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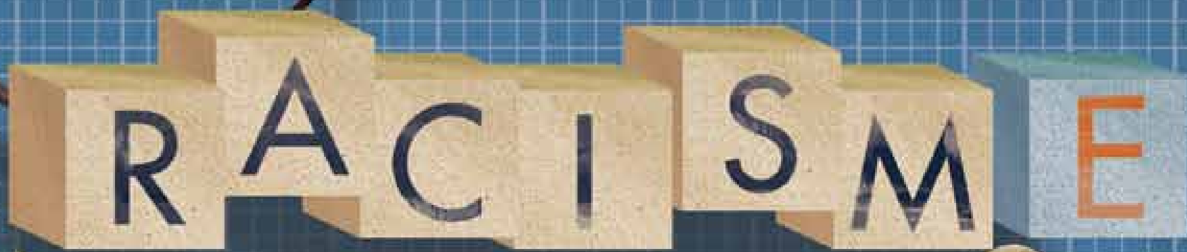

Measuring Racism
Quantifier le racisme

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CANADIAN JOURNAL FOR SOCIAL RESEARCH
REVUE CANADIENNE DE RECHERCHE SOCIALE

Measuring Racism / Quantifier le racisme

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INTRODUCTION

Racial and ethnic groups in Canada have historically faced important levels of discrimination. Today, the problem persists on a lesser scale, with examples in such areas as employment, housing and education. Although several factors may contribute to gaps among ethno-racial groups, the presence of discrimination cannot be neglected and consequently, for some Canadians, attaining conditions of equal opportunity remains elusive.

To address these concerns, the Canadian Race Relations Foundation (CRRF) and the Association for Canadian Studies (ACS) have invited experts to reflect upon the incidence of racial discrimination and measure the extent to which discrimination may contribute to racial and ethnic inequality. Contributors were asked to produce texts with a strong focus on anti-racism in Canada. Articles and reports from community-based organizations and academics were welcomed and all materials were reviewed for publication.

Our aims for this joint CRRF-ACS publication included:

- Contribute to current policy debates about race relations and anti-racism strategies in Canada.
- Identify particular challenges associated with measuring racial discrimination.
- Enhance knowledge around policies and practices when it comes to fighting racism.
- Address issues of national and/or regional relevance that have direct implications for the elimination of racism in Canada.

Four essays were included that offer insights into this important subject. John Samuel and Ravi Verma detail a process-based analysis of a practical "report-card" style panel questionnaire that might be put to use by policy-makers and civil society. Grace-Edward Galabuzi asks whether "race still matters in Canadian life and how to measure its prevalence?" He contends that the question should be posed within an appropriate socio-historical context that considers the implied structural interests, along with issues of access and equity, rather than exclusively focus on technical issues of measurement. By doing so, the author argues for a 'mixed method' approach, which considers the varied forms racism takes and the complex manifestations of racialization that may not be captured by a single, definitive method. In his essay, Vic Satzewich reviews four of the dominant ways that racism has been measured in social science literature in Canada. He concludes by suggesting that the meanings people attach to themselves and to their interactions with others are important to the definition and measurement of racism. Finally, Nouman Ashraf addresses the philosophical underpinnings of privilege and prejudice, namely in the workplace environment. He explores the notion of epistemic privilege, a form of organizational culture in which dominant ways of thinking, sensing, and doing are not critically examined, thereby leading to sub-optimal results in this vital sector. An alternative leadership framework is explored in which diversity of thought and sense-making is welcomed and supported organization-wide.

It is our hope that this contribution to the body of literature on measuring racism, combating discrimination and addressing prejudice will provide insight into ways of improving policy and practice in dealing with issues that are vital to the collective well-being of Canadians.

Sincerely,

Siddharth Bannerjee
Director of Research
ASSOCIATION FOR CANADIAN STUDIES

THE DEVELOPMENT OF BENCHMARKS AND INDICATORS FOR COMPILING A REPORT CARD ON RACISM IN CANADA

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ABSTRACT

The feasibility of compiling a report card on the prevalence of racism in a society at a given point in time has been a challenging one. The challenges posed are manifold and involve an examination of whether it is at all feasible to, firstly, come up with indicators of racism that are broadly accepted as being, at least in principle, valid measures of racism in Canada; then, to determine whether the information to actually measure along these indicators is available, and, if not, if it is conceivable that it could be made available; and finally, to determine whether the presentation of such information in a 'report card' format would be useful to a number of social sectors which have an interest in public discourse on the issue. These sectors include ethnocultural/ethnoracial minority organizations; Aboriginal organizations; academics/scholars (both national and international) with an interest in issues of equality, social justice, or immigration; labour organizations; private sector/business organizations with an interest in or some track record of participation in equity initiatives; public servants and elected officials with a responsibility for action in these areas (e.g. involved in multiculturalism, equity, human rights, etc.). Ultimately, this report presents the feasibility of conducting such research to collect information for the development of benchmarks and indicators that could be used to compile a report card on the impact of racism at different points in time, for the country as a whole, as well as for the provinces or municipalities.

RÉSUMÉ

La création d'un bulletin sur la fréquence du racisme dans notre société à un moment précis est un défi de taille. Il y a nombre de difficultés auxquelles nous devons faire face: nous devons nous demander s'il est possible, premièrement, de créer des indicateurs de racisme qui seraient reconnus comme étant, en principe, des mesures valables du racisme au Canada; et puis nous devons déterminer si cette information requise pour mesurer les indicateurs est en fait disponible, sinon serait-ce possible de la rendre disponible, et finalement nous devons déterminer si la présentation de cette information dans la forme de « bulletin » serait utile à un nombre de secteurs de la société qui sont intéressés à une discussion publique sur ce sujet. Ces secteurs sont, entre autres, les organisations de minorité ethnoculturelle/ethnoraciale, les organisations autochtones, les universitaires et érudits du Canada et de provenance internationale qui s'intéressent aux enjeux portant sur l'égalité, la justice sociale ou l'immigration, les organisations syndicales, les associations de chefs d'entreprises ou de secteurs privés qui sont intéressées ou qui ont participé à des initiatives dans le domaine du capital d'investissements, les fonctionnaires et les représentants élus qui sont responsables pour l'action dans ces territoires (par exemple, ceux qui sont impliqués dans le multiculturalisme, les droits humains, l'équité, etc.) Finalement, ce texte présente la faisabilité de ce projet et s'il est possible de faire cette recherche pour recueillir l'information nécessaire au développement d'indicateurs et de points de référence qui pourraient être utilisés pour créer un bulletin sur l'impact du racisme à des temps différents, pour le pays au complet ainsi que pour les provinces et municipalités individuelles.

INTRODUCTION

THE CONCEPTUAL CHALLENGE OF DEVELOPING A REPORT CARD

The concept of a 'report card' itself has been relatively widely used by a number of advocacy and public interest groups as a way of presenting factual information about social conditions in a way that is accessible to the public, and at the same time, to communicate 'ideal standards' of equitable or just behaviour against which the achievement of governments, or of 'the state', can be measured. These are comparable to 'report cards' on environmental issues which are occasionally made public by various environmental public interest groups in an attempt to focus public attention on the issues as well as to communicate 'how far along' a province or country has come in relation to legislative and institutional practices that protect the environment.

One of the questions that arises when presenting this type of assessment is, of course, the validity of the measures used to decide whether a particular initiative or government policy receives a 'passing grade'. Although the idea of a 'report card' is borrowed from the educational system, there are, in general, no objective tests that nations or governments are required to take in any of the areas of social concern, including racism. Racism itself, both in terms of definition, and around the existence, extent, and pervasiveness of it in Canada, is the subject of much public discourse, not all of it well informed or supported by statistics or facts.

Thus the challenge posed is manifold and involves an examination of whether it is at all feasible to, firstly, come up with indicators of racism that are broadly accepted as being, at least in principle, valid measures of racism in Canada; then, to determine whether the information to actually measure along these indicators is available, and, if not, if it is conceivable that it could be made available; and finally, to determine whether the presentation of such information in a 'report card' format would be useful to a number of social sectors which have an interest in public discourse on the issue. These sectors include ethnocultural/ethnoracial minority organizations; Aboriginal organizations; academics/scholars (both national and international) with an interest in issues of equality, social justice, or immigration; labour organizations; private sector/business organizations with an interest in or some track record of participation in equity initiatives; public servants and elected officials with a responsibility for action in these areas (e.g. involved in multiculturalism, equity, human rights, etc).

II. LITERATURE REVIEW

Literature was identified from a range of government, scholarly, and community sources, including social science and other electronic databases, world-wide-web indices, and finally, from collections of published and community-based articles and reports. A number of organizations and government departments currently involved in the development of alternative social indicators were contacted directly, and reports and other information regarding their methodology were obtained. Approximately 200 references were identified, and of those, 100 were selected for review.

Each article was reviewed with the following questions in mind:

- What are the main elements of the discussion or findings regarding the development and use of social indicators?
- What are the main elements of the discussion or findings regarding the measurement or assessment of racism/racial equality?
- Are any specific indicators of racism/racial equality proposed or suggested?
- Are tools to measure such indicators proposed, suggested, or assessed?
- Are the indicators/suggested tools relevant and applicable in the Canadian context: nationally, regionally, provincially or locally?
- Are methodological concerns regarding the use of qualitative and quantitative measures of racism/racial equality discussed?
- Are factors related to costs and benefits of different approaches and tools discussed?
- Are issues related to dissemination and use of social indicators findings, in particular, their presentation in a 'report card' format, discussed?

The following is a summary of the main themes in the reviewed literature. A comprehensive list of over 200 possible indicators was identified through a survey of the literature. This list was reduced to create a shorter version, which formed the basis of the indicators presented to a Panel.

Panelists with recognized expertise in these issues were recruited from a range of sectors (including representatives from ethnocultural and Aboriginal organizations; scholars; key people in government, labour and business) across the country. The original plan called for a list of up to 60 potential experts from different sectors, with selection taking into account racial, linguistic and regional representation.

In consultation with the Race Relations Foundation, a number of strategies were used to identify potential Panelists, in an attempt to both cast the net quite widely, and yet ensure that all sectors who might have an interest

or a special perspective were somehow represented in our first outreach.

CONCEPTS AND DEFINITIONS IN THE LITERATURE ON RACISM

It is beyond the scope of this report to review or analyze in detail the extensive literature on racism in Canada. Suffice it to point out that systematic investigations of racism in Canada have been called for over the years, by community and advocacy groups concerned with equality and human rights, as well as by scholars in the social sciences. Scholars, governments, labour and community groups have responded with a considerable and comprehensive body of work that ranges from individual experiential narratives to national statistical surveys; from analysis of the economics of early colonial history to prescriptions for changing contemporary classrooms through anti-racism training; from semi-experimental studies of organizational behaviour to explorations of the psychological dimensions of prejudice; from gender/race analysis of the micro-economics of paid domestic work to analysis of the consequences of Charter of Rights on specific areas of jurisprudence; from methods to challenge racism in a particular workplace to strategies for implementing employment equity across the country.

To assess 'racism', therefore, it is important to agree what 'racism' consists of. To the extent that this has implications for data collection and interpretation, it is important to note that, as might be expected, a range of definitions of 'racism', both explicit and implied, occur in the literature, as reflected below.

In view of the many possible interpretations of the term 'racism', this study is limited to attempting to ensure overall congruence with the concept 'racial discrimination' as defined by the United Nations in order to facilitate eventual international comparisons. Conceptually, racism is accepted as a social process which results in racial discrimination and inequality. "The term 'racial discrimination' shall mean any distinction, exclusion, restriction or preference based on race, colour, descent, or national or ethnic origin which has the purpose or effect of nullifying or impairing the recognition, enjoyment or exercise, on an equal footing, of human rights and fundamental freedom in the political, economic, social, cultural or any other field of public life" (United Nations International Convention to Eliminate Racial Discrimination).

In summary, value choices are involved in the selection and in the use of both 'objective' and 'subjective' indicators, as well as 'standard' and 'alternative' indicators. "...indicators are based around certain conceptual frameworks and values. We should not assume, then, that because an indicator is new or an alternative to mainstream indicators, that it is consistent with our values or our goals for change. It is in fact quite a healthy process to discern the conceptual basis of indicators, because we are often given the impression that statistics and indicators, because they are quantifiable, are value free" (ECEJ, 1998, p. 10).

COMMUNITY PARTICIPATION IN INDICATOR DEVELOPMENT

There are several reasons for using a broad-based and participatory process in the development of indicators. As pointed out by Waddell (1995), "Understanding, consensus and commitment are prerequisites to the development of social indicators. Without addressing these issues, the social researcher simply becomes a collector of irrelevant data. By addressing these issues, the social researcher becomes a social change agent."

TYPES OF INDICATORS

The literature also contains important discussions about the types and levels of indicators that should be used. A key question is the use of subjective versus objective indicators. The parallel use of different types of indicators is generally recommended for methodological reasons: since they have different measurement weaknesses, they provide alternative views of society that are unlikely to be affected by common errors of measurement.

One element of the debate refers to the use of qualitative versus quantitative indicators.

WHAT IS A 'GOOD' INDICATOR?

A number of authors present criteria that should be applied in developing indicators in general. Dixon (1995), for example, suggests that social indicators should be:

- recognizable and unambiguous
- achievable
- describable
- agreed-upon
- relevant to the times and setting

Given the importance of values in the selection of indicators, discussed earlier, it is evident that decisions about what is measured, and how it is measured, can have far-reaching implications. Social indicators are frequently used to promote and support social change. It is important to remember that they can also be used to justify a 'status quo' of inequality and disadvantage. The importance of using valid and reliable data to counter popular biological deterministic explanations of racial inequality in an era of political conservatism needs to be stressed as another possible criterion of a 'good' indicator in the context of this project.

DISSEMINATION OF SOCIAL INDICATORS INFORMATION IN 'REPORT CARD' FORMAT

How to disseminate information about social issues in a 'popular' or accessible format is a persistent question

for many organizations concerned with monitoring social change. The use of 'report card' formats for presenting alternative social indicators appears to be increasingly popular. In recent years, several such 'report cards' or 'bulletins' have appeared in the popular media, frequently produced by non-profit organizations or advocacy groups concerned with social justice, environmental well-being, or other humanitarian goals. Some of these are designed at a local or regional level, to measure change or achievement of specific social goals.

But to date, we have not found in the literature, any study of the actual impact of report cards on either public attitudes, public policy, or change in the indicators themselves.

III. METHODOLOGY FOR THE SURVEY

The feasibility of implementing a periodical report card requires the development of indicators and an assessment of data sources to measure the degree to which indicators change over time.

Building indicators generally requires three main phases:

- *understanding* through the development of a conceptual model and the formulation of a preliminary list of indicators;
- *building consensus* by broadening the understanding and determining agreement among key players about the importance and validity of certain indicators over others; and
- *commitment* to ensure adequate resource allocation for refining and measuring indicators over time.

The present document reports on the first two phases of this process in order to help determine the feasibility of going about the third phase, which involves resource commitment.

BUILDING CONSENSUS: DELPHI PANEL PROCESS

The Delphi Panel process has been used for the development of questionnaire items and indicators in many different contexts, including for the development of social indicators of racial parity in the United States. The process allows for consensus building among experts and key individuals so as to assess the significance and meaningfulness of indicators. A modified Delphi process with a single round of polling was used in our exercise. Panelists were asked to rank eleven factors, identified through the literature as having potential for measuring racism in Canada, as well as 42 variables within these factors. They were also requested to select 32 quantitative and 8 qualitative measures from a list of 143 described measures, as being appropriate indicators of racism in Canada.

DEVELOPMENT OF INSTRUMENTS

Two rounds of letters, describing the project and requesting/confirming participation, were prepared and translated into French.

A 60-item questionnaire was developed, piloted locally and revised for clarity and brevity. The majority of questions were closed (forced-choice items), but two open-ended questions were also asked.

PANELIST RECRUITMENT

Potential Panelists with recognized expertise in these issue areas were recruited from a range of sectors across the country (including representatives from ethnocultural and Aboriginal organizations; scholars; key people in government, labour and business). The original plan called for a list of up to 60 potential experts from different sectors, taking into account racial, linguistic and regional representation.

In consultation with the Canadian Race Relations Foundation, for whom the project was initiated, a number of strategies were used to identify potential Panelists, in an attempt to both cast the net quite widely, and at the same time ensure that all sectors who might have an interest or a special perspective were somehow represented in our first outreach.

The outreach thus included:

- identification of researchers on racism and related issues from published literature
- identification from national and international research centres with expertise in racism, ethnicity, immigration, multiculturalism
- consultation with national, provincial, regional, and local ethnocultural organizations
- consultation with advocacy and public interest groups
- consultation with government departments (national, provincial, regional and local) involved in race relations
- snowball sampling
- worldwide web, list servers, bulletin boards

This process was repeated for all the other sectors, until a pool of 262 potential Panelists were identified. The review Panel consisted of the following:

86 ethnocultural organizations and advocacy groups, as follows:

24 national organizations/advocacy groups
34 women's organizations/advocacy groups
28 provincial/local organizations/groups
3 Atlantic Provinces
4 British Columbia
13 Ontario
3 Prairie Provinces
5 Québec
27 Aboriginal organizations

12 international organizations/research centres
7 Canadian research centres
82 individual scholars, writers, activists
10 labour sector representatives
10 private sector organizations
28 government representatives (federal, provincial, and regional/municipal)

DATA COLLECTION

A sampling plan, designed to yield a Panel of 40-60 respondents, and take into account ethnoracial, linguistic, gender, and regional representation, was developed and circulated to the Canadian Race Relations Foundation for additional suggestions. A letter was then sent to the potential Panelists (via fax, e-mail, or post), informing them about the project and requesting their participation. A number of Panelists responded positively at this first stage, and were sent questionnaires immediately. The remainder received one, two, three, or four follow-up contacts (telephone and/or fax and/or e-mail and/or correspondence). If, after four contacts, no direct response was received, no further attempts were made to communicate with that potential Panelist. Once the first series of contacts was made, there was an additional 'snowballing' effect, and several names were added at the recommendation of others, or when a particular proposed Panelist was unable to participate, and suggested an alternate.

The majority of Panelists replied after the first follow-up contact. Several wanted, and were given more detailed information about the project (the mandate of the Canadian Race Relations Foundation; how the proposed report card would be used; how long the questionnaire would take to fill out; concerns about anonymity and confidentiality, etc.). The Panelists who were contacted but did not participate, were almost all unable to do so because of time constraints. Three Panelists provided detailed written comments, rather than fill out the questionnaire. To accommodate as many potential Panelists as possible, the deadline for submitting completed questionnaires was extended by several weeks. This resulted in an excellent return rate overall and also within most sectors.

COMPOSITION OF THE PANEL

The final Panel consisted of 61 individuals distributed across a range of sectors (some representing more than one sector): academic (33%); NGO (21%), community (20%); government (16%); First Nations (12%); business (5%) and labour (2%). Just over half of the Panelists (57%) considered themselves to be a racial minority, and two-thirds were female. Over one-third spoke a non-official language as a mother tongue (36%); 7% French and 54% English. Two-thirds of the Panelists resided in Ontario; 8% in Quebec and another 8% in British Columbia. Three percent of the Panelists were from outside Canada. It is worth noting that a large majority of national ethnocultural and advocacy organizations have located their head offices in Ontario (most frequently, Toronto); the concentration of respondents from Ontario is to a large extent a reflection of the location of these national organizations' offices.

DATA ANALYSIS

The Panelists' responses provided rich quantitative and qualitative data for analysis. All responses were coded, summarized, and analyzed using standard computerized databases. Due to the small size of the 'sample', only descriptive statistics were applied to the analysis. Averages and rank order were compiled for the main factors and for variables within each factor. Frequency of selection of indicators within each variable was also calculated. Any apparent difference between groups in relation to perceived importance or relevance of indicators was explored wherever numbers permitted. Open-ended questions and written responses were coded and analyzed. Content analysis identified salient themes and patterns, as well as specific suggestions. Finally, it is important to note that questionnaires were analysed anonymously. Name and identifying information, other than that provided by each Panelist in the short 'demographics' section at the end, were removed prior to data entry.

IV. SURVEY FINDINGS

RANKINGS OF THE MAIN FACTORS

Panelists were asked to rank eleven main factors used to measure racism in Canada in order of importance from one to eleven. Employment was ranked as the single most important factor with an average score of 2.4. Education was ranked at 4.7 on average, followed by Income (4.9), Discriminatory Incidents (5.3), and Law Enforcement, Corrections and Legal System (5.7). All other factors fell below 6.0 ratings (Housing 6.1; Health and Wellbeing 6.6; Media Representation 6.6; Legislative Framework 7.3; Political Participation 7.6), with Social Networks being rated as the least important measure for racism in Canada (8.6).

In addition to compiling average scores, the frequency with which the items were selected by the Panelists was calculated. Employment was selected as the number one measure for racism in Canada by 38% of all respondents, followed by Discriminatory Incidents with 22%; and Income with 11%. All other factors were selected by less than 10% of the Panelists as the top factor.

The frequency with which each factor was selected by Panelists as one of the top three choices was calcu-

lated. Eighty-one percent selected Employment as number one, two, or three, followed by 'Discriminatory Incidents' (40%), 'Education' (38%), and 'Income' (33%). All other factors were selected as one of the top three factors by less than a third of the Panelists. 'Social Networks' was selected least frequently and by only 6% as the most important factor to measuring racism in Canada.

COMPARISON OF MAIN FACTOR RANKINGS ACROSS SELECTED GROUPS: RACIAL MINORITY AND NON-RACIAL MINORITY PANELISTS

Both groups selected 'Employment' as the most important factor, however, racial minority Panelists were more likely to find this the most important factor (2.0 average ranking) compared to non-racial minority Panelists (3.0 average ranking). 'Education' also was selected more frequently by racial minorities on average, 4.5 compared to 5.2 for non-racial minorities.

A difference of one point in average ranking was found for 'Law Enforcement, Corrections, and Legal System' which racial minority Panelists ranked on average at 5.2 compared to non-racial minority Panelists at 6.1. In contrast, non-racial minority Panelists ranked 'Social Networks' at 8.0 whereas racial minority Panelists found this to be less important, giving this factor an average ranking of 8.8. Other factors were ranked more consistently across the two groups with only little variation.

The frequency with which factors were selected as their number one choice was compared across racial minority and non-racial minority Panel members. 'Employment' was selected as number one most frequently, with racial minority Panelists being even more likely to select this factor as their number one (43%) compared to non-racial minority Panelists (26%). The proportion of non-racial minority Panelists who selected 'Discriminatory Incidents' as their top choice was slightly higher (22%) compared to the racial minority respondents (17%). Numbers are quite small to make valid comparison for the other main factors, therefore, only the top three rankings for racial and non-racial minority Panelists were calculated.

Four factors were consistently selected in the top three by both groups with little variation: 'Employment' (86% racial minority compared to 74% non-racial minority); 'Discriminatory Incidents' (41% racial minority compared to 40% non-racial minority); 'Education' (34% racial minority compared to 35% non-racial minority); and 'Income' (33% racial minority compared to 35% non-racial minority).

The largest difference between the two sets of Panelists was found for 'Law Enforcement' and 'Media Representation'. While 31% of racial minority Panelists selected 'Law Enforcement' in the top three, only 17% of non-racial minorities did so. The reverse was found for 'Media Representation', which 31% of non-racial minority Panelists selected in the top three compared to only 17% of the racial minority Panelists.

WOMEN AND MEN

Men and women Panelists were compared in their responses to rank the main factors. In general, rankings were similar between the two groups, especially within the factors identified as most important (Employment, Education, Income, and Discriminatory Incidents). Larger differences were found for two factors: men found 'Media Representation' to be more important than women (5.9 compared to 6.8) while women ranked 'Political Participation' a ranking point higher on average than men (7.1 compared to 8.1). Since the differences were relatively small, no further detailed analysis was undertaken.

OFFICIAL AND NON-OFFICIAL LANGUAGE MOTHER TONGUE

Panelists' responses were compared across official and non-official language mother tongue. Generally, rankings were consistent across both groups. 'Discriminatory Incidents' was given higher importance by Panelists with an official language as mother tongue (5.1) compared to those with non-official mother tongue (6.1). In contrast, 'Media Representation' was ranked higher by non-official mother tongue Panelists (5.7, compared to 7.2).

ASSESSMENT OF VARIABLES AND INDICATORS WITHIN EACH MAIN FACTOR

Panelists were asked to rank variables within each of the eleven main factors, to assist in the selection of variables for racism in Canada. They also were asked to select indicators within each of the variables that would provide the best measure for racism.

FACTOR 1 – EMPLOYMENT

Five variables were provided to be ranked in order of importance to measure the existence or absence of racism within the main factor 'Employment'. 'Unemployment, Underemployment' was ranked as the most important variable on average at 2.5, followed by 'Labour force participation' at 2.7. 'Occupational mobility' and 'Occupational concentration/segregation' both were ranked on average at 3.0, while workplace climate was ranked the lowest at 3.2.

In a third step, Panelists were asked to select one indicator for each of the variables that would best measure the presence or absence racism. Indicators which were selected with the most frequency within each variable are listed. In some instances, more than one indicator is listed, since Panelists selected them with the same frequency.

Unemployment, underemployment: Comparison of relation between educational attainment and employment for racial minority and white populations.

Labour force participation: Comparison of labour force participation rates of racial minority and white populations.

Occupational concentration/segregation: Comparison between educational attainment and occupation for racial minority and white populations.

Occupational mobility: Comparison of extent of occupational mobility for racial minority and white populations.

Workplace climate:

a) Workplace satisfaction of racial minority and white employees within same organizations/companies/institutions.

b) Perceptions of racial climate and racial discrimination, among white and racial minority employees within same organizations/companies/institutions.

FACTOR 2: EDUCATION

Panelists ranked eight factors in order of importance within the main factor 'Education'. 'Primary and secondary student assessment and placement' was ranked the highest on average at 3.3, followed by 'High school completion rates' (3.5); 'Access to post-secondary education' (3.9); and 'Learning climate' (4.0).

Indicators most often chosen within the variables of 'Education' were:

Primary and secondary student assessment and placement: Representation of racial minority and white students in academic and vocational classes.

High school completion rates: Comparison of high school completion for racial minority and white populations.

Access to post-secondary education: Comparison of university enrollment and university completion rates for racial minority and white populations.

Learning climate: Attitudes of professors/teachers towards racial minorities.

Proportional representation among professional staff: Within primary and secondary schools, percentage of racial minority classroom teachers, principals and administrators compared with total racial minority population.

Primary/secondary curriculum: Presence/absence of racism, racial equality, and racial discrimination issues in the formal learning goals and objectives of Boards of Education/individual schools selected.

Years of schooling: Comparison of Aboriginal population with both visible minority and white populations.

Post-secondary curriculum (university and college): Inclusion of racism, racial equality, race relations within course descriptions.

FACTOR 3 – INCOME

Panelists ranked four variables within the factor Income. On average, 'Pattern of income distribution' (1.8) received highest rankings of the Panel, followed by 'Proportion of racial minority and white populations that are low-income, compared to overall racial minority and white populations' (2.3), followed closely by 'Proportion of racial minority and white populations that are high-income, compared to overall racial minority and white populations' (2.4); and the 'Average income' (2.5).

The presented variables are measurable and, therefore, Panelists were not asked to choose additional indicators.

FACTOR 4 - DISCRIMINATORY INCIDENTS

Panelists were asked to rank two variables within the main factor 'Discriminatory Incidents'. 'Perception of discriminatory incidents' was ranked higher at 1.3 compared to 'Official reports of discriminatory incidents' ranked on average at 1.7.

The indicators the Panel selected most frequently are listed.

Perception of discriminatory incidents: Number of discriminatory incidents witnessed by racial minority and white individuals (within selected cities).

Official reports of discriminatory incidents: Number of human rights complaints received by provincial and federal human rights commissions based on race, compared with other grounds.

FACTOR – 5: LAW ENFORCEMENT, CORRECTIONS AND LEGAL SYSTEM

Panelists ranked four variables within this factor. 'Racial minorities as offenders in the correctional system' was ranked the highest at 1.8. The three remaining factors were selected on average with the same frequency, 'Representation within law enforcement and corrections professions 'at 2.6; 'Racial minorities as victims of crime' and 'Representation within legal and judiciary professions' both at 2.7 on average.

The indicators which were selected most frequently by Panelists are listed below.

Racial minorities as offenders in the correctional system: Comparison of sentencing for racial minorities and white offenders with similar types of offences.

Representation within law enforcement and corrections professions: Attitudes of police officers and correctional systems employees towards racial minorities.

Racial minorities as victims of crime:

a) Number of racial minorities shot by police, compared to whites;

b) Comparison of perceptions of racial minorities and whites regarding safety from crime, adequacy of police protection.

Representation within legal and judiciary professions: Percentage of graduate racial minority lawyers employed in their profession after one year, compared to white graduates.

FACTOR 6 – HOUSING

Panelists ranked 'Discrimination in access to housing' on average (1.3) as the most important variable within in the main factor 'Housing'; followed by 'Residential concentration, segregation, or integration (2.1); and 'Quality of housing' (2.4).

Indicators chosen most frequently were:

Discrimination in access to housing: Attitudes of property managers, landlords and realtors towards prospective racial minority tenants/buyers.

Residential concentration/segregation/integration: Distribution of racial minority population across a geographic region.

Quality of housing: Percentage of racial minority and white home owners in area/city compared to distribution in total population.

FACTOR 7 – HEALTH AND WELL BEING

Panelists ranked three variables within the main factor 'Health and wellbeing'. 'Health Status' was ranked the highest at 1.7, followed by 'Perceived well-being' slightly lower at 1.9 and 'Health care system' at 2.0.

Health status: Cause of death: Comparison of cause of death for racial minority and white populations, including accidents, homicide, and suicide.

Health care system: Attitudes of health care professionals to racial minority colleagues and patients.

Perceived well-being: Comparison of racism-related stress index for racial minority and white populations.

FACTOR 8 – MEDIA REPRESENTATION

Panelists ranked the variable 'Representation of racial minorities by media' higher on average at 1.2 compared to 'Racial minorities as professionals in media' (1.8) within the main factor 'Media Representation'.

The following indicators were selected with the greatest frequencies within each variable:

Representation of racial minorities by media: Number of racial minorities represented in visual images in mass news media (print and audiovisual) compared to whites represented in visual images, over selected time period.

Racial minorities as professionals in media compared to total population: Proportion of racial minorities employed in different sectors/levels of media organizations, compared to whites.

FACTOR 9 – LEGISLATIVE FRAMEWORK

Within 'Legislative Framework' Panelists ranked 'Protection from racial discrimination in legislation the highest at 1.5, followed by 'Protection from discrimination through legislation' (1.8) and 'Immigration Laws' (2.4). Indicators selected most frequently within each variable were:

Protection from racial discrimination in legislation: Existence of laws, regulations or practices arising from legislation that has a disproportionately negative impact on racial minorities (systemic discrimination).

Protection from discrimination through legislation: Extent and adequacy of resources devoted to monitoring and implementing such laws (prohibiting racial discrimination).

Immigration laws: Analysis of laws, regulations, or practices that discriminate against potential immigrants based on race or origin.

FACTOR 10 – POLITICAL PARTICIPATION

Panelists ranked 'Elected representatives' higher at 1.2 compared to 'Opposition and advocacy' ranked at 1.8.

Chosen indicators with the greatest frequency were:

Elected representatives: Number and proportion of visible minority candidates for public office at last federal, provincial, regional/municipal elections, compared to total population.

Opposition and advocacy: Extent of public funds allocated to organizations advocating racial equality, compared to other grounds for equality.

FACTOR 11 – SOCIAL NETWORKS

Panelists were asked to rank six variables in order of importance. 'Existence of stereotypical perceptions of racial minorities; comparison of white and racial minority attitudes' was ranked on average at 2.4; followed by 'Reported 'degree of comfort' with persons of different racial groups' (2.5). Lower average rankings were received for 'Reported extent of contact with persons of different racial groups, comparison of white and racial minority attitudes' (2.9); 'Attitudes towards interracial marriage' (3.3); 'Existence of stereotypical perceptions of specific groups within the category, 'racial minority'' (3.2); and 'Extent of interracial marriage' (4.3).

UTILITY OF THE PROPOSED REPORT CARD

In the final questions of the survey, Panel members were asked whether they would use a report card on racism in Canada or not, and what ideas they had regarding how they would use it.

IS A 'REPORT CARD ON RACISM IN CANADA' PERCEIVED AS SOMETHING USEFUL BY THE EXPERT PANEL?

The idea of a report card was received with a high degree of positive interest. As high as 87% of all respon-

dents stated that they would use a report card on racism in Canada; and another 8% said that they might use it. Panelists who did not identify as a racial minority were unanimous in their support of a report card on racism. Racial minority respondents included 3 who were unsure whether they would use a report card or not; as well as the four who would not. These four are all women, from a range of sectors (academic, community organizations and an aboriginal organization). None provided reasons why they would not use a report card; however, some of the issues raised in additional comments made by two Panelists might have been a factor, especially concerns that a report card format inappropriately simplifies the complexity of racism, in particular, the interaction of race and gender.

HOW WOULD YOU USE A REPORT CARD ON RACISM IN CANADA?

In total, 36 Panelists described ways they might use a Report Card on Racism. A content analysis of their responses suggests that the most frequent use would be to support advocacy and lobbying efforts, directed at government officials, policy makers, unions and specific institutions (9 out of 36 or 25%).

Another 8 respondents (22%) would use a Report Card as part of a range of public education efforts to create awareness about racism (including consultations with Native Friendship Centres).

Almost as many respondents would find the Report Card a useful addition to their teaching and training responsibilities (7 out of 36, or 19%) and 5 out of 36, or 14% would use it to inform their own research and writing on racism. Another 3 out of 36 (1%) would find the findings of the Report Card useful to deepen their own understanding of the issues. Finally, one respondent might use it to support expert witness testimony on racism, and another would find it useful in identifying programming ideas and options for an organization.

V: METHODOLOGY TO CONSTRUCT A RACISM INDEX

Part 1 of this section attempts to come up with a methodology to construct an index of racism using quantitative techniques based on three factors – employment, educational opportunities and income. Part 2 pays attention to the remaining seven factors (Social Networks as a factor was not taken into consideration since it received very little support from the Panel) and points out some of the challenges faced in constructing a methodology. Finally, we mention ways to overcome these challenges so that they may be used in the development of a racism index.

PART 1

The members on the Delphi Panel were asked to rank the 11 factors that would indicate racism to wards racial minorities (RM). Among the 11 factors, as seen earlier, Social networks received very little support and have been, therefore, ignored in this analysis.

Out of the remaining ten, it was felt that three choices would yield a strong and quantitative indicator of racism. They are in the order of importance: employment, education and income. The average score received for employment was 2.4 (lower number indicating higher preference), education 4.7 and income 4.9. Employment was ranked as no. 1 by 37% of respondents. Furthermore, it was ranked as second or third by another 43% of the respondents. Thus employment was considered to be the most important indicator of racism by 80% who ranked it between one and three, inclusive. The RM (who are generally the targets of racism) ranked it somewhat higher, at 86%.

Discriminatory incidents received a ranking of 40% by those who ranked it between one and three. However, these incidents received an average score of 5.3, which is higher than income, indicating that it is a less important factor. This factor can not be quantified without a fair amount of resources. Therefore, it is not included in the initial part of developing a preliminary, quantitative indicator of the index of racism.

The next most important factor was educational opportunities. It had a rank of between one and three (inclusive) from 38% of the Panel. Education was given a higher rank (lower number) by RM on an average at 4.5 compared to non-RM at 5.2.

Income came next and received a rank of between one and three from 33% of the Panel with an average ranking of 4.9. Again RM ranked it higher than the non-RM indicating this is more significant for RM.

As seen above, the importance given to the three factors chosen out of the four top ones varies in the ratio of 81:38:33 (i.e. highest rankings of one, two or three) for employment, educational opportunities and income, respectively. Therefore, in calculating an overall index of racism, the weights given to these factors should be in the same ratio as above.

For all these three factors, the source of data would be the Canadian Census and would be available only once in five years. Although the Labour Force Survey of Statistics Canada collects information on employment more often, there is no information on a breakdown between RM and non-RM labour force. For the factor, educational opportunities, consistent and comparable data can be obtained only from the Census as is the case with income data.

We have, therefore, in option one, chosen employment, educational opportunities and income as the main quantitative and measurable indicators of racism in Canada. However, some of these factors are also influenced by

variables other than racism such as economic conditions and attributes of the labour force as seen below.

A Employment/unemployment

Among the sub factors in employment - labour force participation, unemployment/ underemployment, occupational mobility and segregation and workplace climate – unemployment/underemployment received strong support from the Panelists as an indicator of racism. Employment is influenced by a number of other variables such as education, gender, age, and province of residence primarily. Therefore, if employment rate is moving up or down, it cannot be surmised that racism is the only cause. In order to isolate the effects of racism on employment, a technique known as multiple regression analysis can be used. What regression does is to hold the impact of the factors such as education, gender, age and province of residence on employment constant so that one can come up with an employment rate for RM and non-RM, which is presumably due to other factors, racism being possibly the most important. Depending upon the availability of resources, it is possible to hold any other relevant variable constant as well. At this stage, however, it would suffice to hold only the above-mentioned factors constant in developing the employment index.

Following somewhat the UN Human Development Index model, a methodology was developed to come up with an index of racism in employment. The data had to be limited to the labour force as defined by Statistics Canada and needs to be obtained for RM and non-RM for the Census year. To illustrate how the employment index could be constructed, let us first assume that RM in the labour force have an employment rate of 89% (and an unemployment rate of 11%) while the non-RM have an employment rate of 90% (and unemployment rate of 10%). The employment index would then be the employment rate of RM divided by the employment rate of non-RM. In the above illustration we get 0.99 as the employment index (89 divided by 90). If the RM had the same employment rate as non-RM, the score would be one and it could be assumed that racism is not a factor as far as employment is concerned. If the RM has a lower employment rate, the score would be less than one and vice versa. The farther the index is below one, presumably greater is the extent of racism. Theoretically, it is conceivable that the index could be more than one, suggesting that the RM has some special advantages in the employment area.

B Educational Opportunities

An important question here is: Are educational opportunities made equally available and used by both RM and non-RM? Since education up to the secondary level is free, and secondary school completion was rated high by the Panelists, it was decided to use this as an indirect indicator of racism as proposed. Furthermore, this variable is measurable. However, there are a few caveats. In order to arrive at a realistic educational opportunities index one has to include only the native born since the inclusion of foreign-born persons does not indicate educational opportunities available in Canada. Also, this factor has to be looked at from the angle of the appropriate age group. It is proposed that for any given year, this factor be restricted to the 17-21 age groups. Most who are Canadian born would have completed high school by the time they leave this age group.

The comparison, therefore, would be between the proportion of native-born RM population in 17-21 age cohorts with secondary school completion and the non-RM with the same attributes (e.g. age). To consider an illustration, if 90% of RM in the above group completed secondary school and 90% of the non-RM also did the same, we get an index of one (90% divided by 90%). This would indicate that racism is not an important factor as far as educational opportunities are concerned. However, if only 80% of RM completed secondary school and 90% of non-RM did, the score would be 0.89 indicating racism as a possible factor.

The question may be raised why non-completion of secondary school is related to racism. The answer would be that racism results in greater poverty for the target group and difficulties in getting family support for education of youth. As a result, they are more likely to find themselves among peer groups that value education less and drop out of school earlier. It is recognized, however, that there are also other factors that influence secondary school completion (e.g. work opportunities). In a more refined approach the other factors can not be totally discounted.

C Income

The Panel rated income distribution a little higher than average income as an indicator of racism. However, in view of the need to control a number of factors before arriving at an index, it is proposed to use average income for computing an income index of racism. It will, however, be necessary to use multiple regression analysis techniques as proposed in the use of employment to hold constant the influence of variables such as gender, age, education, work experience, industry, occupation and province of residence. After these variables are controlled, if one finds that average income of an RM person in a given year (the year preceding the census) is say $20,000 and for an non-RM person in a comparable position it is $25,000, the index would be 0.80 (20,000 divided by 25,000). Again, an index of one would mean that there is no difference in income distribution and therefore, there

is no racism based on this factor. On the other hand, if the index is more than one it would indicate some special advantages for RM (e.g. income from foreign sources, investment income, etc.). It is also possible to use earnings rather than income to compute this index.

In our example, we have come up with the index of 0.99 for employment, 0.89 for educational opportunities and 0.80 for income. As mentioned earlier, employment, educational opportunities and income were not equally weighted by our Panel. The ratio of importance was 80:38:33 for employment, educational opportunities and income respectively. In order to come up with an overall racism index, we need to multiply 0.99 (employment) by 80 to give the weight it deserves. Similarly, educational opportunities for which we have an index of 0.89 should be multiplied by 38. The multiplication factor for income would be 33. The results from each factor should then be summed up. It may be recalled that a situation where there is no racism, the total would have been 151 (80+ 38+ 33) or higher since each of these individual indices would be one or more and then multiplied by its respective weight.

However, in our example, they will have the following values.

Employment	80 x 0.99	79.20
Educational opportunities	38 x 0.89	33.82
Income	33 x 0.80	26.40
	Total	139.42

As stated, a society without racism would have scored 151 points or more on this scale. Since the score came up only to 139.42, the overall index of racism for that society in that year would be 0.92 (139.42 divided by 151).

If racism declines over all, the racism index would move closer to one and vice versa. For each of the three sub factors (employment, educational opportunities and income) this would also be true. In theory at least, the elimination of racism would occur when we have one or more as the composite racism index. If one of the sub factors moves up to one and another moves down, racism would have declined in the factor that moved closer to one, and increased in the other that moved down. The advantage of this technique is that we are able to come up with a number which indicates the overall direction in which racism is moving while its components are not lost sight of. In fact, separate indices for employment, educational opportunities and income can be calculated.

ANALYSIS OF INDEX OF RACISM

Table 1 presents the summary of indices of racism among VM groups by gender in Canada in 2006. On average, the indices of racism are prevalent among visible minority groups as compared to white population. The indices of racism for both sexes vary from 0.81 for Arab, West Asian and Korean to 0.95 for Philipino and Japanese. In particular, the indices of racism are considerably high at 0.82 to 0.84 for Latin American and Southeast Asian. In contrast, the levels of racism among the remaining VM groups (Chinese, South Asian and Black) are lower, falling between 0.87 and 0.89.

In Table 1, it is also seen that in general, the indices of racism for females are lower than those for males – which is expected. In Tables 2.0 to 2.2, and charts (1.0 to 1.3), if we look at relative index of employment rate, average earnings and highest educational level between VM groups and White population, the gaps are much stronger for females than males. It seems that VM females are not earning according to their level of highest educational attainment. This could also be due to the fact that they suffer from double negatives, gender as females and member of the VM group. Also, many VM females are highly qualified, but end up working at lower occupational groups.

PROS AND CONS OF THE METHODOLOGY

The pros are:

We will have a measure of racism on the basis of which a report card (with grades A to F) could be produced for Canada, provinces, and metropolitan areas for which data are available.

Since it is based on numbers published by Statistics Canada, it is an objective technique free from sampling bias.

It allows us to develop racism indices separately for Aboriginal peoples, and visible minorities (and their major sub groups such as the South Asians, Chinese, Blacks and others).

- This method covers the three major forms of racial discrimination captured by employment, educational opportunities and income.

Cons are:

- The index can be produced only once in five years when the census results are available.
- The factors other than employment, educational opportunities and income are not taken into account.

PART 2

Part 1 forms the starting point and the bedrock of the index and the next step is to use the seven other factors **to produce a comprehensive racism index more often than once in five years** when the Census data becomes available.

Table 1: Index of Racism among Visible Minority Groups by Gender in Canada, 2006 (Standard Group: White, Comparative VM Groups: Single Response only)

	Both Sexes		Males		Females	
Race Groups	Index of racism	Ranks	Index of racism	Ranks	Index of racism	Ranks
Whites	1		1		1	
Chinese	0.89	9	0.93	8	0.92	9
South Asian	0.88	8	0.96	9	0.86	6
Black	0.87	6	0.90	6	0.92	8
Philipino	0.95	11	0.97	10	1.02	11
Latin American	0.84	5	0.90	5	0.84	5
Southeast Asian	0.82	4	0.88	1	0.83	4
Arab	0.81	1	0.88	4	0.75	1
West Asian	0.81	3	0.88	3	0.79	2
Korean	0.81	2	0.88	2	0.80	3
Japanese	0.95	10	1.09	11	0.94	10
V.M. n.i.e	0.88	7	0.92	7	0.92	7

Rank: 1 Highest level of racism
Rank: 11 Lowest level of racism
Sources: Compiled from Tables 2.0 to 2.2.

The remaining seven factors received the following weights from the Panel.

DISCRIMINATORY INCIDENTS

The Panelists were offered two choices here. Among them, the perception of discriminatory incidents was ranked much higher than official reports of discriminatory incidents. The first choice noted requires probing the RM on their perceptions on discriminatory incidents. Only a survey can indicate the level of this perception. It is possible to take part in what is known as an "omnibus" survey that regularly surveys a sample population nationally. The advantage of this technique of surveying is that the cost is reasonably low. On the other hand, the survey firm may also have several other questions - such as on consumer products - along with the question on perceptions on racial discrimination.

The second approach is to use annual reports of federal and provincial human rights commissions to see how many complaints that were accepted or received were race-related and calculate the rate at which these complaints have changed. The annual reports of these commissions contain the data, though some of them do not "accept" all the complaints submitted, thereby distorting the data somewhat. Hence a closer look at this kind of data is required.

Since the bedrock data is census-based, and the 2006 Census year being the closest year for which data would be available, the base year for the human rights commission's data could be 2006 as well. The percentage increase or decrease in complaints in years subsequent to the census nationally and provincially (no sub provincial data will be available) could be calculated. The costs involved will not be prohibitive since these numbers are readily available but need to be massaged.

LAW ENFORCEMENT, CORRECTIONS AND THE LEGAL SYSTEM

The Panel ranked high the factor "racial minorities as offenders in the correctional system". In terms of statistics, on the visible minority side, a 1991 survey of inmates of federal prisons done by Citizenship and Immigration Canada (CIC) is the latest available. A similar survey has been conducted by CIC in 1996. It would be necessary to conduct such surveys periodically in order to see the racial composition of inmates. Similar data on Aboriginal peoples would be available from Indian and Northern Affairs. Statistics Canada has data on provincial inmates for the Aboriginal populations published annually. It is uncertain that the same kind of data would be available provincially for visible minorities. In short, a lot more investigation is required to come up with changes in the numbers of racial minorities who are offenders in the correctional system before using this factor as an index of racism.

MEDIA REPRESENTATION

The Panel ranked "representation of racial minorities by media" as the most important among the choices they

Table 2: Development of Index of Racism among Visible Minority Groups in Canada, 2006 (Based on Single response of ethnicity)

Gender: Both Sexes	Employment Weight 80			Income Weight 33		
Race Groups	Employment Rate(%)	Ratio	Index of Employment (A)	Average earnings ($)	Ratio	Index of Earnings (B)
White	82.9	1		53,956	1	
Chinese	74.9	0.903	72.3	37,465	0.694	22.9
South Asian	76.3	0.920	73.6	34,894	0.647	21.3
Black	76.3	0.920	73.6	31,857	0.590	19.5
Philipino	84.9	1.024	81.9	32,326	0.599	19.8
Latin American	74.7	0.901	72.1	29,682	0.550	18.2
South east Asian	75.4	0.910	72.8	32,572	0.604	19.9
Arab	64.8	0.782	62.5	33,032	0.612	20.2
West Asian	67.7	0.817	65.3	30,479	0.565	18.6
Korean	62.8	0.758	60.6	30,253	0.561	18.5
Japanese	72.8	0.878	70.3	50,559	0.937	30.9
V.M. n.i.e	77.7	0.937	75.0	35,102	0.651	21.5

Highest Certificate, Diploma or Degree Holders Weight 38							Total Index of Racism		
Race Groups	Total Pop 25-54	Holders	%	Ratio	Index of Education (C)	Sum of Indices (A+B+C)	Total Weight	Index of Racism	Rank of Racism
White	10.873.000	9.446.085	0.869	1			151	1	
Chinese	568.915	505.205	0.888	1.022	38.8	134.0		0.888	9
South Asian	570.935	503.220	0.881	1.015	38.6	133.5		0.884	8
Black	309.315	273.220	0.883	1.017	38.6	131.8		0.873	6
Philipino	200.850	194.995	0.971	1.118	42.5	144.2		0.955	11
Latin American	157.675	134.635	0.854	0.983	37.3	127.6		0.845	5
South east Asian	115.540	83.290	0.721	0.830	31.5	124.2		0.823	4
Arab	126.170	112.855	0.894	1.030	39.1	121.9		0.807	1
West Asian	77.450	68.765	0.888	1.022	38.8	122.8		0.813	3
Korean	66.300	64.890	0.979	1.127	42.8	121.9		0.807	2
Japanese	30.455	29.630	0.973	1.120	42.6	143.7		0.952	10
V.M. n.i.e	34.835	29.175	0.838	0.964	36.6	133.1		0.881	7

Source of Data: WWW.Statcan.gc.ca/2006:Data Products/Special Interest Profiles

had in this area. In order to obtain a better picture of media representation, it would be necessary to conduct content analyses of print and electronic media – an expensive proposition. An alternative is to do an analysis of media representation of RM on a "normal" day choosing a number of newspapers and electronic media that serve, as a rule of thumb, 75% to 80% of the population. But even this could prove to be somewhat expensive. More work will be required to decide the modus operandi and to estimate the costs.

LEGISLATIVE FRAMEWORK

In the legislative framework, protection from racial discrimination in legislation was ranked high by the Panel. This involves both the existence of laws that impact negatively and disproportionately on RM, and the availability of mechanisms and resources to monitor this kind of discrimination. The existence of laws, as referred to above, cannot be quantitatively expressed unless such perceptions are revealed through participation in an omnibus survey.

Table 2.1: Development of Index of Racism among Visible Minority Groups in Canada, 2006 (Based on Single response of ethnicity)

Gender: Male	Employment Weight 80			Income Weight 33		
Race Groups	Employment Rate(%)	Ratio	Index of Employment (A)	Average earnings ($)	Ratio	Index of Earnings (B)
White	87.2	1		54,705	1	
Chinese	81.3	0.932	74.6	43,537	0.80	26.26
South Asian	86.7	0.994	79.5	41,441	0.76	25.00
Black	81.3	0.932	74.6	35,407	0.65	21.36
Philipino	88	1.009	80.7	37,738	0.69	22.76
Latin American	83.2	0.954	76.3	35,257	0.64	21.27
South east Asian	83.3	0.955	76.4	38,631	0.71	23.30
Arab	76.2	0.874	69.9	37,707	0.69	22.75
West Asian	78.5	0.900	72.0	34,882	0.64	21.01
Korean	73.5	0.843	67.4	36,481	0.67	22.01
Japanese	85.7	0.983	78.6	70,584	1.29	42.58
V.M. n.i.e	83.2	0.954	76.3	40,847	0.75	24.64

Highest Certificate, Diploma or Degree Holders Weight 38							Total Index of Racism		
Race Groups	Total Pop 25-54	Holders	%	Ratio	Index of Education (C)	Sum of Indices (A+B+C)	Total Weight	Index of Racism	Rank of Racism
White	5.366.745	4.565.545	0.851	1			151	1	
Chinese	265.400	237.895	0.896	1.05	40.04	140.9		0.933	8
South Asian	283.750	253.315	0.893	1.05	39.88	144.4		0.956	9
Black	144.775	127.790	0.883	1.04	39.43	135.4		0.897	6
Philipino	76.765	73.920	0.963	1.13	43.01	146.5		0.970	10
Latin American	76.515	64.405	0.842	0.99	37.60	135.2		0.895	5
South east Asian	54.490	40.625	0.746	0.88	33.30	133.0		0.881	1
Arab	69.395	63.355	0.913	1.07	40.78	133.4		0.884	4
West Asian	39.970	35.980	0.900	1.06	40.21	133.2		0.882	3
Korean	29.140	28.515	0.979	1.15	43.71	133.1		0.882	2
Japanese	11.545	11.105	0.962	1.13	42.97	164.2		1.087	11
V.M. n.i.e	16.365	13.740	0.840	0.99	37.50	138.5		0.917	7

Source of Data: WWW.Statcan.gc.ca/2006 Census: Data Products/Special Interest Profiles

On the other hand, it is feasible to measure resources utilized to monitor, prevent or punish the perpetrators of racism. A detailed study that pinpoints resources utilized by various levels of governments will be required. Perhaps a readily available (but incomplete) measure would be the resources utilized by various human rights commissions/tribunals to redress the situation. This can be done on an annual basis. To this, we should add other resources utilized by all levels of government – e.g. anti-racism programs, expenses to mark March 21 (International Day for the Elimination of Racial Discrimination), and other such programs.

POLITICAL PARTICIPATION

The number of representatives from the RM's group in positions of political responsibility ranked as the highest factor among the choices the Panel had in this domain. This can be verified for Canada, provinces and the CMAs each year as required. All the levels of political

Table 2.2: Development of Index of Racism among Visible Minority Groups in Canada, 2006 (Based on Single response of ethnicity)

Gender: Female	Employment Weight 80			Income Weight 33		
Race Groups	Employment Rate(%)	Ratio	Index of Employment (A)	Average earnings ($)	Ratio	Index of Earnings (B)
White	78.7	1		34,269	1	
Chinese	69.3	0.881	70.4	31,574	0.921	30.4
South Asian	65.9	0.837	67.0	27,245	0.795	26.2
Black	71.9	0.914	73.1	28,480	0.831	27.4
Philipino	83	1.055	84.4	28,831	0.841	27.8
Latin American	66.7	0.848	67.8	23,553	0.687	22.7
South east Asian	68.4	0.869	69.5	26,290	0.767	25.3
Arab	50.7	0.644	51.5	25,401	0.741	24.5
West Asian	56.3	0.715	57.2	24,831	0.725	23.9
Korean	54.4	0.691	55.3	24,150	0.705	23.3
Japanese	64.9	0.825	66.0	35,887	1.047	34.6
V.M. n.i.e	72.9	0.926	74.1	29,519	0.861	28.4

Highest Certificate, Diploma or Degree Holders Weight 38						Total Index of Racism		
Race Groups	Total Pop 25-54	Holders	%	Ratio	Index of Education (C)	Total Weight	Index of Racism	Rank of Racism
White	5.506.255	4.880.540	0.886	1		151	1	
Chinese	303.510	267.310	0.881	0.994	37.8		0.918	9
South Asian	287.185	249.910	0.87	0.982	37.3		0.864	6
Black	164.545	145.425	0.884	0.997	37.9		0.917	8
Philipino	124.080	121.070	0.976	1.101	41.8		1.020	11
Latin American	81.160	70.230	0.865	0.976	37.1		0.845	5
South east Asian	61.050	42.670	0.699	0.789	30.0		0.827	4
Arab	56.775	49.500	0.872	0.984	37.4		0.751	1
West Asian	37.485	37.790	0.875	0.987	37.5		0.786	2
Korean	37.165	36.370	0.979	1.104	42.0		0.798	3
Japanese	18.910	18.530	0.98	1.106	42.0		0.944	10
V.M. n.i.e	18.470	15.440	0.836	0.943	35.8		0.916	7

Source of Data: www.statcan.gc.ca/2006 census:Data products/Special Interest Profiles

participation – federal, provincial, municipal and school board – need to be considered. If the participation levels are below RM population levels, there could be barriers for their successful entry into politics and racism could be an important factor. The Human Development Index model of the UN could also possibly be used to calculate the values.

HOUSING

Discrimination in access to housing was the highest ranked among the choices offered under this variable. The information on this may have to come from a survey of a sample of the population periodically. If their accessibility rate is lower than the non-RM, this could be attributed, to a certain extent, to racism. Again, an omnibus survey would be the only possible source of this information. Some human rights commissions have included housing among the reasons for complaints and for those jurisdictions, changes in the numbers of those who complain on

this basis from year to year would be an indictor. A closer look at these reports will be necessary before coming up with an exact methodology.

HEALTH AND WELLBEING

Among the various items mentioned, health status received the highest ranking from the Panel in this area. Causes of death, comparison of causes of death for RM and non-RM populations, homicides and suicides are included here. Causes of death by minority status are not regularly available, except from special surveys and for the Aboriginal population. Statistics Canada's health surveys and General Social Surveys could be used. However, more investigation will be required to come up with more precise details.

WEIGHTS OF PART 2 FACTORS

Once further research indicates how these seven factors can be quantified, it will be possible to use the weights obtained from the survey (e.g. discriminatory incidents, 40; law enforcement/corrections/legal system, 23; etc. as seen earlier) and apply them to the numbers obtained from each of the seven factors in a consistent manner. They can then be used in conjunction with the three "bedrock" factors referred to in Part 1 available every five years to compute an overall index of racism from year to year and for various geographic areas.

ESTIMATED COSTS

While more work is required to investigate more precisely the costs of coming up with an overall index of racism, some rough estimates are available.

For Part 1, the data for the analysis is now available from Statistics Canada in the form of a CD Rom. However, manipulation of data, the multivariate analysis and related work need special skills and time.

For Part 2, including one direct question (with a "yes" or "no" type of answer) with a total sample size of 10,000 across the country is available. Sometimes a total sample of 10,000 may not be sufficient to get adequate numbers separately for small provinces or smaller groups such as the Aboriginal population (should it be required separately). Should that be the case, the cost is bound to increase.

VI. INCLUSION OF QUALITATIVE MEASURES IN A REPORT CARD ON RACISM

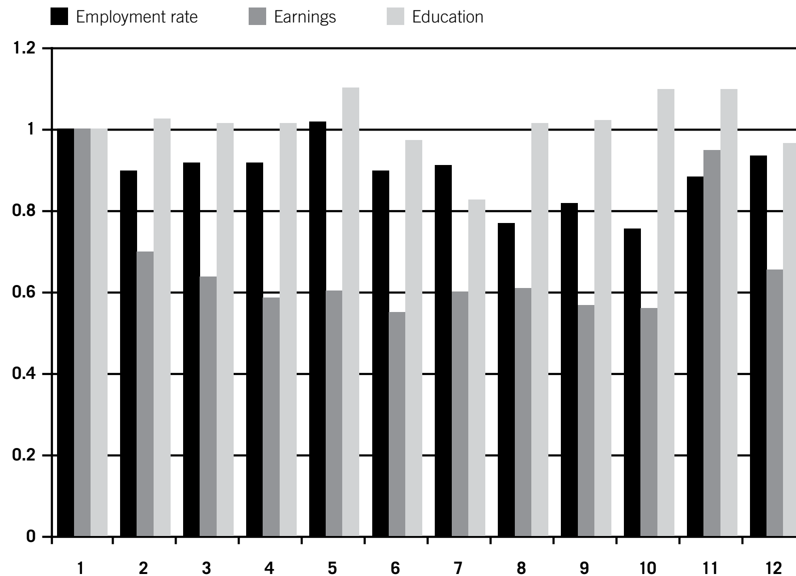
Panelists were provided with a choice of qualitative, as well as quantitative indicators. While quantitative indicators measure the outcomes or consequences of racism, qualitative measures can provide considerable insight into the process of racism, by documenting in a different way the actual experiences and impact that racism has on peoples' lives (see review of literature, on the use of qualitative indicators). Qualitative methods are often recommended when studying social inequalities, due to the limitations of quantitative methods for understanding certain dimensions of specific issues. Qualitative studies have unique strengths for research that examine complexities and process; as well as research that seeks to explore the connections between policy and local knowledge/practice (Marshall and Rossman, 1995). A characteristic of qualitative research is that research plans and methods are reviewed periodically, and may be revised in light of emerging information. This approach might prove especially useful in the development of a report card on racism, contributing knowledge that will permit periodic assessment of the relevance of quantitative indicators, and/or suggesting the development of additional or alternative indicators to reflect changes and trends.

Factor	Top three rankings	Average of all rankings
Discriminatory incidents	40%	5.3
Law enforcement/corrections/ legal system	23%	5.7
Media representation	22%	6.6
Legislative framework	16%	7.3
Political participation	15%	7.6
Housing	15%	6.1
Health and wellbeing	12%	6.5
	Total	143

Methods for collecting qualitative measures include key informant interviews, case studies, consultations, focus groups, surveys with open-ended question formats, content analysis, and oral history. A common misconception is that qualitative measures are not quantifiable. Systematic content analysis can yield quantitative data, if a large enough sample is chosen. If it is considered useful, descriptive statistics permit summaries of the ways and extent to which different people may have experienced similar situations, for example; or frequencies with which certain issues are raised.

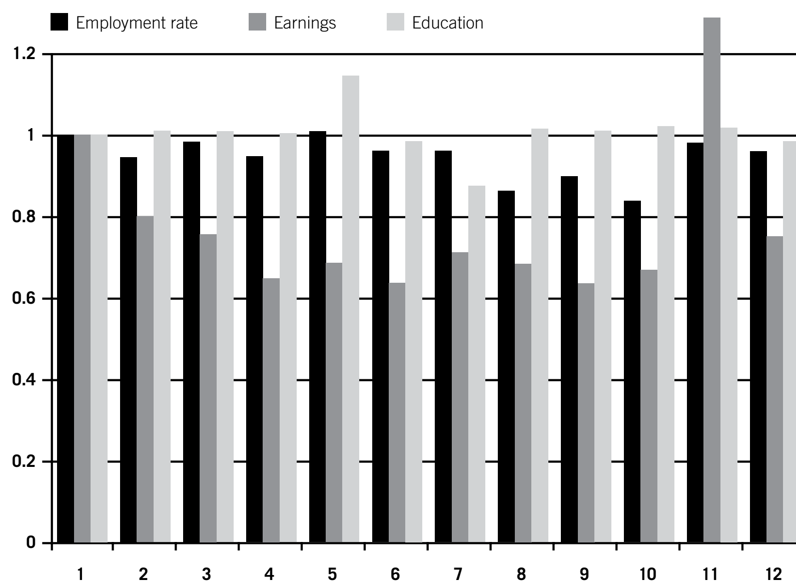
Without resorting to quantification, however, qualitative methods can also be used to provide very rich descriptive information, the equivalent of the 'teacher's comments' section of a standard report card, to reflect common experiences or salient themes. Descriptive sections are commonly used in most report cards within the educational system to report on student progress beyond the simple assignment of a numerical value. A descriptive section of this type could be included in order to summarize results from qualitative data collection

CHART 1: Relative Ratios of Employment Rate, Average Employment Earnings in 2005 and Highest Certificate, diploma or degree holders between Visible Minority Groups and White population for both sexes aged 25 to 54 years in Canada, 2006 Census



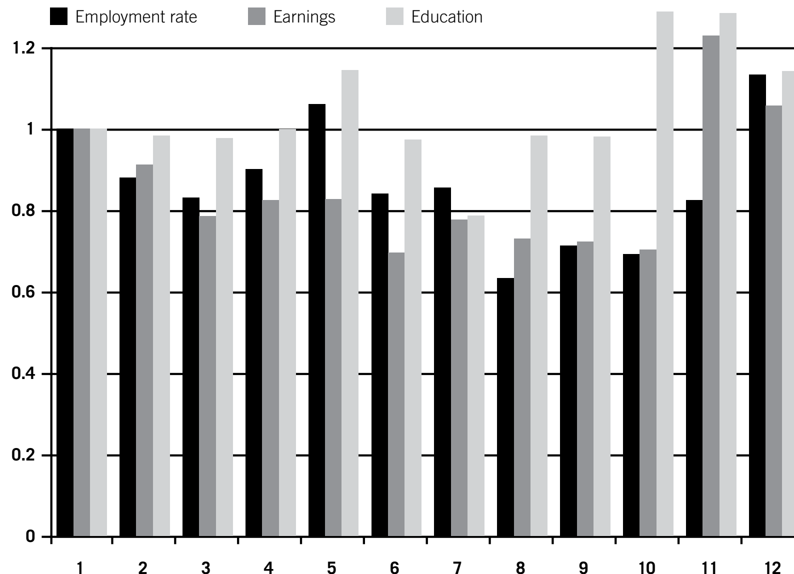
Seleted Ethnic Groups:
1. White 2. Chinese 3. South Asian 4. Black 5. Philipino 6. Latin American
7. South East Asian 8. Arab 9. West Asian 10. Korean 11. Japanese 12. V.M. n.i.e.
Source: Table 2.0

CHART 2: Relative Ratios of Employment Rate, Average Employment Earnings in 2005 and Highest Certificate, diploma or degree holders between Visible Minority Groups and White population for males aged 25 to 54 yrs in Canada, 2006 Census



Seletected Ethnic Groups
1. White 2. Chinese 3. South Asian 4. Black 5. Philipino 6. Latin American
7. Southeast Asian 8. Arab 9. West Asian 10. Korean 11. Japanese 12. V.M. n.i.e.
Source: Table 2.1

CHART 3: Relative Ratios of Employment Rate, Average Employment Earnings in 2005 and Highest Certificate, diploma or degree holders between Visible Minority Groups and White population for females aged 25 to 54 yrs in Canada, 2006 Census



Selected Ethnic Groups:
1. White 2. Chinese 3. South Asian 4. Black 5. Philipino 6. Latin American
7. South East Asian 8. Arab 9. West Asian 10. Korean 11. Japanese 12. V.M. n.i.e.
Source: Table 2.2

and provide information about the type of experiences of racism reported by racial minority and/or Aboriginal peoples.

The inclusion of qualitative measures also provides another way to respond to the needs of those panelists who were concerned that the complexities of the experiences of racism would be inappropriately reduced to a few 'marks' in a report card. The collection and interpretation of qualitative data requires different types of data collection in both human and material resources than the collection of quantitative data. Thus adequate resources should be allocated to these measures in any future report card effort.

METHOD FOR SELECTION OF QUALITATIVE INDICATORS

For the purpose of this study, the panel was asked to select eight qualitative measures from a total of 29 included in the survey. For each measure, the suggested method for data collection was described briefly (eg. key informant interviews and longitudinal household study). A wide variety of qualitative measures was suggested, such as text analysis of media reports or political documents; analysis of equity policies; key informant interviews with community advocates, as well as clients or users of certain services; quasi-experimental simulation studies to compare experiences of white versus racial minority people in the same situation; analysis of textbooks and curricula; analysis of the choice of role models by young teens; participant observation, etc.

The qualitative measures chosen with the most frequency are listed below.

Qualitative Measure for Employment: Conduct in-depth interviews of 50 households' perceptions of racism in Canada. This longitudinal and cross-sectional study would include questions regarding employment history, perception of opportunities, educational attainment and employment goals, perceptions and experience of racism in employment.

Qualitative Measure for Education: Key informant interviews with members of ethnocultural/ethnoracial advocacy organizations, probing perceptions of educational streaming, institutional racism, and level of access

Qualitative Measure for Discriminatory Incidents: Interviews with complainants who bring forth race-based discrimination complaints, including both those whose complaints were accepted by human rights commissions and other bodies, and those which were not; those whose complaints were successfully resolved.

Qualitative Measure for 'Law Enforcement, Correction, Legal System': Conduct in-depth interviews of

50 households' perceptions of racism in Canada. This longitudinal and cross-sectional study would include questions regarding perceptions of police, justice system, crime, safety and protection.

Qualitative Measure for Housing: Comparison of experiences (including success in obtaining housing) of white and racial minority applicants to same housing offers.

Qualitative Measure for Health and Well-being: In-depth interviews with health care providers and health care consumers to identify experiences and perceptions of racism in health care system.

Qualitative Measure for Media representation: Distribution and/or concentration of visual images of racial minorities across all sectors of mass media (percentage in relation to sports; politics; international affairs; crime, etc.), over selected time period.

Qualitative Measures for Political Participation: In-depth interviews with advocacy and opposition groups to explore possible race-related barriers to political participation.

QUALITATIVE MEASURES TO COMPLEMENT PART 1 AND PART 2 QUANTITATIVE MEASURES

If the option proposed in Part 1 of Section V, above, is pursued, qualitative measures for the factors of 'Employment' and 'Education' could be included. No qualitative measures for 'Income' were suggested to the panel, since quantitative indicators are generally applied to this dimension.

EMPLOYMENT

Some panelists commented that the number of suggested households for the proposed longitudinal study was too small (50), and recommended doubling it to 100 to ensure that the longitudinal nature of the study could be maintained. It can be expected that some households would drop out after the first or second survey round for many reasons. Others might be difficult to locate due to changes in residence. It is worth noting that while the initial study design might be more costly, the follow-up survey rounds are likely to be less expensive, since the data collection and data analysis systems would be in place.

EDUCATION

A study could include organizations across Canada, or in the Metropolitan Areas with the highest percentage of racial minorities and/or Aboriginal/First Nation peoples. The advantage of interviewing advocates is that they are not themselves involved in the educational system. The possibility of repercussions, or the fear of it, is diminished when interviewing advocates. As well, although children are aware and 'feel' racism, at times they do not wish to speak about it even to their parents, since they know the pain that hearing these experiences might cause them. Interviews could be transcribed, content analysed using computerized data analysis (NU*DIST), and quantified if desired. If option two is adopted, to include all factors in the report card, detailed research designs for all the additional measures would be required.

ESTIMATED COSTS

More exploration is needed to design a detailed research plan for each of the qualitative measures. The extent of data collection for each of the measures would depend on the availability of resources. If summary statistical reporting is desired, the longitudinal survey sample should include 100 to 200 households. On the other hand, qualitative studies can also include content analysis of interviews highlighting experiences in the form of brief statements; or case descriptions. This type of study and reporting can be carried out with fewer resources.

VII. CONCLUSIONS

Indices of various types are increasingly being produced and used to deal with issues of a socio-economic nature. The foregoing analysis shows that it is feasible to construct an index of racism, methodology-wise, and is not prohibitive cost-wise for Canada, provinces and major CMAs. However, given the complexity of the racism issue, it will be necessary to allocate such a project high priority and provide adequate resources for its development, testing and constant improvement. Most important of all is to take the proverbial first step to initiate the process. As already seen, 9 out of 10 Panelists said that they would use such an index. Moreover, Canada would be the first country in the world to develop and use such an index helping the country maintain the lead, well recognized by several countries around the world, in the field of healthy race relations.

It could be suggested **that an appropriate institution/organization start the development of a quantitative racism index using employment, educational opportunities and income (or earnings) as described on the 2006 Census to form a benchmark for future years**. Census data would be the foundation on which the edifice of a racism index would be built, giving it a certain degree of unassailability. Since the 2006 Census data is now available, that work could start forthwith.

To complement periodic census-based index reporting, **we would suggest that a group of 100 representative racial minority families be selected from CMA's such as Toronto, Montreal, and Vancouver to be surveyed by telephone every year on various aspects related to racism**. The questions should include those

identified above as appropriate qualitative measures for these factors. This group could be considered as a "longitudinal" sample since the same group is surveyed yearly. Life cycle events (deaths, movement to another area, etc.) may cause depletion of the sample, and it would be desirable to replace one fifth of the sample every year.

Before the 2011 census results are available (about three years after the Census itself), **we suggest that one should focus on the seven other factors mentioned in Section V** in order to generate more, or massage existing data, so that an annual comprehensive racism index could be developed based on the 2006 survey. The information on employment, educational opportunities and income (or earnings) from 2006 could be supplemented by new information annually using omnibus surveys.

DISCRIMINATORY INCIDENTS

There are two areas mentioned in Section V on discriminatory incidents. To obtain data on the frequency of discriminatory incidents, **we suggest that the organization in charge participate in an omnibus survey nationally and annually to obtain data on the occurrence of discriminatory incidents, and maintain (or fund to have data maintained) on race-related complaints every year made to federal, provincial and territorial human rights commissions** to supplement data from the omnibus survey.

LAW ENFORCEMENT, CORRECTIONS AND THE LEGAL SYSTEM

We suggest that the organization concerned launch a study in the law enforcement, corrections and the legal system to determine the availability of data related to RMs as offenders in the correction system. Bits and pieces of data are available and they should be brought together in one study and updated every year.

MEDIA REPRESENTATION

We suggest that the organization in charge conduct a study on the cost of doing a content analysis of media reporting on a "normal" day in Canada involving 75-80% of the population annually, to assess representation of racial minorities quantitatively and used as input for the racism index annually.

LEGISLATIVE FRAMEWORK

We suggest that a study be commissioned to pinpoint resources utilized by various levels of government to monitor, prevent or punish the perpetrators of racism so that these costs can be used as an element in a report card on racism.

POLITICAL PARTICIPATION

We suggest that the organization concerned conduct a study on the number of racial minorities (RM) in elected offices at all levels of public office as opposed to non-RM. This data needs to be updated annually.

HOUSING

We recommend that the organization in charge participate in an omnibus survey, as mentioned earlier, to obtain data on access to housing by RM every year in order to see changes from year to year to be used in the report card.

HEALTH AND WELL-BEING

We suggest that a study of the health status of RM be made to determine the extent of data availability for an assessment of their health vis-à-vis the rest of the population, updated and used annually in the report card.

The weighting system we have developed and proposed for use should not be considered as cast in concrete. **We would prefer if the organization in charge conduct a survey every five years or so using a Delphi Panel to see how these weights may have changed**. It may be advantageous to keep half of the current Panel and use new members for the other half.

The following qualitative measures could be included for each of the following factors:

Qualitative Measure for Education: Key informant interviews with members of ethnocultural/ethnoracial advocacy organizations across the country, probing perceptions of educational streaming, institutional racism, and level of access.

Qualitative Measure for Discriminatory Incidents: Interviews with complainants who bring forth race-based discrimination complaints to human rights commissions, including both those whose complaints were accepted, and those which were not; those whose complaints were successfully resolved, and those whose complaints were dismissed.

Qualitative Measure for Law Enforcement, Correction, Legal System: questions regarding perceptions of racism in relation to policing, the justice system, crime, safety, and protection added to longitudinal survey.

Qualitative Measure for Housing: Semi-experimental studies comparing experiences (including success in obtaining) of white and racial minority applicants to same housing offers.

Qualitative Measure for Health and Well-being: In-depth interviews with health care providers and consumers in selected health care institutions in selected CMA's and Aboriginal communities, to identify experiences and perceptions of racism in health care system.

Qualitative Measure for Media representation: Panel assessment of the representativeness and significance of visual images of racial minorities across selected mass media outlets for a 'typical' week.

Qualitative Measures for Political Participation: In-depth interviews with advocacy and opposition groups to explore possible race-related barriers to political participation.

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APPENDIX

The concepts of census-related variables used to get the index of racism are given below

Total – Visible Minority Population

Refers to the population group or groups to which the respondent belongs. The population group question on the census is used to derive counts for the visible minority population, as defined by the Employment Equity Act. The Employment Equity Act defines visible minorities (VM) as 'persons, other than Aboriginal peoples, who are non-Caucasian in race or non-white in colour'. The population groups considered in this paper are based on the single response only. The following population groups are considered: White, Chinese, South Asian, Black, Philipino, Latin American, South East Asian, Arab, West Asian, Korean, Japanese, VM n.i.e.

Age Group: 25 to 54 years

Sex: Both sexes, Males and Females

Employment rate aged 25-54 years

Refers to the number of persons employed in the week (Sunday to Saturday) prior to Census Day (May 16, 2006), expressed as a percentage of the total population 25-54 years of age.

The employment rate for a particular Visible minority group is the number employed in that group, expressed as a percentage of the population 25-54 years of age, in that group.

Employment income

Earner or employment income recipient - Refers to a person 15 years of age and over who received wages and salaries, net income from a non-farm, unincorporated business and/or professional practice, and/or net farm self-employment income during calendar year 2005.

Average employment income $

For persons with employment income.

Total population 25-54 years by highest certificate, diploma or degree

'Highest certificate, diploma or degree' refers to the highest certificate, diploma or degree completed based on a hierarchy which is generally related to the amount of time spent 'in-class'. For postsecondary completers, a university education is considered to be a higher level of schooling than a college education, while a college education is considered to be a higher level of education than in the trades. Although some trades requirements may take as long or longer to complete than a given college or university program, the majority of time is spent in on-the-job paid training and less time is spent in the classroom. Source: Statistics Canada. Visible Minority Population and Population Group Reference Guide, 2006 Census. **Catalogue no. 97-562-GWE200600**

MEASURING RACIAL DISCRIMINATION IN CANADA: A CALL FOR CONTEXT AND MORE INCLUSIVE APPROACHES

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ABSTRACT

This paper draws on the persistent racial disparities in a number of key social economic indicators to discuss the need for a broadly agreed upon approach to measuring racial discrimination. The underlying issue of concern is whether race still matters in Canadian life and how to measure its prevalence. The argument is made that the question should be posed within a socio-historical context that considers the implied structural interests, along with issues of access and equity, rather than exclusively focus on technical issues of measurement. Taking a historical view, it is prudent to start from the premise that essential to any appreciation of the persistence of race and racialization in Canadian society is its demonstrated and determinative influence on the experiences of racialized peoples over the country's life course. Using the Canadian labour market as a representative institution, this article uses the comparative method to explore the performance of racialized and non-racialized populations based on key indicators of economic performance such as employment income and labour market participation. The author concludes that there is sufficient complimentarity to warrant combining two or more methods of measuring the prevalence of racial discrimination. In essence, the author argues for a more inclusive 'mixed method' approach as essential, given the varied forms racism takes today and the complex manifestations of racialization that may not be captured by a single, definitive method. The author ends by making a call for increased collection of data in a disaggregated format to allow for a better understanding of the differential impacts of race and racialization among subject groups.

RÉSUMÉ

Ce texte utilise les inégalités raciales persistantes dans un nombre d'indicateurs socio-économiques pour discuter du besoin d'une approche de quantification de discrimination raciale qui serait acceptée globalement. Les enjeux sous-jacents qui nous préoccupent sont de savoir si la race a encore de l'importance dans la vie canadienne et comment nous pouvons mesurer sa fréquence. Un sujet de dispute est que la question devrait être posée dans un contexte sociohistorique qui prend en considération les intérêts structuraux impliqués, ainsi que les défis d'accès et d'égalité, plutôt que de se pencher uniquement sur les défis techniques de quantification. Si on prend un point de vue historique, il est prudent de commencer par déclarer que l'influence prouvée et démonstrative de la société canadienne sur les expériences des peuples racialisés au cours de l'existence du pays est essentielle pour bien comprendre la persistance du racisme et de la racialisation dans la société. En utilisant le marché du travail comme institution représentative, ce texte utilise les méthodes comparatives pour explorer la performance des populations racialisées et non-racialisées en examinant les indicateurs de performance économique tels que le revenu d'emploi et la participation au marché du travail.

Nous regardons une sélection de documents portant sur la discrimination au travail et nous discutons en détail quatre méthodes qui ont été couramment utilisées pour mesurer la fréquence de discrimination raciale, dont les méthodes de statistiques habituelles qui comprennent la régression multiple, des sondages de perception, l'utilisation expérimentale de tests d'attribution aléatoire, et des expérimentations naturelles. Nous concluons que les méthodes sont assez complémentaires pour pouvoir en combiner deux ou plus. En bref, nous voulons prendre le parti qu'il est nécessaire que l'on utilise des « méthodes mixtes » plus intégratrices, car de nos jours le racisme prend plusieurs formes et les manifestations de la racialisation ne peuvent être analysées sous une seule méthode. Nous terminons en réclamant plus de recueils d'information dans des formats non regroupés pour une meilleure compréhension des différents impacts de la race et de la racialisation chez le groupe sujet.

INTRODUCTION

When we set out to ask questions about how to measure racial discrimination in Canada, the underlying issue we are concerned with is whether 'race' still matters in Canadian life. It is a question that is neither neutral nor simple, but one that suggests a range of responses, depending on ideology, social location or life experience. Epistemologically, it lends itself to different responses from varied social locations, racialized or not. However we muster the evidence, it is subject to interpretation, and hence a key consideration in interpreting the question of race and racialization is the social context within which the question is being asked. As Steinmetz (2005) has suggested, method is itself political.[i] Contextually, we consider the structural interests, along with issues of access and equity, as opposed to engaging in an exclusive focus on technical issues of measurement. Nevertheless, it is worth debating if there are any generally agreed upon measures that can help address the question of the existence and the significance of race in Canadian life. It is a complicated question, one that has implications for how we live together across racial lines. Answered incorrectly, we run the risk of trivializing social and economic inequality, perpetuating 'colourblind racism', and reinforcing notions of privilege and social hierarchy.[ii] Not only is it likely that, even when race is not acknowledged and discussed, people see and make racialized decisions, but not acknowledging racism masks social disparities and impedes progress towards social justice. On the other hand, a better understanding of the prevalence and impact of race is essential for effective social policy making. Racial attitudes tend to influence public policy for good or ill, so there is a need to make progress in addressing social disparities related to race. However, this requires us to better understand the extent to which these disparities are tied to long standing processes of racialization rooted in historical structures which, in representing particular ways of organizing society that maintain privilege for some and impose disadvantages on others, can be considered intractable.

Even when we disagree on how to explain them, we know that racial disparities continue to be an important part of the socio-economic landscape in Canadian society. Research shows that, on average, racialized groups' members and Aboriginal peoples experience a lower social and economic status compared to their non-racialized counterparts – in earnings, low income, housing, education, health, etc. They also have differential experiences in the criminal justice system and in dealing with political institutions.[iii] While the disparities themselves are not direct evidence of racially determined outcomes or even racial discrimination, their persistence indicates the likely existence of systemic factors responsible for generating or contributing to these outcomes. So the question to ask is: How much of that disparity is attributable to racial discrimination? It is not a new question, but one that has preoccupied researchers in the international and Canadian contexts for years. An extensive body of literature exists, certainly internationally, but also in the Canadian context, focusing on the question of the influence of race on social economic status.[iv] From other research, we also know that racial discrimination manifests in a variety of ways – as individual racism, systemic racism and institutional racism- along with new modes of manifestation that we will discuss below. This renders the task of identifying a single methodology that is sufficiently effective to measure these varied forms rather formidable, and thus an element of modesty is vital to any claims we can make. What we know of racial discrimination in employment, for instance, is that it can be an individual experience but also tends to be systemic, built into organizational structures and logics, involving formal and informal activities and processes.[v] Systemic discrimination in employment is very different in its diagnosis and remedies from individual racial discrimination, which can be discerned through established human rights processes that have codified standards of behaviour subject to specific sanctions and jurisprudence.

Nevertheless, a range of methodology has been devised and used to try and measure, as well as explain, the persistent levels of disparities in economic outcomes between racialized and non-racialized groups.[vi] The tendency has been to privilege positivist approaches as the definitive way to answer these questions, and in the cases of some researchers, to present them as exclusive. The bias is to emphasize statistically evidential measures, again, at times, to the exclusion of others. Secondly, the inclination has also been to assume a position of 'unconditional race neutrality' under which evidence of differentials along racial lines is assessed at face value, without consideration of possible causes and effects, or the broader social context as contributing factors.[vii] We want to suggest that questions of race and social economic status cross disciplinary boundaries and cannot be limited to economic modeling or quantitative measures alone. Moreover, because racism takes many forms, some less overt than others, it may not be easily subject to simple statistical methodologies.

In exploring the question, there are, for instance, important sociological insights that suggest the benefits of qualitative investigations. We would therefore propose considering a more inclusive approach for measuring the extent and impact of race and particularly racial discrimination in Canadian life. It would be an approach that uses quantifiable comparisons of the social economic status of racialized and non-racialized groups, certainly employing

multiple regression analysis to distinguish the impacts of variable factors on disparities. But it would address the limitations of the statistical method by considering the insights and analytical potential of perception surveys and qualitative investigations of the experience of racialization. Below, we review some of the literature on measuring racism and offer some context for considering the policy issues arising, particularly with regard to racial disparities in the labour market. We identify four approaches that have been used in the Canadian context and provide some examples of their application. These include: Standard statistical methods using multiple regression; Perception Surveys; Experimental use of random assignment tests and audits; and Natural experiments based on varied policy environments over time. We argue for a mixed method approach that combines the statistical comparative and qualitative interview methods to enhance accuracy and effectiveness. A key policy consideration is the need to collect population in a disaggregated format to ensure that there are databases sufficiently detailed to support the process of measuring racialization and racial discrimination.

BACKGROUND: THE SIGNIFICANCE OF RACE AND RACIALIZATION

It may be that in the early 21st century, the question of the validity of race and racialization as social phenomena in Canadian society no longer deserves investigation because of the progress we have made with regard to legislative and institutional apparatus for dealing with all forms of discrimination. After all, Canada is a multicultural society, both by population and by law. The Canadian constitution has affirmed the multicultural character of Canada, and successive governments have sought to codify it in law through the development of official multiculturalism policy and the legislation that gives it renewed force: The Canadian Multicultural Act, 1988. Yet, racial disparities persist and remain a cause for concern for communities and policy makers alike. Some have suggested that it is a reflection of the fact that historically, Canadian social orders are rooted in highly racialized assumptions about the place of Aboriginal and racialized peoples in society.[viii] However, there has always been a reluctance to acknowledge the historical reality of race consciousness in Canadian life, except when it was being deployed for defensive purposes in exclusionary actions on the part of the state or mainstream society.[ix] As a society, we have proven resistant to talking about race as a factor in decision-making, however apparent it may be in the outcomes. Some have argued that the more we use race as an identifier of particular disadvantages, the more we validate its effect.[x] In fact, the discussion about measuring racism is often, though not always, motivated by the desire to demonstrate that it does not exist as a social phenomenon in Canadian society.

From our perspective though, there is little doubt that significant differences exist between the social and economic status (SES) of Aboriginal peoples as well as racialized groups and that of their non-racialized counterparts in Canada, or that clear explanations as to why these differences persist are important for evidence-based policy development. Research shows that Aboriginal people have higher low-income rates, higher unemployment rates, lower educational attainment, and higher incarceration rates than their non-Aboriginal counterparts. They are at the losing end of a growing income disparity, which has distinct impacts on their life chances.[xi] Similarly, racialized group members have lower income levels, higher unemployment rates, lower overall income rates, and are more likely to be concentrated in poor neighbourhoods than their non-racialized counterparts.[xii] These differential SES outcomes do vary somewhat among various groups within the racialized category, but generally hold when you consider a range of indicators and control for such variables as educational attainment and age.[xiii] These realities demand explanation, and while it is possible that race is not the determining factor, its significance must be established, one way or the other. It is well documented that race and racialization have historically influenced access to opportunities for non-racialized peoples through structural imperatives that establish expectations of outcomes based on everyday interactions and decision-making. A significant body of research has established this fact.[xiv] The objective of the exercise ought to be to gain an understanding of the 'extent' of its implication, rather than its irrelevance. Such an approach leads to a different conversation and to the search for a more reasonable threshold of proof and, perhaps, a different set of calibrations. In essence, to avoid a condition of denial, we ought to start with an appreciation of the historical reality of race and racialization in Canadian society based on its determinative influence on the experiences of racialized peoples. From there, we can work backwards to see how it has become less and less salient while considering the factors which have been responsible for that progress.

The fact that there are varying explanations for the documented racial disparities may suggest the real value of seeking standard processes of measuring the impact of racialization. However, the task is complicated by the reality that explanations tend to diverge in their emphasis and assumptions based on the varied theories in which they are rooted. These range from neo-classical liberal to neo-liberal to Marxist to anti-racist, and sometimes, depending on the discipline, from economics to sociology to legal to education and beyond. Here, we take a histor-

ical approach based on the assumption that historical structures of racial discrimination have influenced the incorporation of Aboriginal peoples and racialized immigrants into Canadian society, and particularly, into key institutions such as the Canadian labour market. In the discussion, we use disparities in the labour market as a representative institution that reflects the impact of disparities in other areas such as education, the criminal justice system, and housing. Moreover, these often serve as important variables in labour market success. There is a well documented history of labour market displacement and exclusion, especially during tough economic times, within the Canadian context.[xv] From a historical point of view, racialized immigrants fit into a long-established and enduring hierarchy of stratification of labour that imposes differential levels of exploitation and, in an increasingly income-polarized society, generates a form of "racial dividend" from that labour market differentiation. It is open to speculation that, barring major interventions, Canadian labour markets will continue to show patterns of racial and gender stratification in the early 21st century.

It is within that historical context that we consider the comparative experiences of racialized and non-racialized groups in the Canadian labour market. Using such indicators as employment income, low income, and labour market participation, we are able to investigate differentials in racialized and non-racialized performance and speculate on the extent of racial discrimination in employment and its implications for the life chances of racialized Canadians and for public policy. After Flanagan et al (1984), we take the position that racial discrimination is present when the 'valuation of the personal characteristics of a worker that are unrelated to productivity determine access to employment or compensation' (Flanagan, Smith & Ehrenberg, 1984). Below, we consider comparative data drawn from the 2001 and 2006 Canadian Census for purposes of comparing racialized and non-racialized labour market experiences.

RACE AND RACIALIZATION

As we have indicated earlier, the context within which this discussion needs to be held is one that recognizes the historical reality of race and racialization in Canadian society and the Canadian labour market. From that vantage point, the discussion about race and racialization is intimately connected to another concept that has coloured race relations in the country: colonization. These two concepts – racialization and colonization - are mutually implicated in the construction of the contemporary Canadian reality. Colonialism and racialization are represented in both Canada's past and present in an unacknowledged continuity that defines its dominant and structural social, economic, political, and cultural orders. The very emergence of Canadian society was an act of colonial fiat and erasure in that it involved the rationalization of a new social, political, and economic order, imposed on the Indigenous nations whose territories were 'legally' rendered 'uninhabited' by the British and French monarchies, their operatives, and the economic interests they represented. In so doing, British and French Canada were formed in a pattern of European colonization that would subsequently be replicated in the rest of the world outside Europe through a colonial process of socio-political ordering that also introduced the power of white supremacy. In turn, this phenomenon would transcend geography and history. Colonial consequences of wealth disparities, uneven accumulation, and uneven labour market incorporation resulted in socio-economic conditions for Indigenous and racialized peoples that were differential in significant ways.

As I have argued elsewhere, the power of race consists of its 'adaptive capacity to define population groups and by extension, social agents as self and 'other' at key historical moments'.[xvi] Once set, these categories are deployed by dominant groups with power in society to differentiate labour value leading to differential exploitation of labour. The dominant group uses the process of group differentiation to impose a minority (inferior) status on the group that is rendered the 'other' and subordinates them. When race is the key factor of differentiation, a process of racialization is involved. As part of such a process of racialization, race first acquires social significance attached to certain biological features which become the basis for designating distinct groupings. The social process of racialization then imbues the categories established with value, leading to socio-economic practices that reflect and reinforce those values. It is these practices that are responsible for the differentiation in individual behaviour and institutional practices, policies, treatment, and the emergence of hierarchical structures that privilege some and oppress other members of society.[xvii]

In *Andrews v. Law Society of British Columbia*, the Supreme Court of Canada clearly identified discrimination as:

> "distinction which, whether intentional or not but based on grounds relating to personal characteristics of an individual or group, has an effect which imposes disadvantages not imposed upon others or which withholds or limits access to other members of society" (*Andrews* v. *Law Society of British Columbia*, [1989], S.C.R. 144).

In emphasizing the negative impact of discrimination, the Court set the standard for assessing labour market discrimination as based on effect or impact, not intent. This changes the focus of assessment that had previously tended to consider discrimination as a function of the intentional differential treatment of one agent in a free exchange of labour and wages, subject to competitive market forces, to the exclusion of influences from other institutions in society. This understanding was largely influenced by the human capital approach, about which more will be said later.

In the 21st century, we understand racism to take less overt and yet more complicated forms of expressions than the blatant assertions of white supremacy or open hatred. It is a cultural force that influences decision-making in more institutionally entrenched ways that require more complex and deeper investigation to uncover. In a post-modern time, when 'framing' effectively masks intentions and racist discourse is dominated by rhetorical devices and semantic moves that telegraph racial coding and disenfranchise minorities with remarkable deniability, it is not surprising that we can have non-racialist principles used to upend those engaged in anti-racist practice. Four forms have gained prominence in understanding racism, in addition to the more traditional individual and structural forms. Anti-racism researchers have articulated what they call *Colorblind racism*, a condition in which the status quo is maintained by those who pledge allegiance to race-neutral policies and which shifts the focus back to intent or individual actions and disregards systemic outcomes. [xviii] Next is *Double-bind racism*, which speaks to the reverse accusation of those who claim the existence of systemic racism and the racial regime or advocate on behalf of anti-racist practices and policies as being the perpetuators of racism or "playing the race card." A third form is *Dog-whistle racism*, which involves otherwise public pronouncements carrying messages to particular groups being conveyed on a separate frequency through racially coded words and phrases that reinforce racially attuned subjective decision-making. Fourth is *Image-borne racism*, referring to the condition whereby images are willfully or unconsciously deployed to trigger deeply ingrained stereotypes - an effort worth a thousand color-coded words.[xix] The insight gleaned from the better understanding of these forms of racial expression is that they have a cultural impact and popular influence that frames how racialized people are perceived, evaluated and dealt with, thus leading to policy action and decision-making that perpetuates differential outcomes.[xx]

For instance, it is increasingly common practice in what has become known as double-blind racism for the causality of racialization to be reversed so that it is indigenous and racialized people who are held responsible for the barriers to success they face in a free market full of opportunities. Accusations of reverse racism and 'white male victimhood' become prominent in this construction. In such an environment, the concept of structural racism – the process by which institutional arrangements determine access to society's resources informed by racial considerations - is turned on its head. It is no longer a question of the ways in which society systematically excludes particular groups and thus sets in motion a process of social marginalization and exclusion. Instead, it is suggested that indigenous and racialized peoples themselves, by resisting 'assimilation' or 'integration' into mainstream capitalist society, have made themselves sufficiently strange to non-racialized populations, making the strain in racial relations inevitable. Racialization has also been downgraded as a consideration for explaining disadvantages and disparities. It is no longer 'a systemic force' that determines lives, but rather a prejudice arising from unfamiliarity. It is constructed as an outcome of self-segregation, not its cause. When it comes to race, not only have the assumptions of neutrality reversed the causality of racism, they also imply a fatalistic depoliticisation of the processes by which racism came into being.[xxi] These observations make the task of measuring racism even more complex.

In that context, approaches to measuring racism need to reach beyond the quantifiable effects to a more nuanced understanding of the racialized experience. Anti-racist politics tends to emerge out of communities experiencing racism precisely because it is a reasonable response to their condition of disadvantage rather than a quantifiable social phenomenon. It is the everyday experiences that drive the response, not the effective communication of the 'numbers'. Yet a colourblind or double-blind approach to racialization denudes anti-racism of its politics, reducing it to a conflict management exercise without acknowledging the underlying causes of racialization. Such approaches represent a rejection of anti-racism politics and a revival of the race relations frame with the reductionist belief that racism and prejudice stem principally from mutual ignorance. It is this socio-historical context that we bring to the discussion of the approaches to measuring racism and explaining the prevalence of racial discrimination in the labour market.

APPROACHES TO THE STUDY OF RACIAL DISCRIMINATION IN THE LABOUR MARKET

A number of ideologically defined schools of thought with liberal, Marxist and radical roots have come to dominate the study of discrimination in the labour market. Here, we consider some of the most prominent.

Rooted in the United States, the international study of racial discrimination in labour markets in the modern era can be traced to Becker's (1957) study of economic discrimination, which catalyzed broader interest in racial and gender discrimination in the labour market.[xxii] However, Becker's study was predated by some debates on gender discrimination that took a similar comparative approach. Here, Sidney Webb's 1891 study "The Alleged Differences in the Wages paid to Men and to Women for Similar Work" was most notable. In the 1940s, Gunnar Myrdal's *An American Dilemma: The Negro Problem and American Democracy* (New York: Harper & Row, 1944) focused more directly on the racial divide. There were three important contributions from Myrdal's work, namely: He stimulated discussion about the origins of prejudicial attitudes in the USA. Arguing that the growth of prejudicial attitudes towards African Americans was independent of any possible perceptions of African American inferiority, he suggested that racial attitudes only become predominant when they are used to rationalize inequality of incomes and power. Secondly, he argued for an appropriate role for the state in addressing racial inequality. He suggested that, left to its own devices, racial inequity would simply reproduce itself as racial stereotypes, behaviours, and dynamics which, in turn, reinforce those stereotypes. This he called the "cumulative process," which he saw as more powerful than any discrimination-tempering forces of the competitive marketplace. Aggressive anti-discriminatory action needed to be taken by the state to disrupt the vicious cycle likely to emerge from this process. Third, Myrdal documented the economic disparities that left African Americans at such disadvantage that they could face dismal economic conditions in perpetuity.[xxiii]

Much of Myrdal's work was situated in the microeconomic framework, with basic assumptions about how free market decision-making for employers and employees establishes an equilibrium and differential outcomes attributed to the difference in the quality of the labour. However, Myrdal departed somewhat from the neo-classical assumptions in dealing with the 'Negro problem in America' by identifying a cause and effect relationship between the labour market experiences of African Americans and the other institutions in society that reinforced the disadvantages in income and occupation he observed.

THE CANADIAN CONTEXT

In the 1980s and 90s, with concerns rising about the numbers of racialized asylum seekers and immigrants, we began to see a growing body of literature dealing with the experiences of racialized and immigrant populations in the Canadian labour market. Officially, this phenomenon coincided with the shift in the source countries for most immigrants from Europe to countries in the global South. The studies represent part of a debate in which the "human capital" approach to the differential economic performance of racialized group members, and particularly recent immigrants, was counterposed against "structural barriers" analysis of racially differential outcomes in the labour market. This former approach was represented by the 1991 Economic Council of Canada report looking at the economic and social impacts of immigration, which argued that immigrants (and especially refugees), most of whom were now racialized, had lower human capital quality, thus explaining the trouble they were having 'integrating' into the Canadian labour market and the experience of differential outcomes. What came to be known as the "diminishing returns to human capital" school became especially prominent in the late 1980s and early 1990s debates about immigration, and had a significant impact on Canadian immigration policy, leading to limits in refugee approvals and a shift towards the selection of independent class immigrants over family reunification. What it did not do is specifically address the evidence of differential outcomes between racialized and non-racialized immigrants or differentials that went beyond the experience of recent immigrants and were shared by the Canadian born racialized group.[xxiv]

The notion that split labour markets exist where the cost of labour differs along racial or ethnic lines for the same or similar work seems to have applied to Canadian labour markets at particular periods. Historical accounts of lower wages for the same or similar work have been documented among Chinese and South Asian workers in British Columbia in the late 1800s and early 1900s, Black workers in Halifax in the late 1700 and 1800, Black railway porters across Canada, domestic Filipino workers, racialized nurses in Ontario in the middle to later part of the last century and finally, the ever-growing ranks of contingent workers in many of Canada's urban areas.[xxv] Particularly during tough economic times, examples of displacement and exclusion are also widely documented, especially in the literature dealing with the economic impact of immigration. In the present day Canadian context, the distinctions made using the demand for 'Canadian experience' tend to translate into exclusions based less on ability and more on racialized notions of country of origin. The experiences of internationally educated professionals in the post-1980s in the Canadian labour market give weight to speculation that Canadian experience is less a valid distinction rooted in human capital quality and more a code for particular kinds of labour.

HUMAN CAPITAL THEORIES AND THE 'TASTE FOR DISCRIMINATION'

Becker's ground-breaking study in the 1960s compared the experiences of male and female employees, as well as mostly white employers/employees and black workers shunned by the former group. In typical neo-classical economics fashion, Becker's work assumes that the labour market is made up of free agents, potential employers and employees, with workers trading their labour to the highest bidder, recreating a situation similar to free trade among nations. However, given the evidence of differential wages and occupational concentration between black and white workers, Becker was compelled to offer an explanation that would account for the anomaly within the conventional neo-classical model. Becker identified the existence of preferences in decisions made by employers and employees as relating to choices of employees and fellow workers driven by 'taste'. To maintain the integrity of the neo-classical model, he suggested that acting upon such exclusionary tastes meant many were prepared to incur costs to assert their preferences. He then extrapolated this condition to the general labour market, and used the existence of the 'taste for discrimination' to explain the persistence of acts of discrimination in the labour market, reconciling it to the profit motive.

Subsequent scholarship emerged either in support of Becker's supply side approach, some offering modifications that addressed some of its flaws, or as a critical response to it from the demand side. Becker's taste for discrimination theory has proven empirically invalid partly because it betrays a neo-classical bias which limits his exploration of the socio-cultural basis for the 'taste of discrimination' he identifies, and so fails to address the dynamics of discrimination. He was also boxed into an analytical corner by defining the complex phenomenon of labour market discrimination as purely economic, forcing him into an absurdly incongruent assertion that the discriminators were the real victims because they incurred pecuniary costs (as opposed to benefiting from the process of discrimination). He maintained that position in the face of evidence to the contrary. As well, he held on to the assertion that the labour market is a highly competitive, highly efficient, integrated mechanism for allocating human resources, again a position that is unsustainable given the evidence to the contrary as we will see later in the study. Lastly, because of the ahistoric nature of his formulation, unlike Myrdal, he could not satisfactorily explain a process that clearly builds over time and whose historical basis is important in understanding the discriminatory outcomes in modern labour markets.

Following Becker, a number of public choice theorists attempted to correct some of the weaknesses in the Becker approach, suggesting that it was possible to maintain both a competitive labour market and racially differential outcomes by arguing that the differentials were inherent to the quality and quantity of the subject labour – in essence assigning the difference to female or black inferiority. Kenneth Arrow (1972) attributed the racial and gender differences in wages to adjustment costs related to the hiring and recruitment and training of racialized and female labour.[xxvi] He maintained the position that what we are dealing with is a single free market of labour in which decisions are made by free agents seeking to maximize their benefits, not influenced by institutional imperatives that go beyond the functioning of the ideal type free market. Yet even Arrow could not convincingly explain away the mounting empirical evidence that while some forms of discrimination may be said to impose a cost on those who practice them, the most prominent feature of discrimination in employment was the costs imposed on the victims and that the discriminators as the privileged group drew a social and economic benefit, which in fact was the material basis that sustained discrimination.

A number of Arrow's critics suggested that in an economy creating more wealth than ever, the persistence of a return to an human capital investment gap can best be explained by the disproportionate return that some groups in society achieved at the expense of others. This suggested the existence of a structurally determined economic benefit for some, and cost for others, which sustained racial discrimination. Nevertheless, the neo-classical school and its explanations did not wane as demonstrated by its influence on the Canadian debate. Here, the debate has always had a twist, but in using the 'human capital' approach, it has made claims about an inherent lower quality of racialized labour as the explanation for its lower compensation and occupational segregation (DeVoretz, 1995; Economic Council of Canada, 1991; Stoffman, 1992). Such disparity in human capital is often attributed to immigrant status, even in periods when racialized immigrants have higher levels of education on average, thanks to a stringent immigration selection process that prioritizes long periods of academic or professional training.[xxvii]

Not unlike in the United States of America, the limits of the human capital approach have drawn critics who have argued for a broader institutional framework for explaining racial inequality in the labour market. Boyd's (1992) study of immigrant women's wages identified gender and racial discrimination as the cause of their experience of inequality. A study by Pendukar & Pendukar (1998; 2002) identified a significant racial disadvantage for both immigrant and Canadian-born racialized group members. A study by Christofides & Swindinsky, (1994) pointed to racial discrimination as explaining the wage

gap between racialized and non-racialized earners. Similar results were achieved by Li (2000) and Reitz (2001). However, Hum and Simpson (1999) could only find income disparities for Black males.[xxviii] An experiment done by Henry & Ginsburg in a 1985 workplace audit of prospective employers found that equally qualified black applicants received one offer for every three that white applicants received. In 1999, a set of studies by Harvey, Siu and Keil's (1999) suggested that "The race 'factor' appears to have implications on how severe, extensive and persistent immigrants' socio-economic disadvantage is". Ornstein's analysis of the 1996 and 2001 census data for the Toronto CMA indicates racial disparities that he attributes to racialization.[xxix] Anisef et al (2003) analyzed the labour market outcomes of racialized university graduates between 1986 and 1996 and found the earnings were not commensurate to their level of education and lagged behind those of comparable educated non-racialized group members.[xxx] Further, income and occupation status data shows that non-racialized Canadians realize higher earnings and occupational status despite having average educational attainment rates lower than their racialized counterparts. A plausible explanation consistent with Harvey et al's findings is that many employers use racial status (and immigrant status) to determine employability and estimate productivity and compensation, perhaps to compensate for their inability to gauge the quality of the human capital of racialized workers, who most assume are immigrants (32% are not). It is a practice the neo-classical school would refer to as statistical discrimination.[xxxi]

STRUCTURAL THEORIES OF LABOUR MARKET DISCRIMINATION

The structuralist school takes another approach that focuses on the systemic nature of the differential outcomes. It sees race used as a surrogate for measuring human capital quality even though race is socially constructed. It interrogates the notion that a group can be assumed to inherently possess a certain level of productivity in the absence of verifiable evidence. Structural theories present alternative explanations that attempt to address the flaws in the neo-classical economic framework. They argue that labour markets are social institutions embedded within particular societies in time and space, and thus reflect the values of those societies - including their prejudices. Consequently, they are subject to the structural pressures of the dominant social relations within the societies.

The structural approach suggests that the impact of racial discrimination in the labour market is an important part of the explanation of the discriminatory outcomes documented in the studies cited above. Variants of the structural approach use the concept of labour market segmentation to explain these differential outcomes. They identify a market split into multiple spheres or multiple labour markets on the basis of race, gender, and other such structures that determine differential access and outcomes.[xxxii] Hiebert argues, after Doeringer & Piore (1971), that the labour market is effectively divided along racial lines into jobs in which workers receive substantial rewards for their human capital and those in which they don't. On the basis of this observation, he challenges the assertion that occupational and earnings differentials pertain solely to differences in education quality, language skills, or cultural differences as claimed by the "human capital" school. Instead, he attributes the occupational and earnings inequalities that exist between racialized and non-racialized groups to factors such as structural barriers to access to the labour market, including racial discrimination.

SPLIT LABOUR MARKET

The idea of segmented labour markets draws from Edna Bonacich's work on split labour markets as a source of conflict, and was based on the differential pricing of work among ethnic groups in the American job market. Bonacich identified that labour price differentials derive from assumptions about the human capital quality of a group being correlated to their ethnicity, as well as the motives of the employer. According to her, what results is a three way conflict between the employer and the two contending employee groups as the employer seeks to displace the higher paid group in favour of the lower paid. The response from the group with the income advantage, but not at a job security disadvantage, is to create a form of exclusive labour system to ensure its job security.[xxxiii]

Bonacich uses the idea of exclusionary social closure to explain how discriminatory practices in employment emerge because it speaks to the benefit to be derived from discrimination by both the included group and the employer. In essence, she repudiates Becker's human capital theory approach, which attributes the disadvantage to the discriminator.[xxxiv] In general, the social closure explanation is an effective frame for understanding how the behaviour of a dominant group that enjoys advantages from social exclusion can be perpetuated to maintain privilege. It suggests that status groups create and preserve their identity and advantages by reserving certain opportunities for members of the group. Exclusionary practices reserve the best positions and most desirable opportunities for members of more powerful status groups. An important implication of the social closure argument is that advantaged white male employees seem to benefit from, and thereby struggle for, exclusionary practices. Bonacich identifies racially defined competition as leading to four possible outcomes:

displacement; exclusion of racialized workers; a submerged system with barriers to mobility for racialized workers; or a radical coalition between majority and minority labour (Bonacich, 1972; 1976).[xxxv]

Both the dual labour market and neo-classical traditions present discriminatory behaviour by employers as a way of preserving privilege enjoyed by one group over another. In essence, employers are responding to pressures from advantaged employees or to their own discriminatory preferences when they refuse to hire women or racialized group members. Again, the general argument is that employers discriminate in hiring, generally with encouragement from advantaged employees, and allocate jobs to women and racialized group members that require skills lower than those they may actually have. The more highly skilled and better paying jobs are reserved for the advantaged group.

LABOUR MARKET SEGMENTATION

The reality of racially segregated labour markets is the subject of the work of theorists who use the segmented labour market approach to explain the existence of gender and racially defined segments in the labour market.[xxxvi] Under this approach, jobs and industries are divided into primary and secondary (or peripheral) sectors and occupations on the basis of differentials in wages, employment stability and potential for promotion, working conditions, unionization, and job rights. A further dimension represents the analysis of the levels of mobility barriers both within and between sectors. So while the primary sector has higher wages, employment stability, and mobility, in the secondary sector, work is 'marginal', low paying with little protection, often seasonal, and dead end. Workers confront a reality of little or no bargaining power and intensified exploitation.[xxxvii] In updated variants of the segmented labour market approach, employers participate in a more systemic process of discrimination through the differential evaluation of the skills and productive potential of workers based on their race or gender.[xxxviii] On the other hand, kin and friendship-based social networks ensure that the flow of jobs remains largely within certain social circles, thereby reproducing the racial composition of the segments. The radical version suggests that employers act in concert with such institutions as the state in order to maximize exploitation for the purposes of capitalist accumulation and the subjugation of the victim group of workers. The assumption is that the labour market is an extension of the social structures in society, and that the nature of social relations and dominant relations of power structure the labour market, access to employment, compensation and mobility.[xxxix]

A popular critique of this theory is that the notion of a labour market so firmly divided into either primary and secondary sectors or core and periphery industries is too rigid to describe the labour markets in Capitalist societies where class formation is more volatile.

However, the approach helps to identify the racialized patterns of labour market participation. Not only are racialized groups incorporated into the labour force from the low end, but they are also disproportionately exposed to low wages and low-skill work in many of the least compensated sectors. Furthermore, they are the last hired and first fired, with many in contract, temporary and part-time work. In the Canadian context, most of the structural theories for labour market discrimination focus on the structural imperatives and barriers to access to employment, mobility, and compensation on the demand side. They can be used to explain disparities experienced by racialized workers in the Canadian labour market without impugning the quality of their labour.[xl] However, they open the door to considering processes of racialization as influential in how opportunities in the Canadian economy are distributed. In essence, they provide a basis for measuring racism from the vantage point of claiming its existence as opposed to proving its non-existence.

OTHER WAYS OF SEEING RACE AND RACIALIZATION: CRITICAL RACE THEORY

Experts have been building on the quantitative work done by neo-classical and radical economists in addressing the question of racial discrimination. Because it is limited in the way it addresses structural experiences of racialization, however, it is important to supplement this approach with an analysis providing insight into forms of racialization that may not be easily quantifiable. I draw on critical race theory (CRT) for that purpose because it helps get at the 'facially neutral' structures that otherwise mask embedded processes of racialization and outcomes. While its roots are in law, it effectively surfaces hidden logics that have the effect of influencing decision-making and locking in privilege and disadvantage. It also allows us to examine everyday practices of racism and patterns of inequality that may not be apparent. This dimension of racialization reinforces the more explicit forms of racialization, such as those constituting legal or administrative sanctions or blatant policies and procedures that privilege particular groups within organizations and institutions. CRT is similar to feminist standpoint theory (Harding, 1991), in that it acknowledges the difference gender location presents in experience and perception. Different standpoints in the social hierarchy affect what we see and how we see it. The suggestion is that strong objectivity needs to start from the lived experiences since the standpoints of marginalized people

provide a different view of reality than those of the privileged.[xli] Delgado and Stefancic (2001) suggest that critical race theory embodies a set of key tenets that are useful in such exercises as the one we are engaged in here.[xlii] One is that racialization is not an aberration, but a commonplace phenomenon in dominant European societies. Second is that it is not an incidental phenomenon, but rather that 'white-over-colour ascendacy' serves important privilege-maintaining purposes. Third is that race is socially constructed and historically embedded. Fourth is that the social realities of people of colour give them experiences, viewpoints, and voices that are likely to be different from mainstream or dominant society perspectives on issues of race. It posits that these realities should be acknowledged and not dismissed on the grounds that they are socially invested, as though those of the racially privileged groups are not. CRT represents a possible critique of the over-reliance on standard approaches to the question of the significance of race and racialization. It inspires the need for a deeper appreciation of qualitative investigations of this question, along with the roots of the discrimination approach.

We wish to suggest that taking a historical approach to racialization and using the critical race theory allows us to supplement the quantitative analysis and better understand both the origin of discrimination, as well as its potential manifestation in the socio-economic outcomes of particular groups. A mixed methodological approach that draws on quantitative and qualitative analysis is essential to investigating the question of whether and to what extent racial disparities are attributable to racial discrimination.

RACIAL DISPARITIES IN THE LABOUR MARKET: COMPARING RACIALIZED AND NON-RACIALIZED INDICATORS

One way to describe the disparities racialized groups face in the labour market is to compare their employment earnings and other income with that of non-racialized groups or the Canadian average. Drawing on a method historically associated with Myrdal's (1944) work, we consider the differentials in key indicators of social and economic status as a basis for establishing the existence of disparities along racial lines in the Canadian labour market.[xliii] How much of the disparities in the SES of racialized people is attributable to racial discrimination in the labour market? We present some comparisons of the racialized and non-racialized group data on incomes and low income, which can be a basis for answering the question and making a case for public policy action. Drawing on the literature, we then discuss the various ways that the question of measuring racial discrimination has been treated by researchers from various disciplines.

Table 1: Employment Earnings – comparative racialized and non-racialized (median), 2000 and 2005

	2000	2005	2000	2005	% change % NR
	dollar (CAN$)				
Chinese	32,354	32,981	89	88	1.9
South Asian	31,486	31,103	87	83	-1.2
African Canadian	28,215	28,012	78	75	-0.7
Filipino	28,542	29,393	79	79	3.0
Latin American	26,034	26,241	72	70	0.8
Southeast Asia	28,958	28,880	80	77	-0.3
Arab	30,452	29,441	84	79	-3.3
West Asian	27,101	26,279	75	70	-3.0
Korean	27,149	25,892	75	69	-4.6
Japanese	42,579	42,177	117	113	-0.9
Racialized (nie)	32,841	30,666	90	82	-6.6
Total Canadian	35,619	36,301			1.9
Total Non-Racialized	36,353	37,332			2.7
Total Racialized	30,451	30,385		84	-0.2

Source: Statistics Canada. Census of Canada (2001 & 2006)

Table 1 shows comparisons of median employment earnings between a select groups of racialized groups and non-racialized groups, as well as the overall median Canadian earnings for 2000 and 2005. We also compare the percentage change from 2000 to 2005 and show that there was a consistent gap between the groups in both years. What the data shows is that the median Canadian employment earnings grew modestly by 1.9% while the non-racialized earnings grew at a higher level, 2.7%. However, most racialized groups, except the Chinese, Filipino and to a very modest extent, Latin Americans, lost ground between those years. In essence the data show that the gap between racialized and non-racialized populations did grow between those years.

In Table 2 (below), we consider the incomes of select racialized groups against the Canadian average. We have disaggregated the category for a more accurate picture of the disparities and to address the criticism that there are variations within the group. The data show that, except in the case of the Japanese group (over $3,000 above the

Table 2: Average Income (all sources) by select racialized community, 2001

	Men	Women	Total
		(CAN$)	
All Canadian earners	36,800	22,885	29,769
African community	27,864	19,639	23,787
Arab community	32,336	19,264	26,519
Caribbean community	29,840	22,842	25,959
Chinese community	29,322	20,974	25,018
Filipino community	27,612	22,532	24,563
Jamaican community	30,087	23,575	26,412
Haitian community	21,595	18,338	19,782
Japanese community	43,644	24,556	33,178
Korean community	23,370	16,919	20,065
Latin American community	27,257	17,930	22,463
South Asian community	31,396	19,511	25,629
Vietnamese community	27,849	18,560	23,190
West Asian community	28,719	18,014	23,841

Source: Statistics Canada. Census of Canada (2001)

average), most of the racialized groups experience a disadvantage compared to the average Canadian population, one that ranges between a few thousand dollars to up to $10,000 in the case of the Haitian and Korean groups.

Table 3: Low income by select racialized community, 2000

	Adult	Adult unattached	Children under 15
Total Canadian population	15%	38%	18%
African community	39%	56%	47%
Arab community	36%	52%	40%
Caribbean community	26%	44%	33%
Chinese community	26%	55%	27%
Filipino community	16%	48%	18%
Jamaican community	26%	41%	34%
Haitian community	39%	61%	47%
Japanese community	18%	48%	16%
Korean community	43%	72%	48%
Latin American community	28%	53%	32%
South Asian community	23%	49%	28%
Vietnamese community	27%	49%	35%
West Asian community	37%	56%	43%

Source: Statistics Canada, Census of Canada (2001)

Table 3 shows a stark picture of low income arising from the inability of racialized groups to sustain comparable earnings incomes. Most of the racialized groups experience significantly higher levels of low income than the Canadian averages among adults, unattached adults, and children less than 15 years of age.

Table 4 shows the share of racialized groups among Ontario's low income population. While racialized groups represent 26% of the province's population, they represent 41.3% of people living in poverty, a significant disproportionality that grew over the 2001- 2006 census period.

Table 4: How the low income population in Ontario is distributed across age groups, Aboriginal, and racialized groups, 2006

	Aboriginal	Racialized	White/ Other	Total
Under age 15	0.9%	11.7%	10.5%	23.1%
Age 15-24	0.5%	7.3%	8.9%	16.7%
Age 25-44	0.7%	12.9%	14.8%	28.4%
Age 45-64	0.5%	6.8%	13.9%	21.2%
Age 65+	0.1%	2.5	7.9%	10.5%
Total	2.7%	41.3%	56.0%	100%

Source: Statistics Canada, Census of Canada (2006); Before Tax LICO, Community Social Data Strategy (D. Patychuk, Access Alliance, Feb 2010)

These disparities in employment income and in low income demand effective policy responses to social inequality, but also demonstrate the need to work towards generally agreed upon measures of the impact of racialization in the labour market and other spheres of life. Below, we discuss some of the broadly used measures and argue for a more inclusive approach to the task of measuring racism.

APPROACHES TO MEASURING RACISM AND RACIALIZATION

As noted above, a number of these approaches are commonly used to try and explain racial disparities in the labour market. Below, we discuss four approaches to the question of measuring racial discrimination, considering their effectiveness and limitations. These include: Standard statistical methods using multiple regression; Perception Surveys; Experimental use of random assignment tests and audits; and natural experiments based on varied policy environments. The point to be made is that even these are not exhaustive in and of themselves, and other ways of measuring racism continue to be experimented with by various researchers and practitioners. They range in their sophistication and accuracy. Human rights organizations such as B'nai Brith collect annual data on inci-

dences of anti-semitism and compare them from year to year in order determine whether racism is on the rise or in decline. Still others have used anthropological narratives of life experiences among racialized populations as a means of gaining a deeper understanding of the experience of race and racialization. In our estimation, no one method is foolproof or sufficiently authoritative that it does not stand to benefit from supplementation. Indeed, some can be complementary although they are rooted in differing theoretical traditions.

STANDARD STATISTICAL METHOD: MULTIPLE REGRESSION

Perhaps the most dominant approach is the statistical method which involves an attempt to quantify the effect of racialization in Canadian life using a comparison of data showing different socio-economic outcomes and, while controlling for a number of relevant variables, attempting to identify the effect of racial discrimination on said outcomes. This is especially popular among labour market researchers seeking to evaluate the relative disadvantage of racialized people in earnings. Rooted in the human capital theory of labour markets, the approach uses standard statistical methods, foremost of which is multiple regression. There are key variations in this approach as well. For instance, Yoshida and Smith (2008) have identified two procedures that are typically used by researchers.[xliv] One method preferred by sociologists is what is termed the residual method. This involves the introduction of a number of dummy variables identifying a disadvantaged group, along with human capital and other relevant controls such as age, education, length of immigration, into a regression equation. If, after adding controls, there is a significant effect of the dummy variables on earnings, that effect is assumed to be a valid indicator of disadvantage. Economists tend to employ the Oaxaca-Blinder decomposition technique, which uses separate equations for the advantaged and disadvantaged groups. The coefficients estimated for one group are then subtracted from the estimate of the other group and derive a measure of disadvantage or discrimination.[xlv]

A long list of researchers base their analysis on this methodology and many have concluded that disadvantages exist particularly between Canadian-born white males and non-Canadian born racialized males.[xlvi] An analysis by Pendukar and Pendukar (2002) has suggested that there is a consistent disadvantage for racialized males across five census periods. But there is also variation within the racialized category, with Japanese-Canadian males disadvantaged in only one of the five periods, while Chinese males were disadvantaged in three of the five, and Blacks in all five.[xlvii] On the other hand, Hum and Simpson's (1999) analysis using Survey of Labour and Income Dynamics (SLID) data demonstrated no significant wage gap between racialized and non-racialized Canadian-born males, except for Black males.[xlviii] Incidentally, the disadvantage is not as distinctive between Canadian born white females and racialized females, perhaps because women are relatively lower paid and the margins are diminished, limiting the space in which to demonstrate the disadvantage. Much of this work relies on Census data, supplemented by SLID data in some cases, which represents a limitation of sorts. Yoshida and Smith (2008) have suggested that the absence of a direct measure of experience – with proxies such as length of education used instead - may limit the effectiveness of the data source in measuring discrimination. However, this approach is increasingly dominant in other Canadian 'discrimination' research, including housing and education.[xlix]

A number of criticisms have been leveled at the approach. To start with, there are issues with the completeness of the control variables. Because almost any set of variables used to capture differences across individuals in skills or preferences tend to be incomplete, many researchers are skeptical of such regression based measures of racial discrimination. For instance, Yoshida and Smith give the example of how the experience of proxy in human capital derived equations misses some relevant differences in the skills that racialized and non-racialized groups bring to the labour market. To be sure, the equations can be augmented by other measures of skill that may be available, such as language ability, and may thus increase their accuracy. However, the challenge remains and has been demonstrated in labour market research as well as in housing and education.[l] There is also the concern about the control variables themselves being potentially racially biased or capturing discrimination (as may be the case with occupation or tenure with an employer, in the case of the labour market). Some control variables such as educational attainment might lead to underestimates of discrimination if skill requirements for the job themselves reflect racial bias (as was often the case with skill requirements for policing and fire departments in the past). Choice variables may not pick up the impact of such practices as employer consideration of the racial makeup of the customer base in determining work assignments, as we have seen in the hospitality industry with 'white faces at the front of the house and racialized faces at the back of the house'.[li] Finally, as Holzer and Ludwig (2003) have argued, the regression method requires strong assumptions about "the functional form of the relationship between the background characteristics and the outcome of interest, particularly when there is limited overlap in the distributions of these background variables across the two groups being compared. They suggest that a preferred approach might be to focus attention on those

among the groups who share similar background characteristics.[lii] In some ways, those using the experimentation approach we discuss below attempt to overcome that limitation in this very way.

Despite these limitations, the statistical method is clearly the dominant, though not exclusive, means of measuring racism. In fact, given a broader understanding of the experience and impact of racialization, it is imperative that other measures of racial discrimination be deployed along with the statistical measures. One such measure uses perception surveys.

PERCEPTION OR ATTITUDE SURVEYS

Perception surveys seek to gauge the responses of various population groups to particular social phenomenon. They record first person accounts of experiences or knowledge of experiences, as opposed to deriving such knowledge from static values. It is also the case that racialized and non-racialized groups may perceive the same events and environments differently given their experience. Similarly, attitudes have an influence on public policy as has been revealed by surveys of attitudes towards immigration at key moments in evolution of Canadian immigration policy. There is significant attitudinal survey work done by such organizations as Gallup, EKOS Research, Léger Marketing, Angus Reid, etc., which, from time to time, address issues of race and racialization.

Perhaps the most authoritative perception survey on racial attitudes in the Canadian context is the Ethnic Diversity Survey (EDS) by Statistics Canada.[liii] The Ethnic Diversity Survey was a post-census phone survey conducted in 2002 using a sample of 41,695 persons aged 15 and over, excluding Aboriginal peoples. Its objective was to 'better understand how people's backgrounds affect their participation in Canada's social, economic and cultural life and included topics relating to social cohesion. It used a two-phase stratified sample designed to enhance representation of ethnic minorities. The survey is a rich source of data about perceptions of racial and ethnic discrimination.

The 2002 Ethnic Diversity Survey includes reports of personal experiences of racial and ethnic discrimination. Among other questions, respondents were asked, "In the past 5 years (or, for more recent immigrants, since arriving in Canada), do you feel that you have experienced discrimination or been treated unfairly by others in Canada because of your ethnicity, race, skin colour, language, accent, or religion?" A further two questions were asked to capture perceptions of vulnerability to discrimination. The first asked whether the respondent felt "uncomfortable or out of place in Canada" because of race or cultural background.[liv] The second asked whether the respondent was concerned about becoming a victim of a hate crime. Respondents who felt uncomfortable or out of place at least some of the time, or who were at least somewhat worried about being a victim of a hate crime, are considered to have felt vulnerable to discrimination based on race or cultural background.[lv] A number of researchers have utilized the EDS to address the question of the prevalence of racial discrimination, either to supplement analysis of quantitative census data analysis, or an analysis of its survey data in its own right.[lvi]

Reitz and Banerjee (2005) have taken the approach of considering what they refer to as 'objective and perceived' evidence of inequality in their study. They use the ethnic survey data to address the question of racial inequality and discrimination in Canada as well as the social integration of racialized group members in Canadian society, and then examine the relation between the two. They use a comparison of employment income data and low income data from the 2001 Census and then consider the survey results from questions on 'perceived discrimination and perceived vulnerability'. They conclude that "racial inequality is a significant issue in Canada, and that the extent of discrimination is a point of dispute between racial groups. This creates a potentially significant racial divide and prompts us to ask whether existing policy responses are adequate to bridge the gap."[lvii] Using the data from the EDS, they analyze mean individual-equivalent household incomes for ethnic groups, relative to the mean for the census metropolitan area of residence. According to their analysis, racialized group member "incomes are $7,686 less than the local average, while for Whites, they are $1,895 above the local average; thus, the gap is $9,581. In relation to the national mean individual-equivalent household income of $41,330, this gap is 23.2 percent." Further, they report that relative household incomes of virtually all racialized groups — including Chinese, South Asians and Blacks, as the largest groups — are substantially lower than those of almost all White groups in 2001. The poverty rate for racial minorities was nearly double that for the rest of the population - 26.6 percent compared with 14.2 percent; some racial minorities had higher rates than others. White immigrant groups experience inequality as well, but not nearly to the same extent.

EXPERIMENTAL USE OF RANDOM ASSIGNMENT TESTS AND AUDITS

As mentioned above, a number of researchers have sought to address the limitations of the statistical method by using experimental approaches with tests or audits. So, given the problems of omitted variables bias and other issues of incompleteness in empirical analysis of racial discrimination, some researchers see real experimental

data as a good substitute. These involve carefully matched individuals randomly assigned to treatment and control groups used to test a particular hypothesis or policy/program effect. A number of these tests and audits have been done in the United States and Canada.[lviii] They usually involve one member of either group to be compared, say racialized and non-racialized, who are given comparable credentials and then sent out to apply for a variety of job openings or services (say housing). The responses are then documented and analyzed. In a number of the studies done in the United States and Canada using this method, there has been significant to strong evidence of racial discrimination documented.

One such important experiment was undertaken by Henry and Ginsburg (1985) titled "Who gets the Job". In that study, they sought to examine access to employment by evenly matching black and white job seekers for entry positions in a number of established companies. The results showed white applicants received three job offers for every offer a black applicant received. In additional field-testing using phone interviews, many callers of South Asian or Caribbean heritage were screened out before they even received in-person interviews.[lix] Similar studies have been done in housing by the Canadian Civil Liberties Association in Québec and more recently, by the Centre for Equality Rights in Accommodation (CERA).[lx]

While these experiments may provide the cleanest evidence of racial discrimination, they also have some inherent limitations. For one, there is a question of the extent to which the testers are truly comparable. It is unclear whether the testers perform in a comparable manner in interviews, for instance, or whether houses (and other services) listed are truly representative. It is also debatable as to what audits of this kind measure because the artificial matching of group members may not sufficiently replicate a variety of considerations that go into decision-making in real life. Moreover, the distinctions between racism at the individual and systemic level are not accounted for in such testing. Lastly, these tests may not be ideal to measure the prevalence of other forms of racial discrimination, in, for example, education.[lxi]

NATURAL EXPERIMENTS BASED ON POLICY ENVIRONMENTS

An alternative way of testing hypothesis is through what have been termed natural experiments.[lxii] Here, the impact of policies aimed at addressing social conditions such as racialization are documented and analyzed. Research on the effectiveness of anti-discrimination legislation falls under this category and it seeks to measure the level of decline in discrimination given a particular policy. In the United States, where affirmative action legislation has been in place longer than in Canada or most other jurisdictions, Freeman (1973) undertook a review of the effectiveness of the American federal government's Equal Employment Opportunity laws by comparing data from before the 1964 legislation and after, so as to establish any discernible changes in the labour market condition of Blacks and women. Later, Heckman and Payner (1989) used a similar approach using micro data from textile plants in South Carolina.[lxiii]

In the Canadian context, one of the direct ways researchers have been able to obtain data on racial discrimination is through analyses of human rights commission complaints on racial discrimination. Since the early 1960s, Canada has had human rights statutes to prevent and eliminate unfair discrimination. Human rights in employment are covered by human rights statutes, the Canadian Constitution, and employment equity legislation at the federal level. All jurisdictions (all ten provinces) have human rights statutes that prohibit and attempt to eliminate employment discrimination on numerous prohibited grounds such as race, national/ethnic origin, colour, religion, age, sex, marital status, disability, sexual orientation, etc. Researchers find working with human rights commissions records an effective way of documenting the prevalence and extent of racial discrimination based on the level of complaints to the various levels at which these institutions exist.[lxiv] For instance, in a study on employment discrimination, Agocs (2000) analyzed 119 race-based human rights cases brought to commissions at the federal and provincial levels spanning two decades (1980-1999) published in the Canadian Human Rights Reporter. The purpose of the research was to "develop assessment tools that can be used to identify the extent and nature of systemic racism, and of systemic racism in combination with sexism, within the culture of an organization."[lxv]

They found that the number of cases going to tribunal for adjudication from the first decade (1980-1989) to the second (1990-1999) indicated an increased amount of litigation and "perhaps an indication of the growing complexity of racial discrimination in Canada" (Agocs, 2000:9). The boards ruled in favour of the complainant in 47.6% of the cases, a rate that remained stable in both periods studied. Nevertheless, it speaks to the continuing concern about workplace discrimination and the need for vigilance. The boards were also more likely than not to impose remedies that included monetary compensation for pain and suffering. Agocs concludes that "racial discrimination is a serious problem that prevents the efficient operation of the labour market and causes significant losses for the national economy in terms of underutilized human resources as well as personal suffering and loss of fair opportunities to a large segment of the society". (Agocs, 2000:16). Agocs acknowledges that

individual complaints-based systems tend to be more effective in addressing access discrimination than ‘treatment discrimination’, which relates to on-the-job and in the workplace expressions of racial discrimination. Therefore, the study may be able to tell us about more blatant forms of racial discrimination but not the more systemic ones – a limitation with this type of study and policy response.

Beck, Reitz and Wiener (2002) undertook a similar study of the 1997 tribunal decision on a human rights complaint against the Canadian Federal Department of Health - *National Capital Alliance on Race Relations (NCARR) v. Health and Welfare Canada*, in which they evaluated the department’s ability to address glass-ceiling barriers to the promotion of racialized group members to senior management positions. They argued that it provided what they termed “an effective illustration of the subtle and elusive nature of this form of discrimination, the complex evidence required for legal proof and the rationale for employment –equity remedies.”[lxvi] They also observe that this type of evidence is essential for developing relevant jurisprudence as well as public policy.

A similar study by Harish Jain (1998) focused on an analysis of the effectiveness of federal employment equity legislation (EEA, 1996). The context was the requirement of employers covered by the Employment Equity Act and the Federal Contractors Program to include the culture of the workplace in their review of employment systems in order to identify discriminatory barriers. The provisions of these statutes require employers to undertake voluntary employment equity programs for members of disadvantaged groups that include: women, racialized groups, aboriginal peoples, and persons with disabilities. The study indicated that, based on levels of representation of racialized group members among federally regulated employers, the progress had been less than satisfactory after ten years of the implementation of the legislation.[lxvii]

Such reviews of existing policy and their impacts on racial discrimination provide valuable information and insight into the prevalence of the phenomenon. In the case discussed above, the trends are such that the problem should be of significant interest to public policy makers. Further, as Agocs observes, there is a recent trend among researchers and scholars in the field to emphasize the social and psychological causes of racial discrimination in addition to its economic aspects – in recognition of the complexity of the phenomenon and the need to move beyond exclusively positivity-based approaches to studying its prevalence.

AN INCLUSIVE APPROACH: MIXED METHOD MEASUREMENT

Given the strengths and limitations of the four methods discussed above, we want to suggest that rather than make a choice, there is the possibility of complementarily with regard to a number of these methods. There is real value to consider when using a combination of two or more methods with the objective of enhancing the level of accuracy and reliability of the data collected and the analysis based on that data. Moreover, each method has the potential to reveal insights that the other may not be able to as effectively. In that regard, we would recommend a mixed method approach that combines the statistical comparative and qualitative interview methods to enhance accuracy and effectiveness. We see this as more inclusive of the various dimensions of racialization and more effective in unmasking the experience of racism while also providing us with a relatively reliable instrument for gauging the extent of prevalence. In that regard, we call for a more inclusive methodological approach to measuring racism.

DISAGGREGATED DATA

A final note relates to the base of data required to effectively study racial discrimination. Much of the research utilizes Census data, as well as SLID data. As rich and accurate as it is, it is only as effective as it is able to provide a level of disaggregation to allow for racial and or ethnic comparison. That is why it is critical to maintain and even expand the level of disaggregated data collected by state and non-state institutions. As the Ontario Human Rights Commission has observed, such data collection is important for verifying, monitoring and measuring trends, perceptions and progress when it comes to issues of social inequality and social justice.[lxviii] For the purposes of measuring racial discrimination, it is essential to increasing the accuracy and validity of analysis and a better understanding of the phenomenon. More, not less disaggregated data is necessary and it should lead to a culture of measurement that would provide better answers to the questions we ask here today.

CONCLUSION

We have considered the question of measuring racial discrimination within a socio-historical context that privileges the need to understand racism and racialization as social phenomena that have both individual and systemic expression, rather than to prove that it does not exist. The imperative is not to diminish its impact on real lives, but to remain vigilant about the need for effective policy

responses. In that regard, the task is to better appreciate the extent of racialization's impact on the lives of individuals, groups, and society as a whole. We have explored a number of possible approaches used by researchers from a variety of disciplines in measuring the prevalence of racial discrimination in particular institutions and considered their effectiveness and limitations. While the standard statistical method that compares racialized and non-racialized experiences using select indicators with varying degrees of complexity is most dominant, other approaches have been used to significant effect. Here, we have identified the experimental methods as well as the perception surveys as potentially complimentary. Nevertheless, these measures alone do not fully capture the prevalence of racialization, particularly in its changing forms. We suggest, for instance, that given their limitations, critical race theory provides added insights that are valuable in answering the broader question as to the significance of race and racialization as a social force in Canadian society. Qualitative methods can also deepen our understanding of the phenomenon. In the final analysis, we argue for a more inclusive approach to measuring racism and suggest that a mixed method approach is likely to produce the most accurate and reliable reading of the complexity of race and racialization as both historical and contemporary processes that impact the lives of racialized and non-racialized people in Canadian society.

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MEASURING RACISM: A CASE FOR VERSTEHEN

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ABSTRACT

This paper critically reviews four of the dominant ways that racism has been measured in social science literature in Canada: through social distance and attitudinal surveys; self reports; statistical patterns of over and under representation; and through discourse analysis. The paper concludes by suggesting that the meanings people attach to themselves and to their interactions with others are important to the definition and measurement of racism. As a result, it argues that Max Weber's method of *verstehen* offers a productive and useful approach to measuring and understanding racism.

RÉSUMÉ

Ce texte porte un regard critique sur quatre façons dominantes dont le racisme a été quantifié dans la documentation canadienne en sciences humaines : par des sondages sur les attitudes et les distances sociales, par des auto-évaluations, par des motifs de statistiques portant sur la surreprésentation et la sous-représentation, et par des analyses de discours. Ce texte se termine en proposant que les significations que les individus attachent à leur personne et à leurs interactions avec les autres soient importantes quant à la définition et quantification du racisme. En conséquence, il soutient que la méthode *verstehen* de Max Weber nous offre une approche productive et utile pour comprendre et quantifier le racisme.

INTRODUCTION

In 1942, anthropologist Ashley Montague described racial thinking as 'man's most dangerous myth' (Montagu, 1964). In the years following World War II, many politicians and scientists in the West were optimistic that by disseminating proper knowledge about the meaninglessness of 'race' based on biological and genetic advances made in the understanding of human DNA, racism would soon be written about in the past tense. From the perspective of the 21st century, this optimism was misplaced. Despite rising levels of education, increasing knowledge of human biology and genetics, improvements in overall standards of living, increased opportunities to travel and to conduct business around the world, better communications technology, and arguably more intercultural contacts between groups of people, racism, and allegations of racism, still pervade many societies. This is not the place to untangle the complex reasons for the persistence of racism. However, the continued existence of racism, and the perception among some that the level of racism is increasing rather than decreasing, raises interesting methodological questions about how racism is analyzed and understood. Not least of these is whether it is the level of racism or the definition of racism that is changing. Put differently, are inter-group hostilities and prejudices increasing, or are a more diverse range of attitudes, behaviours, and practices coming to be *defined* as racism?

As a social science concept, there are a number of things about racism that make it hard to measure. First, the concept has undergone considerable redefinition and inflation over the past sixty years. When the word 'racism' first appeared in the Oxford English dictionary in the 1970s, the first English usage of the term was traced to the 1930s and was originally defined as 'the theory that distinctive human characteristics and abilities were determined by race' (Barkan, 1992). In defining it as a 'theory', the first formal definition tended to focus on the systematically articulated ideas of late 19th and early 20th century

'race' science (Banton, 1977). Since then, its scope has been expanded to describe both systematic theories and less systematically developed ideas, or 'common sense'. It has also been expanded to include individual, organizational, and systemic behaviours and practices. Some see racism as consciously and intentionally articulated and practiced; others see racism as unconscious and unintentional (Henry and Tator, 2010). These redefinitions have led to a number of adjectives to modify the original meaning of the term. Researchers and activists now refer to systemic racism (Feagin, 2006), institutional racism (Better, 2002), new racism (Barker, 1981), scientific racism (Banton, 1977), cultural racism (Modood, 2005), aversive racism (Gaertner and Dovidio, 1981), democratic racism (Henry and Tator, 2010) and White racism (Feagin and Vera, 1995) to name only a few.

Second, expressions of racism are contextual. Expressions of racism may draw upon general sets of assumptions about people and the world but the specific articulations of racist ideas are usually context specific and refer to particular migration and contact histories. Racism is articulated in particular socio-historic contexts and makes reference to particular biological and socio-cultural features of people (Miles and Brown, 2003). As a result, the content of racism is both historically and culturally variable. Despite this variability, some use one particular historical or societal case as the defining essence of racism. Some American scholars, for example, argue that 'white racism' is the only real racism because white people have a monopoly over power in that country (Feagin and Vera, 1995: ix-x). This might be the case in the US, but it is not in places like Sudan, Rwanda, and China. If racism is about the power that white people have over racialized others, then by definition, there cannot be any racism in the latter countries. Clearly, the definition of the term needs to be broad enough to be able to encompass a variety of particular manifestations of racism and at the same time, identify what particular forms of racism have in common.

Third, allegations of racism are now ubiquitous in many Western societies. Individual thoughts, ideas, behaviours, and organizational practices are now routinely labeled as racist. In Canada, the Department of Citizenship and Immigration was recently called racist for its handling of the case of Suaad Hagi Mohamud, the Canadian woman stranded in Kenya for months because Canadian authorities were uncertain about her real identity. Police forces around the country have been accused of racism for both over-policing and under-policing minority communities (Tanovich, 2006). Some say universities are rife with racism (Henry and Tator, 2009). Others say that the ways that Canadian employers, licensing bodies, and educational institutions devalue the overseas educational credentials of immigrants is a reflection of racism in Canadian society (Foster, 2009). Indeed, on any particular day it is hard to open a newspaper or hear a newscast and not be confronted with the allegation that some individual, institution, or idea is racist.

Fourth, racism is a term of political abuse. To be labeled as a racist is to be defined as someone who is outside of the bounds of civilized, reasonable public debate (Miles and Brown, 2003). It is to be cast as irrational, as a hatemonger, and as someone who deserves to be ridiculed or perhaps even pitied. After they published their famous statement about the need for new immigrants to conform to their 'life standards', the regional councilors in the Quebec community of Hérouxville were condemned in some quarters for their racism and xenophobia; some called the statement a 'throwback to another era'. Former U.S President Jimmy Carter said recently that the criticisms of President Barak Obama are really a reflection of the deeply entrenched racism within American society. The American right and sections of the press struck back, calling both President Obama and his supporter Oprah Winfrey 'racists' for things they have allegedly said about white people over the years. The Department of Citizenship and Immigration's web site explains that Canada is not participating in the 2009 Durban Review Conference because of racism expressed at the 2001 Durban World Conference Against Racism, Racial Discrimination, Xenophobia and Related Intolerance; in other words, the department is alleging that a conference which purported to be against racism was in fact racist because of the stance it took towards Israel. In this day and age, there are few better ways to politically discredit an individual or an idea than to call them or it 'racist'.

Finally, racism is a moral issue to the extent that most regard it as fundamentally wrong. Few people voluntarily adopt the label of racist as a central feature of their identity, even when it seems that the label fits pretty well. The mother whose child was at the centre of a 2009 child custody battle with Manitoba Child and Family Services because her daughter went to school with a Nazi swastika drawn on her arm rejects the characterization of her beliefs as racist, neo-Nazi, or white supremacist. The girl's mother claimed instead that she was a 'White nationalist', and saw nothing wrong with teaching her children to be White and proud. The denial of racism, even among avowed white supremacists, is indicative of the moral power of the concept. Since racism is widely regarded as fundamentally wrong, and as a moral flaw, few people are willing to admit to holding a racist view or attitude.

Since racism is not regarded as a socially desirable quality or attribute of an individual, idea, or organizational practice, social scientists have had to develop

indirect ways to measure the level and significance of racism. Since it is used in so many different ways, and since it carries heavy political and moral connotations, racism is particularly important to define. This is also what makes racism tricky to measure. Without a clear definition, measurement is meaningless. Before offering our own approach to defining and measuring racism, we review some of the existing ways that racism is measured in the social sciences, and point to some of the problematic aspects of these techniques.

MEASURING RACISM

There are four main ways that racism has been measured within sociology in Canada: through social distance and attitudinal surveys; self-reports; statistical patterns of over and under representation; and through discourse analysis.

SOCIAL DISTANCE AND ATTITUDINAL SURVEYS

Historically, one of the traditional measures used to tap into the extent of ethnic and racial animus in a society has been the social distance scale. Sociologist Emory Bogardus at the University of Chicago initially developed this scale in 1925 (Bogardus, 1925) as a way to get at an individual's true feelings about minority groups. His method involved asking participants a series of hypothetical questions about the closest degree of social intimacy they would be prepared to accept. Survey subjects were given series of ethnic and racial categories and were asked to grade the relationships they were prepared to accept within each category. His social distance scale asked individuals to indicate their willingness to interact with specific groups in various situations: as close relatives by marriage; as close personal friends; as neighbours on the same street; as co-workers in the same occupation; as citizens of the country; as visitors to the country; and as persons to be excluded from the country (Marger, 1996: 80-81).

In Canada, modified versions of this kind of social distance scale have been developed to examine the nature of inter-group preferences, and indirectly, racism. For example, a 1996 study examined how various immigrant and Canadian-born ethnic groups were ranked in terms of their 'comfort levels' associated with 'being around' individuals from each group. The study found that respondents ranked British, Italian, French, Jewish, Ukrainian, and German origin individuals highest in terms of 'comfort level'. It also found that Sikh, Indo-Pakistani, and Arab origin individuals were ranked lowest in terms of comfort level (Angus Reid Group, 1991). A more recent Ekos survey (2000, cited in Li, 2003: 174) asked Canadians their feelings about someone from a given country moving into their neighbourhood. Consistent with earlier studies, this study found that Canadians were more positively disposed to the idea of immigrants from the United Kingdom and France moving into their neighbourhood, than they were for immigrants from China, Jamaica, and Somalia.

More recently, surveys have tended to focus specifically on Canadians' views on 'visible minority' immigration to Canada. One survey asked Canadians whether they felt that 'too many', 'too few', or 'about the right number' of visible minority immigrants were being admitted to Canada. The survey found that 27 percent of Canadians felt that 'too many' visible minority immigrants were being admitted to Canada, a figure that appeared to be on the rise (quoted in Li, 2003: 172).

These kinds of questions attempt to tap into Canadian attitudes towards immigrant and minority groups but do not dig so deep as to ask why individuals believe what they do. It is clear that different interpretations of attitudes are possible. One interpretation is that an individual may feel that too many visible minority groups are being admitted to the country because they feel that certain groups are biologically or culturally inferior, or inherently cause problems for society - a set of beliefs that can legitimately be seen as a reflection of racism. On the other hand, others may believe that visible minority immigrants are experiencing difficulties in the labour market and that it is better if earlier waves of immigrants become absorbed into the economy before more newcomers are admitted - a belief that is not necessarily driven by racism. Others may feel that too many immigrants are being admitted to Canada; their concerns may not be directed at visible minorities, but rather at the immigration system in general. While opposition to visible minority immigration may be an element to Canadian public opinion, it is not clear whether the entirety of this opposition is in fact a reflection of racism.

Other difficulties with survey and social distance-type scales include the fact that ideas and behaviour do not necessarily correspond (Miles and Brown, 2003). Polls and social distance scales are affected by social desirability, and an individual may not wish to admit that they would feel uncomfortable around a person of another origin. Furthermore, an individual may not admit to feeling a sense of distance or discomfort from a particular group in a social distance-type survey, but their actual behaviour might be different. Polls leading up to the recent Swiss referendum banning minarets on Mosques predicted that the referendum would not pass, but when voting day came, a strong majority of Swiss voted in favour of the ban. This strongly suggests that social desirability shaped responses to polls, but not behaviour at the ballot box (Traynor, 2009). Alternatively, a person may be hostile to the idea that a family

from a certain country or region is moving in next door, but in terms of their social interactions with these neighbors, they may hide that displeasure and not display any outwards signs of hostility.

There is, however, another problem with these kinds of studies and questions. By simply asking Canadians to 'rank' different ethnic or racialized groups, or by asking individuals about their attitudes toward visible minorities or immigrants, social scientists and polling firms may unwittingly play a role in encouraging Canadians to problematize the presence of certain communities in this country. Peter Li's devastating critique of these kinds of surveys suggests that by posing questions about whether too many visible minorities are being admitted to Canada, or by asking Canadians to rate their level of comfort with particular ethno-religious groups, social scientists and polling firms encourage 'respondents to articulate racial prejudice freely in their research and then proceed to coin various concepts to describe prejudiced attitudes as though they reflect natural preferences of people' (Li, 2003: 174). These kinds of surveys, and the publication of their results, which are oftentimes accompanied by sensational headlines about intolerance in Canadian society, have the consequence of inviting Canadians to think and express negative views about certain communities whose presence is portrayed as a problem for this country. As Li further explains, 'researchers have unwittingly encouraged respondents to rank other social groups on the basis of origin and skin colour, with little regard that such an exercise contributes to racializing immigrants and minority groups by accepting the legitimacy of placing social value on race or colour' (Li, 2003: 175)

SELF-REPORTS

Self-report studies ask individuals if they feel that they have been subject to discriminatory or unequal treatment. Thus, rather than asking individuals about their feelings and attitudes towards others, self-reports tend to focus on those who are targets of racism and victims of discrimination and exclusion.

In its 2003 study "*Paying the Price: The Human Cost of Racial Profiling*", the Ontario Human Rights Commission placed advertisements in ninety newspapers across the province and sent information packages to 1,000 individuals and organizations asking for help to encourage individuals to submit via the telephone, in writing, or over the internet, their experiences of being racially profiled, and what that profiling meant in relation to their emotional and physical well being. The aim of their survey was to document the consequences of racial profiling for individuals, families, and communities. The Commission received over eight hundred submissions, with approximately one half dealing specifically with racial profiling and its consequences. The responses received by the Commission constitute a moving, emotional account of the harm that racial profiling causes individuals within racialized communities. For instance, the study documented how racial profiling can affect an individual's perceptions of, and relations with police. The distrust created by racial profiling leads some individuals to be reluctant to go to the police when they have a problem or to cooperate with the police when an incident occurs.

Several telling excerpts from The Ontario Human Rights Commission Report (2003) highlight the consequences of having been racially profiled by the police:

> "I do not go to the police when I have a problem. I will not do so in the future, either. However, if there is a problem that absolutely requires police assistance and I can request help on the phone anonymously, so they can't see that I'm Black, then I will." …
>
> "Profiling does nothing but create distrust and resentment when it is done. This in turn causes a negative backlash in the community. This is part of the reason that the police force gets very little cooperation when dealing with the Black community. If a person does not feel valued by the system, you will in turn see how that person can become a negative force." "People are afraid to talk to the police in the Black community… There are good cops, but the bad ones make us mistrustful of all police. It makes it hard for them to solve crime." (Ontario Human Rights Commission, 2003: 27)

One of the problems associated with the kind of research conducted by the OHRC is that they do not randomly select individuals within a community, and so it is hard to tell how representative the experiences of profiling truly are. This technique has the tendency to encourage those who experienced negative consequences of being racially profiled to write in, but those who have not experienced racial profiling and those who have not felt harmed by racial profiling, find no reason to write in to tell their stories. Though such studies do not pretend that the findings accurately reflect how an entire group or community might feel about racial profiling and its consequences, it is difficult to know how widespread the feelings of the profiled are, and whether the consequences are isolated or extensive. Those who tend to discount this type of self-reported study suggest that their results are self-fulfilling.

Other self-reported studies try to overcome this kind of selection bias by broadening the scope and size of their surveys. The Ethnic Diversity Survey conducted in 2002 by Statistics Canada asked Canadians a wide variety of attitudinal and experiential questions pertaining to their identities, and their participation and sense of inclusion in Canadian society. Several questions tapped into whether respondents felt 'out of place' in Canada and whether they had experienced discrimination or had been treated unfairly by others over the previous five year period. Some of the results of that survey are presented in Table 1.

Table 1: Perceptions of Discrimination by Generation and Visible Minority Status, Statistics Canada, 2002

	Frequency of Discrimination			
Population	Total Population 000s	Sometimes or Often %	Rarely %	Did Not Experience %
Total Population	22,400	7	6	86
Not a Visible Minority	19,252	5	5	90
Visible Minority	3,000	20	15	64
First Generation	5,272	13	10	77
Not a Visible Minority	2,674	5	6	89
Visible Minority	2,516	21	14	65
Second Generation or More	16,929	6	5	89
Not a Visible Minority	16,349	5	5	90
Visible Minority	480	18	23	59

Source: Adapted from the Statistics Canada Publication "Ethnic Diversity Survey: Portrait of a Multicultural Society," 2002, Catalogue 89-593, released September 29, 2003.

This shows that among visible minorities, 20 percent had sometimes or often experienced discrimination, while another 15 percent rarely experienced discrimination; this compared to only 5 percent of non-visible minorities who sometimes or often experienced discrimination and 6 percent who rarely experienced discrimination. Proportionately fewer Canadian-born visible minorities (second generation or more) reported experiencing discrimination 'sometimes or often' (18 percent), but proportionately more reported experiencing discrimination 'rarely (23 percent).

The Department of Canadian Heritage's (2005) *Action Plan Against Racism* used the results of the Ethnic Diversity Survey to justify the need for state intervention to reduce levels of racism. However, the Action Plan's use of the survey raises questions about how much racism is perceived to structure the everyday lives of visible minorities. The EDS breaks down visible minorities into sub categories of Blacks, South Asians, and Chinese, and the Action Plan says that 'in the past five years, nearly 50 percent of Blacks reported discrimination or unfair treatment. By contrast, 33 percent of South Asians and 33 percent of Chinese respondents reported experiencing discrimination or unfair treatment' (Department of Canadian Heritage, 2005: 8). It includes in these figures those who report experiencing discrimination 'rarely'. Left unsaid is the other side of the coin; namely that over 50 percent of Blacks, and two thirds of Chinese and South Asian respondents did not report having experienced discrimination over the past five years. Further, it is possible to parse the data in different ways. A somewhat different, and more optimistic picture emerges, if the responses are categorized differently. The figures cited in the Action Plan lump together those who report experiencing discrimination 'rarely', 'sometimes', and 'often'. If we take out those who experienced discrimination 'rarely' in the past five years, the incidence of perceived racism is even lower: 32 percent for Blacks, 21 percent for South Asians, and 18 percent for Chinese. If nearly 70 percent of Blacks and 80 percent of Chinese and South Asians do not experience discrimination, or experience it 'rarely', then it is possible to claim that Canada is not necessarily rife with racism and discrimination. Of course, the counter claim is that even if one percent of the population experiences discrimination or unfair treatment, that is still too many.

Aside from questions about how the results of these types of surveys are parsed and interpreted, there are two other methodological problems with self-report based studies. One is that individuals may at times be discriminated against on the basis of their skin colour or perceived race, but may not recognize their treatment as the result of discrimination. An individual may be denied a job or an opportunity to rent an apartment, but the employer or landlord may be a sufficiently good actor to mask the real reason behind the decision. As a result, self-report studies may lead to an underestimation of the nature and extent of racism in a society.

A second problem lies in the other direction, when self-report based studies can sometimes inflate the incidence of racism and discrimination. An individual may feel that a decision about hiring, promotion, or housing was made on the basis of their presumed race, but the decision may have been made on other grounds such as qualifications and credit history. Clearly, people attach their own meanings to how they are treated. In some

cases, interactions with, and decisions made by others, are interpreted with racial meanings even when there may not have been racial meanings intended. The question 'where are you from?' is sometimes interpreted as a racist one because the person asking the question is assuming that a person not of European origin or appearance, must be from elsewhere, and are hence "less" Canadian than white, Euro-Canadians. While some individuals who pose this question undoubtedly make this assumption, and it may reflect their ignorance of the long history of the presence of racialized communities in Canada, other people might be genuinely interested in knowing what city a person is from within Canada. In other words, racialized meanings may be attached to certain interactions even when such meanings are absent from the perspective of the other participant in the interaction.

STATISTICAL UNDER AND OVER REPRESENTATION

When it comes to understanding systemic racism or whether social institutions treat individuals of different origins equally, researchers have examined the relative distributions of individuals in various positions of power or status. If scarce resources like jobs, wages, education, and the like are not equally distributed, then some suggest that this is prima fascia evidence that groups of people are being discriminated against. This discrimination is in turn assumed to stem, at least in part, from racism. Alternatively, if some groups are concentrated in disadvantaged positions in Canadian society, then this is also attributed to unequal treatment, and is suggestive of racism.

Since John Porter (1965) wrote *The Vertical Mosaic: An Analysis of Social Class and Power in Canada*, social scientists have puzzled over how well different immigrant and ethnic communities do in the Canadian labour market. The literature surrounding this question is vast and the debates are complex. However, there are two ways that social scientists have studied inequalities in the labour market. The first looks at gross, or actual, differences in outcomes such as earnings, education, and occupation; the second looks at net differences in these kinds of outcomes, or differences that remain after other sources of variations in earnings are statistically accounted for.

Grace-Edward Galabuzi's research in *Canada's Economic Apartheid: The Social Exclusion of Racialized Groups in the New Century,* is an example of research that tends to rely on the analysis of gross differences in earnings, income, occupations, and unemployment rates to document the extent of racialized disadvantage in Canada. For example, his research shows that in 2000, the average after tax income of racialized persons in Canada was $20,627, compared to non-racialized persons who had an average income after tax of $23,522 - a difference of 12.3%. His book documents other gaps in the economic conditions of visible minorities, both immigrants and those born in Canada, compared to non-visible minorities. Galabuzi explains that there is a consistent pattern of visibly minority disadvantage in Canada, which is exasperated by immigration status.

Galabuzi also shows that this pattern persists despite rising levels of educational achievement amongst visible minorities born both in Canada and abroad. Galabuzi explains the educational advantage of racialized groups 'has no significant impact on income attainment, suggesting an x factor responsible for the inability to translate human-capital advantage into wages and occupational status. We suggest that the x factor is the devaluation of the human capital of racialized group members, resulting from racial discrimination in the labour market' (Galabuzi, 2006: 111). This racial discrimination stems from Canada's history as a White settler society, and 'racist conceptions of the value of immigrant human capital continue to degrade its earning potential and equal access to employment in the Canadian labour market'. Galabuzi goes on to state that 'While far outpacing the general population growth, and contributing a majority of new entrants into the labour market, racialized groups and immigrants continue to experience discrimination and economic exclusion in the labour market' (Galabuzi, 2006: 234). This leads him to conclude that there is a new 'colour-coded' vertical mosaic in Canada.

Other studies have examined the under-representation of minorities in certain prestigious positions, such as university president. Reza Nakhaie's (2004) research on university administrators shows, for example, even though visible minorities made up nearly 20 percent of the population of Canada in 2001, there were no visible minority university presidents; only 3.6 percent of university Vice-Presidents and 6.6 percent of faculty Deans were visible minorities. British origin academics, however, were significantly over-represented in the ranks of university administrators. Though the representation of visible minorities among senior university administrators has improved slightly in recent years, this overall pattern of under-representation 'justifies various charges of racism directed at Canadian universities' (Nakhaie, 2004: 100).

Other research tries to further untangle the 'x' factor referred to by Galabuzi. In order to determine whether the 'x' factor is racism and not something else, researchers try to see what happens to earnings or other differences after a variety of other control measures are introduced. This is called the net approach, which is, in many ways, a more sophisticated way of understanding differences in outcomes. Clearly, an individual's level of earnings in Canadian society depends on a number of variables. For example, middle aged workers earn more than young

workers, men earn more than women, higher levels of education result in higher earnings, and one's full time or part time status will determine their income. Along with geographical area of residence, occupation, and industry of employment, all these factors affect earnings. Researchers use the net approach to compare group outcomes after these other sources of variation are statistically accounted for. If differences in earnings remain after these other sources of variation in earnings are controlled, then the controversy about the nature of the 'x factor' takes on a new meaning. As other sources of variation in earnings are ruled out, greater confidence can be placed in the conclusion that the 'x' factor really is racial discrimination.

For example, Peter Li's (2003) analysis of 1996 census data shows that a variety of individual level and market level characteristics have an impact on earnings, including industry of work, occupation, full time or part time work, years of schooling, years of work experience, number of weeks worked, official languages ability, number of years since immigration to Canada, level of unemployment in the region of residence, the size of the immigrant population as a percent of the region's total population, and the size of the community people live in. His findings are nothing short of intriguing because when gross differences are measured, immigrants earn more than their counterparts in the Canadian-born population. For example, in large Metropolitan Areas Census (+1,000,000 population), White immigrant men earn about $2,315 more per year than White Canadian-born men, White immigrant women earn slightly more than White Canadian-born women ($79), visible minority immigrant men earn $5,333 more than Canadian-born visible minority men, and immigrant visible minority women earn $3,758 more than Canadian-born visible minority women. However, it is also the case, as suggested by Galabuzi, that when gross earnings are examined, White men and women earn more than visible minority men and women. When net differences are taken into account, the earnings advantage of immigrants compared to their native-born counterparts are wiped out. However, after the other sources of variation are accounted for, visible minority women (both immigrant and Canadian-born) tend to earn more than White women (both immigrant and Canadian-born), while visible minority men (both immigrant and born in Canada) tend to earn less than White men (both among immigrants and those born in Canada). These finding suggest, at the very least, that if there is a colour-coded vertical mosaic in Canada, it is gendered, with visible minority women at an advantage rather than a disadvantage. Li's research suggests that racism in Canadian society and in the labour market operates differently for men and women and that racism may be less of a determinate of women's labour market earnings than it is for men.

Further complications remain. Are the patterns of gross and net disadvantage conclusive evidence of widespread racism in Canadian society and the Canadian labour market? Certainly net measures of earnings inequality are better than gross measures as they take into account the fact that levels of human capital are not distributed in the same ways among different communities. This raises the question, however, of why there are differences in human capital between different groups of people. Are educational differences between groups simply not evidence that racism operates early in the process of human capital formation? Some groups may not do as well in school because they are racist and ethnocentric institutions, thus it should come as no surprise that there are earnings consequences later in life (Henry and Tator, 2010). The source of differences in educational achievement is not, however, uncontested. There is considerable variation in educational achievement among visible minority groups, and some suggest that factors like the value that certain cultures place on higher education helps explain variations in education, while others suggest that class and socio-economic background are the primary determinants of educational achievement (Weinfeld, 2001).

The bigger problem with these kinds of studies, however, is that the concept of 'visible minority', or 'racialized community', is a rather blunt instrument with which to examine issues of discrimination, inequality, discriminatory and racist treatment in Canadian society. The category of 'visible minority' was initially developed in the 1980s in the context of Canada's Employment Equity legislation, and lumps together a variety of groups with different migration histories and experiences. Statistics Canada identifies visible minorities as individuals who are 'non-Caucasian in race or non-white in colour'. Thus, the category 'visible minority' includes individuals who identify their origins as Chinese, South Asian (e.g., East Indian, Pakistani, Punjabi, Sri Lankan), Black (e.g., African, Haitian, Jamaican, Somali), Arab/West Asian (e.g., Armenian, Egyptian, Iranian, Lebanese, Moroccan), Filipino, South East Asian (e.g., Cambodian, Indonesian, Laotian, Vietnamese), Latin American, Japanese, Korean, and Other. Some groups included as 'visible minorities' take offense at being defined as such: Turks, Armenians, and Iranians who are 'West Asian' do not necessarily see themselves as 'visible minorities'.

There are also significant differences in education and earnings within the category of visible minority/racialized community that need to be taken into account. Hum and Simpson (2007) show, for example, that in 2002, when it comes to earnings, Indo-Pakistani origin women

born in Canada earned a 27 percent premium over White women born in Canada. Earnings of Canadian-born men of Chinese, Indo-Pakistani, 'non'-Chinese Orientals', and Arabs were not significantly different than the earnings of all Canadian-born men. Among immigrants, Chinese men did not experience disadvantages in their earnings; other groups of 'visible minority men did, but the magnitude of those disadvantages varied by group. Black and Latin American immigrant men were the most disadvantaged. Hum and Simpson's (2007) findings suggest that the category of 'visible minority' may in fact hide significant variations in earnings of different groups and as a result, may overstate the ubiquity of racism and discrimination in the Canadian labour market.

RACISM AS IDEOLOGY AND DISCOURSE

Some social scientists define racism as a form of ideology, and they measure that ideology through the examination of discourses. Frances Henry and Carol Tator are perhaps the most thoughtful and influential proponents of this approach to measuring and understanding racism. Henry and Tator (2010) argue that there is a uniquely Canadian form of racist ideology called democratic racism. They define democratic racism as an ideology in which two conflicting sets of values are made congruent to each other. Commitments to democratic principles such as justice, equality, and fairness conflict but coexist with attitudes and behaviours that include negative feelings about minority groups, differential treatment, and discrimination against them (Henry and Tator, 2010: 9-10).

Their assumption is that negative feelings against racialized groups are widespread in this country, as is differential treatment and institutionalized discrimination. Democratic racism consists, in their view, of the largely unconscious intellectual contortions Canadians go through to reconcile the feelings and structures that place racialized groups at a disadvantage in this country with the belief that we live in a fundamentally fair society.

They measure democratic racism though the existence of discourses of domination, those 'myths, explanations, codes of meaning, and rationalizations that have the effect of establishing, sustaining, and reinforcing democratic racism' (Henry and Tator, 2010: 11). In their view, democratic racist ideology is measured not necessarily through the motives that drive the ideology, but rather through its effects. They go on to list a number of discourses which, independently of motive and subjectivity, are reflections of democratic racism. These include, among others: the discourse of denial, the discourse of political correctness; the discourse of colour blindness; the discourse of blaming the victim; the discourse of white victimization; the discourse of reverse racism; the discourse of binary polarization; the discourse of moral panic, the discourse of law and order; the discourse of multiculturalism; and the discourse of liberal values.

Let us illustrate their line of argument with a couple of examples. Henry and Tator say that the discourse of multiculturalism is racist insofar as multicultural ideology promotes the concepts of tolerance, accommodation, sensitivity, harmony, and diversity. Rather than being positive concepts that reflect openness, fairness, and a genuine respect for and recognition of racialized groups, these concepts indirectly promote the notion that 'the dominant way is superior'. The ideology of multiculturalism inherently implies that there is a ceiling on tolerance and diversity. They argue that 'declarations of the need for tolerance and harmony tend to conceal the messy business of structural and systemic inequality and the unequal relations of power that continue to exist within a democratic liberal society'. Thus rather than being a recipe for inter group harmony, those who support multicultural policies as the solution to inter group tensions and inequalities are not only deluding themselves, but they are democratic racists because they do not recognize the structural basis of racism and discrimination.

Henry and Tator argue that the discourse of 'white victimization' is a further reflection of racism in this country. Some people believe - mistakenly according to Henry and Tator - that White European immigrants have, and continue to, experience prejudice and discrimination in Canada. White European immigrants in their view cannot possibly experience prejudice and discrimination because their Whiteness protects them from harsh and discriminatory treatment. In their view, the true history of racism in Canada is one of specifically racialized colonization, subjugation, and oppression.

While their approach is influential and has merit, it is an overly inflated definition of racism. It includes a wide variety of beliefs and attitudes as examples of racism, and their analysis leaves the impression that any *idea* that questions the seemingly fundamental and widespread existence of racism in the country is in fact a form of racism. It also assumes that racism can be measured independently of individuals' motives and intentions, and independently of the context within which people believe certain things about the world. In other words, certain ideas, ideologies and discourses are inherently racist, regardless of the context and motives underlying those ideas.

But motives and intentions matter. It is important to understand how people construct and interpret the world, and the meanings behind the ideologies they use to make sense of their realities. Defining a certain set of ideas or ideology as *a priori* racist leaves little room for social

scientific analysis. For example, some people do genuinely believe that European immigrants did, and do continue to face certain patterns of hostility and discrimination in Canada. This should come as no surprise to anyone familiar with the history of European migration to this country. While immigrants from northern Europe and Britain were indeed privileged within Canada's immigration system, immigrants from southern and eastern Europe were regarded with ambivalence. Some members of Canadian political and economic elites thought their presence in Canada was positive, while others thought that their continued migration was a disaster for the future of the country (see Woodsworth, 1972). Italian immigrants, with their large families, Catholic religion, and seeming lack of professional skills were, as late as the 1960s, thought of as poor quality immigrants and Canadian authorities took measures to try to discourage too many undereducated and unskilled Italians from coming to Canada (Iacovetta, 1992). In a sign of disrespect, many individuals from eastern Europe had their surnames anglicized and mangled at the port of entry by immigration authorities who had little interest in learning how to properly pronounce names ending in '-ski', 'ich', and the like. Some immigrants anglicized their names voluntarily, hoping to pass as Anglo and overcome the stigma of having a name that was hard to pronounce and a reflection of a non-British origin. Over time, immigrants from southern and eastern Europe, and their descendants, came to be defined and accepted as white, but this does not negate their original negative racialization by immigration authorities and other commentators (Satzewich, 2000).

While it is true that there is not the same level of hostility directed against southern and eastern European immigrants today as in times past, some European immigrants, like their counterparts from outside of Europe, are also having a difficult time having their educational credentials recognized as equivalent to Canadian standards, even if they have years of experience. There may be Black and Asian immigrants trained as doctors in their home country driving taxis in Canada, but there are also Polish, Romanian, Ukrainian, and Russian doctors driving cabs because they are having trouble having their educational credentials certified as equivalent to Canadian. Believing that some White immigrants faced, and continue to face, unequal treatment in Canada is not an unreasonable belief in itself, and it seems a stretch to suggest that those who argue that the 'White' immigrants who faced hostility and discrimination are necessarily democratic racists. Some may make this argument to deny that racialized group members experience unique forms of discrimination in this country, and they may be motivated by racism for making this argument. Others, on the other hand, may believe that White immigrants also experienced/experience hostility and discrimination, but do not use this to undermine the claim that racialized groups also experience certain unique forms of racism.

In sum, there are problems in defining racism as a particular kind of ideology that is *a priori* racist because of its consequence. In Henry and Tator's approach, the analytical task of measuring racism seems to involve determining whether an argument or idea admits that racism is a fundamental aspect of Canadian society. To argue that any idea or argument that falls short of admitting that racism is a fundamental feature of Canadian society is, in fact, racist, seems to be a rather low standard by which to measure the scope of racism.

MEASURING RACISM: CONSTRUCTING SELF AND OTHER AND A CASE FOR MORE VERSTEHEN

In this brief final section, I present an alternative perspective on the measurement of racism, one that emphasizes Max Weber's notion of verstehen, or sympathetic understanding. My approach is premised on a particular definition of racism that draws on the theoretical work of Miles and Brown (2003), who argue that racism should be defined as an ideology. Ideologies, according to Miles and Brown, are sets of ideas that attempt to interpret and make sense of the world. As an ideology, racism needs to be defined by its content, rather than its function, as suggested in Henry and Tator's work. As an ideology, racism has two distinguishing features:

… first, its signification of some biological and/or somatic characteristic(s) as the criterion by which populations are identified. In this way, these populations are represented as having a natural, unchanging origin and status, and therefore as being inherently different. In other words, this process of racialization conceives of a plurality of 'races'. Second, one or more of the groups so identified must be attributed with additional (negatively evaluated) characteristics and/or must be represented as inducing negative consequences for (an)other group(s). Those characteristics or consequences may be either biological or cultural (Miles and Brown, 2003: 103-04).

Miles and Brown's definition of racism lends itself to a Weberian approach to measurement and analysis. Max Weber argued that sociology is 'a science concerning itself with the interpretive understanding of social action and thereby with a causal explanation of its course and consequences' (cited in Kasler, 1988: 150). He advocated the method of verstehen, or sympathetic understanding, which involved the effort to understand the intention and context of human action (Weber, 1949). His view was that social scientists needed to try to understand the world from the perspective of the meanings that individuals attach to their behaviour. Many sociologists have since

followed Weber's methodological advice, and indeed, the perspective of symbolic interaction in sociology has been built on his basic methodological tenet (Kasler, 1988).

Weber's focus on the meanings that people attach to their behaviour and to their interactions with others has considerable importance when it comes to measuring and analyzing racism. First, his approach means that intentions matter. In order to measure racism, it is important to understand the intentions behind an individual's or group of people's ideas, actions, and social behaviours. People may behave in ways that put racialized groups at a disadvantage, but it is important to understand whether that behaviour is intended to put those groups at a disadvantage or whether disadvantage is an unintended consequence. Some suggest, for example, that word-of-mouth hiring practices are inherently racist; they put racialized groups at a disadvantage because they do not have access to certain 'White only' social networks. However, many individuals and groups may be at a disadvantage by word-of-mouth recruiting. Not all White people have access to networks within certain jobs or corporations, and in many cases, access to those networks of word-of-mouth recruiting are class-based. University professors sometimes hire students they or their colleagues have taught to work as research assistants. This word-of-mouth recruiting puts young people who are not enrolled in universities at a disadvantage, but this disadvantage is structured by students' access to university education, which is arguably class-based. On the other hand, some organizations may use word-of-mouth recruiting as a way of finding what they believe to be reliable workers who will fit into existing organizational cultures; their understanding of who is a reliable worker and is likely to fit in may be structured by negative ideas about racialized communities (Foster, 2009). In the latter example, word-of-mouth recruiting is reflective of racism; we are less certain that the former example is a reflection of racism. Nonetheless, the determination of whether word-of-mouth recruiting is racist needs to be based on an analysis of the meanings that the organization attaches to such practices.

Context also matters. The material circumstances that individuals and groups of people find themselves in shape how they think about the world and how they act. Debates about racial profiling and policing are a case in point (Tanovich, 2006; Henry and Tator, 2006). To say that the police are racist because they profile certain communities sometimes lacks context. Policing, whether it involves policing the borders of the state or policing communities, involves the management and assessment of risk. How police construct understandings of risk, who poses potential harm, and who should be the subject of certain kinds of policing, can be based on stereotypes, but they can also be based on prior experiences related to the nature of work that police do. In research conducted by Satzewich and Shaffir (2009), a black officer sensitive to the claims made by critics of the police that racial profiling is endemic to policing underscores the necessity of distinguishing between profiling in general, and racial profiling more specifically:

> 'We talk about racial profiling in our office, and with our officers, and we say to a certain extent profiling exists in policing and you need it to some extent, but you have to recognize you can't label everyone, you know. You can say that I find stolen autos on the east mountain, for example, OK, so are you saying that all people that live on the east mountain steal cars? That's not a realistic a + b = c knowledge ... If I want to go look for stolen cars, yeah, I might go look toward the east mountain. But it doesn't mean that's always the case and all people on the east mountain steal cars ... A certain amount of profiling does exist in policing. It has to exist' (Satzewich and Shaffir, 2009).

More generally, however, police situate profiling within a broader context of police work that can only be appreciated at a distance by the larger public. Referring to the responsibilities faced by the police, a minority officer interviewed by Satzewich and Shaffir (2009) reflects:

> 'It's a very difficult job, and the nature of the job forces you to stereotype and discriminate. When I'm driving my cruiser at 2 o'clock in the morning, and I see ... [a middle aged white male] in a shirt and tie driving a Mercedes, I think nothing of it. But if I was to see a black twenty-year-old, guess what? He's getting pulled over' (Satzewich and Shaffir, 2009).

This means that it is not enough to determine whether particular 'discourses' are racist or not simply on the basis of words on a page or what individuals say. Racism involves understandings of how the self and other are socially defined and socially constructed. Racism involves the signification of certain physical and/or cultural characteristics as markers of difference and the social evaluation of those differences. In terms of methodology, social scientists need to understand how human beings construct and understand notions of difference. The understanding of the self/other dichotomy is crucial if we want to measure and understand racism. Methodologically speaking, the analysis of

racism involves the assessment of how individuals and groups construct understandings of themselves and of others. When biologically based criteria, including physical and genetic criteria, are used to construct understandings of the self and other, then there is a racialization of difference. In other words, social significance is attached to physical variation.

But what makes processes of racialization turn into racism? Racism involves the construction of difference between self and other in terms of biology, or by reference to notions of 'race', but there is also a negative evaluation of the other accompanied by a positive evaluation of the self. Positive evaluations of the self are not inherently racist. For example, to counter long-held views that they and their cultures are inferior to Euro-Canadians, Aboriginal people have advanced an alternative ideology in which they claim they are a people who have a special relationship with the land and the creator. For example, a Federation of Saskatchewan Indians Nation (FSIN) document outlining its approach to treaty implementation in the province, offers the following definition of who First Nations are (that is, the First Nations 'self'):

… We, the First Nations, come from Mother Earth, and this determines our relationship with nature, our role as stewards of this land, and all forms of life and our sovereignty.

The nature of our sovereignty arises from our relationship with the land. In our relationship with the land, we believe that all Creation is interrelated and interdependent. Therefore, all Creation that lives on Mother Earth are the children of Mother Earth….

It is this relationship of First Nations to all life forms that forms the basis of our stewardship and sovereignty. According to the Elders, First Nations peoples have been given sacred gifts that arise from the peoples' special relationship with the Creator. "…it is this very special and complete relationship with the Creator that is the source of the sovereignty." (FSIN, 2007: 8)

The assumption underlying this ideology is that non-Aboriginal people do not have the same kind of special relationship with the land and creator, but this claim is not based on a negative evaluation of non-Aboriginal peoples. Positive evaluations of one's own 'community' are not necessarily accompanied by negative evaluations of those who are not part of that community.

On the other hand, White supremacist groups who advance various ideologies associated with White nationalism or neo-Nazism are racist because their positive evaluation of 'self', and their Whiteness, is accompanied by the negative evaluation of others.[i]

There is a world of difference between the claim advanced by First Nations that they have a special relationship with the land and the creator and the claims by advanced by White supremacists about White people. The latter's description of 'anti-White racists' is racist insofar as the description of the other is based on the negative evaluation of that otherness; according to a White supremacist perspective, 'they' 'fabricate' false definitions of 'pride'; 'they' are 'motivated by bigotry and hatred'; 'they' are interested in undermining 'White' pride, culture, and the like.

CONCLUSION

The bar used to determine whether some one or some thing is racist has been lowered over the years. The relative ease with which the term racism is used to describe and condemn an individual, an idea, or an institution may have the consequence of denuding racism of its analytical and political power. If everything is racist, then nothing is racist. The bar ought to be set higher. Racism cannot be analyzed simply in terms of statements people make, what a document says, or what the consequences of individual behaviours or institutional practices are. Rather, social scientists need to dig deeper to try to understand how and why people say and do what they do, and how and why organizations act the way they do. In other words, we need to understand meanings and motivations behind ideologies and behaviour. Clearly, meanings are important for both the individuals and organizations who are accused of racism, as well as the individuals and groups who are the targets of racism. As Stuart Hall (1978) argued over thirty years ago, 'racism is not a set of false ideas that simply swim around in the head'. Instead, racism derives from individuals' and groups' 'lived experiences' and the ways people attempt to make sense of the tensions and contradictions they face in the world around them. In order to truly measure the significance of racism in Canadian society, we need to use the method of verstehen to understand where racism comes from and how people develop racialized understandings of themselves and others. However, the challenge of measuring racism also involves the understanding of how individuals attach racial meanings to their experiences and interactions with the police, the immigration department, consular officials, employers, landlords, teachers, and the like. In other words, we need more verstehen.

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NOTES

[i] Take, for example, an excerpt from a discussion forum on http://www.stormfront.ca, a web site for 'White nationalists' in Canada. A commentator who wants to get a discussion rolling on the need to celebrate the accomplishments of the White race argues:

"The White race has a magnificent history of achievement. In this thread I want people to talk about all the positive things that white people have done, both as a group and as individuals. You could post White accomplishments in science and technology, government, the arts - anything at all. Post personal accomplishments if you want. Feel free to post links and references.

The goals are: To enlighten White people about their heritage.

To build up the self esteem of White people.

To inspire White people.

To promote social cohesion between Whites.

To preserve White culture. This creates a record.

To promote White pride.

To counteract the effects of the anti-White racists who seek to tear White people down.

I like reading good things about Whites. With all the negativity about White people in the world it's a relief to read something positive.

Pride is an emotion which recognizes the value and worth of someone or something one is connected to. Recognizing that a family member has done something good is an example of pride. One's race can be seen as an extended family. Pride in one's race is recognizing the worth and value of that race.

The anti-White racists try to say that pride is taking credit for what someone else does. This is not what pride is. This is a false definition fabricated by the antis as a means of attacking White people. They don't want White people to recognize the value and worth of themselves and their culture. Their motivation is hatred and bigotry.

Antis might post here with their made up definition of pride and try to persuade Whites not to feel proud of themselves and their culture. I am requesting that no one respond to their posts. The responses and counter responses will only clog the thread.

This thread is meant to be entirely positive. White pride world wide!"

(http://www.stormfront.org/forum/showthread.php?t=639172)

EMANCIPATORY LEADERSHIP: A FRAMEWORK FOR UNDERSTANDING EXCLUSION IN ORGANIZATIONAL DECISION-MAKING

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ABSTRACT

Leaders in all sectors are prized for their ability to engage in sense-making. In the not-for-profit sector, this ability is a key leadership trait as the work of this sector is to enable the fruition of societal values such as civic engagement, social cohesion, and responsive governance. With the growing diversity of Canadian society, understanding and equally importantly, *engaging* diversity will require the questioning of dominant ways of thinking. This paper explores the notion of epistemic privilege, a form of organizational sense-making in which dominant ways of thinking, sensing, and doing are not being critically examined, thereby leading to sub-optimal results in this vital sector. An alternative leadership framework is explored in which diversity of thought and sense-making is welcomed and supported organization-wide.

RÉSUMÉ

Les dirigeants de tous les secteurs sont loués pour leur capacité de découvrir les significations. Dans le secteur à but non lucratif, cette capacité est un trait de leadership essentiel puisque le travail dans ce secteur consiste à faciliter la réalisation des valeurs sociales, dont les engagements civiques, la cohésion sociale et la gouvernance réceptive. Puisque la société canadienne est de plus en plus variée, notre compréhension de et surtout notre *implication* envers cette diversité demandent que l'on questionne nos modes de pensée dominants. Ce texte explore la notion de privilège épistémique, une forme de découverte de signification organisationnelle dont les plus importants modes de penser, de déceler, et de faire ne sont pas examinés de façon critique, ce qui entraîne des résultats moins optimaux dans ce secteur crucial. Un cadre alternatif de leadership y est exploré dans lequel la diversité de nos modes de pensée et de nos découvertes de signification est la bienvenue et est soutenue par toute l'organisation.

INTRODUCTION

Peter Drucker, the foremost guru of modern management, once observed that "no institution can possibly survive if it needs geniuses or supermen to manage it. It must be organized in such a way as to be able to get along under a leadership composed of average human beings". (Drucker, 1992). This realization has driven organizations to create environments in which closer attention has been paid to notions of authenticity and congruence between personal and professional beliefs. It is through this aspired congruence that average corporate citizens can feel fully responsible for the success of the organizations within which they serve. The view has correctly been to not only pay attention to the professional development needs that enable superior performance, but also to consider questions of the makeup of the organizational

matrix itself. This, in turn, has led to a greater appreciation of the importance of equity, diversity, and inclusion as core organizational values.

This paper is premised upon a common dilemma faced by leaders within organizations as they navigate the multiple expectations of stakeholders in an increasingly complex and litigious environment: How does an organization stay true to its core values, while at the same time forge ahead with transformational initiatives that require not simply a different way of doing, but mandate a completely new apparatus for *sensemaking*?

Sensemaking is important because of the fact that individuals (particularly in leadership positions) spend a great deal of time within the organizational context in making sense of themselves, their roles, the roles of others, and that of the organization at large. In fact, sensemaking is an important human activity that predates the modern organization. As Magala aptly notes, "While Galileo expressed it most succinctly in his polemic against Cardinal Bellarmine, preferring empirical experiment in Pisa ('reading in the book of nature') to Bible study, the emergence of a new pattern of sensemaking started much earlier and took more time to acquire a generalized and articulate form. The emergence of the new pattern of sensemaking started during the late medieval and early Renaissance period" (Magala 2009, p.43). One could argue that sensemaking is an extension of the exercise of judgment for which leaders are counted upon in all sectors of society. However, nowhere is it as critical as it is within the not-for-profit sector in Canada, for several reasons.

A primary reason is the linkage between the role of organizations within this sector, and the question of social cohesion. Given the diverse composition of Canada's major urban centres, which are also mapped on its hubs of economic activity, there is growing concern about the lived experience of very many professionals that not only come from diverse backgrounds, but have starkly different formative educational and social experiences. This creates a very different pool from which to draw on the sensemaking enterprise. Hence, it is not sufficient to consider the entry of foreign-trained professionals into the workforce as a measure of social cohesion through full participation in the labour and economic markets. Instead, attention needs to be paid to how these individuals are enabled to contribute as equals within the various sectors that they are employed within. In fact, Jane Jenson and Denis Saint-Martin take the discourse one step further when they argue that "a very tight link now exists in policy circles between fostering participation in the present so as to ensure well-being, including social cohesion, in the future" (Jenson and Saint-Martin, p.88). In other words, the question of full citizenship within the economic function of society can be argued to be an enabler of social cohesion, not only in terms of the organizational effects, but also in societal terms.

Another reason for focusing upon the not-for-profit sector in Canada is its sheer size and impact. Broadly comprised of over 160,000 organizations (Banting, 2000), this sector is a conduit for a variety of societal aspirations: volunteerism, enabling social change, and ensuring accountability. Hence, leveraging diversity within this sector can yield very important dividends to society at large. After all, enabling effective leadership can play a pivotal role in bringing to fruition the potential that this sector holds in addressing critical issues that are not adequately addressed by the business and public sectors currently (Ryan, 1999).

HOW IS DIVERSITY UNDERSTOOD, AND DOES IT *REALLY* MATTER IN THE ORGANIZATIONAL REALITY?

Three key perspectives have driven the upsurge in organizational interest in diversity in recent years. The first is the legal obligation and compliance lens. Those whose primary driver for attention to issues of human rights and discrimination is legal often come to frame their work in terms of how to avoid running afoul of the various statutory and legal obligations. Here, a common feature of the definition of success is statistical. Particular attention is paid to the organizational composition as evidenced by number of employees representing various facets of diversity such as race, gender, level of ability, sexual identity, etc. Another dominant focus is the number of complaints that the organization receives, vis-a-vis allegations of differential treatment on the basis of the prohibited grounds under various human rights codes and legal charters.

While this level of monitoring can be helpful, it often tells only part of the story, as the entire question of the quality of the workplace experience is hardly touched upon. Furthermore, on the question of complaints that do surface, it cannot be inferred that there aren't others who have not come forward due to fear of reprisal, a lack of certainty of the outcome of going through a complaint process, or simply due to the unwillingness to embrace the risk necessary to openly identify oneself within the organization, and consequently risk being potentially labelled as a dissident. It is important to note that while the legal lens is a condition for full participation within the life of the organization, it is insufficient as an organizational strategy by itself.

The second dominant lens in thinking about organizational diversity is the focus on employee engagement, which is seen as a pre-requisite for victory in the race for talent. In this frame, the dominant driver is the reduction of costs associated with employee turnover due to a lack

of engagement within the workplace. A practical manifestation of this approach to diversity within organizations has been the proliferation of teamwork seminars and sessions that look to enhance the ability of individuals to focus on common goals and outcomes, and less about individual contribution. A critique of this approach, especially when applied to non-homogenous groups within a team setting, is that not enough thought is given to enabling how individuals think of themselves and relate to others. Hence, the wishful thinking of looking ahead at a commonly shared set of outcomes undermines the potential opportunities to engage individuals on parameters that matter most directly to them. Not surprisingly, these parameters are often driven by lived experience, and consequently, ignoring them is tantamount to ignoring both their individual and collective histories and aspirational trajectories.

The third dominant lens in managing diversity at the organizational level stems from the pressure to optimize existing human resources or residual organizational talent. This has reignited the dialogue on how we encourage employees to bring their "entire person" to work so that they don't feel conflicted between what they aspire to at work, and how they harmonize the rest of their lives with the corporate environment within which they spend the bulk of their waking hours. While an admirable goal, there is often a lack of concrete vision of what such an environment might look like. Intellectual acceptance of this notion of inclusion is often challenged by the task of defining boundaries of what is acceptable within organizational life. Either subliminally or overtly, the question of challenging and changing facets of organizational architecture to reflect this commitment often meets with resistance. This resistance is not necessarily a result of ethnocentrism or xenophobia, but rather a common reaction to what is little known about what success in this espoused reality would look like.

An often ignored lens around the diversity discussion is one that critically examines how certain forms of sensemaking dominate within the organizational context. This is an unexplored area of the conversation around organizational diversity simply because diversity of thought, or cognitive diversity, is rather hard to quantify or measure. Furthermore, there is no compliance or regulatory standard or even measure for this form of organizational diversity, and hence, it is an area of inquiry that has evaded scholarly scrutiny for too long, and one that this paper seeks to explore further.

In the aforementioned discussion of inclusion and innovation within the workplace, the individual's epistemic frame often goes unmentioned because organizational leaders and experts alike often feel that one's theory of knowledge is akin to matters of personal belief, which in turn, are precisely that: *personal*. What that assumption overlooks is that employees and clients alike are impacted by the organization's ability to effectively engage all the various facets of their selves in the workplace; epistemic preferences being no exception. David Whyte, a writer who has been hailed as a visionary for his work on the preservation of the corporate soul, articulates the value proposition of engaging all facets of identity in the workplace in the following way: "Releasing ourselves from the need to keep half of ourselves hidden, we can begin to bring these other neglected sides into the workplace, to entertain the possibility that there is an integral wholeness to all the seemingly antagonistic and opposing sides of ourselves, a possibility that we may not have to be 'fixed' or amended before we can serve ourselves or the company" (Whyte (1994), *The Heart Aroused,* Doubleday, p.290). What Whyte points to is, in effect, an integration between the personal and professional sides of a person's being, which are often seen to be in conflict and at odds. As a matter of fact, scholars such as MacArthur Prize-winning Harvard Professor Howard Gardner draw a conclusive link between personal engagement and employee contribution by positing that "people who function at the highest levels, maximizing all their potentials, strive for a unity in the self as a kind of ultimate concern in itself (the concern of personal integrity)" (Gardner, H., (2007) *Responsibility at Work*, Wiley, p. 26). Admittedly, such 'unity' between individual aspirations and organizational ethos requires an intentionality that is rare, but organizations within which such a balance is sought are destined for a trajectory of success within the realm of employee engagement.

THE AMERICAN RED CROSS: DIVERSITY VALUE PROPOSITION MADE TANGIBLE BY A CRISIS

In many organizations, structural and systemic issues often bubble to the surface only in moments of crisis. This was certainly the case with the American Red Cross, which learned just how much organizational diversity mattered to its mandate through its response to Hurricane Katrina, for which it was heavily criticized. "During the days and weeks after the storm, language and cultural barriers created serious miscommunication, misunderstanding, and mistrust between the largely white volunteer corps and the [diverse] residents of the gulf region…" (Asirvatham, 2007). As a result, the organization found itself unable to provide support to all those who needed it, at precisely the moment when the various communities needed help the most. Critics have since noted that at that crucial historical moment, both the leadership composition and the organizational culture appeared to lack the cultural competence to effectively respond to the diverse composition of the victims of

Hurricane Katrina. Several media sources noted that the lack of connection to diverse community groups was one of the factors that led to the ouster of Marsha Evans, the CEO of the American Red Cross in 2005.

Since then, the American Red Cross has been asked some difficult questions by members of the House of Representatives and has engaged in a process of reflection and change. There have been strategic changes within the organization that reflect the seriousness attached to the diversity agenda with the American Red Cross. One such development was the appointment of Floyd W. Pits in November 2008 as its Senior Vice President and Chief Diversity Officer, and who is now helping the Red Cross take a closer look at its allies. After Hurricane Katrina in 2005, he says, establishing closer ties with minority communities became a central goal. The charity is examining its partnerships with local organizations, focusing on those that can truly help it carry out its mission most effectively. "We're not interested in symbolic partnerships," he says, but rather those that "can efficiently yield the intended result, both for the partner and for the American Red Cross" (Joslyn, 2009).

The American Red Cross is not alone; the United Way of America, one of the largest federated not-for-profits in the United States, also has a senior diversity executive, whose mandate is to enable organizational diversity efforts despite the impact of the recent financial crisis on staffing. (Ibid). Furthermore, the Human Resources Council for the Voluntary Sector has announced (in 2010) its intention to commission a report to study the level of diversity and community representation within this important sector in Canada, so that it may avoid the fate suffered by other agencies of similar scope and nature within the United States.

REVIEWING THE EXISTING LANDSCAPE: A SNAPSHOT OF SECTORAL DIVERSITY

As measured by the composition of the leadership, the portrait of diversity in the not-for-profit sector is disappointing. According to Tempel and Smith (2007), research has found that diversity as evidenced by staffing make-up is a significant challenge in the not-for-profit sector. The lack of diversity is most pronounced at the leadership level. Similarly, according to a 2004 study conducted by the Annie E. Casey Foundation, most of the not-for-profit leadership in the United States is white, whereas less than half of the not-for-profit organizations they lead serve white communities (Annie E. Casey Foundation, 2004). As well, 90 per cent of the leadership of foundations in the United States is also white (Tempel and Smith, 2007).

Compasspoint's research on executive directors found that 82 per cent were white and, perhaps even more significantly, found that young executive directors were also white (Watson, 2007). Furthermore, the larger the organization, the less likely it is to be headed by a woman (Joslyn, 2007). Light (2002: 82), in his study of 250 not-for-profit executives, notes: "[the] data reveal not only a glass ceiling at larger non-profits, but a significant age bulge…" Therefore, women and younger executive directors tend to work at smaller, younger organizations. A recent study of board members in the United States found that 86 per cent were white (Joslyn, 2007). The picture is not entirely bleak, however. A recent exploratory study on social entrepreneurs found that social entrepreneurs are likely to be female, non-white, younger, urban, college-educated individuals with some business experience (Van Ryzin, et al, 2009).

The Canadian picture is not much different than the American one. The leadership in Canadian not-for-profits "is primarily female, aging and not very diverse" (Toupin and Plewes, 2007:130). At the board level, women are quite well represented but the percentage of board members from different ethnic backgrounds and from visible minorities is small, e.g., women hold 44 per cent of the board seats, but whites were most likely to be on boards (average of 87.6 per cent), followed by Aboriginals (average of 8.2 per cent) and South Asians (average of 7.4 per cent) (Bradshaw, Fredette and Sukornyk, 2009). This data is disturbing as Canada is believed to be the most ethnically diverse country in the world (RBC, 2005).

There are various explanations for the lack of diversity in the not-for-profit sector. Tempel and Smith (2007) have identified some key barriers: (1) the many pressures that not-for-profit leaders face, coupled with the competing ways they are evaluated, can get in the way of their valuing and planning for staff diversity; (2) the lack of diversity training of the current leadership; and (3) the difficulty of attracting, retaining and promoting younger, diverse individuals to become sector leaders. Others have noted that there is an 'inconvenient truth' in the not-for-profit sector:

> [The] ways we transact business, seek information, move from job-to-job, advance our ideas and seek collaborative partners all rely on relationships and trust. Doing what is comfortable may lead us to seek out only those we are used to collaborating with, relying on familiar networks … the exercise of preference reinforces exclusion." (Lindsey cited in Tempel and Smith, 2007)

In short, the portrait of the degree of diversity among the not-for-profit leadership is not inspiring. Further, it appears that the degree of diversity in the not-for-profit sector lags that of the for-profit sector. This

portrait is particularly concerning as the not-for-profit sector, at its heart, exists to right social injustice. Light (2002:83) presents a sobering insight on the consequence of organizational exclusion – or lack of diversity – when he notes:

> [To] the extent the nonprofit sector sharply constrains the number of new organizations in coming years, it will lose an important training ground for the young, female, and non-white executives … to fill the leadership posts about to be vacated by the older, male, and white executives at its larger, flagship organizations.

The North American not-for-profit sector is already facing a serious leadership deficit that is likely to worsen. As Crutchfield and McLeod Grant (2008:176) note, '[at] a time when the social sector is growing in size and importance, the need for skilled leadership has never been greater." According to Tierney (2006), the not-for-profit sector in the United States will need to find 640,000 new executives by 2016. The leadership deficit is large and the demand for competent leaders is growing – "…[the] steady rise in the number of non-profits and the commensurate need for more management talent shows no sign of stopping" (Tierney, 2006:29). The picture in Canada is similar. As well, there is concern that younger individuals may not be attracted to the not-for-profit sector, as they can often attract better salaries and working conditions in the for-profit sector (Toupin and Plewes, 2007:130).

A PROMISING INITIATIVE: THE MAYTREE FOUNDATION'S DIVERSECITY INITIATIVE

The Maytree Foundation was founded in 1982 in Toronto, Canada, and began working on the issues of multilingual literacy and refugee settlement. Since then, it has expanded its work such that it now has a significant role in generating social action and policy on making Canada a more diverse and inclusive country. The Foundation sees its role as:

> [Investing] in leaders to build a Canada that can benefit from the skills, experience and energy of all its people. Our policy insights promote equity and prosperity. Our programs and grants create diversity in the workplace, in the boardroom and in public office, changing the face of leadership in our country (Maytree, 2009).

In 2005, the Foundation launched its abcGTA initiative; in 2008, it was renamed as DiverseCity: The Greater Toronto Leadership Project. The Foundation works in partnership with the Toronto City Summit Alliance to support the initiative. DiverseCity consists of a group of projects led by prominent community individuals "who recognize the potential and value of diversity in leadership for the region's social and economic prosperity" (DiverseCity Toronto, 2009). The DiverseCity initiative has eight components: (1) Nexus, a speakers series; (2) Fellows, fellowships for rising leaders; (3) onBoard, a program to match diverse candidates with governance positions; (4) Civic Leadership, a program to equip new leaders to run for office; (5) Voices, which connects subject-matter experts to media; (6) Advantage, which builds a research base on the advantages of diversity; (7) Perspectives, a discussion forum; and (8) Counts, which tracks progress. Its first DiverseCity Counts report found that visible minorities are under-represented in the senior-most leadership positions in the Greater Toronto Area. Approximately 45 per cent of the population in the Greater Toronto Area are visible minorities. In particular, among the largest charitable organizations and foundations, visible minorities represent only eight per cent of executives and 14 per cent of board members (DiverseCity Counts, 2009:2). While the initiative is still in its early stages, it shows promise, as it provides a systemic and multi-pronged approach to increasing diversity of participation in the community. Furthermore, it adds credibility to the oft-repeated claim that Toronto is a city of immigrants, and that they are critical to the success of the city at every level.

UNDERSTANDING MENTAL MODELS: PROXIES FOR REALITY AND PREDICTORS OF BEHAVIOURAL PATTERNS

One of the key areas in which diversity issues have been inadequately explored is in the sector of governance, particularly generative governance, which relies extensively on sensemaking. Plato is reported to have said that one becomes a philosopher by spending "much time" in sympathy with other philosophers. His observation on the role of introspection and critical discourse in enabling professional development has relevance in many disciplines – including, one could argue, in the governance arena. His observation points to the primary reason as to why the enablement of a welcoming organizational culture is crucial: innovation can only happen when employees are allowed the opportunity to not just act in unison, but equally importantly, develop common standards of dialogue and authenticity in a genuine quest for newer, more robust models with the potential to positively impact the organization's contributions to the industry within which it seeks leadership status.

In his famed *Dialogues*, Plato strikes a powerful metaphor for the necessity of a community of practice approach that engages in critical thinking when he notes

that "(i)t is in the rubbing together of these, each with the other – names and definitions, and things seen and sensed – (and even then hardly so) that in the mind of one who uses every effort possible to human beings, testing them in arguments with good will and questioning and answering without jealousy, there flashes forth the light of intelligence and reason with respect to each thing" (*Ep.*, VII, 344 b3-c1). The philosopher's choice of metaphor ("flashing forth") is an evocative one. The great sage of the ancient Greeks was, in fact, speaking of innovation, or in talent management parlance, the development of a people-centred organizational culture that leads to not simply creating value but also capturing it. Utilizing this community of practice approach, it is important to ask the following question: How does an organization engage the epistemic frame of its members while still remaining true to its commitment to not privileging one belief system over another?

A fulsome discussion of epistemic privilege mandates a thorough discussion of the role and function of mental models in our thinking processes. Chris Argyris, the noted Harvard professor of education and business, emphasized the role of mental model deconstruction in helping organizations to deal with deeply rooted problems that affect organizational and individual performance. According to Argyris, our mental models are the basis upon which individuals within organizations make sense of a situation, make decisions, and create routines. This is a three-step process:

1. The environment in which we operate is significantly more complex than what the human mind can process at a given moment. The amount of data that surrounds us is too large to take in and process. This is a "data pool." We start by selecting data from this pool.
2. We then interpret the data we have selected, using our mental models as frames that shape and condition our thinking. These mental models are formed out of our previous experience, the values and beliefs that we have developed over time, and the cultural norms of the organizations in which we participate.
3. We take action, based on our conclusions.

Argyris notes that "surprisingly, executives (and anyone else, for that matter) are usually unaware of their reasoning processes." In fact, the more successful we are at doing something, the more likely it is that we have become unaware of how we select data (and consequently how we may be missing data that are important), how our reasoning has been shaped by our previous experiences (which may be less relevant if circumstances have changed in a significant way), and how our actions affect the actions of those with whom we are working (whose collaboration we may have to depend on for the success of our undertaking).

Due to the very nature of how they inform individual actions, inadequate or inappropriate mental models can have disastrous consequences. It may be useful to illustrate their role in contributing to a rather technical yet highly significant modern-day event which had a global impact at a variety of levels. In his analysis of the Chernobyl disaster, Medvedev (1990) describes the mental models of the operators who were conducting an experiment on the day it occurred. The experiment concerned the use of a new approach to generating backup power in the event of a power failure in the main generator. Most of the safety systems in nuclear reactors depend on electricity. In the experiment, this electricity was to be generated from the inertia in the turbines as they were taken off supplying power to the grid. The test was regarded by the operators as a purely electro-technical one which had no impact on safety. In the event, the experiment failed and emergency power was not available to activate the safety processes, leading to an explosion in the main reactor.

The official Soviet reports tended to blame the operators for their failure to make adequate provisions for backup power before starting the experiment. However, Medvedev and other analysts lay much of the blame on the culture of secrecy and compartmentalization that characterized the mental models of the Soviet nuclear establishment in that era. Thus, the State Committee on Safety in the Atomic Power Industry was permanently represented at the Chernobyl site but they did not know of the experiment and had not given it their approval. The set of organizational mental models in the Soviet nuclear industry created the conditions under which the disaster was allowed to happen. In the wake of this realization, there have been a series of new checklists and controls around verification of data and processes that have become part of nuclear safety procedures today. However, it took a deadly disaster to call attention to the power of mental models and their ability to lead a highly technically qualified group of individuals to decision failure.

If all of us allow our mental models (and by extension our epistemic preferences) to unquestionably guide our behaviour, we are bound to a situation wherein everyone surmises a disparate set of realities, all in conflict with each other, all the while relying upon the automation of strongly held (and hardly questioned) frames, creating a series of clashes about the very nature of reality.

As Moldoveanu and Martin have observed, "because they come in many incommensurable shapes and sizes" (Moldoveanu & Martin 2008, p. 97), mental models affect not only the individual's experience within an organizational context, but also their self-efficacy as measured by the setting of personal and organizational goals and their subsequent achievement.

THE IMPACT OF ORGANIZATIONAL MINDLESSNESS

The focus in most organizations is upon self-mastery around accomplishing tasks. Consequently, individuals create cognitive shortcuts or heuristics to enable expeditious execution of tasks. This, in turn, leads to a culture of mindlessness that discourages any form of critical inquiry with regard to how certain epistemic frames come to be accepted as the normative, and hence become part of organizational common sense. As Langer and Moldoveanu contend, "many of us believe that we should learn the basics of a task so well that they become second nature to us. Having mindlessly accepted this information, it rarely occurs to us to question who determined what the basics are" (Moldoveanu & Langer 2000, p.3). In order for organizations to enable a culture where there is respect for diversity of all kinds, including cognitive diversity, such mindlessness can spell the death knell to innovation. In the service industry, where client experience is the ultimate objective, the ability to parse the evidence presented to employees in order to check for faulty cause-and-effect reasoning is an important contributor to organizational success.

Jeffrey Pfeffer and Robert Sutton (2006) have studied the example of the Da Vita Dialysis Centre. Once teetering on the edge of bankruptcy, the centre now leads the industry in terms of the quality of patient care by fostering a culture in which all levels of staff are encouraged to seek disconfirming data to ensure that the processes in place are backed up by the rigorous disconfirming questions. Another example of mindfulness in a service-centred organizational culture is offered by Tim Brown (2009) of IDEO, who describes a mindful organizational culture dependent upon "empowering employees to seize opportunities when and where they see them and giving them the tools to create unscripted experiences." Hence, the empowerment comes not simply from an acknowledgment of the disparate epistemic lenses that different individuals rely upon, but the operationalizing of these lenses as part of the organizational expectation.

SHIFTING RUNGS: FROM EPISTEMIC UNILATERALISM TO EQUANIMITY

As discussed earlier, the combination of mindlessness and the tendency to empathize with one's own epistemic preference over others can create a culture within organizations that serves to create a hostile, zero-sum game ethos. Mitigating the impact of such a culture through a balancing act between inquiry and advocacy is neither simple nor natural. It requires both intentionality and practice. Consider the following scenario which sheds light on the power of mental models within a mindless organizational setting:

> *It's a hot, humid day. You have just boarded your flight, after a fast, long dash to the gate. As you slide into your seat, the doors close and the plane is pushed away from the gate. Suddenly, smoke pours out from the ceiling. You panic. You recall a recent news story of a fire on board a plane that killed several passengers.*
>
> *Just as your panic sets in, the cabin crew makes an announcement, "We have just turned on the air-conditioning system: what you are seeing is condensation from the humidity in the cabin. Everything is fine."*
>
> *You slump in relief and reach for something to read.*

The instant you heard the announcement, your view of your world changed. From the panic of having to deal with a fire on board you shifted into the relief of knowing that the "smoke" carried a promise of welcome relief from the heat.

Such is the power and function of mental models at work. First, you created the panic scenario from a single bit of information: the "smoke" from the ceiling. You then filled in the picture by drawing on your memory of the news story, and perhaps your fear of fire. Your mental model became reality for you until the announcement, and then your reality changed completely, even though the "smoke" was still pouring out of the ceiling. Nothing had changed in your physical world, but you switched mental models and instantly created a new reality for yourself. Only a small part of this drama happened in the plane. The real drama took place in your mind.

This leads to a powerful and fundamental insight. How we experience the world depends on how we think. For each of us, there is no such thing as objective reality. There is only the reality that is created in our minds (which we may call objective, simply because it is sincerely held and based on our lived experiences). And this reality is framed and shaped by the repertoire of mental models each of us has developed for ourselves, mainly without being conscious of how we go about developing them or even about how our mental models function. Mental models are responsible for how we see the world, how we think, and therefore, on how we act. They are also responsible for what happens when we come into conflict with another person.

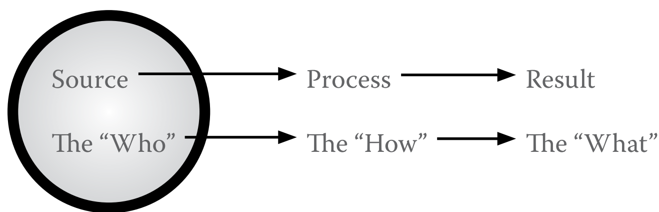
In fact, the more successful we are at doing something, the more likely it is that we have become unaware of how we select data (and consequently how we may be missing data that are important), how our reasoning has been shaped by our previous experiences

(which may be less relevant if circumstances have changed in a significant way), and how our actions affect the actions of those with whom we are working (whose collaboration we may have to depend on for the success of our undertaking.)

Driven predominantly by a lack of awareness about the power of dominant ways of decision-making, which can precipitate in organizational mindlessness, most organizational cultures lack a safe space where individuals may lay bare and question their sincerely-held ways of sensing and making meaning of knowledge. Such an organizational environment directly contributes to the stifling of employee potential through a process of self-censorship, which is an enormous source of loss to organizations. After all, it matters not how rich and disparate perspectives exist within an organization. Rather, the ability to nurture a collegial environment within which to synthesize such talent is where true innovation takes place.

WHY DIAGNOSIS ALONE IS NOT A SOLUTION

Otto Scharmer's (2007) framing of one's epistemic frame as a 'blind spot' is helpful in understanding how individuals ignore the bases for their sense-making at their own peril. The construction of one's self as process-driven and focused upon results is often the basis on which individuals are rewarded and recognized organizationally. What such a construction of self ignores is the powerful and textured epistemic lens through which one's ambitions and abilities are refracted, as expressed below.



Linked to the ignoring of one's epistemic source is the resultant inability to conceptualize one's influence over a larger systems-wide impact. Ironically, the very inertness that organizations value and reward disables both a micro-level reflection, as well as a macro-level understanding of impact of individual actions (be they intentional or inadvertent).

The promise of a new organizational culture that epitomizes individual behaviour and a leadership modicum that encourages the meshing of various epistemic frames is what can be referred to as the paradigm of *emancipatory leadership*. While the framework is still in development, there are a few characteristics that set it apart from traditional leadership models.

- Firstly, this framework is geared to enabling a meta-frame that is applicable to the needs of the evolving and emergent terrain of the organizational reality across sectors. The goal of this framework isn't simply to aid in the creation of organizational value, but also in *capturing* it. The value proposition of this framework is its ability to create the conditions for the enablement of a distinct organizational culture. Such a culture is characterized by decision-makers at various levels of the organization sharing ideas and approaches openly with a common goal: to leverage each others' epistemic frames.
- The focus of this framework is not simply upon the enabling of efficiency that is the result of automation of existing processes. Instead, its successful deployment is dependent upon deep reflection and critical examination of core axiomatic assumptions, so that decisions are made to add organizational value at every level. As Martin and Moldoveanu have predicted: The high-value decision-maker of the future will be a manager of complex interactions who faces a multitude of inputs on a daily basis – different value systems, ways of knowing, ways of acting and relating, ways of managing, and ways of choosing between them. Decision-makers will be called upon to internalize the clash among multiple models of the world and resolve it productively. The skills required to accomplish this are tacit – unlike many skills of the industrial age, they cannot be automated (Martin and Moldoveanu, 2007).
- This framework has a dual focus: both individual agency for organizational actors and external accountability that mirrors the often divergent and conflicting expectations of stakeholders.
- This framework expands on the current understanding of equitable practice within organizations. It aims to enable organizational power-sharing by enabling decision-making processes that allow a variety of experiences and voices to find resonance within the organization where this framework is applied. The primary goal, therefore, is in "helping people to see themselves as part of a larger system, one in which their actions feed back to shape the world in ways large and small, desired and undesired. The greater challenge is to do so in a way that empowers people rather than reinforcing the belief that we are helpless, mere leaves tossed uncontrollably by storm systems of inscrutable complexity and scope" (Sterman, 2002, p.506).
- This framework mandates organizational learning by way of facilitated experiential modules wherein organizational actors are compelled to enquire about the question of how organizational boundaries are defined, and furthermore, who benefits from such compartmentalization. The focus on experiential learning is critical in addressing the predicament raised by

Gregory Berns from Emory University that "often the harder one tries to think differently, the more rigid the categories become. There is a better way, a path that jolts the brain out of pre-conceived notions of what it is seeing: bombard the brain with new experiences." (Gregory Berns, 2008) Hence, the organization that is committed to this framework must go one step further by building and sustaining an experiential community of practice that directly maps on to the life and mission of the organization.

- This framework pre-requires an understanding of the powerful yet latent ways in which historically privileged ways of knowing and doing can only be undone by a methodology that is both humane and persistent; encouraging yet demanding of account and equally appealing to practitioner and scholar alike.

In closing, the Emancipatory Leadership Framework aims to wrestle the question of diversity away from simply being about responding to external demands and conditions, and aims to locate it within the essential leadership compass of organizational actors. While ambitious, the need for such realignment has never been more urgent, given the way in which greater transparency and accountability have become the normative expectations from all segments of the organization and society alike.

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