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The Realities of Racism: Exploring Attitudes in Manitoba, Canada

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ABSTRACT

Between December 2020 and January 2021, we conducted an online mixed-methods survey to explore racism in the province of Manitoba, Canada. The survey was completed by exactly 500 residents of the province and was largely representative of the demographics of the province. The survey measured views on racism, multiculturalism, religious diversity, assimilation and linguistic diversity, and also explored lived experiences with racism. In this article, we report respondents' views on multiculturalism, religious diversity, assimilation and racism. The strong majority of Manitobans recognized that racism is a problem in their area of the province, and yet views towards assimilation and support for religious diversity remain mixed. These findings show contradictions between overall support for broad themes like diversity or multiculturalism yet high levels of continuing discrimination and racism in the province. Our findings emphasize the impacts of whiteness, with the intersectional complexities further emphasized by the qualitative stories shared by participants, giving accounts of racism at work, in stores, healthcare, justice and in different demographic groups. Specifically, incidents of racism against Indigenous Peoples were the most commonly experienced and witnessed.

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Introduction

Canada is a country whose stereotype of friendly multiculturalism where everyone belongs does not match the realities experienced on the ground. Our most recent national census shows increasing linguistic diversity, with 12.7 per cent of the population speaking a language other than English or French at home (Statistics Canada 2022c). The same census shows hate-motivated crime rising 27 per cent. However, these statistics do not paint a full picture, since only one-fifth of such crimes get reported (Statistics Canada 2022b). While racial diversity in the country continues to increase, driven by economic labour factors, refugee movements, immigrant family sponsorship and high birth rates of Indigenous populations, there is a need

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to better understand views on multiculturalism, religious diversity, assimilation and racism.

Immigration to Canada is complicated by political forces that seek to use immigration as a political for stoking Canadians' sense of altruism or fear. Sometimes, this results in increased numbers of arrivals and decreased barriers to immigration (such as smoother pathways for Ukrainian refugees in 2020). Other times, this results in inflamed media debate and increased public attention (such as the so-called 'queue-jumpers' or refugees crossing the border from the United States). Significantly, most immigration discourse does not include First Nations, Metis, or Inuit perspectives, resulting in old settlers welcoming new settlers without acknowledgement of Treaty responsibilities or consultation with the original inhabitants and caretakers of the land.

Within this complex political and social landscape, experiences of racism abound. Within Manitoba in particular, a recent report highlights the impacts of this ongoing and systemic exclusion:

Overall growing up I have experienced a lot of racism and that affected my cultural identity and self-esteem. To this day I struggle with my identity as if I was made to feel wrong or negative towards my race. I felt ashamed most of my life to be Aboriginal, but now I am ashamed that I let others strip me of my cultural identity. (Romanow 2020, p. 20)

Another student respondent, who had just moved into the city of Winnipeg to attend university, has had a hard time adjusting to the sheer volume of 'hurtful things' experienced in everyday life. She notes: 'In the past year I have cried more about my identity than in the last 19 years I've been alive.' ... It is hurtful to be insulted by strangers; it is also very frustrating. One respondent explains: 'Due to racism and discrimination on a daily basis in Winnipeg it is very tiring and exhausting and takes so much unnecessary energy out of me' (Romanow 2020, p. 20).

There is a need to better understand views on multiculturalism, religious diversity, assimilation and racism. Since the effects of racism are cumulative and detrimental, understanding more about these experiences, along with a measure of province-wide attitudes towards assimilation, multiculturalism and diversity is imperative. This article shares findings on gendered responses to racism and gendered experiences of racism, particularly in relation to whiteness and white men. Further, the concept of neutrality is particularly important for understanding the negative outcomes of bystanders and the benefits of non-target group members in combatting racism. Both factors of gender and neutrality are significant to the formation and implications of research and social action.

In this article, we employ an intersectional framework (Crenshaw, 1989) to understand the experiences of the participants. Intersectionality posits that racism and other forms of discrimination are not experienced within particular demographic categories but are overlapping and compounding in nature. Thus, in addition to the considerable implications for social action, this article contributes to the overall literature by highlighting the ways in which racism impacts BIPOC (Black, Indigenous and People of Color) people in the province.

Literature Review & Background

Manitoba is a diverse province in the Canadian prairie with a population of approximately 1.3 million people. Although research on racism in Manitoba does exist, it is

usually focused on particular communities or systems. To conduct this literature review, then, we expanded our search to include community reports in addition to academic literature. But in light of the dearth of academic sources, this study makes a significant contribution.

Racism is pervasive in colonial Canada situated on Turtle Island (Fuji Johnson and Enomoto 2007, Henry et al. 2009, Satzewich 2011, Fleras 2014, Este et al. 2018). Consistent with this, high levels of racism are present in Manitoba (Macdonald 2015, Prairie Research Associates 2020, Probe Research Inc. 2020, CBC News 2021) located on Treaty 1, 2, 3, 4, 5, 6, 10 and Dakota territories (TRCM 2022a). The Indigenous nations involved in making these Treaties with European settlers understood them to be ‘sacred promises’ and a step in building ‘good relations’ (TRCM 2022b, p. 2). However, experiences of those targeted by white supremacy, based on their races, ethnicities, cultures and faiths, speak to the lack of responsibility of European settlers in taking these sacred promises seriously and in building good relations, including anti-racist relations. Two different studies found that a high proportion of Manitobans believe racism is a serious problem in Manitoba (Prairie Research Associates 2020, Probe Research Inc. 2020). In 2020 in Manitoba, women were more likely than men to say that racism is a serious problem in Manitoba, and, similarly, younger age groups were more likely than older age groups to say the same (Prairie Research Associates 2020). In one study, 7 of 10 Manitobans thought relations between Indigenous and non-Indigenous Peoples in Manitoba were negative (Prairie Research Associates 2020), where another reported 8 in 10 agree division between Indigenous and non-Indigenous citizens is a serious issue in Manitoba (Probe Research Inc. 2020). In the latter study, women were much more likely than men to see this division as a serious issue (Probe Research Inc. 2020).

The stories of many targeted by racism in Manitoba are a testament to the province’s racist realities. For example, 62 per cent of Manitoba Muslims report experiencing Islamophobia in 2022 (Sotiriadou and Elbakri 2022). Considering intersectionality in these experiences, 73 per cent of reports were from women and 48 per cent of youth reports from Black youth (Sotiriadou and Elbakri 2022). The majority of Muslims report Islamophobia impacts their mental health (Sotiriadou and Elbakri 2022). This racism not only impacts mental health, it also has detrimental impacts on education. From a study in 2018, many Black refugee students reported feeling insulted and ignored by their white peers and staff, and have observed a strong avoidance of confronting racism or even accepting its possibility among educators (Heringer 2022). As a result, for example, many students felt pressured to assimilate or keep their guard up (Heringer 2022).

There are multiple studies that have taken place in the last decade focused on the racism experienced by multiple racialized communities in Winnipeg specifically (WRHA 2001, Comack and Bowness 2010, Ghorayshi 2010, Magro and Ghorayshi 2011, Gyepi-Garbrah et al. 2014, Sobie 2017, Adjei et al. 2018, Webster 2018, Goodman 2019, Selman and Curnow 2019, Romanow 2020, Brown 2021). Two of these studies included racism experienced by Indigenous university students and refugee and newcomer EAL learners in the inner city. For example, at the University of Winnipeg, it was found that Indigenous students ‘experience some of the highest degrees of racism recorded in North America’, where 60 per cent of these students were found to experience extreme levels of racism (Romanow 2020, p. 11). The Indigenous students involved in the study concerning experiences of racism in Winnipeg in 2020 experienced threats, insults, poor

treatment and at times violence because of their race, whether it be on the street, public transportation, at work, at school, in stores, in restaurants, from the justice system or in health/social services settings (Romanow 2020). The most common theme reported in this study was the prominent difference in how Indigenous students received unaccepting service in stores and health/social service settings compared to non-Indigenous students (Romanow 2020). Newcomer and refugee learners reported not being accepted as they were on the basis of racism (Magro and Ghorayshi 2011). As a result, many felt excluded (Magro and Ghorayshi 2011). Muslim newcomer and refugee students also reported they encountered stereotypes (Magro and Ghorayshi 2011).

Some similar experiences with racism that these two groups shared include experiencing racism daily, as a barrier to economic opportunities, in the form of exclusion, through stereotypes and the pressure to compensate for these stereotypes, through over-policing, the lack of support from institutional leadership and the particular targeting of those with darker skin and who are women (Magro and Ghorayshi 2011, Romanow 2020). Although there were many similarities between the experiences between these two specific communities, they have also faced racism in particular ways. For example, there were Indigenous students who reported feeling like 'second-class citizens' in their own homelands and particularly being targets of racism in stores and health and social service settings (Romanow 2020, p. 21). There were refugees and newcomers who shared their experiences with those in authority taking advantage of their still developing knowledge of place (Magro and Ghorayshi 2011). These similar and distinct examples of racism demonstrate how social location and intersectionality can affect how racism is perpetrated and experienced.

Besides education, racism also occurs in other various places in Manitoba, some including employment (CUPE 2020, Manitoba Human Rights Commission 2020, Sotiriadou and Elbakri 2022), justice (Government of Manitoba 1999, Gill 2000, SCO 2021a, Brownell 2022, Sotiriadou and Elbakri 2022), online (Sotiriadou and Elbakri 2022), sport (Brown 2021) and health (Woodgate et al. 2017, Phillips-Beck 2020, Government of Manitoba 2021, SCO 2021b). Racism in healthcare in particular, has been the subject of many inquiries. For example, recent studies continue to attest to the racism experienced by Indigenous Peoples in Manitoba's settler colonial health systems. Southern Chiefs' Organization (SCO 2021b) found that 92 per cent of First Nations survey respondents agreed or strongly agreed with racism being a problem in Manitoba's healthcare system. One demonstration of this is the widening gap in health status between Manitoba First Nation Peoples and all other Manitobans (Katz et al. 2020). Brian Sinclair's story in the Manitoban healthcare system in 2008 also sheds light on this racism. Brian Sinclair, a middle-aged, Anishinaabe resident of Winnipeg died due to settler colonial structures of indifference, where his easily treatable infection was ignored for approximately 34 h in a Winnipeg emergency room (Lett 2013, McCallum and Perry 2018). Sinclair's death was preventable and he was ignored as medical staff assumed his needs were not urgent, and racially stereotyped him as being intoxicated or homeless (Lett 2013, McCallum and Perry 2018).

Overall, peer-reviewed and scholarly research concerning Manitoba-specific racism appears to be less prevalent than national. However, many community-based organizations, media sources and research groups, either independently or in partnership with Manitoban universities or research groups, have and continue to support contributing knowledge and research concerning racism in Manitoba. It is important to recognize

and value more community-based research paradigms, which contain valuable knowledge and important ways of knowing which go beyond Eurocentric research paradigms. Some research examples include the Southern Chiefs' Organization (2021a) reports on First Nation experiences of racism in policing and experiences of racism Manitoba health care, Immigration Partnership Winnipeg report on experiences of racism in sport in Winnipeg (2021), Probe Research Inc. and the Winnipeg Free Press' (2020) report on attitudes on racism in Manitoba, Prairie Research Associates (2020) on perceptions and perspectives on racism from Manitobans and the Manitoba Islamic Association (2022) report on community experiences with Islamophobia. These peer-reviewed articles related to the racism experienced by specific groups in certain locations, large-scale statistics from research groups, and reports from community organizations affirm the problem of racism examined in this research and show how the literature may be strengthened by further scholarship on how racism is experienced by BIPOC people in Manitoba.

Methodology

This mixed-methods study provided both statistical underpinning and the space to hear and hold the often painful and difficult stories of racism and discrimination as told by 500 Manitoban residents. Using a two-phase mixed-methods qualitative and quantitative research design, this project aimed to explore both perceptions and experiences of racism by asking questions related to participants' views on racism, multiculturalism, religious diversity, assimilation and linguistic diversity. The survey also explored questions related to the frequency and locations where racism took place and how participants responded. The survey used was adapted with permission from a similar long-term survey project from Western Sydney University in Australia (Blair et al. 2017). The survey included closed-ended survey questions for statistical analysis and also included space for people to share further through prompted, open-ended text. After discussing the research with the original authors of the Australian study, and the shared desire to compare contexts in order to further support anti-racism education initiatives, we adopted many of the questions from their original survey. We vetted the survey questions with people with lived experience of racism and research expertise in the Manitoba context.

The second phase of the research project provided unstructured interviews to 5 participants who wanted to tell their stories over the phone, zoom, or teams and 2 who emailed the principal investigator a written form of their story. One member of our research team listened and took notes with conversations lasting anywhere from 15 to 150 min.

We received approval from the Brandon University Research Ethics Committee (Number 22752). The participants who took part in this study were individuals who lived in Manitoba, over the age of 18, and had experienced or witnessed racism within the past year. The recruitment process occurred through media outlets such as news articles, social media platforms that included facebook and instagram, as well as email invitations to various community organizations in the province, such as immigrant serving centers and ethnocultural organizations. The surveys could be accessed online in both English and French and remained open from December 23, 2020, until January 31, 2021. The project received exactly 500 responses. It is important to note that the methodology used convenience sampling method which can introduce bias. This limits how the results can be generalized.

Results

The participants in this study closely represented the racially and religiously diverse wider population of Manitobans. For instance, 56.6 per cent of respondents self-identified as Christians. According to Statistics Canada (2022a), this is similar to the greater population of Manitoba with 50.4 percent indicating Christianity as their religion. Other respondents indicated other religions (14 per cent) and Indigenous spiritualities (12 per cent). In reference to ethnic identity, 30 per cent of our survey respondents are Indigenous compared to Indigenous peoples making up 24.3 per cent of Manitoba's population (Statistics Canada 2022a). Other survey respondents indicated caucasian/white (45 per cent), Black (7 per cent) and Filipino (5 per cent). Closely reflective of our respondents, Manitoba has the largest Filipino population than any other Canadian province (Statistics Canada 2007) at 7 per cent per capita (Statistics Canada 2022a). Again, although the demographics of the survey respondents closely represented that of Manitoba's population, these findings can only be interpreted within the context of the sampled population. However, they provide compelling insight, particularly when combined with the shared stories.

After an analysis of the demographics of respondents, this study brought to light a number of significant differences in how racism is experienced and perceived based on respondent identities. In the sections that follow, we discuss differences according to gender, including significant intersections in the area of ethnic identity. Notably, we found no significant differences when results were analyzed for location within the province (i.e. rural vs. urban). We also discuss the questions where respondents were more likely to remain neutral in their responses. In accordance with our mixed-methods methodology, we have woven in quotes from the open-ended responses in the survey where they fit with the themes described below.

Gender Differences

How men and women responded to multiple questions in the survey was significantly different. Due to low numbers of respondents identifying as gender nonbinary, those responses were not included in our gender analysis.

As demonstrated in Table 1, in responding to their level of agreement to the statement, 'Racism is a problem in my area in Manitoba', women ($n = 245$) were more likely to agree, either strongly or somewhat, with 89.7 per cent of women agreeing, whereas only 76.7 per cent of men ($n = 145$) agreed with that statement. Disagreement was also split, with 16.9 per cent of men disagreeing somewhat or strongly, and only 5.9 per cent of women.

This difference is particularly curious when viewed alongside responses to a question about whether respondents personally experience racism (Table 2).

Respondents were asked to respond to a series of 9 statements such as 'people act as if you are not to be trusted', or 'you are called names or insulted'. To this question, 88 per cent of men ($n = 88$) responded in the affirmative (sometimes, often, or very often). Although women were still more likely to report experiencing racism (95.3 per cent, $n = 123$), a higher percentage of men felt they were personally experiencing racism when the statements were directed to their own experiences than when they were asked to

Table 1. Level of agreement – racism is a problem in my area in Manitoba.

Response	Men	Women	χ^2
Agree ^a	76.7% (n = 145)	89.7% (n = 245)	16.238, p < 0.001
Neutral	6.3% (n = 12)	4.4% (n = 12)	
Disagree ^b	16.9% (n = 32)	5.9% (n = 16)	
Total	189	273	

Notes: This table demonstrates responses to the prompt: Racism is a problem in my area in Manitoba. The highlighted portions are those which tested as statistically significant, where % of disagreement $\chi^2(1) = 14.701, p < 0.001$ and % of agreement $\chi^2(1) = 14.400, p < 0.001$.

^aIncludes response for Strongly Agree and Somewhat Agree.

^bIncludes response for Strongly Disagree and Somewhat disagree.

identify it as a problem more broadly. This may be due to the fact that these detailed statements prompted further reflection, or it may be that they did not easily identify these 9 statements as examples of racism and may have answered the earlier question with a more overt definition of racism in mind. Either way, the gender difference between men and women respondents is statistically significant and compelling for further study. It is also supported by the literature reviewed above.

This gender difference is one that runs throughout the survey. Men were more likely to disagree with the statement, ‘it is a good thing for our society to be made up of different cultures’, with 13.2 per cent of men disagreeing and 8.1 per cent of women (Table 3). They were more likely to object if a temple, mosque or another non-Christian place of worship was built in their community, with 11.2 per cent of men objecting, and only 3.7 per cent of women (Table 4). They were more likely to agree that Indigenous Peoples should adopt ‘mainstream’ traits, with 21.4 per cent of men agreeing and only 10.7 per cent of women (Table 5). When asked a similar question about people from racial, ethnic, cultural and religious minority groups behaving more like ‘mainstream’ Canadians, 26.6 per cent of men agreed, compared to 14 per cent of women (Table 6). Men were also more likely to agree with the statement that people speaking other languages made life more difficult (27.3 per cent of men, compared to 12.5 per cent of women) (Table 7).

Gender differences also intersect with ethnic identities as well, as illustrated by Table 8. For example, Indigenous women were more likely than Indigenous men to report being treated less respectfully, to report being expected to speak on behalf of all members of their race, culture, or religion, to be ignored or patronized, or to try to act a certain

Table 2. Percentage of respondents who reported experiencing racism.

Answer	Men	Women	χ^2
No ^a	12.00% (n = 12)	4.7% (n = 6)	4.201, p = 0.040
Yes ^b	88.00% (n = 88)	95.3% (n = 123)	
Total	100	129	

Notes: This table demonstrates the percentage of respondents who reported experiencing racism by responding sometimes, often, or very often to any of the following 9 prompts: How often do you feel that because of your race, culture or religion, (1) you try to do extra work to overcome some negative stereotypes; (2) you are treated less respectfully; (3) you are expected to speak on behalf of all members of your race, culture, or religion; (4) you are ignored or patronized; (5) people act as if you are not to be trusted; (6) you are called names or insulted; (7) you are discriminated against or harassed because of language or accent; (8) you change your name or are asked to change your name so others find it easier to pronounce; (9) you try to act a certain way (dress more formally, speak a certain way, make yourself smaller, etc.).

^aIncludes response for Sometimes, Often and Very Often to any of the 9 statements.

^bIncludes response for Never or Hardly Ever to all 9 statements.

Table 3. Level of agreement – it is a good thing for our society to be made up of different cultures.

Answer	Women	Men	χ^2
Agree ^a	89.0%	77.2%	13.277, $p = 0.001$
Neutral	2.9%	9.5%	
Disagree ^b	8.1%	13.2%	
Total	189	272	

Notes: This table demonstrates responses to the prompt: It is a good thing for our society to be made up of different cultures.

^aIncludes response for Strongly Agree and Somewhat Agree.

^bIncludes response for Strongly Disagree and Somewhat Disagree.

way (dress more formally, speak a certain way, make yourself smaller, etc.). On the other hand, Indigenous men were more likely to report experiencing racism at home or with friends and family (80.8 per cent of Indigenous men, compared to 58.1 per cent of Indigenous women) (Table 9).

It is clear that there were significant gender differences in the ways respondents answered this survey. The intersections of gender and racism is not a new one, and, as the theory of intersectionality posits (Crenshaw, 1988), the lived experiences of people on the receiving end of targeted hate do not experience hate for their gender and hate for their racial identity in separate bodies. In addition, an analysis of gender within white supremacist movements has compelled new insights about ideology and beliefs, recruitment and activities undertaken by members of those movements (Ferber 2004). Gender and race are intertwined, along with multiple other markers of identity, and these intricate systems can compound and reinforce systemic privilege and injustice. As our analysis has shown, the complex ways in which gender and race intersect, particularly for Indigenous women in Manitoba, is an area where significant attention must be directed.

In addition, respondents who indicated that they are Indigenous women and women from other ethnic identities were more likely than men from those backgrounds to experience discrimination because of their race, culture or religion. Yet when we separated the data for only Caucasian/white respondents, we noted that Caucasian/white men reported experiencing this discrimination more frequently than Caucasian/white women. Indigenous respondents and respondents of other ethnic identities reported much higher rates of discrimination than Caucasian/white respondents, but within those Caucasian/white respondents, there was still an interesting gender difference, and it did not follow the same pattern as gender differences within other ethnic categories. It seems, from this survey, that white men, who have historically been in the most privileged positions in society, may view the current push towards equalization of this power as a discriminatory event. Further discussion of this ‘reverse racism’ claim is forthcoming.

Table 4. Level of support – if a temple, mosque or another place of worship (non-Christian) was being built in my local community, I would ...

Answer	Women	Men	χ^2
Support	67.2%	47.3%	21.520, $p < 0.001$
Neutral	29.2%	41.5%	
Object	3.7%	11.2%	
Total	188	271	

Table 5. Level of agreement – indigenous peoples should behave more like mainstream Canadians.

Answer	Women	Men	χ^2
Agree ^a	10.7%	21.4%	30.677, $p < 0.001$
Neutral	14.4%	28.9%	
Disagree ^b	74.9%	49.7%	
Total	187	271	

Notes: This table demonstrates responses to the prompt: Indigenous Peoples should behave more like mainstream Canadians. The wording of 'mainstream' was adopted from the Australian attitudes survey upon which this survey was based (with permission).

^aIncludes response for Strongly Agree and Somewhat Agree.

^bIncludes response for Strongly Disagree and Somewhat Disagree.

Age

It appears that older women were more likely to subscribe to racist viewpoints. This is based on two statements that required a five-point Likert scale response (strongly agree, agree, neutral, disagree, strongly disagree). These statements were: (1) People from racial, cultural and religious minority groups should behave more like mainstream Canadians; and, (2) People speaking other languages makes life more difficult. These statements are based on racist stereotypes about who belongs in Canada, what Canadians should act like and what languages they should speak. Women between ages 36–65 were more likely than those between ages 18–35 to strongly agree or agree to the statements. Similarly, women over the age of 65 were also more likely to strongly agree or agree to the statements when compared to women of all other age categories (see [Tables 10](#) and [11](#)).

Location Differences

While not statistically significant, the location in which people experienced or witnessed racism is worth noting. When comparing rural and urban respondents, those in urban city areas were more likely to see racism as an issue, with 85.4 per cent more likely to agree with the statement that 'racism is a problem in my area in Manitoba'. On the other hand, 78.4 per cent of respondents from rural areas agreed with this same statement ([Table 12](#)).

Similarly, according to another survey on Manitoba's attitudes on racism, there was a trend for participants to view racism as more of an issue in big cities (Welch 2020). More specifically, these findings align with other research studies that have reported on Manitoba's rural and urban racism in areas such as education and healthcare (Welch 2020, Lam 2021). Despite increasing levels of immigration and rural Manitoba becoming more diverse, there is limited literature on racism within rural contexts compared to urban locations. These findings suggest that racism is not an issue unique to big urban settings and initiatives are needed to recognize and address rural racism on all levels.

Table 6. Level of agreement – people from racial, ethnic, cultural and religious minority groups should behave more like mainstream Canadians.

Answer	Women	Men	χ^2
Agree ^a	14.0%	26.6%	33.822, $p < 0.001$
Neutral	16.2%	30.9%	
Disagree ^b	69.7%	42.6%	
Total	188	271	

^aIncludes response for Strongly Agree and Somewhat Agree.

^bIncludes response for Strongly Disagree and Somewhat Disagree.

Table 7. Level of agreement – people speaking other languages makes life more difficult.

Answer	Women	Men	χ^2
Agree ^a	12.5%	27.3%	23.144, $p < 0.001$
Neutral	13.2%	19.3%	
Disagree ^b	74.4%	53.5%	
Total	187	273	

^aIncludes response for Strongly Agree and Somewhat Agree.

^bIncludes response for Strongly Disagree and Somewhat Disagree.

Table 8. Percentage of respondents who are discriminated against.

Answer	Indigenous		χ^2	Other Ethnic Identity	
	Women	Men		Women	Men
You are treated less respectfully					
No ^a	20.0%	30.8%	6.598	20.4%	31.9%
Yes ^b	80.0%	69.2%	$p = 0.010$	79.6%	68.1%
You are expected to speak on behalf of all members of your race, culture, or religion					
No ^a	20.0%	30.8%	9.965	20.4%	31.9%
Yes ^b	80.0%	69.2%	$p = 0.002$	79.6%	68.1%
You are ignored or patronized					
No ^a	20.0%	30.8%	6.056	20.4%	31.9%
Yes ^b	80.0%	69.2%	$p = 0.014$	79.6%	68.1%
You try to act a certain way (dress more formally, speak a certain way, make yourself smaller, etc.)					
No ^a	20.0%	30.8%	8.937	20.4%	31.9%
Yes ^b	80.0%	69.2%	$p = 0.003$	79.6%	68.1%

Notes: This table demonstrates responses to the prompt: Because of your race, culture, or religion, you are ... (specific prompts listed in the chart). The highlighted portions are those which tested as statistically significant.

^aIncludes response for Sometimes, Often, Very Often.

^bIncludes response for Never, Hardly Ever.

Table 9. Percentage of indigenous respondents who experience discrimination in the following situations.

Situation	Answer	Women	Men	χ^2
Health Care	Yes	70.7%	54.7%	Not sign.
	No	29.3%	45.3%	
	Total	53	75	
Online/Social Media	Yes	69.9%	58.5%	Not sign.
	No	30.1%	41.5%	
	Total	53	73	
Public Transportation/On the Street	Yes	61.1%	47.2%	Not sign.
	No	38.9%	52.8%	
	Total	53	72	
Home/Friend/Family	No	41.9%	19.2%	7.144 $p = 0.008$
	Yes	58.1%	80.8%	
	Total	52	74	

Table 10. Percentage of women who agreed, remained neutral, or disagreed with the statement: people from racial, ethnic, cultural and religious minority groups should behave more like mainstream Canadians.

Answer	Age 18–35	Age 36–65	Age over 65	χ^2
Agree ^a	6.2%	12.4%	32.4%	16.759, $p = 0.002$
Neutral	12.3%	18.3%	20.6%	
Disagree ^b	81.5%	69.3%	47.1%	
Total	65	153	34	

Table 11. Percentage of women who agreed, remained neutral, or disagreed with the statement: people speaking other languages makes life more difficult.

Answer	Age 18–35	Age 36–65	Age over 65	χ^2
Agree ^a	7.7%	9.7%	34.3%	21.610, $p < 0.001$
Neutral	7.7%	14.9%	17.1%	
Disagree ^b	84.6%	75.3%	48.6%	
Total	65	154	35	

Within the survey, we asked participants to rate how often they experience discrimination because of race, culture, or religion in the following situations: education, healthcare, home/family/friends, housing, justice system, online/social media, public transportation/on the street, shop/restaurant, sporting events and in the workplace. For all locations except public transportation/on the street and in the workplace, Indigenous respondents noted experiencing discrimination the most often. As an example, within healthcare, 64 per cent of Indigenous respondents reported discrimination, compared to 48 per cent of other ethnic identities, and 13 per cent of caucasian/white respondents. For example, in one of the open-ended response questions, one of our participants wrote, ‘I have been treated as though I would be a drug user trying to get meds to get high. My sister was treated the same way to the detriment of her health. She was in kidney failure and the medical personnel failed to treat this because they assumed that she was trying to get meds to abuse them’. This is confirmed by other research on racism in healthcare that have been shared in the province. For example, in 2021 the SCO reported that 72 per cent of First Nations respondents indicated experiencing racism in the Manitoba healthcare system. In this same study, 37 per cent of First Nations respondents indicated they have been treated as dishonest, with multiple respondents indicating they were stereotyped to only be accessing healthcare to obtain drugs.

Education is another stark example, with 70 per cent of Indigenous respondents experiencing discrimination, 58 per cent of other ethnic identities and 17 per cent of caucasian/white respondents reporting the same. The prevalence of racism in these two locations is further supported by the literature cited above. For example, in the same open-ended question as the paragraph above, another respondent who identified as a visual minority in the 65 + age group wrote, ‘As I entered the class, the teacher was saying, your white skins are your greatest assets. Well, and as he saw me entering, he faltered and then I walked to my chair, and as I sat down, he repeated it’.

Within the workplace, the highest levels of discrimination were reported by respondents of other ethnic identities (74 per cent), although this was closely followed by Indigenous respondents (64 per cent). For the sake of comparison, only 20 per cent of caucasian/white respondents reported experiencing discrimination at the workplace. A

Table 12. Level of agreement – racism in a problem in my area in Manitoba.

Answer	Rural	Urban/City	χ^2
Agree ^a	78.4%	85.4%	Not Sign.
Neutral	7.5%	4.7%	
Disagree ^b	14.2%	10.0%	
Total	134	321	

^aIncludes response for Strongly Agree and Somewhat Agree.

^bIncludes response for Strongly Disagree and Somewhat Disagree.

poignant example comes from a Black woman participant in the 36–65 age category who wrote:

I addressed three male staff members whose teasing was demeaning and condescending, and one came back to speak with me privately. He accused me of making it racial, when I had not mentioned race at all, and told me that he's tired of turning on the news seeing people who look like him getting in trouble for saying the wrong thing. He then tried to convince me that I just had to learn how to take the insults. I appropriately handled all the aforementioned instances; however, navigating these situations is exhausting and unnecessary. I'm Black, not a dinosaur. I belong in the spaces I inhabit and will continue to do so. (Anonymous respondent)

As mentioned, Indigenous participants also reported high levels of workplace discrimination. For example, one Indigenous woman in the 36–65 age group wrote, 'This happens often at my workplace mostly in the form of microaggressions. The most recent was a person who had a problem with the scent of smudging and felt they needed to express it in a disrespectful manner' (Anonymous respondent).

Finally, 'everyday' spaces, like going shopping, using transportation, eating in a restaurant and being on the street are all fraught with discrimination for Indigenous peoples and those of other ethnic identities. In shops and restaurants, 62 per cent and 56 per cent of Indigenous and other ethnic identities report discrimination, respectively. In public transportation and on the street, the numbers are 55 per cent (Indigenous) and 57 per cent (other ethnic identities). To compare, only 9 per cent caucasian/white respondents reported discrimination in shops/restaurants, and only 11 per cent while using public transportation or on the street. To illustrate, one young Indigenous woman wrote, 'Every time my husband and I go into stores to shop, we can expect that 50 percent of the time we will be followed or treated indifferently. One week this summer it happened five times in one week' (Anonymous respondent). A middle-aged Black woman shared, 'So many times ... Having a spotless driving record, having a car in perfect working order and still getting stopped by police because 'I was acting suspicious' (Anonymous respondent). And finally, a middle-aged Indigenous woman wrote:

As a new resident to Brandon only a few years ago, I was informed by a stranger (Indigenous female) who overheard me phoning for a taxi and this woman told me whom to call and definitely which taxi company to avoid out of concern for our safety as Indigenous women. I was also told where to avoid shopping or which restaurant is more welcoming or what doctor to go to ... All these little points but so important to know how to navigate yourself away from potential devastating experiences regarding my race and identity. (Anonymous respondent)

These shared accounts are chosen to be illustrative of the statistics, but they are by no means outliers. These stories provide a glimpse into the prevalence and pervasiveness of racism within the province, which have detrimental impacts on health, both physical and mental, and on quality of life. The prevalence of racism, both past and present, contribute to appalling Canadian realities, such as the lifespan of Indigenous people currently 15 years shorter than non-Indigenous Canadians and Indigenous youth suicide rates higher than any other cohort in the world (Maté and Maté 2022).

Neutrality

Within the survey, several questions were crafted which could gauge attitudes towards cultural diversity. For example, we asked participants to strongly agree, somewhat agree, remain

neutral, somewhat disagree, or strongly disagree with a number of sentences, including it is a good thing for a country to be made up of different cultures; Indigenous Peoples should behave more like mainstream Canadians; and People from racial, ethnic, cultural and religious minority groups should behave more like mainstream Canadians. We also asked people whether they would object, remain neutral, or support if a temple, mosque, or another non-Christian place of worship was being built in their local community.

Each of these questions allowed for a neutral response, and, as with the gender analysis earlier, men were most likely to remain 'neutral' when responding to these questions. However, neutrality in the face of racism is not exactly neutral, or without effect.

Public intolerance of racism can have an indirect effect on racist behaviors and attitudes that follow. Nelson et al. (2011) found that higher levels of racism are associated with increased false consensus effects; highly racist individuals overestimate support for their racist views to a greater extent than less racist individuals; people who perceive themselves to be in the majority are more forward in expressing their racist opinions, less likely to compromise, and unlikely to modify their views, unlike those who perceive themselves to be in the minority (Nelson et al. 2011). Thus, when bystanders speak out, anti-racism can sometimes counter false consensus effects that result from individuals overestimating community support for their racist views (Pedersen, Walker, Paradies, & Guerin 2011).

When considering the way in which neutrality may contribute to racism, it is also important to consider why someone may choose to be a bystander (aside from sharing the same racist views). Low et al. (2007) found that being a bystander was just as likely to result in negative outcomes, regardless of whether they were the direct target. Nelson et al. (2011) found that obstacles for bystanders tend to be self-focused; interpersonal relationships and safety are at risk. Finally, the bystander may be ill-equipped (with relevant knowledge and understanding) to act in situations involving racism.

There has also been some research examining who is best positioned to confront racism. Czopp and Monteith (2003) found that because people may expect the target group members to confront others, it is less effective in curbing prejudice than non-target group members. Moreover, if the bystander is from the same target group, they are more likely to be seen as a complainer and are evaluated less favorably; confrontations from non-group members are seen as more reasonable. Nelson et al. (2011) also found that those observing confrontations assessed the confrontation more favorably when the confronter was a non-target member. Thus, the potential for bystanders to combat racism is quite positive. If non-target group members do have a crucial role in curbing everyday racism, this makes addressing 'false consensus effects' even more important. There is a critical need for role modeling to instill group responsibility (Nelson et al. 2011).

Notably, when participants were asked to respond to the statement, 'It is a good thing for our society to be made up of different cultures', 6 per cent of respondents replied with a neutral response and 70 per cent strongly agreed, while 14 per cent somewhat agreed. A similar question contextualized the notion of multiculturalism by asking 'if a temple, mosque, or another non-Christian place of worship was being built in my local community, I would ...'. In this question, there was an increase in impartiality with 34 per cent of respondents indicating neutrality. This increase is particularly interesting, since the first question would suggest that most respondents (84 per cent) were supportive. However, once the 'rubber hit the road' and the question was no longer abstract, that support dropped significantly. The question of supporting a non-Christian place of worship was intentionally more concrete and local, and in that question, 34 per cent

shifted into neutrality. This is consistent in the North American context with what other research such as Yogeewaran and Dasgupta's (2014) has affirmed. For example, through Yogeewaran and Dasgupta's (2014) social experimentation, results showed that white participants were less likely to see multiculturalism as a threat to identity when it was presented to them more in the abstract rather than when it is construed in concrete terms.

Conclusion

Canada's is said to support multiculturalism, the policy inviting everyone to belong. But is Canada inviting everyone to belong? According to studies that have examined the experiences of racialized newcomers to Manitoba, there remains a gap between the ideals of the legislation and the realities of racism, social exclusion and lack of belonging. While it is easy to maintain a general awareness that racism exists (84 per cent according to our survey), it is necessary to move from these abstract statements into the grounded community-level understandings. Within each broad statistic are the everyday lives of real people. It is concerning that at least 10 per cent of respondents believe Indigenous peoples should behave more like mainstream Canadians, and at least 15 per cent believe people from racial, ethnic, cultural and religious minority groups should behave more like mainstream Canadians. This response increases with age, and being male. In a country such as Canada, where multiculturalism invites everyone to belong, it is clear that our policies are not matched by the realities on the ground.

Moving forward requires change, focusing on the specific locations and systems that continue to uphold racism. Indigenous women and women from other ethnic identities are more likely than caucasian/white people, and more likely than men from similar backgrounds to experience discrimination because of their race, culture, or religion. It is a particular affront that, while on the land that has been Indigenous since time immemorial, the demographic most likely to experience these things is the one that has cared for the land that now supports the well-being of others.

This is the task of our time: confronting the injustices of the past with bravery and truth, holding fast to resilience and love in the current realities of painful experiences ongoing, and pointing to a future where all locations are safe, where institutions set up to serve the people serve all, and where all belong.

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