RACE, ETHNICITY AND IMMIGRATION IN THE WORKPLACE

Visible Minority Experiences and Workplace Diversity Initiatives[i]

ABSTRACT

In this article, Kareem Sadiq examines the intersections of race, ethnicity, immigration and workplace discrimination. It is argued that a broad-based, national workplace diversity initiative is required to remove discriminatory barriers and effect systemic change. Employing an 'eco-systems' perspective, he suggests that – through national partnerships with government, business, NGOs, academia and other stakeholders – the Multiculturalism Program has an important role to play in promoting diversity in all Canadian workplaces.

KAREEM D. SADIQ

Kareem Sadiq is a research officer with the Multiculturalism and Human Rights Branch at the Department of Canadian Heritage.

In recent years, a robust research agenda on the labour market participation rates of visible minorities in Canada has produced telling results: a large number of visible minorities in this country experience occupational, wage and other labour market disadvantages when compared to their non-visible counterparts. We know much about the statistics on disadvantage, but we know much less about *why* visible minorities are excluded from certain labour market opportunities, and *what* to do about it. Lack of relevant work experience and foreign credential assessment account for some of this inequality, but the evidence suggests that racial discrimination and other exclusionary practices account for a significant amount of labour market disadvantage (Pendakur and Pendakur, 1998; Pendakur and Pendakur, 2002a; Pendakur and Pendakur, 2002b; Reitz, 2005).

Current research on visible minority labour market participation and employment equity addresses the numerical under-representation of visible minorities in the workplace (see Antunes et al., 2004; Parkin and Mendelhsohn, 2004; and Jain and Lawler, 2003 for recent examples). While on-going statistical analyses of visible minority labour market participation rates are useful and necessary, I suggest that policy makers need to consider seriously workplace dynamics of exclusion. A focus on numerical representation is only one half of the employment equity equation. Visible minority wage and occupational gaps are not merely statistical anomalies; they are the result of a complex set of social processes that interact to exclude certain people from economic opportunities.

Studies indicate that holding employment is a key indicator of sense of belonging and social inclusion (Hum and Simpson, 2003; Kazemipur, 2002; Kazemipur and Halli, 2001). But it is important to qualify the link between employment, inclusion and belonging: holding a job is not in and of itself an indicator that one feels included or that one belongs. Rather, feelings of belonging and inclusion are determined by on-the-job experiences, such as feeling valued for one's skills, being accepted by one's co-workers, and being afforded equality of opportunity. In 2002, the Ethnic Diversity Survey (EDS) reported that 56% of visible minorities experienced discrimination in the workplace (Statistics Canada, 2003, 21). What is the nature of this discrimination and what do we do about it?

An emerging body of research examines visible minorities' everyday workplace experiences and identifies a range of exclusionary practices (Bates and Este, 2000; Carnevale and Stone, 1994; Livers and Cavers, 2003; Mor Barak, 2000; and Shih, 2002). Racism, stereotyping, and employee and employer attitudes towards visible minorities' skills and competencies impedes their occupational mobility and fosters a sense of detachment from the workplace. In light of this evidence, it is clear that employment equity policies founded on numerical representation cannot be effective *unless they are implemented in tandem with broad-based workplace diversity initiatives that challenge discriminatory attitudes and the exclusionary treatment of visible minorities.*

What role can the Multiculturalism Program and other stakeholders play in the promotion of workplace diversity?[i] In recent years, Canadian Heritage's Multiculturalism Program has shifted its focus from cultural identity retention to multicultural integration and social inclusion (Donaldson, 2003; Hum and Simpson, 2003). This shift, while controversial to some (see Donaldson, 2003), has

important implications for visible minority labour market policies and programs. Under the *Multiculturalism Act* (1988, Section 3.1.c.), the Multiculturalism Program is mandated to "promote the full and equitable participation of individuals and communities of all origins in the continuing evolution and shaping of Canadian society and [to] assist them in the elimination of any barrier to that participation." Given this mandate, I believe that the Multiculturalism Program has an important part to play in the promotion of workplace diversity.

In order to create effective diversity policy and programming, policymakers must seriously consider two main questions: 1) What is the relationship between race, ethnicity immigration and workplace discrimination?; and 2) What directions should the Multiculturalism Program and other stakeholders take to promote diversity in Canadian workplaces?

In this article I do not propose specific workplace diversity policies *per se*; nor do I provide a comprehensive review of the range of intersections of diversity and their impact on workplace diversity. Rather, I set out to accomplish two tasks. The first is to get people to think reflexively and frankly about the 'stuff' of workplace barriers. Employment barriers represent a set of social processes and I want to consider how exclusionary workplace practices based on race, ethnicity and immigration limit visible minorities' access to employment opportunities.

Second, I want to consider how the Multiculturalism Program, its government partners, academia, businesses, NGOs and other stakeholders can implement sustained and broad-based initiatives that will promote the acceptance of visible minorities in the workplace and remove discriminatory barriers. We have much to learn about the diversity policies and programming of individual organizations, but in order to effect systemic change, we need to think more seriously about diversity partnering and programming at a national scale.

Race, ethnicity and immigration: intersecting dynamics in the workplace

Race

Race is a social construct that refers to real or imagined phenotypical differences between people (Tastsoglou, 2003; Bolaria and Li, 1988). Depending on the social values of dominant societal groups, visible distinctions between people may be singled out and differentiated, reflecting the ideological, political, economic and cultural biases of those who have the power to define (Driedger, 2003, 4). Ideologies of racism that socialize and communicate phenotypical differences may thus serve as the grounds to discriminate against minorities and devalue their contribution to society (ibid).

In the workplace, one's 'visible minority' status – itself a race-based socially constructed term – may be the basis of exclusionary treatment. However, it is important at the outset to elucidate the relationship between visible minority status and workplace discrimination. When considering race, I argue that people's attitudes are in part shaped by their exposure to difference; in other words, the degree of social interaction that they have with members of visible minority groups. It is often assumed that people who have heterogeneous inter-ethnic social networks are more tolerant and accepting of others than those who have homogeneous intra-ethnic networks. In turn, it is assumed that workplaces which are diverse and heterogeneous are sites of tolerance and acceptance. These assumptions warrant qualification.

Drawing on classic social network literature, I argue that acceptance of others is shaped by one's *range*, *volume* and *quality* of social contact (Burt, 1983). Range refers to the number of visible minority groups with which people have contact. When we talk about workplace diversity, how diverse is the diversity? In other words, how many minority groups are represented in any given workplace? Do workplaces develop an organizational culture that favours some minority groups over others? Volume refers to the number of individual contacts within each visible minority group. How many individuals from different minority groups do people come in to contact with in the workplace? Quality refers to the frequency of contact and the strength of the relationship between people. To what extent do people socialise with minority colleagues outside of work? Minorities may be *tolerated* by their colleagues within in the workplace, but are they *accepted* by their colleagues outside of it?

Social network range, volume and quality vary among individuals and may produce differential attitudes towards certain visible minority groups. Furthermore, this process is not limited to dominant group (read white) perceptions of visible minorities; it equally affects visible minorities' attitudes towards other visible minorities and the white majority. This adds a level of complexity to the workplace diversity problem: as Canada's population becomes more diverse, how will majority-minority relations *and* inter-minority relations affect people's access to economic opportunities?

Ethnicity

The ethnicity and ethnic identity literature demonstrates that discriminatory attitudes are not formed on the basis of race alone. Stasiulis (1990, 276) refers to ethnicity as "the world views, traditions and practices brought by immigrants to Canada and dynamically reproduced and transformed within Canadian society." Eriksen (1993) and O'Callaghan (1999) describe ethnicity as both a sense of separateness and collectivity: it designates the differences between groups of people, but it also identifies likeness with likeness according to a set of shared characteristics.

Ethnic identity, in turn, is both an ascription placed on individuals as well as individual self-expression (O'Callaghan, 1999). Ethnic identity is ascribed when ethnic labels – based on origin, race, religion, gender, language et cetera – are imposed on to others. In the workplace, ethnic labelling can ascribe stereotypical characteristics surrounding employability, personal suitability and fit. Discrimination can occur through the exclusion of rights and opportunities based on these ascriptions (Ferguson, 1991).

As self-expression, the formation of ethnic identity involves a conscious dismantling and reconstruction of cultural forms and world views (Bottomley, 1992). Identities are not stable concepts; they are shaped within the interplay of specific modalities of power (Hall, 1996). To mitigate

discrimination, it is argued that visible minorities can choose identities that fit with the organizational culture of particular workplaces (ibid.). These identity choices are strategic, political constructs that may enable access to employment and other economic resources. Below, I expand upon this concept through a consideration of immigrant status.

Immigration

Immigration – in particular immigrant status – has a significant impact on workplace experiences, especially within the context of intersecting 'identities' and ethnic and racial labelling. Canadian-born visible minorities and immigrant visible minorities face, at the same time, common and distinct sets of workplace constraints. The common set of constraints surround race and ethnicity, and the distinct set of constraints concern immigrant status. Ethnic and racial labels are ascribed to both Canadian-born visible minorities and immigrant visible minorities, however Canadian-born visible minorities may be in a better position to draw upon strategic identity choices that demonstrate a fit with the organizational culture of the workplace.

In many ways, 'demonstrating fit' is a function of cultural capital. Cultural capital is defined as the acquisition of social status through cultural practices which involve the exercise of taste and judgement (Bourdieu, 1984). The concept also includes a wider set of social distinctions that act as markers of class and ethnicity, such as economic status, language ability and accent. In the workplace, visible minority job seekers and employees can demonstrate that they 'fit' with an organization by mirroring its' cultural norms and practices. While some issues surrounding organizational fit affect whites and visible minorities alike, I argue that whites are seldom if ever subject to pejorative and discriminatory racial and ethnic labelling, especially where they constitute the majority of workplace employees. By virtue of their visible status and other characteristics, minorities must overcome racial and ethnic ascription *in addition* to various concerns with organizational fit (such as sharing a company's philosophy, work style and beliefs).

Strategic identity choices are only successful in so far as they confer *sufficient* cultural capital to demonstrate workplace fit. Canadian-born visible minorities are familiar with workplace norms and can partially mitigate ethnic labelling by demonstrating that they share collective cultural traits. Immigrant visible minorities meet with mixed success. Depending on their age and year of arrival, some immigrants will be able to summon cultural capital on par with the Canadian-born. Other immigrants are unfamiliar with workplace norms and suffer a significant cultural capital deficit. Still others fall in the middle; they can summon some degree of cultural capital, but have deficits in other areas – or what I refer to as *differential cultural capital.*

In recent years, Canadian Heritage's Multiculturalism Program has shifted its focus from cultural identity retention to multicultural integration and social inclusion. This shift, while controversial to some, has important implications for visible minority labour market policies and programs.

To illustrate the link between cultural capital and workplace fit, I briefly examine the connection between accent and language skill. At a recent racism-free workplace consultation between government, NGOs and federally-regulated private sector businesses, a human resources manager for a large corporation indicated that:

> "Accent influences our hiring and promotion decisions, because it indicates that the person may not have the language skills to do the job. It doesn't matter if they are Canadian or foreign trained. We screen these candidates more closely to ensure that their language skills are at the appropriate level."

Accent is a marker of cultural and ethnic difference, an indicator that one may not have the skills to perform the job. In as much as 'closer screening' can be utilized to evaluate an immigrant candidate's language skills, discriminatory attitudes towards accent call into question his or her fit with an organization. As Creese and Kambere (2003, 566) note, "accents, embodied by racialized subjects, also shape perceptions of language competency…[and] may provide a rationale for disentitlement in employment or full participation in civil society..." This example also illustrates the concept of differential cultural capital: in spite of Canadian education and a knowledge of local workplace norms, accent may be perceived so negatively that it overrides other cultural capital gains to form the basis of discrimination.

Finally, I want to address the issue of foreign credential recognition (FCR). Reitz (2005, 3) demonstrates that the reduced value of work owing to the non-recognition of immigrant credentials in Canadian workplaces amounts to over $2 billion annually. Although scholars and policy makers have focused much on how to overcome FCR barriers (such as improving credential assessment services), not enough attention has been paid to why FCR is such a pervasive problem. There are two sides to the FCR issue. On the one hand, there is a technical concern that immigrants' foreign-earned credentials reflect the skills and knowledge base required to perform specific jobs. However, on the other hand, it is also argued that the value of foreign earned credentials is filtered through the racial attitudes of employers.

For example, 'Canadian work experience' is a prerequisite for many immigrant job seekers, ostensibly because in the absence of reliable credential assessment, it demonstrates possession of appropriate skill sets and on-the-job competence. However, as Reitz (2005, 12) and Jackson (2001) note, racial attitudes may underlie requirements for Canadian work experience, and judgements that a foreign credential is a lower standard than Canadian qualifications may reflect discriminatory bias. Thus, so-called 'bona fide' technical assessment processes may be marred by a lack of procedural fairness which in turn produce workplace barriers.

The eco-systems perspective, workplace diversity and the way forward

In the previous section I outlined some of the intersections between race, ethnicity immigration and exclusionary workplace practices. Although I have spoken much about exclusion, I have said little about *inclusion*. In this section, I wish to propose a model that the Multiculturalism Program and other stakeholders can adopt to promote diversity and visible minority inclusion in Canadian workplaces.

The eco-systems perspective and workplace diversity

Following Mor Barak (2000), I argue that organizations need to adopt a holistic approach to diversity and consider the wider socio-economic environment. Mor Barak (ibid., 339) advocates an eco-systems perspective, whereby organizations move beyond the self-interests of the firm and engage diversity at a broader level. The eco-systems perspective is comprised of four key components or systems: the organization, community, government, and cross-cultural / international entities. In order to be truly diverse, he maintains that organizations must promote internal diversity programs, be active in their communities, participate in government programs that promote the interests of visible minorities and the working poor, and engage in international business collaboration, including foreign recruitment. The eco-systems perspective incorporates a value-based model and a practice-based model which, together, identify exclusionary and inclusionary diversity practices and promote visible minority participation in the workplace.

Value-based model

The value-based model examines organizations' 'value frame,' and locates them on an exclusion – inclusion continuum. Inclusionary and exclusionary organizations each have a set of guiding principles – whether formal or informal – that determine their openness to difference. For example, exclusionary organizations make no effort to establish community contacts because their primary obligation is to financial stakeholders. Exclusionary organizations may view the working poor as disposable labour and take little interest in government programs that promote their welfare. Inclusionary organizations, however, feel that they are part of the community and thus encourage their employees to engage in activities – such as volunteer work – that enhance community development. Furthermore, inclusionary organizations view the working poor as a potentially upwardly mobile workforce and actively participate in government programs that facilitate their entrance to the labour market (ibid., 342-343).

The eco-systems perspective is comprised of four key components or systems: the organization, community, government, and cross-cultural / international entities. In order to be truly diverse, […] organizations must promote internal diversity programs, be active in their communities, participate in government programs that promote the interests of visible minorities and the working poor, and engage in international business collaboration, including foreign recruitment.

Practice-based model

The practice-based model identifies diversity obstacles, recommends good practices and highlights the attendant benefits at each system level. For example, within organizations, discrimination and prejudice may impede the hire, retention and promotion of visible minority candidates. By drawing on diversity programming that promotes acceptance and job satisfaction, organizations lower costs owing to 'revolving door' staff turnover, increase their talent pool, expand business opportunities to other markets, and improve their overall corporate image. At the community level, businesses provide tangible benefits and opportunities to groups in need and demonstrate good 'corporate social performance' when they engage in activities such as youth mentoring, tutoring, and support of cultural institutions. At the level of government, negative attitudes towards social welfare programs and low-income workers pose obstacles to employment. The intersections of race, ethnicity, immigration and class are at play here: racialized low-income earners face a multiple jeopardy situation owing to ethnic labelling and, in the case of immigrants, bias in the assessment of foreign credentials. By making a concerted effort to hire candidates from government labour programs, businesses not only provide economic opportunities to low-income job seekers, they reduce expenditures on employment insurance, social assistance and other federal, provincial and municipal support programs (ibid., 344-345).

Race, ethnicity, immigration and the eco-systems perspective

The eco-systems perspective is valuable because it offers a systematic approach to the identification of exclusionary practices and the development of good practices to eliminate them. Building on Mor Barak's concept, I argue that the *eco-system perspective* encourages the detection of specific exclusionary practices and the implementation of targeted workplace solutions. In this way, it is possible to determine and document the nature and basis of discrimination within organizations. In other words, it allows for an identification of the intersections of discrimination. For example, is workplace discrimination characterized by a chilly climate towards visible minorities, ethnic labelling or stereotyping, differential treatment of foreign trained professionals, or a combination of various factors? Although I only address race, ethnicity and immigration in this article, the eco-systems perspective provides a framework to identify and link specific types of exclusionary workplace practices to different combinations of intersections (such as gender and religion, gender and race, et cetera).

The eco-systems perspective benefits employers, but it is also a useful tool for researchers. Two areas of inquiry which have received scant attention in the literature are inter-minority and 'minority-majority' discrimination. The literature assumes that workplace discrimination is a white majority on visible minority phenomenon, but we know that whites are not the only ones to hold discriminatory attitudes. What is the nature and extent of inter-minority and minority-majority discrimination and how does it manifest itself in the workplace? These issues add multiple layers of analysis to the 'intersectionality' of discrimination.

Do members from one or more minority groups engage in exclusionary practices that deny members of other minority groups access to economic opportunities? Are there 'allegiances' between minority groups or between minority and majority groups which work to actively exclude certain ethno-cultural groups from the workplace? Are there instances where whites are excluded from 'visible majority' workplaces? More research on inter-minority and minority-majority workplace discrimination is required, and I suggest that the value-based and practice-based components of the eco-system perspective are useful and effective tools that allow researchers, policy makers and employers to identify inter-group discrimination and propose appropriate solutions.

The Multiculturalism Program, diversity stakeholders and the way forward

I want to expand on Mor Barak's eco-systems approach and apply it to the policy work of the Multiculturalism Program. In keeping with Mor Barak's call for businesses to establish external links and connections, I suggest that the Multiculturalism Program needs to establish a range of *horizontal* and *vertical* stakeholder connections. Given the Multiculturalism Program's mandate under the *Multiculturalism Act*, it is in a unique position to co-ordinate a national workplace diversity initiative in concert with a wide range of partners.

Donaldson (2003, 15) suggests that as part of the Multiculturalism Program's shift towards integration,

> Multiculturalism ought to be about bringing people of different backgrounds together to advance a common framework [and] a shared terms of reference…[on]…issues of respect, equality and diversity…It is based on a new approach to community that encourages direct contact.

An eco-systems approach to workplace diversity offers the Multiculturalism Program precisely this opportunity; it provides a road map to identifying partners, developing a shared framework, and promoting diversity and acceptance within all workplaces.

Connecting horizontally and connecting vertically: establishing partnership linkages

In order to create meaningful workplace diversity initiatives, develop shared terms of reference on workplace diversity issues, and effect systemic change, the Multiculturalism Program must establish close and sustained nation-wide partnerships with diversity stakeholders and employers. Conceptually, I employ the values-based exclusion-inclusion continuum to identify two types of partners: 'horizontal partners' – those organizations with successful workplace diversity polices and programming, and 'vertical partners' – those organizations with little or no diversity policies or programming.

Horizontal partners consist of any department, agency or employer that is dedicated to the promotion of workplace diversity, employment equity, and the removal of discriminatory workplace barriers; they include government agencies (federal, provincial, municipal), NGOs, academia, and private sector businesses with active employment equity departments and successful workplace diversity policies. The organizations which constitute horizontal connections are *de facto* good practitioners of workplace diversity.

Vertical partners refer to any organization or workplace that does not engage in good diversity practices or has few mechanisms by which to implement them. Indeed, they may be workplaces which – through systemic barriers and exclusionary practices – actively discourage the hire and retention of visible minorities. Vertical partners would be identified through the research, programming and organizational connections of horizontal partners. Identifying vertical partners is vital for two reasons. First, it will provide policymakers and other stakeholders with more accurate quantitative and qualitative employment data on visible minority under-representation in specific labour market sectors. Second – and more importantly – it will place government, NGO and private sector horizontal partners in a position to identify barriers and conduct interventions to help workplaces develop good diversity practices.

Establishing horizontal and vertical linkages will not be easy. Organizational culture, communication problems, inter-agency territorialism and jurisdictional issues will complicate the creation of sustained partnerships. The success of the eco-systems perspective is predicated on partner stakeholders overcoming their differences to pursue common goals.

While the Multiculturalism Program is not endowed with a mandate to impose its policies on private sector employers, the *Multiculturalism Act* (1988, Sections 3.2.a and 3.2.d) directs federal institutions[2] to "ensure that Canadians of all origins have equal opportunity to obtain employment and advancement within these institutions," and to collect statistical data in order to develop policies, programs and practices that are responsive to Canada's multicultural reality.

Clearly, the Multiculturalism Program has an important role to play in the monitoring and evaluation of workplace diversity within federal institutions. Government is not immune from workplace diversity issues, and the systemic under-representation of visible minorities in the federal public service has been widely documented (Government of Canada 2000). The federal public service must self-reflexively assess its own workplace diversity practices and make a concerted effort to enhance the inclusion Canadian-born and immigrant visible minorities. Indeed, the government must lead by example if it is to successfully promote diversity initiatives at a national level.

It has been suggested that the shift towards integration demonstrates an interest in establishing common frameworks and shared terms of reference on the issue of diversity. The Multiculturalism Program must take an active role in

initiating this national dialogue. To promote the inclusion of visible minorities in Canadian workplaces, the Multiculturalism Program must actively draw on the expertise of government, NGOs, academia and business to establish broad-based and sustainable partnerships, develop shared terms of reference on diversity, and disseminate good diversity practices to all Canadian employers.

References

Antunes, P., J.L. MacBride-King & J. Sweetenham. *Making a Visible Difference: The Contribution of visible Minorities to Canadian Economic Growth.* Ottawa: Conference Board of Canada, 2004.

Bates, M. & D. Este. *Creating Workplace Environments that Reflect Human Rights Values.* Calgary: Cultural Diversity Institute, 2000.

Bolaria, B.S. & P. Li. *Racial Oppression in Canada.* Toronto: Garamond, 1988.

Bourdieu, P. *Distinction: A Social Critique of Judgement of Taste.* London: Routledge, 1984.

Bottomley, G. *From Another Place: Migration and the Politics of Culture.* Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1992.

Burt, R.S. "Range." In R. S. Burt & M. J. Minors (Eds). *Applied NetworkAnalysis: A Methodological Introduction.* Beverly Hills: Sage, 1983, 176-194.

Carenvale, A.P. & S.C. "Stone. Diversity beyond the golden rule." *Training and Development,* 48(10) (1994): 22-40.

Creese, G. & E.N. Kambere. "What colour is your English?" *Canadian Review of Sociology and Anthropology,* 40(5) (2003): 565-573.

Donaldson, I. "Identity, intersections of diversity and the Multiculturalism Program." *Canadian Diversity,* 3(1) (2003): 14-16.

Driedger, L. *Race and Ethnicity: Finding Identities and Equalities.* Don Mills: Oxford, 2003.

Eriksen, T. *Ethnicity and Nationalism: Anthropological Perspectives.* London: Pluto Press, 1993.

Ferguson, B. "Concepts, models and theories for immigrant health care." In B.Ferguson and E. Brown (eds). *Health Care and Immigrants: A Guide for the Helping Professionals.* Sydney, Australia: MacLennan and Petty, 1991.

Government of Canada. *Embracing Change in the Federal Public Service: The Task Force on the Participation of Visible Minorities in the Public Service.* Ottawa: Treasury Board, 2000.

Hall. S. "Who needs 'identity?'" In S. Hall & P. du Gay (eds). *Questions of Cultural Identity.* London: Sage, 1996, 1-17.

Hum, D. & W. Simpson. 2003. "Labour market training of new Canadians and limitations to the intersectionality framework." *Canadian Ethnic Studies,* 35(3) (2003): 56-70.

Jackson, A. "Poverty and racism." *Perceptions,* 24(4) (2001). Available on-line at: www.ccsd.ca/perception/244/racism.htm .

Jain, H.C. & J. Lawler. *Good Practices for Visible Minorities in Canadian Workplaces.* Ottawa: Human Resources Development Canada, 2003.

Kazemipur, A. "The changing colour of poverty in Canada." *Canadian Review of Sociology and Anthropology,* 38(2), 217-239.

Kazemipur, A. & S. S. Halli. "Immigrants and the new poverty." *International Migration Review,* 35(4) (2001): 1129-1157.

Livers, A.B. & A. Caver. *Leading in Black and White.* New York: John Wiley and Sons, 2003.

Mor Barak, M.E. 2000. "The inclusive workplace: an ecosystems approach to diversity management." *Social Work,* 45(4) (2000): 339-352.

O' Callaghan, C. Ethnicity and Strategic Labelling. Conference paper. *Culture, Race and Community: Making it Work in the New Millennium.* Melbourne Australia, August 19-21, 1999.

Parkin, A. & M. Mendelsohn. *A New Canada: An Identity Shaped by Diversity.* Montréal: Centre for Research and Information on Canada, 2003.

Pendakur, K. & R. Pendakur. "The colour of money: earnings differentials among ethnic groups in Canada." *Canadian Journal of Economics,* 31(3) (1998): 518-548.

Pendakur, K. & R. Pendakur. 2002a. "Colour my world: have earnings gaps for Canadian-born ethnic minorities changed over time?" *Canadian Public Policy,* 18(4) (2002a): 489-513.

Pendakur, K. & R. Pendakur. 2002b. "Language as both human capital and ethnicity." *International Migration Review,* 36(1) (2002b): 147-177.

Reitz, J.G. 2005. Tapping immigrants' skills: new directions for Canadian immigration policy in the knowledge economy. *IRPP Choices,* 11(1) (2005).

Shih, J. "'Yeah, I could hire this one, but I know it's gonna be a problem': how, race, nativity and gender affect employer' perceptions of the manageability of job seekers." *Ethnic and Racial Studies,* 25(1) (2002): 99-119.

Statistics Canada. "Ethnic Diversity Survey: Portrait of a Multicultural Society." Ottawa: Statistics Canada. Catalogue No. 89-593-XIE, 2003.

Stasiulis, D. "Theorizing connections: gender, race, ethnicity and class." In P.S. Li (ed). *Race and Ethnic Relations in Canada.* Toronto: Oxford, (1990): 269-305.

Tastsoglou, E. "The immigration process and minority identities: where we are and what we still need to know." *Canadian Diversity,* 1(1) (2002): 14-18.

Notes

1 Barak (2000) broadly defines "workplace diversity initiatives" as programs or strategies that seek to promote the value and acceptance of individual and inter-group difference in the workplace.

2 Federal institutions are defined as any department, board, commission or council, or other body or office, established to perform a governmental function by or pursuant to an *Act of Parliament* or by or under the authority of the Governor in Council, including departmental corporations and Crown corporations.

i The opinions expressed in this paper are those of the author and do not necessarily represent the views of the Department of Canadian Heritage or the Government of Canada.