Status (reference: Not a visible minority)																		
Visible minority										0.786	0.099	0.057	0.694	0.087	0.004 **	0.849	0.074	0.061
Sex (reference: male)																		
Female										1.168	0.059	0.002 **	0.952	0.048	0.333	1.070	0.044	0.100
Income (reference: no income - \$19,999)																		
\$20,000 - \$39,999										0.925	0.073	0.327	0.985	0.085	0.859	0.926	0.063	0.258
\$40,000 - \$59,999										0.984	0.094	0.862	0.849	0.078	0.075	1.078	0.076	0.288
\$60,000 - \$79,999										0.813	0.082	0.041 *	1.024	0.111	0.827	1.264	0.103	0.004 **
\$80,000 or more										0.758	0.073	0.004 **	0.936	0.097	0.525	1.350	0.100	0.000 ***
Constant	0.045	0.008	0.000	0.050	0.009	0.000	0.113	0.015	0.000	0.055	0.011	0.000	0.085	0.017	0.000	0.158	0.024	0.000

Sample size: 25,193 - 26,182

Population size: 26,630,886 - 27,642,912

The sample size and population size varies across models. The sample is unbalanced.

* p < .05 ** p < .01 *** p < .001

Prob > F = 0.0000

In Table 3.2, the broad dimension of trust in people is examined. In Models 1 through 3 we see that being an Atlantic Canadian, compared to being an Ontarian, decreases the odds of not trusting neighbours by 3%, decreases the odds of not trusting people who speak a different language by 35%, and decreases the odds of not trusting a stranger by 17%. The region is not statistically significant in Model 1, but is in Models 2 and 3. These findings do not support the negative stereotype and suggest that Atlantic Canadians are more trusting than their Ontarian counterparts.

When urban versus rural is examined, we see that living in an urban area increases the odds of not trusting people in Models 1 and 3 by 47% and 2%, respectively, and in Model 2 it decreases the odds by 7%. The results, however, are only statistically significant in Model 1. As mentioned previously, this is not in line with expectations that people who live in urban areas have fewer negative attitudes compared to those living in rural areas. However, it is understandable that people living in rural areas may have more trust towards people, especially their neighbours.

Subscribing to another religion, compared to subscribing to a Christian denomination increases the odds of not trusting by 23% and by 2% in Models 1 and 2, and decreases the odds of not trusting strangers by 1%. However, only Model 1 achieves statistical significance. This is not in line with the expectations that people who have a religion other than a Christian denomination are more open to diversity (Wilkes et al., 2007). Trust level of those who have non-Christian religious affiliation was lower than, or similar to, those with the Christian affiliation. However, this could be due to the fact that many of the non-Christian population tend to be immigrants and visible minority.

Thus, the effect of religion on the level of trust could be intervened when we account for the demographic factors. This point will be further examined through the models 4 to 6.

When age is examined, with the 15-24 year age category as the reference group, we see that the odds of not trusting people tend to decrease with older age groups compared to the reference group in Models 1 and 3. In Model 2 odds are fairly similar across age categories and there does not seem to be a clear pattern. Here we find that all age groups, compared to the 15-24 year age group, are significant across Models 1 through 3. This is in contrast to the evidence that presents that older age groups are more negative compared to the younger cohorts.

When language spoken is examined, with other language as the reference group, we see that speaking only English, and being bilingual or multilingual decreases the odds of not trusting people across the models. Speaking only French increases the likelihood that one will not trust people in Model 1, but not in Models 2 and 3, where it decreases the odds. Speaking only English is significant across Models 1 through 3, and speaking only French is significant in Model 3. Being bilingual or multilingual is not significant across the first three models. This is all in line with expectations that those who speak one of Canada's two official languages will have increased negative attitudes towards difference.

In Models 4 through 6, the control variables are added. The odds for regions change marginally, but the other relationships remain more or less the same. Interestingly, the statistical significance changes for a few of the variables – some gaining and some losing significance. In Model 4, age groups 25-34 and 45-54 lose significance as is the case for age 45-54 in Model 5. Speaking only English loses significance in

Models 4 and 5 and speaking only French gains statistical significance in Model 5 with the odds of having a negative attitude towards trusting neighbours, compared to speaking another language, increasing the odds by 58%.

Further, in the full model in Table 3.2 we see that being a landed immigrant, compared to not being one, increases the odds of not trusting people in Models 4 through 6 by between 6% and 22%, although only Model 4 is statistically significant. Identifying as a visible minority in Models 4 through 6 also increases the odds of having a negative attitude towards trusting people between 40% and 83% and it is significant across the three models. Interestingly, being female, compared to being male, increases the odds of not trusting in Model 1 and decreases the odds of not trusting in Models 2 and 3, however is only significant in Model 5 where being female decreases the odds by 21%. When income is examined against the lowest income group, we see the odds of having a negative attitude towards trusting people decreases as income increases. This being noted, middle income categories between \$40,000 to \$80,000 or more all achieve significance, while earning between \$20,000 and \$19,999 does not.

Variable	Reduced Models						Full Models											
	Model 1		Model 2		Model 3		Model 4		Model 5		Model 6							
	Odds	S.E.	P-value	Odds	S.E.	P-value	Odds	S.E.	P-value	Odds	S.E.	P-value						
Region (reference: Ontario)																		
Atlantic Canada	0.974	0.097	0.789	0.646	0.057	0.000 ***	0.826	0.045	0.001 **	1.013	0.101	0.893	0.651	0.058	0.000 ***	0.841	0.047	0.002 **
Quebec	1.316	0.146	0.014 **	1.250	0.129	0.030 *	1.208	0.099	0.022 *	1.338	0.149	0.009 **	1.236	0.128	0.041 *	1.232	0.101	0.011 *
Prairies	0.888	0.074	0.152	0.908	0.065	0.176	0.844	0.043	0.001 **	0.964	0.080	0.662	0.954	0.068	0.508	0.890	0.046	0.026 *
British Columbia	0.866	0.089	0.163	0.734	0.071	0.002 **	0.801	0.046	0.000 ***	0.859	0.090	0.146	0.728	0.072	0.001 **	0.786	0.047	0.000 ***
Place of Residence (reference: Rural)																		
Urban area	1.471	0.134	0.000 ***	0.928	0.066	0.298	1.017	0.046	0.702	1.414	0.131	0.000 ***	0.914	0.067	0.222	0.968	0.045	0.481
Small city	0.983	0.127	0.893	0.851	0.091	0.131	0.984	0.073	0.829	0.956	0.126	0.731	0.855	0.092	0.143	0.973	0.073	0.711
Religion (reference: Christian Denominations)																		
No Religion	1.178	0.092	0.037 *	0.845	0.069	0.039	0.788	0.042	0.000 ***	1.174	0.094	0.047 *	0.816	0.068	0.015	0.779	0.041	0.000 ***
Other Religion	1.234	0.095	0.006 **	1.021	0.080	0.787	0.988	0.044	0.793	1.107	0.085	0.190	0.930	0.073	0.357	0.885	0.041	0.009 **
Age (reference: 15-24 years)																		
25 to 34 years	0.826	0.078	0.045 *	0.622	0.064	0.000 ***	0.596	0.043	0.000 ***	0.991	0.107	0.932	0.768	0.083	0.015 *	0.674	0.052	0.000 ***
35 to 44 years	0.599	0.059	0.000 ***	0.561	0.055	0.000 ***	0.542	0.037	0.000 ***	0.762	0.087	0.018 *	0.735	0.077	0.003 **	0.645	0.047	0.000 ***
45 to 54 years	0.642	0.067	0.000 ***	0.674	0.068	0.000 ***	0.462	0.033	0.000 ***	0.830	0.093	0.098	0.888	0.093	0.258	0.556	0.041	0.000 ***
55 to 64 years	0.501	0.049	0.000 ***	0.589	0.059	0.000 ***	0.435	0.029	0.000 ***	0.609	0.066	0.000 ***	0.738	0.078	0.004 **	0.505	0.035	0.000 ***
65 years and older	0.390	0.037	0.000 ***	0.630	0.057	0.000 ***	0.426	0.029	0.000 ***	0.427	0.045	0.000 ***	0.712	0.068	0.000 ***	0.457	0.032	0.000 ***
Language Spoken (reference: Other Language Only)																		
English only	0.723	0.070	0.001 **	0.685	0.065	0.000 ***	0.540	0.035	0.000 ***	1.091	0.136	0.485	0.938	0.116	0.607	0.887	0.069	0.030 *
French only	1.046	0.134	0.727	0.874	0.108	0.278	0.815	0.077	0.031 *	1.583	0.241	0.003 **	1.205	0.176	0.201	1.248	0.132	0.036 *
Bilingual/Multilingual (with an official language)	0.978	0.127	0.867	0.800	0.113	0.116	0.897	0.087	0.264	1.143	0.153	0.317	0.905	0.130	0.489	1.047	0.104	0.641
Landed Immigrant Status (reference: Not a landed immigrant)																		
Landed immigrant										1.219	0.111	0.030 *	1.074	0.087	0.384	1.064	0.065	0.305
Visible Minority Status (reference: Not a visible minority)										1.473	0.135	0.000 ***	1.400	0.138	0.001 **	1.883	0.129	0.000 ***
Visible minority										1.009	0.059	0.878	0.786	0.044	0.000 ***	0.980	0.037	0.594
Female										0.926	0.087	0.413	0.851	0.072	0.058	1.033	0.060	0.585
Income (reference: no income - \$19,999)										0.702	0.076	0.001 **	0.687	0.072	0.000 ***	0.786	0.050	0.000 ***
\$20,000 - \$39,999										0.565	0.072	0.000 ***	0.459	0.060	0.000 ***	0.705	0.048	0.000 ***
\$40,000 - \$59,999										0.379	0.051	0.000 ***	0.470	0.051	0.000 ***	0.596	0.040	0.000 ***
\$60,000 - \$79,999										0.100	0.018	0.000	0.290	0.050	0.000	2.118	0.248	0.000
\$80,000 or more										0.148	0.022	0.000	0.343	0.047	0.000	3.320	0.332	0.000
Constant																		

* p < .05 ** p < .01 *** p < .001
 Prob > F = 0.0000
 Source: Statistics Canada (2013)
 The sample size and population size varies across models. The sample is unbalanced.
 Population size: 26,550,592 - 27,859,776
 Sample size: 25,067 - 26,363

The dimension of reported experiences of discrimination is analyzed in Table 3.3. Models 1 through 3 show that being an Atlantic Canadian, compared to being an Ontarian, decreases the odds of experiencing discrimination based on ethnicity or culture by 36%, it decreases the odds of experiencing discrimination based on race or colour by 54%, but it increases the odds of experiencing discrimination based on language by 15%. Models 1 and 2 do not support the negative stereotype, and achieve statistical significance. While Model 3 is evidence for the negative stereotype, it does not achieve statistical significance.

Living in an urban area, compared to living in a rural area, increases the odds of experiencing discrimination in Models 1 through 3 by 46%, 65% and 53%, respectively, and the measure is significant across those models. Living in a small city increases the odds of experiencing discrimination, but this is only significant in Models 2. This is in contrast with the expectation that people living in urban areas are more open to difference when compared to those living in rural areas.

When religion is analyzed with Christian as the reference group, having no religion increases the odds of experiencing discrimination in Models 1 through 3 between 5% and 18%. However, it does not gain statistical significance across the three models. Subscribing to another religion, compared to a Christian denomination, increases the rate of discrimination in Models 1 through 3 by 50%, 61%, and 26%, respectively. All three models achieve statistical significance.

When age is examined, with the 15-24 year age category as the reference group, we see that the odds of experiencing discrimination tend to decrease with older cohorts compared to the reference group in Models 1 and 2, but the pattern is less clear in Model

3. Being 55 to 64 years old is significant for Models 1 and 2, and decreases the odds by 42% and 43%, respectively. Being 65 or older is significant for experiencing discrimination based on ethnicity or culture, on race or colour, and on language and decreases the odds by 72%, 78%, 60%, respectively.

When language spoken is examined, with other language as the reference group, we see speaking only English and speaking only French decrease the odds of experiencing discrimination across the models. Being bilingual or multilingual increase the odds in Models 1 and 2, but decrease the odds in Model 3. Speaking only English and only French are statistically significant for Models 1 through 3 and being bilingual is only significant for Model 3.

When controls are added in Models 4 through 6, the odds for most variables remain about the same and many of the variables that were significant in Models 1 through 3 remain significant. Being Atlantic Canadian, compared to being an Ontarian, decreases the odds of negative values in Models 4 and 5 and these are significant. In Model 6 it increases the odds but the term is not significant. The significance for living in an urban area, compared to living in a rural area, remains only for Model 6. Further, all of the terms for religion lose their significance when controls are added. Thus, religion's effect on discrimination is highly compounded with the immigrant and visible minority status. With respect to age we see the same patterns as in reduced models. The two oldest age categories, compared to the youngest, remain significant across Models 4 through 6, except for the category of being 55 to 64 in Model 6, which loses significance. With respect to language, speaking French only loses significance in Model 5 and being

bilingual and multilingual gains statistical significance in Models 4 and 5, but loses significance in Model 6.

Further, we see that being a landed immigrant, compared to not being one, increases the odds of experiencing discrimination in Models 4 and 6 by 29% and 53%, respectively, and decreases the odds of experiencing discrimination in Model 5 by 9%. The terms are only significant in Models 4 and 6. Identifying as a visible minority, compared to not identifying as one, increases the odds of experiencing discrimination based on ethnicity and culture, on race and colour, and on language 303%, 699%, and by 82%, respectively. All effects in this category achieve statistical significance. Finally, there is no clear pattern across models for income. In almost all other income groups, compared to the lowest income group, the odds increase. However, this is not consistent with the literature, nor is statistical significance achieved across categories and models.

Variable	Reduced Models						Full Models											
	Model 1		Model 2		Model 3		Model 4		Model 5		Model 6							
	Odds	S.E.	P-value	Odds	S.E.	P-value	Odds	S.E.	P-value	Odds	S.E.	P-value						
Region (reference: Ontario)																		
Atlantic Canada	0.641	0.071	0.000 ***	0.458	0.061	0.000 ***	1.148	0.141	0.260	0.772	0.087	0.023 *	0.576	0.078	0.000 ***	1.278	0.161	0.053
Quebec	0.828	0.104	0.135	0.524	0.077	0.000 ***	2.246	0.358	0.000 ***	1.005	0.134	0.968	0.645	0.097	0.004 **	2.566	0.410	0.000 ***
Prairies	0.929	0.071	0.332	0.940	0.074	0.426	0.800	0.080	0.025 *	1.032	0.083	0.695	1.066	0.091	0.456	0.843	0.084	0.085
British Columbia	1.172	0.108	0.086	1.135	0.104	0.167	0.932	0.119	0.583	1.176	0.110	0.085	1.134	0.109	0.190	0.929	0.119	0.563
Place of Residence (reference: Rural)																		
Urban area	1.463	0.143	0.000 ***	1.645	0.176	0.000 ***	1.534	0.188	0.001 **	1.086	0.109	0.414	1.099	0.126	0.412	1.348	0.168	0.017 *
Small city	1.106	0.172	0.520	1.450	0.230	0.020 *	1.815	0.347	0.002 **	1.058	0.163	0.713	1.375	0.226	0.053	1.778	0.344	0.003 **
Religion (reference: Christian Denominations)																		
No Religion	1.062	0.090	0.476	1.049	0.089	0.573	1.185	0.115	0.082	1.041	0.090	0.644	1.028	0.091	0.752	1.192	0.115	0.070
Other Religion	1.500	0.115	0.000 ***	1.605	0.133	0.000 ***	1.263	0.122	0.016 *	1.117	0.088	0.161	1.132	0.098	0.152	1.063	0.103	0.528
Age (reference: 15-24 years)																		
25 to 34 years	1.200	0.129	0.091	1.118	0.125	0.318	1.244	0.173	0.116	1.106	0.130	0.392	1.081	0.140	0.550	1.121	0.159	0.420
35 to 44 years	0.955	0.095	0.643	0.956	0.102	0.669	1.300	0.166	0.041 *	0.893	0.096	0.297	0.979	0.119	0.859	1.161	0.154	0.261
45 to 54 years	0.936	0.104	0.552	0.944	0.115	0.634	1.122	0.168	0.440	0.910	0.103	0.406	1.045	0.132	0.729	1.024	0.152	0.873
55 to 64 years	0.576	0.063	0.000 ***	0.566	0.064	0.000 ***	0.929	0.135	0.610	0.580	0.069	0.000 ***	0.661	0.085	0.001 **	0.853	0.126	0.284
65 years and older	0.282	0.034	0.000 ***	0.218	0.030	0.000 ***	0.400	0.062	0.000 ***	0.298	0.037	0.000 ***	0.277	0.040	0.000 ***	0.377	0.059	0.000 ***
Language Spoken (reference: Other Language Only)																		
English only	0.491	0.044	0.000 ***	0.583	0.053	0.000 ***	0.329	0.037	0.000 ***	1.302	0.150	0.022 *	1.819	0.212	0.000 ***	0.596	0.085	0.000 ***
French only	0.254	0.040	0.000 ***	0.247	0.046	0.000 ***	0.220	0.036	0.000 ***	0.631	0.111	0.009 **	0.713	0.141	0.088	0.380	0.069	0.000 ***
Bilingual/Multilingual (with an official language)	1.162	0.142	0.220	1.219	0.152	0.114	0.714	0.103	0.020 *	1.515	0.200	0.002 **	1.557	0.209	0.001 **	0.874	0.127	0.352
Landed Immigrant Status (reference: Not a landed immigrant)																		
Landed immigrant																		
Visible minority																		
Sex (reference: male)																		
Female																		
Income (reference: no income - \$19,999)																		
\$20,000 - \$39,999																		
\$40,000 - \$59,999																		
\$60,000 - \$79,999																		
\$80,000 or more																		
Constant	0.191	0.030	0.000	0.140	0.023	0.000	0.100	0.020	0.000	0.191	0.020	0.000	0.038	0.008	0.000	0.052	0.012	0.000

* p < .05 ** p < .01 *** p < .001
 Population size: 26,541 - 26,831
 Prob > F = 0.0000
 Population size: 27,994,937 - 28,206,712
 The sample size and population size varies across models. The sample is unbalanced.
 Source: Statistics Canada (2013)

Overall, the regression analysis shows that Atlantic Canadians are different than the rest of English Canada when considering attitudes towards diversity, trust in people, and experienced discrimination. Atlantic Canadians, compared to Ontarians, were shown to have less negative attitudes towards diversity, hold less negative attitudes towards trusting people, and experience less discrimination. This means that there is evidence to directly counter the stereotype of the region being closed to diversity and outsiders. When we consider demographic factors commonly cited in the literature on Canadian Studies and public opinion we find that those living in urban areas have less negative attitudes towards diversity, they are less trusting of their neighbours, and they experience more discrimination, however, in full models that relationship doesn't hold. Those with no religion, compared to those who practice a Christian denomination, have more negative attitudes. As people get older, they generally have a higher negative attitude toward diversity, however, they trust people more and experience less discrimination. Speaking only English increased negative attitudes towards diversity, decreased trust in people and decreased reported experiences of discrimination experienced. Many of these effects show statistical significance.

Chapter 4: Conclusion

My thesis research is, as far as I know, the first systematic analysis of attitudes of Atlantic Canadians using Statistics Canada data. It looks at self-reported attitudes toward cultural difference and experiences of discrimination using survey data. It is important to look at these issues because Atlantic Canada is facing a rapidly aging population and widespread outmigration. If the region has any chance of countering these trends, and even growing, immigration and migration from other parts of the country to the region will be important. However, the negative stereotypes associated with Atlantic Canada, such as being unwelcoming to outsiders and those ‘from away,’ and its general aversion to change are barriers to that. Polling data suggest these stereotypes are not true, however such data rely on small samples and usually do not look at covariants that can explain why attitudes may be different. For this reason, my thesis used the General Social Survey, cycle 27, to examine whether the negative stereotypes are accurate and to understand what factors are associated with Atlantic Canadians’ attitudes toward diversity and experiences of discrimination.

My graphical analysis as well as the regression analysis presented in Chapter 3 (and the additional cross-tabulations provided in Appendix B) show that Atlantic Canadians have either less negative attitudes or similar attitudes towards cultural difference compared to Canadians in other regions. They also generally experience less discrimination than Western regions of the country and similar rates of discrimination to those in Quebec. This was supported by logistic regression.

When demographic factors were considered in the logistic regression, I found that people who live in urban areas, compared to those who live in rural areas, have less

negative attitudes towards diversity, have more negative attitudes towards trusting people, and increased experience of discrimination. My analysis only partially supports previous literature stating that people who live in urban areas are more likely to be open towards diversity (Palmer, 1996). Those who subscribe to a religion other than a Christian denomination are less likely to have negative attitudes towards diversity, and have increased odds that they will not trust others, and increased odds that they will experience discrimination. My analysis is mixed compared to the literature that states that those with a religion other than a Christian denomination are more open towards diversity (Wilkes et al., 2007). Older people, compared to younger age groups, seem to have increased negative attitudes towards diversity and less trust in people, but also experience less discrimination. This relates to similar findings that show that older people have more negative attitudes compared to their younger counterparts (Parkin and Mendelsohn, 2003; Harell, 2009; Wilkes et al. 2007; Reitz, 2011; Soroka and Roberton, 2010). Speaking only English, speaking only French, and being bilingual or multilingual, compared to speaking another language only, have been shown to increase the odds of having a negative attitude towards diversity. Speaking only English decreases the odds of having a negative value towards trusting people and speaking only French increases the odds of having a negative attitude towards trusting strangers. Speaking only English or only French decreases the odds of experiencing discrimination when compared to those who speak only another language. Being bilingual decreases the odds of experiencing discrimination based on language. This is in line with the literature stating that those who speak French or English have increased negative attitudes towards diversity (Anderson, 2010; Wilkes et al. 2007).

Attitudes towards cultural difference continues to be a popular topic. Pollsters continue to evaluate public opinions on the topic and on Atlantic Canada in particular because of renewed interest in the region through the Atlantic Growth Strategy (Government of Canada, 2017). The strategy aims to promote Atlantic Canada to help build a strong economic future for the region. Its goal is to demonstrate that the region is a place that possesses great opportunity for anyone who chooses to live or do business in Atlantic Canada. Under this strategy, the governments of Canada, New Brunswick, Prince Edward Island, Nova Scotia, and Newfoundland and Labrador have recently launched a pilot program to entice immigrants to move to Atlantic Canada (Government of Canada, 2017).

While writing my thesis, a new public opinion poll was conducted on Atlantic Canadians conducted by Corporate Research Associates was released showing that 92% of Atlantic Canadians agree or mostly agree with the value of *Respect for cultural differences*, and 95% completely agree or mostly agree with the value of *Freedom of religion* (Corporate Research Associates, 2017). Again, this offers evidence that the region considers itself as open to outsiders and that it is time to move beyond negative stereotypes of the region being insular and skeptical of those ‘from away.’ Like this recent poll, my thesis shows Atlantic Canada is as open to or is more open compared to other regions of the country toward diversity. This should mean that the region could be a welcoming place to newcomers, and it offers a promising context for the new Growth Strategy. It is time to think of Atlantic Canada differently and see it as a part of the country that embraces liberal values. This should mean that rather than being seen as averse to outsiders, Atlantic Canadians should be recognized as being accepting – or at

least saying they are accepting – of newcomers. If their accepting attitudes are put into practice, Atlantic Canadians may foster a new and brighter future for their region.

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Appendix A: General Social Survey Questions used in Analysis

Attitudes Towards Diversity:

1. How proud are you of Canada in each of the following: its treatment of all groups in society?
2. To what extent do you feel that Canadians share the following values? Ethnic and cultural diversity
3. To what extent do you feel that Canadians share the following values? Respect for Aboriginal Culture

Trust in People:

1. Using a scale of 1 to 5 where 1 means 'Cannot be trusted at all' and 5 means 'Can be trusted a lot', how much do you trust each of the following groups of people: people in your neighbourhood?
2. Using a scale of 1 to 5 where 1 means 'Cannot be trusted at all' and 5 means 'Can be trusted a lot', how much do you trust each of the following groups of people: people who speak a different language than you?
3. Using a scale of 1 to 5 where 1 means 'Cannot be trusted at all' and 5 means 'Can be trusted a lot', how much do you trust each of the following groups of people: strangers?

Discrimination Experienced:

1. In the past five years, have you experienced discrimination or been treated unfairly by others in Canada because of: your ethnicity or culture?
2. In the past five years, have you experienced discrimination or been treated unfairly by others in Canada because of: your race or colour?

3. In the past five years, have you experienced discrimination or been treated unfairly by others in Canada because of: your language?

Source: Statistics Canada, 2014b

Appendix B: Cross-Tabular Analysis

Attitudes Towards Diversity - "Negative Attitudes"															
Variable	Model 1					Model 2					Model 3				
	Treatment of All Groups					Ethnic/Cultural Diversity					Aboriginal Culture				
	BC	P	ONT	QC	AC	BC	P	ONT	QC	AC	BC	P	ONT	QC	AC
Place of Residence															
Rural area	21%	16%	12%	30%	12%	9%	14%	13%	24%	10%	27%	29%	29%	41%	21%
Small City	19%	14%	13%	28%	8%	14%	12%	10%	22%	14%	23%	30%	28%	42%	23%
Urban area	13%	11%	11%	26%	13%	9%	10%	9%	20%	12%	25%	28%	26%	44%	27%
Religion															
No religion	19%	14%	16%	34%	14%	11%	12%	13%	20%	14%	30%	35%	36%	52%	36%
Christian Denomination	14%	11%	10%	27%	12%	10%	11%	9%	22%	11%	26%	27%	25%	43%	22%
Other	12%	11%	10%	16%	11%	7%	9%	7%	12%	11%	18%	26%	23%	34%	23%
Age Group															
15-24 years	8%	8%	9%	24%	9%	6%	6%	6%	16%	4%	18%	25%	26%	43%	15%
25-34 years	14%	12%	11%	28%	10%	7%	8%	9%	17%	10%	33%	30%	30%	45%	25%
35-44 years	17%	11%	9%	24%	10%	8%	9%	8%	15%	11%	23%	28%	25%	43%	23%
45-54 years	13%	13%	11%	27%	12%	10%	12%	11%	22%	13%	23%	29%	26%	41%	30%
55-64 years	19%	16%	13%	31%	16%	11%	13%	10%	26%	13%	24%	31%	28%	44%	28%
65 years and older	17%	13%	14%	25%	15%	14%	18%	13%	26%	14%	26%	29%	25%	43%	21%
Language Spoken															
English	*	*	12%	20%	11%	*	*	10%	13%	11%	*	*	29%	37%	24%
French	*	*	11%	29%	20%	*	*	11%	23%	16%	*	*	26%	45%	24%
Official Language Only	16%	13%	*	*	*	10%	11%	*	*	*	27%	31%	*	*	*
Other language only	10%	5%	5%	9%	13%	7%	6%	6%	9%	14%	13%	6%	15%	23%	16%
Bilingual/Multilingual**	6%	9%	9%	18%	14%	14%	10%	6%	15%	8%	26%	21%	23%	35%	25%
Landed Immigrant Status															
Landed immigrant	10%	7%	9%	11%	12%	8%	7%	6%	8%	10%	18%	16%	19%	27%	24%
Not a landed immigrant	17%	13%	12%	29%	12%	10%	11%	11%	22%	11%	28%	31%	30%	45%	24%
Visible Minority Status															
Visible minority	9%	5%	9%	11%	6%	9%	5%	5%	8%	7%	16%	16%	20%	27%	15%
Not a visible minority	17%	13%	12%	28%	12%	10%	12%	11%	22%	11%	28%	31%	29%	45%	24%
Sex															
Male	15%	11%	10%	24%	13%	10%	11%	10%	19%	12%	26%	30%	27%	41%	25%
Female	15%	13%	12%	29%	12%	9%	10%	9%	22%	11%	24%	27%	27%	45%	23%
Income															
No income - \$19,999	15%	12%	10%	24%	10%	9%	8%	7%	19%	10%	23%	27%	25%	40%	17%
\$20,000 - \$39,999	18%	14%	10%	23%	13%	10%	10%	9%	21%	10%	23%	28%	23%	40%	22%
\$39,000 - \$59,999	19%	8%	12%	29%	12%	10%	7%	8%	18%	13%	30%	25%	28%	45%	26%
\$60,000 - \$79,999	13%	13%	9%	24%	11%	9%	12%	11%	19%	13%	31%	32%	28%	50%	32%
\$80,000 +	12%	10%	9%	26%	11%	8%	14%	8%	20%	11%	28%	35%	34%	45%	34%
DK/RF/NS	13%	14%	14%	31%	15%	11%	13%	12%	23%	12%	23%	27%	26%	44%	24%

Source: Statistics Canada (2013)

* English/French values combined for Western most regions of Canada. They are combined for the purposes of release from the Atlantic Research Data Centre.

** With an official language

Trust in People - "Negative Attitudes"															
Variable	Model 1					Model 2					Model 3				
	Neighbours					Different Language					Strangers				
	BC	P	ONT	QC	AC	BC	P	ONT	QC	AC	BC	P	ONT	QC	AC
Place of Residence															
Rural area	7%	6%	6%	13%	7%	9%	13%	13%	21%	11%	40%	48%	46%	61%	49%
Small City	4%	9%	6%	12%	5%	8%	13%	10%	18%	7%	41%	51%	46%	61%	43%
Urban area	10%	10%	11%	16%	10%	10%	12%	14%	18%	8%	46%	45%	52%	63%	42%
Religion															
No religion	9%	11%	11%	20%	11%	10%	13%	11%	14%	10%	43%	45%	49%	57%	45%
Christian Denomination	9%	8%	9%	13%	7%	10%	12%	13%	19%	9%	47%	46%	50%	63%	45%
Other	9%	9%	12%	22%	9%	10%	11%	16%	21%	8%	44%	48%	56%	68%	46%
Age Group															
15-24 years	11%	15%	15%	22%	15%	15%	17%	19%	22%	12%	50%	62%	65%	76%	64%
25-34 years	13%	11%	13%	18%	14%	9%	11%	12%	18%	11%	44%	47%	55%	63%	56%
35-44 years	11%	8%	10%	13%	7%	8%	12%	13%	14%	5%	51%	45%	53%	59%	40%
45-54 years	9%	7%	10%	15%	7%	10%	12%	14%	18%	8%	43%	42%	48%	59%	42%
55-64 years	7%	8%	7%	13%	5%	9%	11%	11%	18%	8%	44%	43%	44%	59%	37%
65 years and older	5%	4%	6%	11%	4%	9%	8%	12%	21%	10%	39%	38%	43%	62%	36%
Language Spoken															
English	*	*	9%	12%	8%	*	*	13%	16%	9%	*	*	49%	52%	43%
French	*	*	9%	15%	7%	*	*	9%	19%	11%	*	*	38%	63%	58%
Official Language Only	8%	9%	*	*	*	8%	12%	*	*	*	41%	45%	*	*	*
Other language only	15%	11%	14%	16%	11%	17%	12%	17%	22%	18%	59%	59%	65%	66%	72%
Bilingual/Multilingual**	14%	11%	14%	15%	7%	12%	14%	17%	13%	5%	63%	57%	62%	63%	48%
Landed Immigrant Status															
Landed immigrant	12%	11%	13%	19%	7%	14%	13%	15%	20%	8%	53%	55%	58%	66%	43%
Not a landed immigrant	8%	9%	9%	14%	8%	8%	12%	13%	18%	9%	42%	45%	49%	62%	45%
Visible Minority Status															
Visible minority	15%	11%	17%	22%	10%	14%	13%	19%	22%	11%	60%	55%	67%	75%	62%
Not a visible minority	7%	9%	8%	14%	8%	9%	12%	12%	18%	9%	40%	45%	47%	61%	44%
Sex															
Male	10%	9%	9%	15%	8%	12%	13%	14%	19%	10%	46%	45%	51%	61%	44%
Female	9%	10%	11%	15%	8%	8%	12%	13%	18%	9%	44%	48%	52%	64%	46%
Income															
No income - \$19,999	11%	13%	15%	17%	10%	11%	17%	18%	21%	10%	48%	58%	56%	70%	51%
\$20,000 - \$39,999	7%	9%	12%	16%	10%	9%	10%	15%	19%	10%	45%	48%	55%	65%	46%
\$39,000 - \$59,999	10%	8%	8%	13%	7%	11%	11%	12%	14%	7%	40%	40%	48%	56%	41%
\$60,000 - \$79,999	9%	6%	6%	12%	4%	5%	9%	7%	11%	5%	42%	41%	42%	55%	38%
\$80,000 +	6%	5%	4%	9%	3%	10%	9%	7%	11%	3%	42%	36%	38%	45%	29%
DK/RF/NS	10%	11%	11%	17%	9%	11%	14%	16%	24%	12%	47%	50%	56%	67%	48%

Source: Statistics Canada (2013)

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Discrimination Experienced based on - "Yes"															
Variable	Model 1					Model 2					Model 3				
	Ethnicity or Culture					Race or Colour					Language				
	BC	P	ONT	QC	AC	BC	P	ONT	QC	AC	BC	P	ONT	QC	AC
Place of Residence															
Rural area	13%	11%	5%	3%	5%	7%	11%	4%	1%	3%	2%	5%	3%	5%	3%
Small City	13%	10%	8%	3%	7%	12%	13%	7%	2%	6%	3%	4%	10%	8%	6%
Urban area	15%	12%	14%	8%	6%	14%	11%	13%	4%	4%	8%	5%	7%	10%	6%
Religion															
No religion	12%	11%	13%	9%	10%	11%	11%	12%	4%	8%	5%	5%	6%	15%	8%
Christian Denomination	11%	10%	10%	5%	5%	11%	10%	9%	2%	3%	5%	5%	6%	7%	4%
Other	22%	15%	17%	18%	5%	19%	13%	17%	14%	5%	9%	6%	8%	19%	6%
Age Group															
15-24 years	18%	14%	17%	6%	7%	14%	14%	16%	4%	6%	6%	5%	6%	13%	4%
25-34 years	22%	15%	18%	9%	11%	20%	15%	16%	5%	7%	12%	5%	8%	12%	8%
35-44 years	19%	15%	14%	9%	6%	17%	14%	14%	5%	7%	8%	9%	9%	11%	7%
45-54 years	16%	12%	14%	7%	7%	15%	11%	14%	5%	4%	6%	5%	9%	8%	7%
55-64 years	10%	8%	9%	5%	5%	10%	7%	9%	3%	2%	5%	4%	6%	9%	5%
65 years and older	4%	4%	5%	3%	1%	4%	3%	4%	1%	1%	2%	2%	3%	3%	1%
Language Spoken															
English	*	*	10%	18%	5%	*	*	10%	11%	4%	*	*	5%	36%	4%
French	*	*	10%	4%	8%	*	*	8%	2%	2%	*	*	14%	6%	11%
Official Language Only	12%	10%	*	*	*	11%	9%	*	*	*	3%	3%	*	*	*
Other language only	27%	24%	21%	18%	28%	23%	21%	18%	10%	20%	24%	20%	14%	15%	30%
Bilingual/Multilingual**	28%	24%	26%	15%	20%	28%	22%	22%	10%	13%	20%	14%	11%	15%	6%
Landed Immigrant Status															
Landed immigrant	21%	22%	21%	22%	18%	19%	19%	19%	15%	13%	14%	14%	12%	15%	9%
Not a landed immigrant	12%	9%	10%	4%	5%	11%	9%	9%	2%	4%	4%	3%	5%	8%	5%
Visible Minority Status															
Visible minority	33%	31%	32%	26%	31%	32%	30%	33%	26%	31%	19%	16%	14%	16%	13%
Not a visible minority	9%	8%	7%	5%	5%	8%	8%	6%	5%	5%	3%	3%	5%	9%	5%
Sex															
Male	14%	11%	14%	7%	6%	13%	11%	13%	4%	5%	6%	5%	6%	10%	5%
Female	15%	12%	12%	6%	5%	14%	11%	11%	3%	3%	7%	6%	7%	8%	5%
Income															
No income - \$19,999	16%	11%	14%	8%	5%	14%	10%	13%	4%	4%	8%	5%	7%	9%	4%
\$20,000 - \$39,999	18%	11%	14%	5%	6%	17%	10%	12%	3%	4%	10%	6%	8%	8%	5%
\$39,000 - \$59,999	15%	12%	14%	6%	8%	15%	12%	14%	4%	5%	6%	5%	8%	11%	5%
\$60,000 - \$79,999	14%	11%	12%	5%	5%	11%	12%	11%	2%	3%	5%	3%	6%	9%	5%
\$80,000 +	9%	11%	11%	8%	7%	7%	10%	12%	3%	4%	4%	5%	6%	11%	6%
DK/RF/NS	13%	12%	11%	7%	6%	14%	12%	10%	4%	5%	5%	6%	5%	9%	5%

Source: Statistics Canada (2013)

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