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POSTCOLONIALITY, DIVERSITY DISCOURSES AND CORPORATE CANADA: A CRITICAL DISCOURSE ANALYSIS OF CORPORATE IMAGES OF THE 'IMMIGRANT' AT WORK

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Dedication

"Come to the edge," he said.
"We are afraid," they said.
"Come to the edge," he said.
They came. He pushed them,
and they flew."

— *Guilliame Apollinaire*

This dissertation is lovingly dedicated to my mother, Farideh Saebi, and the memory of my dad, Hadi Golnaraghi – both exceptionally wise and strong individuals who encouraged me to continuously strive to learn and grow. To me, they both embody feminist teachings and would always say to me that as an immigrant woman, education is central to my independence and freedom. Both always encouraged me to push forward, to question, and to challenge. Witnessing my mother's struggles as an immigrant who started her own business with limited understanding of English and Canadian practices has been inspiring. My mother is one of the strongest female role models in my life who has taught me the power of agency, persistence, and resistance in the face of circumstances which are less than ideal. To say that this dissertation journey has been easy would be a misrepresentation. There were many up and down moments, moments when I hesitated to answer the call to embrace this journey. My parents' wisdom and guiding spirits have inspired me to come to the edge, claim my voice, grow wings and fly.

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In my journey with its trials, challenges and celebratory moments, all roads have been paths of discovery, even those leading to dead ends. Each path has led me towards greater self-awareness and growth. I have learned that we all carry everything we need inside ourselves to complete the doctoral journey, including our greatest but all too often neglected ally, the power of self-compassion.

Abstract

In this dissertation I challenge the taken-for-granted assumptions related to dominant diversity discourses of corporate Canada. Further, I problematize 'diversity management' and the notion of 'immigrant' arguing that dominant discourses and constructions are dependent upon historical discourses. My research aims to answer the key questions of my problematic: what are the dominant diversity discourses of corporate Canada? How are immigrants constructed within this discourse? How are these representations informed by past (historical) immigration discourses? I also take an interest in the voices of the 'other,' typically erased from corporate texts, in order to reveal how 'immigrants' who face labour market challenges construct their own experiences.

The study involves an in-depth analysis of 24 corporate websites of Ontario-based companies that were recognized as the *Best Employers of New Canadians* in 2013 as well as the analysis of government and media documents. In examining my research questions, I used Boje's (2008) Stylistic Strategy as my analytical frame to deconstruct how corporate texts and images are used to orchestrate the ideal image of an 'exemplar' employer (Goffman, 1959). Foucauldian Discourse Analysis (Foucault, 1979; Phillips & Hardy, 2002) is also used to analyze historical and contemporary contexts using a postcolonial lens. While there are different postcolonial approaches (Loomba, 2005), my postcolonial focus is rooted in a poststructuralist approach, particularly one influenced by Foucault's theory of discourse and power/knowledge (Said, 1978; Bhabha, 1994).

Dominant organizational diversity discourses are interconnected with discourses of globalization, in which organizations are discursively constructed as nimble, enterprising and innovative in order to appeal to key audiences and publics. Contradictions begin to surface, however, as immigrant representations within diversity discourses are embedded within the discourse of integration where tolerance of differences is measured in terms of an immigrant’s ability to conform to the Western ideal. ‘Fictive’ binary constructions within dominant discourses serve to ‘other’ immigrants by casting them as inferior to the Western ideal. Too much difference is not tolerated and results in exclusion. I also explore the complexities of ‘othering’ by revealing the voices of the other which give clues into exclusions, acts of racism, discrimination as well as immigrant reactions and resistance. What I have tried to show is how sites of power construct and reconstruct knowledge and images of the ‘problematic’ immigrant which serve to normalize racism and discriminatory practices – in the workplace, and in the wider society.

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CHAPTER 1 – 'STRANGERS' WITHIN OUR GATES

> *"The mental processes of these people have an Oriental subtlety … These people, in addition, because of their undesirable physique and tendency to communicable disease, are a distinct menace, in their crowded, unsanitary quarters, to the health of the community. In their habits of life, their business methods, and their inability to perform labour or become producers, they do not compare favourably even with the Chinese, and the most consoling feature of their coming has been that they form a comparatively small part of our total immigration."*
>
> - J.S. Woodsworth, quoting Dr. Allan McLaughlin untrustworthy foreigners in Canada (1909)

The excerpt above is from J.S. Woodsworth's book *Strangers within Our Gates* (1909) warning readers about mass immigration to Canada, and engaging in a colonial discourse of 'otherness.' This discourse constructs a distinction between the West and the non-West, one that continues to be prevalent in diverse organizational settings – even today (Prasad & Prasad, 2002).

Outline of My Study

I critique diversity management as a means for establishing fair and equal access and inclusion of new immigrants to Canada. Managing diversity is seen by most organizations as a strategic issue with a strong focus on its business case. I consider diversity management as a practice that relies on an underlying managerialist discourse and I highlight the problematic nature of this connection. Diversity management is an area (of policy) that continues to be under-researched and under-theorized in management literature (Prasad & Mills, 1997), especially in Canada (Nkomo & Stewart, 2006; Miller & Rowney, 1999; Mills & Simmons, 1995). In particular, as I discuss below, I adopt a poststructuralist and postcolonial

approach to the study of diversity, questioning dominant (and hegemonic) discourses and practices of employers (Nkomo & Stewart, 2006) that serve to "other". I am particularly interested in the 'Federal Skilled Worker' program (Citizenship and Immigration Canada, 2014). Under this so called point system, 'skilled workers' "are chosen as permanent residents based on their education, work experience, knowledge of English or French and other factors" (other factors include age, pre-arranged employment in Canada, and adaptability to settle in Canada) (Citizenship and Immigration Canada, 2014, Section C). In 2013, the government announced changes to the eligibility requirements for this program imposing stricter criteria as well as a reduction in the overall cap of applications (see Chapter 5). Based on the eligibility criteria outlined above, the discursive construction of an 'immigrant' has mutated over time to more specifically refer to racialized people typically from non-Western countries whose first language is not English or French and whose cultures are incompatible with the 'Canadian-way.' I refer to this group as 'immigrants' recognizing that I am referring to a 'racialized group.' I intentionally do not make reference to 'visible minority' immigrants as I consider this label to be discriminatory, because it invidiously compares the 'immigrant' to the dominant 'white' standard.

In developing a poststructuralist and postcolonial account, I will use Foucauldian discourse analysis (Foucault, 1979; Phillips & Hardy, 2002) and Boje's (2008) Triple-Narrative Stylistic Strategy as a framework to analyze texts found on the corporate websites of the *Best Employers of New Canadians* (Canada's Top 100, 2013). Drawing on poststructuralist and postcolonial theories,

through the analysis of corporate websites I argue that representations of the immigrant have been constructed from older and broader discourses on diversity throughout Canada's history. Specifically, these representations rely on binary constructions of the immigrant that draw real differences between the dominant and the 'other' in order to sustain power relations that privilege managerial interests. Exploration of existing histories of the field of Canadian diversity and 'the problem of diversity' provide the contextual space for my research. I further argue that dominant discourses found in corporate websites idealize the corporation which has been motivated by fears of global competition on the one hand and the perceived threats that the immigrant poses to the Canadian workplace on the other. Hence, dominant discourses serve to reproduce the status quo and marginalize immigrant identity instead of valuing it.

My Interest in this Topic

My decision to pursue this research project emerged from my workplace experiences as a first generation immigrant from the Middle East, as well as a mentor to several racialized new immigrants. In mentoring and speaking with new immigrants, I found that while they were often highly educated and experienced, they faced unemployment, underemployment and systemic barriers to labour market integration, such as their lack of 'Canadian experience.' Although these immigrants have been accepted into Canada for their eligibility as 'skilled' workers, they continue to face systemic barriers that are exclusionary. I began to

see the notion of ‘skilled’ immigrant and immigrants’ negative workplace experiences (access, advancement, satisfaction etc.) as problematic.

According to data from the 2006 census the typical Canadian immigrant profile has changed dramatically over the last 100 years. Up until the 1970s, the majority of immigrants living in Canada were from Western countries such as the United Kingdom and United States, whereas more recently, immigrants from Asia, Latin America and African countries make up over two-thirds of immigrants to Canada (Biles, Burstein & Frideres, 2008). In 2006, seven out of ten racialized people in Canada were immigrants (Statistics Canada, 2011). Projections show that by 2031, Chinese and South Asians will remain the largest groups, Black and Filipino groups will double in size, and Arab and West Asian populations, which are growing the fastest, will most likely triple in size (Yap & Everett, 2012). Toronto is expected to become a ‘majority-minority’ city with three out of five people belonging to a racialized group (Quan, 2014).

Research suggests that immigrants with higher education or professional skills face systemic barriers to employment in their intended occupations (Sakamoto et al., 2013; Statistics Canada, 2012). According to Statistics Canada (2012), landed immigrants with a university degree face a higher unemployment rate (7.9%), than the Canadian-born population (3.1%). Unemployment has increased to 12.4% for new immigrants (in Canada five years or less) with a university degree (Statistics Canada, 2012). New immigrants face multiple employment barriers including lack of Canadian experience and foreign education and credential recognition, among others (Sakamoto et al, 2013; Prasad & Mills,

1997). Systemic barriers result in lower numbers of racialized immigrants hired than those in the dominant group (Abella, 1984; Mills, Helms Mills, Bratton & Forshaw, 2007).

These outcomes may result from the institutionalized restrictive discriminatory practices of dominant groups within a particular social context that have been systematically embedded within society. The social context of immigrants is circumscribed by systemic barriers to labour market access and wage/salary inequities. Although immigrants have higher levels of education, their income levels are decreasing (Buzdugan & Halli, 2009) and poverty rates among this group have been rising (Hepburn, 2014). These problems have been explored by past traditions of labour market segmentation (Reich, Gordon, & Edwards, 1973) and split labour market theory (Bonacich, 1972; Bluestone, 1972; Doeringer & Piore, 1971). Labour market segmentation theorists have argued that economic and political forces encourage segments offering different wages, and racial and ethnic minority workers may not find employment in higher pay segments (Reich et al., 1973). Bonacich (1972) uses split labour market theory to explain labour market segmentation related to ethnically stratified groups in terms of social status, political power and motivations. Bonacich suggests ethnic antagonism emerges in a labour market where two or more ethnically distinct groups with differential prices of labour compete for the same positions as employers seek to hire the cheapest labour. Ethnic antagonism emerges within higher, more politically powerful labour groups who invariably have the louder voice and more influence. Such antagonism can result in labour market exclusion movements and “caste”

systems. Examples in Canada include exclusionary and discriminatory practices such as requiring 'Canadian experience' (Sakamoto et al., 2013).

Some scholars argue that contemporary constructions of difference and racialized immigrants have emerged out of older broader discourses of colonialism (Prasad, 1997) as early colonization in Canada was marked by a history of racism (Satzewich, 2011). Racially stereotyped constructions of immigrants also stem from earlier policies and practices aimed at the problematic 'other' ("Savages", "Quebecois", "Immigrants") who has been distinguished throughout history from the (racially) privileged dominant groups (French, British, British Canadian and European) (Satzewich, 2011). Nkomo (1992) argues that the production of knowledge about 'race' is embedded within a Eurocentric view of the world. A review of Canada's immigration history (see Chapter 5) suggests that "race" has been reserved for 'other' where the identity of racialized immigrants has been discursively constructed as a "foreign/alien." Within this same history, the category of "white" has also been discursively constructed in such a way that it is not associated with "race" (Nkomo, 1992).

Historical accounts suggest that Canada has a long history of "retaining its 'white' face" (Miller & Rowney, 2001, p. 3) through highly restrictive immigration policies aimed at keeping the "undesirables" out (Satzewich, 2011; Day, 2000). J.S. Woodsworth (the Superintendent of the Methodist All People's Mission in Winnipeg) in his book titled *Strangers within Our Gates* (1909) recognized that Canada required immigrants to prosper economically (Satzewich, 2011). However, he expressed concerns about mass immigration from undesirable

regions (the Middle East, Asia, Africa, etc.). He referred to "these people with an Oriental subtlety" as "parasites," "menaces," "detrimental," and "burdensome" (Satzewich, 2011, p. x). Overt racism was common at the turn of the nineteenth century towards the people of 'Asiatic race' and other groups including Jewish refugees, southern and eastern Europeans, Blacks, and the Aboriginal First Nations. Some argue that racism persisted within Canadian law and policy circles until the 1960s with the adoption of the "points system", while others contend that racism continues today as a fundamental feature of the Canadian national identity (Satzewich, 2011).

A review of Canada's legislative history shows attempts made to improve human rights. Canada adopted its policy of multiculturalism in 1971. The Royal Commission on Equality in Employment, also referred to as the Abella Commission, issued a report in 1984 which ultimately led to the 1986 *Employment Equity Act* designating four disadvantaged groups: women, Aboriginal peoples, people with disabilities, and members of visible minorities (racialized groups). The Canadian Human Rights Commission monitors and enforces the act within organizations to ensure they provide the appropriate organizational climate for minority groups. In 1988, the *Canadian Multiculturalism Act* was passed highlighting the importance of cultural diversity, as a new response to the long-standing problem of diversity and as a way to divert Quebec nationalists from their demands for independence (Day, 2000).

Multiculturalism emerged from attempts to manage the consequences of mass immigration and cultural diversity (Day, 2000). Such movements have

implications for organizations as multiculturalism policies tend to lead to corporate multiculturalism (Banerjee & Linstead, 2001). Kaasila-Pakanen (2015) shows how diversity and multiculturalism discourses are extensively linked and have merged together as integrated paradigms of workplace diversity. According to Cox and Blake (1991) "multicultural" and "diverse" organizations are characterized by pluralism, full integration of minority members, an absence of discrimination, and low conflict levels. Sadly, such articulations are naïve as their characterizations appear very simplistic given the inequalities, discrimination and exclusion faced by immigrants today.

There is sufficient reason to question the utility (or efficacy) of the diversity imperative. As the contemporary context suggests, it is failing to fulfill its apparent promise to integrate (or accommodate) the immigrant. A number of critical researchers agree with this conclusion suggesting that diversity management has not only led to racial (or ethnic) antagonism and outbursts manifested through backlash and resentment, but also to a sense of frustration and disappointment at having failed to achieve greater equality within the workforce (McVittie, McKinlay & Widdicombe, 2008; Lorbiecki & Jack, 2000). Dick and Cassell (2002) suggest the topic of diversity management is ripe for critique and problematization.

A PostPositivist Approach

Diversity management is a substantive research area which has traditionally been studied as a tangible and concrete set of policies and initiatives

used to manage, control, and improve performance and efficiency within the workplace (Mills et al, 2007). These positivist studies have advocated for "managing diversity as a company initiative motivated by economic imperatives of productivity, competitive advantage and profitability (Kaasila-Pakanen, 2015, p. 6). The same holds true when attempts are made to study demographic characteristics such as race and cultural identities. The bulk of diversity research attempts to link diversity dimensions to performance (Kaasila-Pakanen, 2015). While such approaches have made significant contributions to the way diversity management has become understood, they only take us so far. Kaasila-Pakanen (2015) makes a compelling argument that positivist research has not adequately addressed the complex realities of racial and cultural identities and encounters within organizations. Often such studies take a narrow view of different dimensions of diversity through simplistic and fixed categorizations that serve to reinforce inequalities within organizations. Hence, I argue that such studies offer a limited understanding of diversity in the workplace, the views of the racialized immigrant, and the processes that lead to inequalities in the workplace (Kaasila-Pakanen, 2015; Nkomo, 1992).

I make the case for using a postpositivist qualitative orientation (Bryman et al, 2011) by focusing on the underlying assumptions of diversity management mostly inherited from the functionalist paradigm (Burrell & Morgan, 1979; Prasad, 2005), privileging managerial interests. My main interest arises from my skepticism as to whether diversity management produces any real change for racialized immigrants. Hence, I will explore the origins of diversity management

and its basic taken-for-granted assumptions, particularly as they relate to constructions of the racialized immigrant. I argue that dominant diversity discourse constructs a narrow conceptualization of the racialized immigrant in "simplistic, historically bounded, and fixed categorizations … that reinforce cultural and racial otherness" (Kaasila-Pakanen, 2015, p. 3). In so doing, I attempt to disrupt, destabilize and defamiliarize common sense, the taken-for-granted ways of thinking about diversity and racialized immigrants in the workplace.

Over the years, postpositivist approaches to studying diversity have certainly been on the rise. Postpositivist scholars have offered various methodological approaches to exploring diversity, difference and 'othering' within organizations. These approaches include poststructuralist and postcolonial perspectives which came about in the diversity space commencing in the 1990's (Lorbiecki & Jack, 2000). A number of scholars in this space have looked at the discursive nature of diversity management (Ahmed, 2007; Bell & Hartman, 2007; Janssens & Zanoni, 2005; Kirby & Harter, 2003; Lorbiecki & Jack, 2000; Munshi, 2005; Prasad & Mills, 1997; Prasad, Prasad & Mir, 2010; Risberg & Soderberg, 2008; Tomlinson & Schwabenland, 2010). Such efforts attempt to "create possibilities for the construction and practice of alternative discourses about people, diversity and organizations" (Litvin, 2006, p. 80). I attempt to "focus on the cracks in the mosaic, the tears in the quilt, and the scalding temperature of the melting pot in order to illuminate what might be termed the shadow side of diversity" (Prasad & Mills, 1997, p. 5).

Prasad (2005) defines postpositivism as including a number of diverse theoretical perspectives, such as feminism, social constructivism, critical hermeneutics, intersectionality theory, poststructuralism and postcolonialism. These perspectives challenge positivism by asking "questions of social reality and knowledge production from a more problematized vantage point, emphasizing the constructed nature of social reality, the constitutive role of language and the value of research as critique" (Prasad, 2005, p. 9). Postpositivism rejects positivist assumptions of an objective and value-free social science (Guba & Lincoln, 1994). Drawing from Prasad's (2005) definition of postpositivism, theories are assumed to reflect the ideas and contexts of theorists, thus suggesting theorists and their theories are very much connected. Postpositivism further assumes a fragmented and changing nature of society. For example, organizations are assumed to be fraught with conflict and multiple, divergent interests, an assumption which is particularly resonant within a diverse organization. I believe that a postpositivist approach is a useful starting point in offering new insights into understanding workplace diversity and constructions of the racialized immigrant.

Assumptions

Diversity Management, Difference, and Othering

The notion of difference is central to diversity management (Nkomo & Stewart, 2006). The essentialist perspective views differences as "natural," fixed and immutable. According to Litvin (2006) and Lorbiecki and Jack (2002, the emphasis on 'difference' tends to encompass fixed representations by constructing

employees in demographic categories portrayed as obvious, natural and immutable. Differences are seen as internal to individuals and predictable. Within the poststructuralist and postcolonial traditions 'difference' is considered as socially constructed, multiple, contradictory, contextual and fluid. Hence, difference is not internal to the individual, but constructed in social and historical context, where discourses shape how people are constructed as different or similar. For example, 'race' is not something that 'is' but rather something that is socially constructed, negotiated and reproduced (Satzewich, 2000). Historical research, on the social construction of how and why certain groups were racially 'othered' illustrates an interesting story.

Canada's immigration history (see Chapter 5) is marked by many instances of racial 'othering' including those of the Aboriginal First Nations, French Canadians, Southern and Eastern Europeans and racialized immigrants from Asia, Africa and Latin America. A review of Canada's immigration history suggests that many of the European groups (Southern and Eastern) who are now thought of as white were racially 'othered' merely two or so generations ago (Satzewich, 2000). Yet today, they are constructed as European and white (Porter, 1965). The notion of 'white' and 'non-white' has mutated over time, drawing clear boundaries between people despite gender, class and other similarities. For example, racialized immigrants are often constructed as lacking in workplace competencies and skills compared to the dominant (or hegemonic) white norm. Said (1978) suggests that such constructed binaries then concern both the 'other' and the image of the dominant. Hence, these constructions of deficiencies within the discourse of

multiculturalism and diversity attempt to fix and contain difference serving to create otherness (Kaasila-Pakanen, 2015), perpetuating inequalities and systems of racial hierarchies.

Within an organizational context, these invidious constructions of the inferior and incomplete 'other' often serve to justify managerial control, and exploitation on one hand, and elimination and exclusion of less exploitable diversity on the other (Zanoni, 2011). Prasad and Prasad (2002) argue that organizational discourses have constructed 'otherness' wherever differences (ethnic, race, gender, class, etc.) are regularly produced and reproduced as inferior. MacQuarrie (2010) reminds us that the categorization process of 'othering' is most prevalent against populations that have been historically discriminated against by dominant cultures through assimilation or exclusion. This notion is also central to postcolonial theory which argues that the legacy of colonialism- and its discourse of domination and exploitation - continues to shape Western perceptions of the 'other' (in this case, the racialized immigrant). Hence, the discourses of difference and diversity have consequences for racialized immigrants as they are negatively classified as an ontological other (Prasad, 1997).

Diversity Management and Postcolonial Theory

A number of critical scholars have turned to postcolonial theory for new discursive accounts of diversity in the workplace (Banerjee & Linstead, 2001; Jack & Lorbiecki, 2003; Prasad, 1997, 2006; Munshi, 2005; Prasad & Prasad, 2002). This 'linguistic turn' occurred in part because of the particular attention given to processes of Western knowledge construction which stereotype and subordinate

the ‘other’ (Lorbiecki and Jack 2000). Banerjee & Linstead (2001) have also used this postcolonial perspective to interrogate the notions of globalization, multiculturalism and diversity and argue that successful management of diversity, and its business case discourse, perpetuates global colonialism and facilitates assimilation within dominant ideology. Prasad & Prasad (2002) note the significance of globalization in perpetuating colonial and neo-colonial connections and the hierarchical (social) distances between different identity groups. Therefore there are significant implications for using postcolonial theory to understand ‘otherness’ in organizations, as this concept (of otherness) helps to expose colonial discourses in workplace practices (Prasad & Prasad, 2002). Prasad (1997, 2006) offers two ground-breaking research projects which link the discourse of workplace diversity to the discourse of colonialism. Munshi (2005) draws from Prasad’s (1997) analysis to make a case for using colonialism as a sense-making framework to reveal power dynamics, inequalities and to expose the (‘civilizing’) mission to manage, control and help save the ‘other’ within a New Zealand context.

Drawing from and building upon these studies, using a postcolonial lens is central to my research. I too draw on Prasad’s (1997) assertion that “the discourse of workplace diversity is inextricably (and fatally) linked with the discourse of colonialism” (p. 305). Prasad suggests that diversity is viewed as something that needs to be managed to keep the non-western other (in this case the immigrant) under control – the treatment of the ‘other’ resembling that of the colonized ‘other.’ Hence, “diversity becomes the *cause* of organizational problems, and,

therefore, needs to be *managed* by the controlling elite for the sake of goal achievement and profitability" (Munshi, 2005, p. 58). In essence, diversity in the workplace calls for the need to capitalize on diverse and top talent to drive bottom line results and competitive advantages. In the quest for organizational performance, racialized groups remain at the margins, and are capitalized upon for financial gains. The imprint of the colonial doctrine is visible as diversity management, in its civilizing mission, serves to guide, develop and control the 'other' to drive performance (Prasad, 1997, 2006).

Corporate Public Relations Texts as Ideal Research Sites

Corporations place great emphasis on public relations within traditional and digital channels. With the growing popularity of diversity management over the last two decades, communication of a corporation's diversity strategies and initiatives as part of its public relations efforts are normally designed to project a positive image to the company's publics. Corporate websites are an important channel for the public relations efforts of organizations (Capriotti & Moreno, 2007; Winter, Saunders & Hart, 2003). Directed at large audiences of stakeholders, websites are described as "gatekeepers, uncertainty reducing information sources, and image creating tools" (Sullivan, 1999, p. 194). Corporations attempt to proactively present a positive image as a form of "impression management" among key publics such as shareholders, creating and maintaining impressions in line with perceptions they wish to portray (Goffman, 1959). Impression management is important considering it can contribute to a corporation's diversity (and corporate social responsibility) reputation.

Diversity communication initiatives can serve to advertise the corporation as a good corporate citizen, one that promotes diversity. In this case, I examine corporate websites of the *Best Employers of New Canadians* (Canada's Top 100, 2013), look for dominant discourses within them and analyze how they construct the immigrant both for what they say as well as by what they silence and exclude (Boje, 2008; Chakrabarty, 1988).

Contributions of My Study

Studying diversity management textually allows for new ways of examining diversity management, offering new insights into its practice (Prasad et al. 2010). A number of scholars have looked at the discursive nature of diversity management (Ahmed, 2007; Bell & Hartman, 2007; Janssens & Zanoni, 2005; Kirby & Harter, 2003; Lorbiecki & Jack, 2000; Munshi, 2005; Prasad & Mills, 1997; Prasad, Prasad & Mir, 2010; Risberg & Soderberg, 2008; Tomlinson & Schwabenland, 2010). Scholars who have explored the discursive nature of diversity management have pointed to the dominant corporate discourse of the business case which is performance and bottom line focused (Lorbiecki & Jack, 2000; Noon, 2007; Prasad & Mills, 1997), as well as the discourse of fashion (Prasad & Mills, 1997; Prasad et al., 2010), discourse of empowerment (Prasad, 2001) and discourse rooted in colonialism (Munshi, 2005; Prasad, 1997; Prasad, 2006; Prasad & Prasad, 2002; Lorbiecki & Jack, 2000).

Discursive approaches to the study of diversity have critically examined the problematic all-inclusive definition of diversity (including racialized people

and white males) (Wrench 2005; Lorbiecki & Jack, 2000; Prasad, Pringle & Konrad, 2006) glossing over issues of racism, discrimination, marginalization and exclusion. The fixed dimensions of diversity (ethnicity, race, gender, sexual orientation, etc.) are questioned (Litvin, 1997; Lorbiecki & Jack, 2000; Kaasila-Pakanen, 2015) prohibiting any space for mutation and change. Others question diversity management's rhetorically positive imagery (i.e. "window dressing") (Kirby & Harter, 2002) and its voluntary adoption in organizations not being directly tied to employment laws (Zanoni & Janssens, 2004; Merilainen et al, 2009; Janssens & Zanoni, 2005; Wrench, 2005; Prasad & Mills, 1997). Scholars such as Prasad et al. (2006) and Wrench (2005) argue that power dimensions and systemic sources of discrimination are ignored and lacking within mainstream diversity research.

A number of scholars have studied diversity texts on corporate websites in order to explore dominant discourses and social context impacting diversity issues in the workplace. Researchers have looked at dominant diversity discourses on websites in Denmark (Risberg & Soderberg, 2008); Finland (Merilainen et al, 2009; Singh & Point, 2006, 2004; Point & Singh, 2003); France (Singh & Point, 2006, 2004; Point & Singh, 2003); Germany (Singh & Point, 2006, 2004; Point & Singh, 2003), Netherlands (Singh & Point, 2006, 2004; Point & Singh, 2003); Norway (Singh & Point, 2006, 2004; Point & Singh, 2003); Portugal (Barbosa & Cabral-Cardoso, 2010); Sweden (Singh & Point, 2006, 2004; Point & Singh, 2003); Switzerland (Singh & Point, 2006, 2004; Point & Singh, 2003); the United Kingdom (Tomlinson & Schwabenland, 2010; Maxwell, 2004; Singh & Point,

2006, 2004; Point & Singh, 2003), and the United States (Edmondson et al., 2009; Bell & Harman, 2007; Kirby & Harter, 2003). A number of these studies suggest that the diversity as business case discourse surfaces most frequently in management discourse of multicultural societies such as the US, Canada and the UK. These studies have contributed to the field by looking at managerial texts for dominant diversity discourses. These studies generally do not consider the silences, absences, and exclusions in a meaningful way, nor do they attempt to construct a counter-narrative from the perspective of the 'other.'

My analytical frame uses Boje's (2008) Stylistic Strategy of Triple Narrative drawing on poststructuralist and postcolonial perspectives. This analytical frame enables the examination of corporate texts and images that are used to project the ideal corporate image (Goffman, 1959) and construct images of the racialized immigrant. By refusing to accept these discourses at face value or at a surface level, I adopt Foucault's notion of exclusion to analyze discursive structures for traces of what is being silenced. This notion is central to the triple narrative in which two or more orchestrated narratives give rise to a third and more emergently dialogized (i.e. "dialectical") story (Boje, 2008) that runs counter to the first two narratives.

This poststructuralist method of inquiry involves a Foucauldian (1979) approach to critical discourse analysis (CDA) (Phillips & Hardy, 2002). Narratives of Canadian companies listed on the *Best Employers of New Canadians* (Canada's Top 100, 2013) listings are analyzed. Among the evaluation criteria for this distinction are that employers offer programs and initiatives geared to assist

employees who are recent immigrants to Canada and have also taken steps to reduce employment barriers for recent immigrants (Canada's Top 100, 2013).

This study sets out to offer new insights by posing the following central questions: What are dominant diversity discourses of corporate Canada and how are immigrants constructed within this discourse? However, I also explore the voices of the 'other' that are typically erased from corporate documents and which may be detected in counter-discourses. This study of organizational discursive practices serves to reveal how some privileged interests are served at the expense of others, and the role these legitimizing practices play in maintaining structures of power, domination, hegemony and resistance. Indeed, these issues are the hallmarks of a poststructuralist approach; as this approach seeks not only to identify dominant discourses, but also to ask whose interests are served and whose are marginalized within these discursive formations (Kirby & Harter, 2003).

I use a postcolonial lens influenced by postructuralism (Said, 1978; Bhabha, 1994) to examine historical discourses that construct and represent the racialized immigrant. This lens is also used to explore public relations efforts of corporations and to uncover the legacy of colonial and orientalist discourses inscribed in diversity narratives in Canada (Prasad, 1997). A postcolonial study situates the perspective of the 'other' at the centre of research, examining the legacy of systems of domination first established through colonialism (Edwards, 2011). This lens is particularly helpful in examining how the Western hierarchical communication model of corporations incorporates the Western management values and knowledge, often ignoring the views of the 'other' on their own terms

(Munshi, 2005). Using a postcolonial lens allows for a deeper understanding of how the constructed images of racialized immigrants, from former French and English colonies, are represented in current diversity texts.

Outline of the Chapters

This dissertation is presented in eight chapters with the first chapter serving as an introduction. Chapter 2 reviews relevant literature on diversity management and the discourse of difference locating the gaps and building the case for this research project. In this chapter, I outline the historical evolution of diversity management, discuss the dominant business case discourse and critical literature and interrogate different aspects of diversity in the workplace.

In Chapter 3 I outline my theoretical framework for this study. I adopt a poststructuralist approach to the study of diversity management and racialized immigrants in Canada. In this chapter, I also present an argument for adopting a postcolonial perspective for the study.

In Chapter 4, I outline my methodological framework and research design. I make the case for corporate websites as an effective corpus for my study. I also make the case for using the Triple Narrative as Stylistic Strategy (Boje, 2008) as my analytical framework and the use of Foucauldian discourse analysis (Foucault, 1979; Phillips & Hardy, 2002). In this chapter, I also outline my research design.

In Chapter 5, drawing from postcolonialism (Said, 1978) I undertake a discursive examination of selective scholarly and government texts to 'reveal' something of the postcolonial roots of much immigrant discourse in order to

establish the context for my analysis of corporate websites. I provide an overview of the representation of Western and non-Western people in Canada based on the historical construction of forms of knowledge about them. Current representations of racialized immigrants as well as their inequalities, exclusions, and marginalization, all have important historical dimensions which are discursively analyzed.

Chapter 6 entails an examination and analysis of narratives extracted from corporate websites of the *Best Employers of New Canadians* (Canada's Top 100, 2013). These narratives will be used to explore dominant discourses using the first two levels of Boje's (2008) Triple Narrative Stylistic Strategy. I show how corporations use dominant discourses and stylistic control to project the image of the ideal corporation.

In Chapter 7 I conduct a critical read of the first two levels of the Triple Narrative model outlined in Chapter 6. In this chapter I outline dominant constructions of the immigrant as well as reveal the silences, absences, and exclusions by using media articles to articulate the counter discourses from the ('subaltern') voices of the 'other.'

Finally, Chapter 8 provides a discussion of the results and the implications of this study. This chapter also draws conclusions from the research findings, offers recommendations for future research and policy considerations and describes the limitations of my research.

CHAPTER 2 – PERSPECTIVES ON DIVERSITY IN THE WORKPLACE

> *"We are concerned that in the rapidly globalizing discourse of liberal capitalism 'the discourse of equality' is being replaced with 'the discourse of diversity.' We fear that 'the discourse of diversity' is the discourse of pragmatics clothed in the garments borrowed from 'the discourse of equality'."*
>
> – Humphries and Grice (1995, p. 31)

Introduction

Over the last two decades, diversity management has gained importance and popularity in North America (Merilainen et al, 2009; Prasad & Mills, 1997). Diversity management has its roots in the United States (Kandola & Fullerton, 1994), and can be traced back to a report on the workforce(s) of 21 nations, titled *Workforce 2000* (Johnson & Packer, 1987) released by the Hudson Institute (Cox & Blake, 1991; Holvino & Kamp, 2009; Kirby & Harter, 2002; Lorbiecki & Jack, 2000; Wrench, 2007). This report highlighted difficulties faced by corporations due to demographic changes where they could no longer rely on a stable supply of human resources to remain competitive (Maxwell, 2004; Miller & Rowney, 2001). In order to remain competitive, corporations were urged to rely on diverse populations such as minority groups, immigrants, and non-Caucasian populations (Cox & Blake, 1991; Kirby & Harter, 2001; Maxwell, 2004).

Since this time, 'diversity' has been defined by organizations in many different ways ranging from broad descriptions of its institutional (or organizational) functions to individual differences (Maxwell, 2004). For scholars this variation in definition has illuminated the tensions between diversity management and equal opportunities which is discussed in more depth later in this

chapter. Central to managing diversity is the individual, whereas equal opportunities perspectives focus on groups such as racialized people who are afforded legal protection against discrimination. Managing diversity is seen as a strategic issue with relevance for all employees, with strong focus on its business case. Equal opportunity, on the other hand, is based on legal compliance and social justice.

Critical scholars note that diversity management is different from previous employment equity approaches because the main focus is on business benefits, organizational efficiency and market performance. It is focused on improving competitiveness and market advantage. Central to these aims is the focus on recognizing differences in order to foster innovation and productivity. Yet, diversity management does not solely focus on the needs and interests of excluded or under-represented groups, instead it is inclusive of the interests of all employees – racialized immigrants as well as white males (Wrench, 2005, 2007). This view is problematic given racialized immigrants continue to face barriers, labour market exclusion, marginalization and discrimination.

The bulk of diversity research including that which focuses on racialized groups falls within the functionalist paradigm and focuses on the business case, including managerial models to control difference and organizational performance. Nkomo (1992) suggests that organizational research typically treats dominant groups as the norm and generalizes theories and concepts to all groups including racial and ethnic groups. “Researchers who ignore the influence of race in understanding organizations may reflect hope that, indeed, management theories

and constructs are universal" (p. 490). Where race is specifically considered, they often evoke a very narrow and fixed understanding of race and culture often ignoring the role of specific contexts and power relations (Kaasila-Pakanen, 2015). Often linked with the discourse of "multiculturalism", the business case for diversity has looked at how diversity in terms of race, nationalities and ethnicities can be "managed" to pursue market growth, performance, efficiency and productivity (Kaasila-Pakanen, 2015). Nkomo (1992) calls for more meaningful research about race "viewing organizations as race relations played out in power struggles, which includes realizations that 'race' is not a stable category" (p. 507).

Critical studies remain the exception. As discussed later in the chapter, critical scholars are increasingly studying diversity as an organizational discourse. These scholars have unpacked definitions of diversity, interrogated the business case, focused on how minority employees are discursively controlled, examined ethnic diversity, difference and 'othering,' as well as studied diversity management and power inequalities. Yet, there is more work to be done (Prasad & Mills, 1997), especially in Canada (Mills & Simmons, 1995), and particularly related to racialized immigrants. My research examines dominant diversity discourses of Canadian employers and more specifically how racialized immigrants are situated (constructed) within the discourses.

In this chapter, I outline the existing research into diversity management. I first examine the origins of diversity management in Canada and then outline the evolution of the broader discourse of diversity management including the business case discourse. I then present poststructuralist and postcolonial discursive

approaches to diversity management. Finally, I focus on how racialized groups are constructed and represented in diversity management. I conclude this chapter with a discussion on how my research project contributes to existing diversity literature.

Diversity Management in Canada

Although the adoption of diversity management in Canada has mirrored the trend in the United States, it has lagged behind in adoption time and has been embraced differently within the Canadian context (Miller & Rowney, 1999). In the United States, leading consultants, academics and business leaders recognized the necessity for this approach (Cox & Blake, 1991) due to a growing backlash against affirmative action (Miller & Rowney, 1999). In Canada, the diversity management movement has been driven and led by government agencies rather than by consultants (Miller & Rowney, 1999).

While the Canadian context is explored in greater depth in Chapter 5, a brief review of the evolution of government policy leading to diversity management bears mention in this chapter. Historically, racial and ethnic relations in Canada have been characterized by conflict, inequality and intolerance (Day, 2000; Porter, 1965). Media representations of racialized immigrants, immigration structures and policies, and employment practices have often been racist (Day, 2000; Mills & Simmons, 1995; Satzewich, 2011). Racialized immigrants continue to face many challenges when it comes to recognition of overseas credentials and experience as well as access to promotion and advancement within organizations. A number of studies have shown employment discrimination in how unfair hiring

practices target racialized groups (Henry & Ginzberg, 1985; Larose & Tillman, 2009; Orepoulous, 2009; Statistics Canada, 2005).

One of the landmark events in the study of ethnicity in Canada was the creation of the Royal Commission on Biculturalism & Bilingualism (B&B) established in 1963 (Day, 2000). The Commissioners were asked to recommend "what steps should be taken to develop Canadian Confederation on the basis of an equal partnership between the two founding races (English and French), taking into account the contribution made by the other ethnic groups to the cultural enrichment of Canada and the measures that should be taken to safeguard that contribution" (Government of Canada, 2006, p. 3). After several years of research, consultations and hearings, the Commission issued a report and a series of recommendations (Day, 2000). As a result, the Official Languages Act was passed in 1969 and a Commissioner of Official Languages was appointed to supervise the implementation of the Act (Day, 2000). The English and French languages and cultures were each granted official status. The other ethnic groups were encouraged to preserve and maintain their language and culture, although not in the official sense (Day, 2000).

Multiculturalism emerged from one of the later volumes of the B & B Report and was adopted as a policy in 1971. The Commission recommended the "integration" of ethnic groups into Canadian society. Integration was defined as unlike the assimilation perspective, adopted in the United States melting pot model in terms of allowing ethnic groups and/or individuals to participate fully in the political, economic, social and cultural life of the country (Day, 2000). This policy

was designed to provide support and recognition to those ethnic groups who wished to preserve their cultural and ethnic differences within a pluralistic framework.

The institutionalization of multicultural policies grew in the 1980s (Parliament of Canada, 2009) as immigration policies and procedures continued to change the profile of the population. Special committees inquired into racialized groups and race relations. In 1988, a new multicultural policy, the *Multiculturalism Act*, was passed in Canada, the first country internationally to pass this type of law (Parliament of Canada, 2009). According to Mills et al. (2007), "the act highlights that cultural diversity is an integral part of Canadian society and is not limited to the issue of how to ensure equitable treatment of individuals in the workplace" (p. 314). According to the Parliament of Canada (2009), the Act sought to preserve culture and language, reduce discrimination, and promote culturally sensitive change at the federal institutional level.

Prior to the enactment of the Canadian Bill of Rights and Freedoms and human rights legislation, "protection against discriminatory practices was not a right under Canadian law … freedom of contract had meant that it was a general principle of the law that employers were free to hire (not hire) or conduct business with (deny business to) whomever they pleased" (Mills et al., 2007, p. 311). During the 1970s, human rights commissions were established in all provinces. In 1982, the Charter of Rights and Freedoms was amended to make principles against wrongful discrimination based on someone's race and ethnicity a national standard (Mills et al., 2007, p. 312).

Another initiative by the Canadian government was the Royal Commission on Equality in Employment, chaired by Judge Rosalie Abella. In 1984, Judge Abella and the commission recommended that the government establish employment equity legislation. Mills et al. (2007) explain that "the commission focused on acquiring preferred treatment for groups of people who were limited in their access to employment opportunities" (p. 312). The report subsequently became the *Employment Equity Act* introduced by the federal government in 1986. Employment equity seeks to address barriers and unfair treatment of historically disadvantaged groups. Section (2) of the Act states that its purpose is to:

> "Achieve equality in the workplace so that no person shall be denied employment opportunities or benefits for reasons unrelated to ability and, in the fulfillment of that goal, to correct the conditions of disadvantage in employment experienced by women, aboriginal peoples, persons with disabilities and members of visible minorities (racialized groups) by giving effect to the principle that employment equity means more than treating persons in the same way but also requires special measures and the accommodation of differences." (Government of Canada, 2013).

In the early days, an employer's employment practices were audited to ensure an equitable and diverse workplace. In 1995, the act was revised giving the Canadian Human Rights Commission the responsibility to oversee these organizations which include parts of the federal public service, some Crown corporations, and private sector employers with over 100 employees (Government of Canada, 2013).

As discussed in Chapter 1, since the late 1960s, there has been a substantial increase in the percentage of immigrants to Canada, from non-European countries. These groups continue to face barriers, prejudice and discrimination in the workplace, all of which prevents them from gaining equal access to employment and advancement. Stereotyped as lacking language skills and Canadian credentials and work experience, they are often trapped into low-paying survival jobs. As Mills, Simmons and Helms-Mills (2010) convey, many Canadian researchers conclude that "the institutionalized ethnic discrimination faced by earlier generations of European immigrants (which has all but disappeared as a significant social force) has now been replaced by an institutionalized racial discrimination against the current generation of Third World immigrants" (p. 203).

The Historical Evolution of Diversity Management

Lorbiecki and Jack (2000) outline the evolution of diversity as four overlapping linguistic turns in the development of diversity management. As discussed earlier, the first turn was a product of influential studies such as *Workforce 2000* (Johnson and Packer 1987) in the United States and *The Canadian Workplace in Transition* (Betcherman et. al, 1994) in Canada. Both reports suggested the demographic face of the workforce would dramatically shift from predominantly white-male to more diverse representations by women and racialized groups. Many argue that this first turn was responsible for the emergence of organizations' focus on diversity, the creation of multicultural

organizations (Cox, 1991), immigration, the notion of racialized groups, and the need to manage diversity.

The second turn, the *political* phase resulted from diversity management emerging as an acceptable alternative to Affirmative Action programs in the US and Employment Equity programs in Canada (Lorbiecki & Jack, 2000; Wrench, 2007). At the time, a considerable backlash caused feelings of reverse discrimination and the perception that hiring was based on factors other than merit (Dye & Golnaraghi, 2015). During this turn, the focus on diversity management changed from "counting people who look different" (Ahmed 2007, p. 240) to politically correct (Lorbiecki & Jack, 2000) approaches to affirmative action and employment equity agendas, a transition which proved to be less than successful (Dye & Golnaraghi, 2015).

The political interest became increasingly *economic* "with the introduction of compelling arguments which warned firms … that if they did not pay immediate attention to managing diversity their organization's performance or image would be put at risk" (Lorbiecki & Jack 2000, p. S20-S21). This turn became the most enduring as the economic argument taps into a fear that the organization will perish unless it embraces and manages diversity in order to compete and meet the demands of the global marketplace (Lorbiecki & Jack, 2000). What marks this turn is the key role of top management in situating managing diversity as a strategic element linked to organizational performance (Wrench, 2007).

According to Lorbiecki and Jack (2000), the fourth turn in diversity management is deemed *critical*, and arose from challenges that were encountered by those attempting to implement diversity initiatives. This turn critiques the business case for diversity, questions its underlying assumptions located within a positivist paradigm that privileges management interests (Tomlinson & Schwabenland, 2010). These critical studies attempted to destabilize (and deconstruct) the common sense, taken-for-granted ways of thinking about diversity management (Dye & Golnaraghi, 2015). Such efforts attempt to "create possibilities for the construction and practice of alternative discourses about people, diversity and organizations" (Litvin, 2006, p. 80).

The business case discourse, its benefits, efficacy and critiques are discussed in more depth in the following section.

The Business Case for Diversity

The business case discourse resonates most strongly in the management discourse of multicultural societies such as those in North America (Barbosa & Cabral-Cardoso 2010; Merilainen et al., 2009; Singh and Point, 2004, 2006). The business case for diversity argues that productivity and profitability gains can be achieved by having a more diverse workforce, effectively managing it, and fostering a culture that embraces difference (Cox 1994; Robinson & Dechant, 1997; Lorbiecki & Jack, 2000). Cox (1994) argues that improvements to the bottom line can be gained by maximizing the potential advantages of diversity and minimizing the potential disadvantages. It is argued that the business case for

diversity has at its core the need to convince those who hold power within organizations that diversity management is essential, and thereby legitimizing it (Kochan et al., 2003; Litvin, 2006; Tomlinson & Schwabenland, 2010). Dye and Golnaraghi (2015) contend that the business case discourse aligns with a capitalist agenda, implying that 'human assets' must be controlled and optimized through diversity management as such moves are in the best interest of stakeholders.

From the perspective of the business case for diversity, a number of arguments link diversity management initiatives with firm strategy, human resource practices and, performance. Functionalist studies outline the following benefits of the business case discourse (Cox & Blake, 1991; Robinson & Dechant, 1997):

Attract and Retain Top Talent

The business case assumes that employees (particularly top talent) wish to work for those organizations that value diversity. Failure to value diversity will hinder organizations from accessing the pool of top performers. Hence, focus is placed on successfully competing for the top talent (Robinson & Dechant, 1997; Tomlinson & Schwabenland, 2010). This argument further assumes that top talent values an inclusive culture that embraces difference. Therefore, organizations that do not value diversity and inclusion risk remaining homogeneous and drawing from a smaller pool of human capital (Wrench 2007). They are also at risk of becoming redundant in a global business environment.

A Reduction in Costs

This argument assumes that managing diversity will result in a decrease in discrimination-based and human rights lawsuits (Robinson & Dechant, 1997). Hence, if diversity is well managed, it is assumed that employees will not take legal action against the organization and thus resources will not be expended on such grievances. Further, this argument makes the case that effective management of diversity will lead to higher employee engagement, as well as lower absenteeism and turnover (Robinson & Dechant, 1997).

Representing a Diverse Customer-base

As domestic consumers become more diverse in race, ethnicity, age, gender, and sexual orientations, they represent an important market opportunity for organizations, as do global customers. The business case argument suggests that a more diverse workforce is better able to attract, represent and take advantage of the diverse local and consumer public (Cox and Blake 1991; Cox 1994; Williams and O'Reilly 1998). This argument relies on the assumption that racialized group membership makes one an expert in how to best serve other members of that minority group. It is assumed that employees who are demographically similar to consumers may have an easier time understanding their preferences, behaviours and needs. It also suggests that customers prefer offerings, sales and customer service from members of groups to which they perceive themselves to belong (Dye & Golnaraghi, 2015).

Enhanced Creativity and Innovation

This argument stems from the belief that more diverse and multicultural organizations result in more creativity and innovation and better problem solving (Cox 1991; Cox and Blake 1991; Cox 1994; Robinson and Dechant 1997; Williams and O'Reilly 1998). It is assumed that a diverse workforce brings different perspectives to the workplace and is thus better equipped to analyze problems, generate more creative solutions, and drive innovation and growth (Robinson & Dechant, 1997; Tomlinson & Schwabenland, 2010). This perspective values diverse experiences, viewpoints, and thinking styles.

Efficacy of the Business Case for Diversity

The reliance on the dominant business case to promote diversity leads to the requirement that the return on investment be measured, quantified and documented (Litvin, 2006). This begs the question of whether diversity is being managed in such a way that helps enhance organizational performance. Studies that have examined the efficacy of diversity management are inconclusive and have produced contradictory results. Some studies contend that diversity management results in a positive net effect on the bottom line (Cox & Blake, 1991), especially where there is a focus on innovation (Richard et al, 2003). Other studies suggest that diversity management results in a negative net effect (von Bergen, Soper & Foster, 2002; Tajfel & Turner, 1979; Richard et al, 2002; Williams & O'Reilly, 1998). Several studies have concluded that there is a lack of

hard evidence to support the claims that diversity management improves corporate performance (Wrench 2007; Kochan et al. 2003).

An American review of this literature by Williams and O'Reilly (1998) concluded that the benefits of diversity have been overstated. They also found that most of the research examining the efficacy of the business case has been conducted in a laboratory or classroom setting over a short period of time (Wrench, 2007). Another study by Wise and Tschirhart (2000) found that the promises and claims of the benefits of diversity management for improving organizational and group performance are not rooted in the findings of empirical research. Only a small number of studies have looked at the benefits of diversity within an organizational context - such as Kochan et al. (2003).

Critical Turn in Diversity Management

Dominant perspectives that look at diversity management lead us to believe that organizations are voluntarily and happily valuing diversity and that major progress and change have been realized (Dye & Golnaraghi, 2015). Yet, scholars in the critical turn have raised concern with the many "shadows" of diversity management, arguing that the happy rhetoric (i.e. "window dressing") presents a strategic discursive move to conceal widespread power imbalances within organizations (Prasad & Mills, 1997).

Scholars in the poststructuralist tradition have examined how the new discourse of diversity and its business case originated (Jones et al, 2000; Kirby & Harter, 2002; Liff, 1997; Lorbiecki & Jack, 2000), and how it is context dependent

(Barbosa & Cabral-Cardoso, 2010; Merilainen, Tienari, Saija & Benschop, 2009; Risberg & Soderberg, 2008). Other studies have examined the tensions between the business case rationale and the ethical and social justice goals (Dye & Golnaraghi, 2015; Maxwell, 2004; Noon, 2007; Prasad & Mills, 1997; Tomlinson & Schwabenland, 2010), how diversity management operates and works to 'other' marginalized groups (Munshi, 2005; Prasad, 1997, 2006; Prasad & Prasad, 2002), and the power effects in organizations (Merilainen et. al, 2009; Zanoni and Janssens, 2004, Zanoni, 2011). Poststructuralist studies have critically deconstructed official discourses contained in textbooks (Litvin, 1997), corporate websites (Barbosa & Cabral-Cardoso, 2010; Kirby & Harter, 2002; Merilainen et al, 2009; Singh & Point 2004, 2006), corporate images (Benschop & Meihuizen, 2002, Point & Singh, 2003), and the narratives of diversity consultants and human resources managers (Ahmed, 2007; Ashley, 2010; Zanoni & Janssens, 2004).

In the following section, I outline some discursive approaches that interrogate diversity management.

Discourses of Difference

The notion of "difference" is central to diversity management (Holvino & Kamp, 2009; Nkomo & Cox, 1996). This discourse permeates diversity literature, yet there is little agreement on the understanding of the term "difference" within the literature. Within the business case discourse, difference is defined rather broadly to encompass all organizational members (Kersten, 2000). Critical scholars such as Nkomo and Stewart (2006) among others refer to difference more narrowly as diverse identities based on membership in specific groups and the

involvement of these different identity groups in differential power relations in organizations. Critics point out that the all-inclusive approach to diversity is problematic because it conflates all dimensions of difference (Holvino & Kamp, 2009). These dimensions include core demographic characteristics such as ethnicity, race and gender; secondary dimensions such as education, marital status and religion; and other differences such as cognitive styles, skills and so on (Holvino & Kamp, 2009). De los Reyes (2000) argues that diversity management refers to a mix of differences which includes anything and everything.

This all-inclusive approach "represents a common confusion between benign differences and differences that have practical and even detrimental consequences in people's lives" (Wrench, 2007, p. 99). This broad definition is seen by critics as limiting, given that all differences are not of equal significance. The literature suggests that "the dominant way of managing diversity has been to the detriment of those who are not able-bodied white males" (Liff, 1999, p. 67). This management strategy is enacted through managerial behaviour as well as in the structures, cultures and practices of organizations (institutional discrimination) that serve to advantage dominant groups (Bell & Hartmann, 2007; Liff, 1999). Hence, an all-inclusive approach may result in trivializing the serious consequences of prejudice, racism, discrimination and power relations in the workplace. Holvino and Kamp (2009) point out another consequence of the all-inclusive perspective on difference. They claim that "a focus on individual differences leads to change strategies that ensure access and legitimacy for all employees, while a focus on group-based differences leads to a discrimination and

fairness paradigm" (p. 397). The latter's goal would be to redress and/or eliminate systemic inequalities for traditionally disadvantaged groups. Hence, strategies under the all-inclusive model focus on training and mentoring, while group-based strategies focus on increasing representation of racialized groups at all levels within the organization and on empowerment (Holvino & Kamp, 2009). The all-inclusive approach to difference silences and evades contentious issues of ethnicity, gender and class, structural and power inequalities, prejudice and systemic discrimination within organizations, as well as historically based inequalities and discrimination.

Ghorashi and Sabelis (2013) identify a struggle in relation to sameness and difference discussions of diversity issues in organizations. They quote Holvino and Kamp (2009) referring to this struggle as the "sameness-difference" dilemma, where approaches to diversity either assimilate or essentialize. Hence, another critique of the way that difference is conceptualized within diversity discourse is that it falls within an essentialist perspective. Difference tends to encompass fixed representations by constructing employees in demographic categories portrayed as obvious, natural and immutable (Litvin 2006; Lorbiecki & Jack, 2000). "Essentialism does not allow for contextual and situational ways, in which individual members of groups shape and re-shape their identity" (Ghorashi & Sabelis, 2013, p. 79). Differences are seen as internal to the individual, such as the inferior and deficient immigrant who lacks language competency and other workplace skills. Such constructions represent difference as a departure from the norm – namely, the white, heterosexual, western, middle/upper middle class man

(Zanoni et al., 2010). Hence, it is the privileged subject who manages diversity, while those constructed as different are managed and denied agency (Zanoni & Janssens, 2004).

Poststructuralist and postcolonialist scholars "have reframed difference as relational, socially constructed, constitutive of one's subjective identity, signifying relations of power: multiple, contradictory, contextual and fluid" (Holvino & Kamp, 2009, p. 398). Difference is not internal to the individual, but constructed in social and historical contexts, where discourses shape how people are constructed (and classified) as different or similar. This perspective sees identity as fragmented, changing, and plural. Essentialized and fixed notions of difference dominate diversity management practice and are problematic as they fail to recognize the fluid and hybrid identities within organizations, in as much as they fail to represent difference within situational and contextual terms.

Managerial Discourse of Control

A number of scholars have interrogated the business case discourse and its linkages to organizational performance (Lorbiecki and Jack 2000; Litvin 2006; Kirby and Harter 2001, 2002; Noon 2007; Prasad and Mills 1997). The business case discourse is framed in the interest of management (Kirby & Harter, 2002) and emphasizes an instrumental use of difference to achieve financial goals through control and compliance, thereby restricting diversity as opposed to setting it free (Christiansen &Just, 2012; Lorbiecki & Jack, 2000). Litvin (2006) adds that the managerial focus evident in the business case discourse is based in "a normalized Mega-discourse that enshrines the achievement of organizational economic goals

as the ultimate guiding principle and explanatory device for people in organizations" (p. 86). These studies suggest that the business case discourse of diversity is a discourse of control (Kirby & Harter, 2001; Schwabenland and Tomlinson 2008).

The business case discourse emphasizes differences for instrumental gains (Holvino & Kamp, 2009) which are directly linked to contributions and organizational goals (Tomlinson & Schwabenland, 2010). According to a study by Zanoni and Jenssens (2004), Human Resources managers are less interested in demographic differences and are more focused on how these differences can be used to attain organizational goals. Drawing on the assumptions of human capital theories, members of the workforce are treated as assets and economic resources. The business case focuses on leveraging human difference to improve productivity and performance (Kirby & Harter, 2001, 2002; Prasad & Mills, 1997).

With elements of control integrated into diversity management discourse, diversity is regarded both as a resource and as a problem. Difference has a problematic side which managers must control and manage in order to achieve organizational growth and success. Hence, the discourse conceptualizes "managers as the privileged subjects with the power to define what exactly the problematic sides are, implying that some elements of diversity will be welcomed and others not" (Holvino & Kamp, 2009, p. 399).

Business Case versus Equality Discourse

It is becoming more common for companies to promote equality and diversity together (Tomlinson and Schwabenland, 2010). Positions on the business

case versus the equality discourse are polarised and research on the relationships between the two discourses is limited. While some scholars such as Ahmed (2007) and Tomlinson and Scwabenland (2010) suggest that a relationship exists between the two discourses, the nature of this relationship is unclear and continues to generate debate within the academic arena. While some argue that an overreliance on the business case absolves organizations from social justice obligations (Bell, Connerley, and Cocchiara, 2009; Prasad & Mills, 1997), others argue that the business case accommodates social justice issues in an otherwise profit-driven world (Ahmed, 2007; Tomlinson &Schwabenland, 2010). Access to the business case and equality discourses open a space for transformation and change within organizations (Ahmed, 2007). It is suggested that the availability of both discourses allows diversity to be more appealing for uptake. Yet, since discourse translates into action, social change is far from inevitable and depends on how the discourse is institutionalized (or internalized) within organizations and by whom (Ahmed, 2007).

Others argue that the business case discourse removes the moral imperative from equal opportunity actions (Wrench 2007). These critics question the efficacy of leaving issues of employment equity in the hands of managers whose decision-making is often primarily tied to financial performance. It is argued that the underlying dominant business case is more consistent with a liberal economic discourse focused on responding to individual needs as opposed to equalizing differences between groups (Wrench, 2007). Equal opportunities policies relate to

equality, fairness and social justice, while diversity management has maneuvered diversity away from moral issues toward business strategy.

Racialized Groups as the 'Other' in Organizations

A number of studies have examined the impact of gender, race, ethnicity and class within organizational life and the implications of these dimensions for employee access and advancement in the labour market (Proudfoot & Nkomo, 2006; Zanoni, 2011; Zanoni & Jenssens, 2004). Critical research shows that "certain workers are discursively constituted through … gender, race, ethnicity etc. in negative, instrumental terms" (Zanoni, 2011, p. 120). These dimensions are socially constructed concepts with significant negative consequences that include 'othering' racialized groups (Tomlinson, 2010). Studies have found that differences (race, ethnicity, class, etc.) are constructed in a problematic way. In one study, minority workers within an organization were deemed to be different and constituted by managers as less able, less flexible, less valuable and less compliant labour (Zanoni, 2011).

Such constructions are reminiscent of the colonial experience, by regarding immigrants as passive subjects lacking forcefulness, drive and initiative (Prasad & Prasad, 2002). As Prasad (1997) demonstrated, the discourse of workplace diversity is indeed inextricably linked to the discourse of colonialism. Hence, these constructions justify managerial control and exploitation of diversity on one hand, and exclusion of less exploitable diversity on the other (Zanoni, 2011). Prasad and Prasad (2002) argue that organizational mechanisms constituting

'otherness' are discursive, in as much as differences (ethnic, race, gender, class, etc.) are regularly produced and reproduced as inferior. MacQuarrie (2010) reminds us that 'othering' is most prevalent against those populations that have been historically discriminated against by dominant cultures through the process of assimilation, segregation, stratification or exclusion. Hence, the discourse of diversity has consequences for racialized immigrants as it too is dependent upon the construction of an ontological 'other' (Prasad, 1997).

The influences of colonial discourse are said to "permeate the very practices that constitute management of diversity in Western organization" (Prasad, 1997, p. 305). With this in mind, most recent discursive studies of diversity examine the discourses produced by powerful actors such as managers and scholars (Zanoni & Janssens, 2007). Hence, an evident shortcoming in the body of literature is the lack of alternative readings of contemporary discourses in workplace diversity. A theoretical perspective remains critically aware of the voice of powerful actors that is necessary to better understand how immigrants are constructed as different from the dominant group. However, a concern for the voices of the 'other' which are absent from these texts is equally important if we are to recover racialized immigrant experiences, resistance and agency, in which "the marginalized oppose the dominant and contest the asymmetries of power" (Prasad, 2006, p. 139).

Conclusion

This chapter examined some studies of diversity management. The business case for diversity is the most enduring discourse. It is a utilitarian, managerial argument promising economic benefits for organizations that effectively manage and control their diversity within their company (Dye & Golnaraghi, 2015). Many critical scholars argue that the business case is firmly entrenched within a functionalist paradigm, which privileges and universalizes managerial interests (Tomlinson and Schwabenland, 2010). It is difficult to account for the enduring nature of the business case given the scant empirical support for its efficacy.

Regardless of what has motivated support for the business case, it is important to consider both the intended and unintended consequences of this support. Careful review of work that is critical of the business case highlights some important questions. Discursive studies on diversity management have not only explored the assumptions upon which diversity programs rest, but have also identified dominant discourses within diversity in the workplace. Discursive studies have primarily examined the business case and equality discourses and constructions of difference within each discourse. These studies have situated diversity as a discourse of managerial control, in which the value of concrete differences is seen as dependent upon their contribution(s) to the bottom line.

There is a need for more discursive studies that explore the experiences of racialized immigrants within dominant diversity discourses in organizations. Critical scholars argue that more studies are needed to examine workplace

diversity as discursive sites of control, but more importantly as sites of agency and resistance (Prasad, 1997; Zanoni, 2011, Zanoni & Janssens, 2007; Tomlinson, 2010). Additionally, some scholars call for more studies to critically question the assumptions that companies should be seen as 'best case' or exemplars of diversity (Zanoni, 2011). It is questionable whether construction of a discursive ideal of the diversity-friendly corporation actually enables meaningful actions that go beyond capitalistic motives to actually improve racialized employee positions within organizations. This is a central question posed and pursued in my research.

CHAPTER 3 – THEORETICAL FOUNDATIONS

> *"My contention is that without examining Orientalism as a discourse one cannot possibly understand the enormously systematic discipline by which European culture was able to manage – and even produce – the Orient politically, sociologically, militarily, ideologically, scientifically, and imaginatively during the Post Enlightenment Era."*
>
> – Edward Said in *Orientalism* (1978, p. 3)

Introduction

Postmodernism, poststructuralism and postcolonialism are terms used to refer to "a set of socioeconomic and cultural conditions that followed in the wake of late capitalism or intellectual positions intended to…offer a radical critique of the entire fabric of modern Western thinking both within and outside it" (Prasad, 2005, p. 211). All three traditions share the *post* prefix, meaning "after" modernity, structuralism or colonialism (Prasad, 2005). These post traditions challenge and are deeply suspicious of modernity and the fundamental assumptions of Enlightenment thinking, namely rationality, universalism, causal explanations and general principles guaranteeing progress and development (Alvesson & Skoldberg, 2009; Prasad, 2005). These post-Enlightenment traditions problematize commonly held assumptions about the validity of logical results, truthful representation and grand narratives, instead striving for "multiplicity, variation, the demonstration of inconsistencies and fragmentations, and the possibility of multiple interpretations" (Alvesson & Skildberg, 2009, p. 183). Thus, these traditions imply that 'reality' can be (constructed and) represented in different ways.

Postmodernism and poststructuralism are used interchangeably by some academics (Alvesson, 2002), while others make distinctions (Lemert, 1997; Linstead, 2004; Prasad, 2005). This debate and the lack of clear definitions reflect the purposeful ambiguity of the post traditions and their aversion to fixed positivist definitions and categories (Agger, 1991; Linstead, 2010). For example, Lembert (1997) distinguishes poststructuralism as "strategic postmodernism" in the way that prominent thinkers in this tradition are committed to 1) reinterpreting the modern classical social theories of Freud, Husserl and Nietzche; 2) a belief that language and discourse are fundamental to any science of the human; and 3) rejection of the totalizing aspects of modernist essentialism. Lemert (1997) distinguishes strategic postmodernists from the radical postmodernist in the way that they interrogate the "totalizing aspect of modernist essentialism – that is in the way they wage war on totality" (p. 44).

Jacques Lacan, Jacques Derrida, and Michel Foucault are three of the major figures within the poststructuralist tradition (Lemert, 1997; Prasad, 2005). Of these three prominent figures, Foucault's work has been tremendously influential within the field of postcolonial theory and politics (Mills, 2003; Nichols, 2010). Within postcolonial theory, Foucault has opened a space for questioning discourse and the production of knowledge within colonial power (Nichols, 2010). According to Mills (2003), the primary value of Foucault's work within the postcolonial context has been the reconceptualization of discourse and power.

Although the genealogy of postcolonial theory is historically complex, many contend that Edward Said's critique of *Orientalism* (1978) using Foucauldian philosophy and methodology was the first significant ground-breaking postcolonial project (Prasad, 1997; Prasad, 2005). An extensive body of theoretical work, described as colonial discourse analysis, has been developed based on Said's work. A number of postcolonial theorists such as Homi Bhabha and Gayatri Spivak have built on Said's theorizing and, at the same time, challenged its theoretical assumptions to arrive at a more complex notion of discourse (Mills, 1997).

Early work such as Said's *Orientalism* examined the way non-Western countries were 'othered' by colonial powers as well as surfaced strategies used by colonisers to produce representations of the other as inferior in relation to the European norm. More recent works have sought to move beyond the dominant meaning of a discourse as the only meaning available within the text and have considered what is excluded to be just as important (Mills, 2003). Therefore, colonial texts are analyzed not only in terms of their success in affirming colonial power and dominance, but in their ability to acknowledge the involvement of the 'other' in the production of knowledge and resistance (Mills, 1997).

In this chapter I outline my theoretical framework. I begin by discussing Foucault's conceptions of power, discourse and representation because his contributions have been central to the postcolonial tradition (Nichols, 2010). Next I elaborate on postcolonial theory, its main concepts and how Foucault's work has

been adopted, interpreted and used within the field. I conclude with a discussion on why using a postcolonial lens is particularly appropriate for my problematic.

Foucault: Discourse, Power, and Knowledge

Michel Foucault is one of the most influential social thinkers. His theories around power, knowledge and discourse have greatly influenced postcolonial theorizing. While some postcolonial theorists critique Foucault's work for its Eurocentric tendencies (Young, 2001), they note that paradoxically it is also central to postcolonial analysis. As discussed in the introduction, Foucault's work provided the theoretical basis for contemporary postcolonial theory, such as in Edward Said's *Orientalism* (1978). In this seminal work, Said conceptualized Orientalism as a discourse thereby introducing a new theoretical paradigm for analyzing colonial and imperial ideologies (Young, 2001).

"Discourse" is a frequently used term in Foucault's work and should not be confused simply with language (Livesey, 2002; McHoul & Grace, 1993). Foucault thinks of discourse (or discourses) as bodies of knowledge or well-rounded areas of social knowledge (McHoul & Grace, 1993) collated into disciplines. Disciplines may refer to scholarly collective (e.g. medicine, law, psychiatry, etc.) or to the disciplinary institutions of social control (e.g. prison, school, government, corporations, etc.). For example, the discourse of diversity refers to the language of a particular diversity policy or legislation, the systems of organizations, government and regulatory agencies that interpret the equity laws and legislations, business schools that train future leaders, diversity and human

resources professionals, and the departments and organizational systems through which the policies and laws are enacted and enforced. For Foucault, a discourse is not stable over time, but discontinuous, shifting and not entirely within our control. Historically specific discourses are quite distinct from one another, and from earlier and later forms of themselves, and may or may not retain the same name. In his archaeological analysis of discourse such as in *The Order of Things*, *The History of Madness*, and *The Archaeology of Knowled*ge Foucault charts the development of certain discourses to show how they are constantly changing, while tracing their origins to certain key shifts in history (Mills, 1997). Drawing on Gaston de Bachelard and Louis Althusser's notion of "epistemological rupture," Foucault is concerned with charting the moments of discontinuity when discursive structures undergo radical change and transformation (Mills, 1997).

In *The Archeology of Knowledge* Foucault treats discourse as "the general domain of all statements, sometimes as an individualizable group of statements, and sometimes as a regulated practice that accounts for a number of statements" (Foucault, 1972, p. 80). Here we see that his definition of discourse cannot be pinned down to one meaning. If we break down the first two references, according to Foucault, discourse ranges from all utterances and statements which have meaning and some effect, to utterances which form a grouping (such as the discourse of racism or discourse of diversity). Young (2001) suggests that colonial discourse is usually thought of as the second reference. Following Said (1978) it is the last description that corresponds to Foucault's analytic description. Said (1978) notes in *Orientalism* "My analyses employ close textual readings

whose goal is to reveal the dialectic between individual text or writer and the complex collective formation to which his work is a contribution" (p. 23-24). In the third instance, Foucault refers to discourse as the unwritten set of rules, procedures and structures (the archive) which produce particular discourses and discursive formations circulating at one time. Discursive formations are groupings of statements often associated with particular institutions or sites of power that affect individuals and their thinking. For example, orientalism is a discursive formation that downplays the similarities and asserts differences between the West and non-West, attempting to naturalize colonial and imperial power. Thus, the study of discourse is concerned with the structures, rules, and support mechanisms which allow statements to be said and reproduced.

According to Mills (2003), "discourses are sets of sanctioned statements which have some institutionalized force, which means that they have a profound influence on the way that individuals think and act" (p. 55). For example, the discourse about racialized immigrants new to Canada consists of a set of statements (e.g. typically associated with inadequacy) which are accepted (i.e. internalized) and form the parameters within which new immigrants form their own identities. While there are other discourses that challenge this "knowledge" (discourse of discrimination or discourse of racism), the discourse of inferiority or inadequacy is sanctioned by many institutions (e.g. government, employers, educational system) which all work together to form the boundaries of the possible forms of racialized immigrant identities. "Thus this complex system of multiple constraints acts both internally and externally in the production and reproduction

of discourse, and it is these constraints that bring discourses into being" (Mills, 2003, p. 61-62).

Foucault also pays particular attention to subjugated, subaltern or marginal (naïve) knowledges which were often supressed in hegemonic discourses (McHoul & Grace, 1993), especially those knowledges deemed inadequate by official histories such as the discourses of the madman, the savage, the immigrant, and the 'other.' Foucault explains "by subjugated knowledges I mean two things: on the one hand, I am referring to the historical contents that have been buried and disguised … subjugated knowledges are thus those blocs of historical knowledge which were present but disguised … On the other hand, I believe that by subjugated knowledges that have been disqualified as inadequate to their task or insufficiently elaborated: naïve knowledges, located low down on the hierarchy" (Foucault, 1990, p. 29). Revealing these exclusions and disqualified knowledges serves to show how "official knowledges … work as instruments of 'normalization', continually attempting to maneuver populations into 'correct' and 'functional' forms of thinking and acting" (McHoul & Grace, 1993, p. 17). A Foucauldian approach would then examine the methods, practices and techniques by which official (i.e. hegemonic) knowledges are normalized and serve to exclude and subjugate naïve (or subaltern) knowledges which threaten to subvert hegemonic discourses (McHoul & Grace, 1993). Much hegemonic discourse reproduced binary and hierarchical distinctions (for example dividing the Occident and the Orient, the 'Canadian' employee from the 'new immigrant' and so on).

Therefore, the power of one discourse over another is central for Foucault, where power is a discursive relation rather than something one group wills over another.

Foucault's later work called "genealogy" focuses on the forms of power, the channels it takes and the discourses it permeates at the centre of analysis. He sees power as something which is not imposed, but a network or web of relations which circulates in society (Mills, 2003). As Foucault suggests, "Power must be analyzed as something which circulates, or as something which only functions in the form of a chain … Power is employed and exercised through a net like organization … Individuals are the vehicles of power, not its points of application" (Foucault, 1980, p. 98). Foucault conceptualizes power as a system of relations dispersed through society, where individuals are not simply dominated and subjected to oppression, but are sites where power is enacted and resisted (Mills, 2003). Foucault introduces the complexities of power, but rather than locating them in a centralized institution, he is interested in the materiality of power relations at the local level. Therefore, his work has tried to move beyond earlier Marxist thinking that power represses and oppresses the powerless, simply curtailing freedom of individuals (Mills, 2003) in favour of a more complex and fluid understanding of power and agency (Mills & Helms-Mills, 2004). Foucault's bottom-up (decentralized) model of power enables localized examination of how power is enacted and contested and a focus on individuals as active rather than passive agents. Thus, the notion that resistance is always present within power relations allows us to move away from oppressor-victim models of dominance into

a deeper understanding of how power and resistance reside in the lives of the 'other.'

This notion of power and resistance has contributed to "postcolonial theorizing since it consolidated concerns around the issue of analyzing resistance to colonial rule rather than simply charting the works of colonial power" (Mills, 1997, p. 37). For example, rather than conceptualizing resistance as a passive and oppositional response to colonial control or management control, Foucault introduces us to a more sophisticated and dynamic understanding of resistance. Colonialism can no longer be thought of as an imposition of power on a passive population, but instead an enactment through the production and reproduction of knowledge and information which needs to be asserted and reasserted in the face of challenge and opposition.

Foucault suggests that many forms of power exist in our society such as legal, administrative, economic, etc., all relying on techniques through which they are exercised (McHoul & Grace, 1993). Such techniques apply themselves to "everyday life which categorizes the individual, marks him by his own individuality, attaches him to his own identity, imposes a law of truth on him which he must recognize and which others have to recognize in him" (Foucault, 1982, p. 781). Foucault (1982) explains that such techniques make individuals "subjects to someone else by control and dependence; and tied to his own identity by a conscience or self-knowledge" (p. 781).

Techniques such as the panopticon and the confessional are mechanisms for disciplinary power. The panopticon relies on surveillance and forces the inmate to internalize the disciplinary gaze so that

> "he who is subjected to a field of visibility and who knows it, assumes responsibility for the constraints of power; he makes them play spontaneously upon himself; he inscribes in himself the power relation in which he simultaneously plays both the roles; he becomes the principle of his own subjection" (Foucault, 1991, 202-203)

Thus, the panopticon is a disciplinary technique designed to alter the behaviour and to train or correct individuals. Foucault argues that this disciplinary power is used in "carceral institutions," schools, organizations and everyday life. For Foucault this disciplinary power represents a stage in the normalization of individuals, in which differences and peculiarities are heightened. Studies on modern organizations have utilized Foucault's theories of panoptic surveillance and disciplinary power to reveal new forms of surveillance and the self-disciplining subject (Mills & Helms-Mills, 2004). While sovereign power exists in organizations, Foucault's concept of disciplinary power allows us to move beyond this traditional conception of power to examine more subtle procedures and sites of power. For example, human resources management and diversity management can be conceptualized as sites for control and influence transmitted through norms and practices that serve to normalize knowledge and operating procedures (Deetz, 2003). Hence, we see that Foucault is more interested in

examining the material conditions and the processes at work by which certain knowledges are generated, produced and reproduced.

Foucault argues that production of knowledge is integrally related to struggles over power, and draws attention to the notion that in producing knowledge one is making claim over authority (Mills, 2003). Thus power and knowledge are interrelated constructs. Livesey (2002) explains that "According to Foucault power knowledge systems produce and legitimate particular taken-for-granted 'truths,' institutions, rules, and practices which in turn sustain and extend the systems producing them" (p. 123). Foucault argues that power cannot be exercised without knowledge, and knowledge engenders power, thereby demonstrating how discursive practices situate individuals and organizations in power relations which privilege some interests and marginalize others (Livesey, 2002). Thus, where there are imbalances in power relations, there will be differential production of (and access to) knowledge. For example, Said (1978) and Pratt (1992) have shown at the height of British colonial rule in the 19th century, there was an outpouring of scholarly and non-scholarly knowledge about colonized regions such as India, Africa and the Middle East. In his study, Said argues that colonialism and imperial governance have not only been a project of direct physical domination and control but also a complex process of dominating the representation of non-Western people. This invidious and stereotypical representation of the 'other' was accomplished through the production of specific forms of knowledge to justify ongoing management of the non-West (Nichols, 2010). Said's work stressed the way colonized countries were 'othered' by the

colonial powers and examined the strategies used by colonizers to produce representations of the non-West as inferior to Western norms (Mills, 1997). Thus, power has been exercised through this knowledge production by labelling the non-West as inferior, and setting the stage for the far-reaching discourse of orientalism.

In the next section, I provide a more in-depth discussion of postcolonial theory, its main concepts and how Foucault's work has been incorporated into the field.

The Postcolonial Tradition

With its long history, sheer global reach, and complex practices and structures, Western colonialism and non-Western resistance have played a major role in shaping the contours of the contemporary world as well as the West and non-West divide. The legacy of colonialism and anticolonial resistance is evident in a range of contemporary practices and institutions including management disciplines and organizational practices (Prasad, 1997). In addition to emphasizing the ongoing significance of colonialism in our contemporary contexts, postcolonial theory critiques Eurocentrism and discourses of (neo-) colonialism (Banerjee & Prasad, 2008). As Ozakzanc-Pan (2008) points out:

> "As a field of inquiry, postcolonial studies are made up of the work of diverse theorists who have critiqued Eurocentric and Western representations of non-Western worlds and called attention to the canonical knowledge that makes claims about the non-West" (p. 964)

Eurocentrism refers to the belief shared by the West and non-West that Western ideas, economics, politics, and institutions are the foundation of civilization to which the non-West is invidiously compared (Prasad, 2005). Thus, the postcolonial tradition has attempted to decolonize and "provincialize" Western claims of "universal" knowledge (Ozkazanc-Pan, 2008) by unveiling and critiquing the Eurocentrism of the knowledge systems produced by Western power elites. It is now apparent that Eurocentrism systematically privileges Western knowledge, ideas and practices, while the rest of the world lurks in the shadows (Prasad, 2005).

Postcolonial studies was inspired by the various decolonization movements across Asia, Africa and the Middle East which erupted in the twentieth century as well as the growing resentment towards persistent economic and cultural neocolonialism (Young, 2003). The continuing dominance (i.e. hegemony) of Western countries in Europe, North America and Australia over their colonies and/or countries of the 'third world' provoked a deeper examination of historical dynamics of colonization. This critical 'turn' also focused on the economic, psychological, social and cultural dimensions of colonialism and their impacts on our contemporary contexts (Prasad, 2005). Prasad (2005) questions how *post*, postcolonialism really is in our contemporary world. As Lynes (2010) suggests, the *post* does not necessarily "indicate that colonizing processes and ambitions are a thing of the past" (p. 687). Many postcolonialist scholars recognize that understanding the history and legacy of colonization, colonial relations and mindsets is essential to understanding how discrimination and subjugation are

continually perpetuated through colonial discourses and institutional practices. Postcolonialism seeks to decolonize these dynamics and mindsets by not only asserting the rights of people from these non-Western continents to access resources and material well-being, but also by acknowledging the dynamic power of their cultures (Young, 2001).

Scholars caution that postcolonialism cannot be regarded as a singular and monolithic process. For example, distinctions can be made between predominantly white settler colonies such as Canada and colonies such as India whose natives and resources were subject to exploitation. Young (2001) suggests that settler colonies such as Canada, although having experienced colonialism, continue today to identify culturally with their imperial home country. This continued identification, however, is not the case for all former colonies. Therefore, the nature and extent of imperial involvement have differed from colony to colony (Prasad, 2005). Young (2001) draws a distinction between the two forms of colonization and domination motivated by living space (settlement) and the extraction of resources.

Young (2003) suggests that many of the global inequalities present today are due to differences arising from the West and non-West divide. This division became institutionalized in the 20th century as approximately ninety percent of the world was under direct or indirect Western control (Prasad, 1997; Young, 2003). Therefore, colonialism is seen as one of the most important influences over how dominant power elites have interpreted people belonging to different "races" (Nkomo, 1992) and ethnicities portrayed around the theme of inferiority with fixed

essence to justify the colonial dominance of the non-West and maintain power (Prasad & Prasad, 2002). Throughout the period of colonial rule, colonized people contested domination both actively and passively. Not until the start of the twentieth century did the long struggles against colonial rule begin to translate into independence from Western power. Young (2001) suggests that winning independence from colonial rule is an extraordinary achievement as this colonial power begins to decline, the balance of power is slowly mutating and changing. This history is particularly relevant to how racialized immigrants (often from previously colonized regions) are represented within the diversity discourses of Canadian corporations.

Scholarly work within the postcolonial tradition spans a range of fields across many disciplines (Loomba, 2005). In addition to Said's (1978) seminal contribution to the overall postcolonial analytic framework, a number of other scholars have made important contributions to this tradition including Bhabha (1994), Prasad (1997), Spivak (1988), Mohanty (1998), and Young (2001), among others. Although attention to postcolonial studies by critical management scholars had been lukewarm in the past, postcolonial theoretical work has mushroomed over the last few years (Banerjee & Prasad, 2008).

Scholars working within the postcolonial tradition have examined globalization (Banerjee & Linstead, 2001; Prasad & Prasad, 2002) and international business (Jack & Westwood, 2009; Westwood, 2006), feminism and gender inequalities (Golnaraghi & Dye, 2012; Golnaraghi & Mills, 2013; Lewis & Mills, 2003; Mohanty, 1988; Prasad, 2012), organizational communication

(Broadfoot & Munshi, 2007), corporate social responsibility (Munshi & Kurian, 2005), and diversity management (Jack & Lorbiecki, 2003; Munshi, 2005; Prasad, 1997, 2006).

Using a postcolonial lens is particularly fitting for my study as I build upon the work of Prasad (1997, 2006), Munshi (2005) and Banerjee & Linstead (2001). In focusing on diversity management, Banerjee & Linstead (2001) interrogate the notions of diversity and multiculturalism to argue that successful management of diversity, and its business case discourse, perpetuate global colonialism and assimilation within dominant ideology. Prasad (1997, 2006) offers two ground-breaking research projects which link the discourse of workplace diversity to the discourse of colonialism. Munshi (2005) draws from a range of theoretical perspectives particularly postcolonial studies, to examine discourses of diversity management in New Zealand.

In the following section, I discuss and critique theoretical concepts and contributions which are central to my analysis. These include colonial discourse since it is here that the influence of Foucault's formulation of discourse is most apparent as well as postcolonial theory.

Othering

According to Mills (1997), "Foucault has provided us with a vocabulary for describing surface regularities which can be traced across a range of texts occurring within a certain context" (p. 95). Edward Said has shown this methodology to be useful when analyzing texts written about certain countries or people that have been colonized. Said is a key figure in postcolonial studies

whose seminal historical exploration of the institutionalization of colonial mentalities focused interest on the role of colonialism in shaping cultural, economic, political and other dimensions of various societies (Prasad, 2005). His theoretical framework, *Orientalism*, "is a systematic examination of the different sites of Western knowledge production and their links to Western political, economic, and military institutions of domination (Ozkazanc-Pan, 2008, p. 966). "Orientalism can be discussed and analyzed as the corporate institution for dealing with the Orient – dealing with it by making statements about it, authorizing views of it, describing it, teaching it, settling it, ruling over it," (Said, 1978, p. 3). Drawing on Said's work, Prasad (2005) says that colonial discourse refers to entire ways of seeing, thinking and writing about colonized or formerly colonized people. This discourse refers to a body of texts with similar subject matter, as well as a set of practices and rules which produced those texts and the methodological thinking underlying them (Mills, 1997). Said describes the discursive features of the body of knowledge produced in the 19th century which represented the Orient as a repository of Western knowledge, rather than a society and culture functioning on its own (Mills, 1997). Thus, Said implicates Western academic scholarship and fiction in the discursive construction of ethnocentric Orientalized representations which help to legitimize Western economic, political and military interventions in the East (Ozkazanc-Pac, 2008).

Guided by the Foucauldian concept of "discourse" (Prasad, 1997), Said outlines how the East becomes a discursive "Orient" through hegemony. "Because of Orientalism the Orient was not (and is not) a free subject of thought

or action" (Said, 1978, p. 3). Said illustrates how colonial discourses juxtapose the East as backward, under-developed, and inferior with the West as modern, progressive and advanced (Prasad, 1997, 2006; Said, 1978). In Said's (1978) own words "The Oriental is irrational, depraved (fallen), childlike, "different"; thus the European is rational, virtuous, mature, "normal" (p. 40). The Orient is discursively constructed in binary opposition to the West, seen as different from the West, and represented negatively as an 'other.' The concept of otherness holds difference at its core, underscoring the privileged status of the West (MacQuarrie, 2010).

According to Mills (1997):

> "These representations were structured largely according to certain discursive formats which developed over time, but which accrued truth-value to themselves through usage and familiarity, and through being produced by the imperial powers or their representatives" (p. 96)

Each text written about the Orient reinforced the false, fictitious and stereotypical images constructed by the colonizer to suggest that there are real (essentialized) differences between the East and the West (Ozkazanc-Pac, 2008). One of the foundational fictions in Said's work is the belief that the Orient and the Occident are polar opposites, and that their respective inhabitants do not participate in the same humanness (Prasad, 1997). As such, the dominant group defines 'otherness' creating binary hierarchies of human-nonhuman, civilized-uncivilized, developed-undeveloped and so on.

The Occident/Orient or West/non-West or majority/minority dichotomy is based on an elaborate fiction constructed in a system of hierarchical binary oppositions that link the dominant with the superior pole and the 'other' with the inferior pole (Prasad, 1997). Such structures of hierarchical binaries serve to reproduce representation of the Orient and the entire non-Western world as something ontologically inferior to the West and thus in need of supervision, guidance and assistance to become fully civilized and developed (Banerjee & Prasad, 2008). Such representations have widespread effects in that they legitimize racist knowledge and practices, affecting the rights and lives of the 'other,' resulting in specific groups of people being denied status and access. This notion of 'othering' exists today and is most prevalent against populations that have historically been discriminated against or targeted by dominant cultures (MacQuarrie, 2010).

In addition to direct physical domination, colonialism and imperial governance by European powers and their allies have also entailed a complex process of dominating the representation of non-Western people through the production of specific knowledge about them (Nichols, 2010). According to Nichols (2010) such

> "knowledge about the non-Western people simultaneously served to (a) remove representational authority from non-Western peoples, (b) distort the images and forms of knowledge about them, (c) justify ongoing physical-military colonization of their lands and resources, and finally, (d)

actually contribute to the production of a new object of study – the Orient" (p. 119-120)

Said argues that discursive structures informed the way knowledge was produced and reproduced so that value-laden statements about the Orient were presented as fact. For Said, colonized people are dehumanized by sweeping generalisations made about them within colonial texts making them "an indistinguishable mass, about whom one could amass 'knowledge' or which could be stereotyped" (Mills, 1997, p. 97). This depiction is problematic in that these homogeneous accounts do not attempt to differentiate one culture from another. All colonized cultures are represented as a subhuman group who are all this way, thus denied their history and the possibility of change (Mills, 1997). Such descriptions both shape and reflect the power relations within a colonial context. Colonial power enables the production of knowledge, mapping out powerful positions from which to speak.

Said's work served to secure Foucault's notion of discourse within postcolonial theory by providing an authoritative reading of Foucauldian discourse as a system of textual representation. For Said and other colonial discourse analysts that followed,

> "Foucault represented a major conceptual and methodological innovation that allows one to study colonialism through the repetition of a set of textual referents that draw their effective force from the authority of the system of textual representation itself rather than the actuality it purportedly describes" (Nichols, 2010, p. 120)

Challenging Othering

Although Said's contribution to the postcolonial tradition has been seminal, some have criticized the system of binaries embraced by Orientalism (Frenkel & Shenhav, 2006). It is argued that "while it is important to essentialize the struggle against colonialism and its aftermath, the use of a binary perspective masks the hybrid nature of both the colonial encounter and the postcolonial tradition" (Frenkel & Shenhav, 2006, p. 858). Furthermore, other critics such as Ahmad (1992) argue that the homogeneous group of texts within Said's *Orientalism* not only bear an oversimplified message, but also serve to place Orientalist knowledge as "all powerful" while silencing the resistance to colonial discursive structures (Mills, 1997). *Orientalism* draws on negative stereotypes that are fixed and static constructions of the 'other' (Bhabha, 1994).

Jack & Westwood (2009) defend Said by suggesting that the simplified binary constructions were perhaps a "strategic essentialism" (Spivak, 1987) necessary to his critique. Notwithstanding Spivak's poststructuralist leanings (this tradition is critical of the idea of essentialism), she considers essentialism to be legitimate when strategically used for the purpose of political change and social justice (Spivak, 1987). Although she recognizes that strategic essentialism is unavoidable, she also urges the importance of taking a critical stance against the discourses of essentialism. Hence, while I attempt to strategically explore essentializing strategies and binary constructions used by organizations within diversity discourses, I too take a stance against a unified vision of racialized

immigrants in the texts and understand that immigrants (as all human subjects) entail a heterogeneous discourse, marked by contradictions and inconsistencies.

Most postcolonialists agree on the important role of colonialism, travel and global migration on intensifying levels of hybridity (Prasad, 2005). Bhabha sees hybridity as subversive and capable of undermining colonial structures by displacing and reordering the binaries on which the systems are constructed (Prasad, 2005). Bhabha (1990) views binary oppositions such as East/West, Us/Them as attempts by the colonizer to create real 'differences' between two cultures, allowing the colonizer to claim knowledge, authority and power over the 'other.' However, hybridity challenges and disrupts the essentializing characteristics constructed by the West.

According to Bhabha (1990) constructions of racial identity do not always conform to binary or essentialized distinctions, but instead take a third space, or an in-between space. The in-between or third space becomes a space of contradiction, ambiguity, and disavowal of colonial authority that does not allow for symbols of oppositional polarities (Bhabha, 1990). In this (third) space there is nothing static or stable about hybrid identities, indeed, non-hierarchical and non-binary differences are accommodated. This third space allows for multiple critiques and articulations of oppositional discourses that disclose unanticipated forms of agency and resistance.

Bhabha points out that the in-between space offers sites of resistance to domination since the 'other' can question and refuse the identity assigned to them in this hybrid space. Therefore, constructions of colonial subjects and colonial

power demand disclosure of the forms of difference, which may blur essentialized distinctions, creating continuity and permanent ambivalence (Frenkel & Shenhav, 2006). Bhabha observes that a powerful effect of colonial discourse is the ambivalent production of 'otherness.' Within this colonial discourse lies the moral purpose to civilize and save the other races, but the 'other' is simultaneously seen as fixed and incapable of being changed (Prasad, 1997). Therefore, colonial discourse is ambivalent about the boundary that separates the West from the non-West. "For Bhabha," Prasad (1997) says, "the ambivalence of colonial discourse underscores the fatal instability of colonial power and opens up a space for anti-colonialist struggle" (p. 21).

The notion of anticolonial struggle allows us to carve out a space to challenge Said's notion of the homogeneity of colonial discourse. Such a space is necessary in order to recover, resurface, and reauthorize the voices, experiences, cultures and languages of the 'other,' particularly those who are marginalized or silenced through colonial and/or neo-colonial practices (Jack & Westwood, 2009). The *Subaltern Studies Group* (Guha & Spivak, 1988) has played a key role in addressing these issues by focusing on the role of the subaltern as agents of protest and change (Jack & Westwood, 2009). Subaltern Studies began as an attempt to transform colonial Indian history by drawing on the concept of subaltern which owes its origins to Gramsci (1971). The metanarratives and narrow representations of the non-West are problematic as they serve the needs and interests of colonial and neocolonial elites, thereby reproducing subaltern positions for the masses. "Subaltern" broadly refers to the subordinated and oppressed

groups (the 'other') within society (whether expressed in terms of race, class, gender, sexual orientation, age, and so on) subjected to the hegemony of the ruling elite (Munshi, 2005).

Guha (the founding editor of the Subaltern Studies) used Gramsci's concept of the subaltern to rewrite the historiography of the Indian freedom movement, recovering the narratives of resistance to colonial power by peasant insurgency (Young, 2001). Hence, "the project of subaltern studies in postcolonial scholarship looks at the world from the perspective of these subordinated groups and grants them the agency that is denied to them by dominant western historiography" (Munshi, 2005, p. 60). These scholars have documented the struggles and resistance movements of subaltern groups in South Asia and, over time, extended this focus into other geographical regions including Africa, China, Ireland, Latin America, and so on (Prasad, 1997).

There is another problematic raised by Spivak (1985) with the question of "Can the Subaltern Speak?" As Spivak (1985) observes "in the context of colonial production, the subaltern has no history and cannot speak" (p. 128). While Spivak recognizes that the subaltern seem to speak (i.e., revolt, resist, etc.), she cautions us to consider what is at stake when we insist that the subaltern speak (Prasad, 1997). To not participate in the hegemonic colonial discourses is to be silenced, to speak within them is to collude with and reaffirm the colonial knowledge-power nexus (Jack & Westwood, 2009). Spivak recognizes that the 'other' cannot side-step the dominant Western colonial discourses given they are so well entrenched that they privilege hegemonic powers (Spivak, 1985). Spivak instead appeals to

our intellectual responsibility and reflexivity, to subvert and disrupt the dominant discourse of oppression. Furthermore, she asserts that the only option is to reinterpret and open up the dominant discourses to alternative readings (Jack & Westwood, 2009).

These scholars are calling for a shift of theoretical position from a concern with the voice of the coloniser (or the elite colonized subject) to the voices of the subaltern that are erased by colonial texts (Mills, 1997). The Subaltern Studies group shows that by refusing to accept discourses at face value "ruling class documents … can be read both for what they say and their 'silences'" (Chakrabarty, 1988). Thus by refusing to accept discourses at a surface level, these scholars have shown that it is possible to analyze discursive structures for what is being said and what is being silenced, taking Foucault's notion of exclusion to its logical conclusion (Mills, 1997). This conceptualization is central to my analysis of diversity narratives on corporate websites, as I attempt to read them for the surface of discourse as representing racialized immigrants, but also for what they exclude or silence. I discuss my approach to this investigation in greater detail in Chapter 4.

Conclusion

Said's work drawing on Foucauldian discourse analysis has been instrumental in the postcolonial tradition, while at the same time forcing many critics of colonial discourse theory to rethink their interpretations of colonial texts (Bhabha, 1990; Mills, 1997, 2003; Spivak,1995; Young, 2001; among others).

While there may be merit to some of the criticisms of Said's work, many postcolonial scholars have supported his use of Foucauldian discourse theory as evidenced by the expanding scope of theoretical work developed in this domain. The importance and originality of *Orientalism* continues to be acknowledged today and recognized as a landmark work for introducing the concept of discourse into the study of colonialism (Prasad, 1997).

If the legacy of colonialism continues to shape so-called Western perceptions of 'the other' (Said, 1978), i.e., people from former colonies, then a method is needed to explore the extent to which that legacy continues to shape social relations in Western states such as Canada. Postcolonial theory has to-date focused on relations between former colonized territories such as India and the Middle East and the colonizing power such as Britain. Therefore, the study of postcolonial relationships in Canada presents a somewhat different case for the application of postcolonial theory.

While Canada may be defined as a 'postcolonial' state, the very idea of Canada involved a process of internal colonization of its indigenous peoples. This process has likely influenced the Western mindset that has dominated the country since its inception. Canada itself is doubly positioned in a space of ambivalence (Young, 2001). Having 'freed' itself from colonial rule, Canada now sees itself as formerly colonized. "It is a marker of 'postcoloniality' that whereas in the past such people tended to identify themselves as colonizers, increasingly today they claim to constitute the colonized" (Young, 2001, p. 20). At the same time, early settlers who came to Canada from France and England (and Ireland, Scotland, and

so on) did so because of forced migration, ethnic, religious, or political prosecution, famine or poverty and later themselves became oppressors and colonizers of the indigenous people who originally occupied the land (Young, 2001). Drawing from Canada's history "persecuted minorities emigrating, and then themselves persecuting minorities have been a common theme of colonization" (Young, 2001, p. 20). I argue that the Canadian ruling elite has throughout its history in dealing with diversity and immigration internalized the ideas of European supremacy, national identity, and sovereignty from its Imperial colonizer. Thus, I make the case for a postcolonial study of immigrants to Canada (from countries that were not colonized by Canada) and a broad reading or "symptomatic reading" (Thurston, 1993) of postcolonial theory that views postcolonialism as a Western "grand narrative" whose reach goes beyond just the direct relationships between the colonizer and colonized (Munshi, 2005). Postcolonial literature focuses on colonization of Middle Eastern, Asian, African and other former colonies of American and European (Western) powers. As far as I am aware, no other research has attempted to unravel the notion of postcolonialism and its complex practices, such as diversity management, where a third country such as Canada is the focus.

In conclusion, I adopt a poststructuralist approach to the study of diversity management and racialized immigrants in corporate Canada. I use critical discourse analysis (Foucault, 1979; Phillips & Hardy, 2002) to analyze texts found on the corporate websites of *Best Employers of New Canadians* (Canada's Top 100, 2013). My main interest is to explore how diversity management has become

a taken-for-granted social construction aimed at managing racialized immigrants within organizations. By using a postcolonial lens, I argue that discursive construction of the racialized immigrant has emerged out of older and broader discourses on diversity within Canada's history. The significance of *Orientalism* is particularly relevant as this landmark work "deals with the phenomenon of ethnic and racial marginalization and discrimination … in its formulation of the ways the status of marginalized groups is closely connected to and supported by how knowledge about the group is produced, reproduced and interpreted and by whom" (Lynes, 2010, p. 692).

CHAPTER 4 – METHODOLOGICAL FRAMEWORK AND RESEARCH DESIGN

> *"I think a good many people have a similar desire to be freed from the obligation to begin, a similar desire to be on the other side of discourse from the outset, without having to consider from the outside what might be strange, frightening, and perhaps maleficent about it. To this very common wish, the institution's reply is ironic, since it solemnises beginnings, surrounds them with a circle of attention and silence, and imposes ritualized forms on them, as if to make them more easily recognizable from a distance."*
>
> – Michel Foucault in *The Order of Discourse* (1981, p. 51)

Introduction

As set out in my earlier theoretical framework, adopting a poststructuralist perspective and using a postcolonial lens for my analysis will allow me to answer the research questions posed in this study. The overall aim of this research is to provide an account of diversity discourses of Canadian corporations and reveal constructions of racialized immigrants as evoked by text and images on corporate websites. This project requires applying the theoretical framework in Chapter 3 to examine the naturally occurring diversity discourses of Canadian organizations.

The first part of my study provides a historical overview of the representation of Western (white) and non-Western (other) people in Canada based on the discursive construction of forms of knowledge about the non-West. The inequalities and marginalization of immigrants today have an important historical legacy that needs to be analyzed in order to better understand contemporary challenges. I work with secondary source texts focusing on Canada's history of

immigration, ethnic diversity and (institutionalized) racism. These existing historiographies are imbricated in the grand narratives created by historians and scholars that have entrenched the hegemonic representations of interest to this study.

The second part of this study draws on David Boje's (2008) Triple-Narrative Stylistic Strategy as my analytical framework and uses Foucauldian discourse analysis (Foucault, 1979; Phillips & Hardy, 2002) to analyze corporate websites of the companies recognized as the *Best Employers of New Canadians* (Canada's Top 100, 2013). The Triple Narrative Stylist Strategy (Boje, 2008) is well suited for my study as an analytical framework because it allows me to examine diversity on two different levels in order to explicate how racialized immigrants are represented and constructed through discourses embedded in corporate power relations. The first and second level narratives allow me to examine diversity discourses through the 'facts' posed on corporate websites, and the surface stylistics, including photos, images, charts, and testimonials to analyze the diversity discourses that legitimize these corporations.

In the third part of the study, I work at the third level of the Triple Narrative model using a postcolonial lens to conduct a critical read of the first two levels. This step requires me to reveal the emergent themes, the exclusions, absences and silences left in between the lines, which I examine as part of my analysis. I review the historical and contemporary context and additional texts for this analysis. I seek to disclose disciplinary power relations within a diversity context and explicate the 'other' voices at this third level narrative (Foucault,

1982) – through uncovering the silences, absences, exclusions and traces of deceit. The strategic stylistic orchestration of three narratives on corporate websites is a "ritual that partially controls emergent story, while giving it opportunity to arise" (Boje, 2008, p. 131).

In this chapter I outline my methodological framework and research design. First, I discuss why corporate websites are an effective site for my study and an entry point into the corporate narrative. Next I elaborate on the Triple-Narrative as Stylistic Strategy (Boje, 2008) as my analytical framework and its relevance to my study. I then outline the three levels of narrative within this analytical framework as well as my use of Foucauldian discourse analysis (Foucault, 1979; Phillips & Hardy, 2002). I conclude with a discussion of my research design elements including access considerations, approach to analysis, and my own reflexivity and ethical considerations.

Public Relations, Corporate Websites, and Postcolonial Filters

Diversity in the workplace is a prominent theme in the field of public relations and for corporations (Munshi & Kurian, 2005; Prasad & Mills, 1997). Websites (Barbosa & Cabral-Cardoso, 2010; Merilainen et al, 2009; Point & Singh, 2003; Risberg & Soderberg, 2008; Singh & Point, 2006, 2004), including annual reports (Benschop & Meihuizen, 2002), brochures and other corporate communication media (Prasad & Mills, 1997) that are full of well-crafted messages that "showcase" and celebrate workplace diversity especially the economic benefits (business case), the guidelines for implementation, and such

exemplars as those companies recognized as *The Best Employers of New Canadians* (Canada's Top 100, 2013).

Corporate websites have become necessary tools for maintaining competitiveness (Stuart & Jones, 2004), providing information to the media, strengthening corporate brand and image, and communicating with a wide range of stakeholders (Capriotti & Moreno, 2007; Newland Hill & White, 2000). According to White and Raman (1999), the corporate website is an important public relations mass medium which is controlled by the organization, and has broad global reach. This communication-driven strategy allows corporations to convey an image of diversity responsiveness through a variety of orchestrations (Boje, 2008).

Corporate websites are not tied to physical characteristics of an organization and may thus project the power of web-based impression management (Winter, Saunders & Hart, 2003). As Munshi & Kurian (2005) point out, the strategy of corporate impression management began in the 20th century as corporations learned that "their survival and profitability required an image transformation from impersonal and uncaring to a human and social justice agenda" (p. 145). Goffman (1959) explained how the "management of impressions" is an important symbolic aspect of (interpersonal) social life. He goes on to define "impression management" as referring to individuals or organizations creating and maintaining impressions that are consistent with perceptions they wish to portray to audiences: whether these are publics or (corporate) stakeholders. Goffman theorized that impression management

happens much like components of theatre where a number of techniques are used by individuals or organizations in a given performance to influence the audience or publics (i.e. idealization, misrepresentation, reality versus contrivance) (Dirks, 2011). While an in-depth examination of these impression management techniques is beyond the scope of this project, an awareness of these techniques has informed my analysis of corporate websites.

According to Bowles and Coates (1993), corporations manage their performance images more vigorously when it becomes more difficult to establish performance criteria. As discussed in Chapter 2, the business case discourse situates managing diversity as a strategic element linked to performance (Wrench, 2007), yet, this relationship cannot be easily measured (Kochan et al, 2003). Therefore, constructions of corporate image and impression management can be strategic in nature. Corporate impression management focuses on "how the central idea of a corporation is presented to its various constituents to achieve the corporation's strategic goals" (Gioia, Schultz and Corley, 2000). For example, diversity messages aimed at employees under the "career" section of the corporate websites may emphasise a different set of goals vis-à-vis messages under "investor relations" or "corporate social responsibility." Therefore, managing the corporate image contributes to a corporation's diversity reputation as a legitimizing strategy.

Some critical researchers have observed that public relations activities including corporate websites, subscribe to a Western model of communication, thereby reinforcing divisive US/Western corporate values and norms (Edwards, 2011; Munshi, Broadfoot & Smith, 2011; Munshi & Kurian, 2005). These

scholars and others contend that there is a white, Western bias in public relations practice (Edwards, 2011; Munshi & Kurian, 2005) which extends into the corporate website. Such models are used by Western corporations to legitimize Western ways of thinking as manifested in the Western paradigm of management (Munshi & Kurian, 2005). Munshi, Broadfoot and Smith (2011) suggest that communication processes legitimize contemporary power structures in the way that they represent individuals, institutions and their interests.

Scholars have argued that the current models do not incorporate the perspectives and experiences of the 'other' on their own terms and often marginalize or ignore them (Munshi, et al., 2011; Munshi, 2005; Munshi & Kurian, 2005). Corporate communication is portrayed in terms of Western economic driven pursuits, as evidenced by the business case discourse of diversity (see Chapter 2) (Edwards, 2011). Munshi & Kurian (2005) contend that public relations within corporations serve to "manage" the corporate image through an asymmetric hierarchy of publics: the Western shareholder, the Western consumer, the Western human rights activist and lastly followed by the racialized or non-Western public. "The first is obsessive about profits and share values, the second consumes blindly, and the third provides resistance from within the West, while the last … fall[s] below the corporate radar" (Munshi & Kurian, 2005, p. 514).

Corporate Websites as Narrative

The main site for my investigation is corporate websites of the *Best Employers of New Canadians* (Canada's Top 100, 2013). Although still

underutilized in social science (Bryman, Teevan & Bell, 2009), corporate websites have become more common sources of data (Paludi & Mills, 2013). Corporate websites offer an unobtrusive way of gathering text and images for social research and offer a suitable field site for qualitative analysis. Corporate websites are used by small, medium and large organizations to construct a narrative account of their performance, strategy and identity. There are different pages to corporate websites where diversity narratives are showcased, including company information, careers, corporate social responsibility, investor relations, and so on. Corporate websites are carefully orchestrated using stylistic strategies to choose how to describe and showcase their strategy, performance and identity. Therefore, corporate websites are complex discursive constructions of what management wishes to communicate to their audiences (Benschop & Meihuizen, 2002). The orchestrations and interactivity of various ways in which organizations showcase their image on corporate websites are central to this project. I am particularly interested in what is said and what is not said or excluded in diversity discourse and constructions of the 'other.'

Various researchers have focused on the representations of minority employees and employee relations projected in corporate communications (Benschop & Meihuizen, 2002). Examining these corporate communications media such as corporate websites provides some insight into power differentials and modes of exclusion according to class, ethnicity and gender (Hammond & Oakes, 1992), the reproduction of minority group exploitations (Tinker & Neimark, 1987), stereotypical representations of women contributing to gendering

of organizations (Benschop & Meihuizen, 2002), and how gender equality is constructed and reconstructed (Merilainen, Tienari, Saija, and Benschop, 2009). Websites are a particularly interesting entry point for my research as they provide exposure of the construction of diversity discourses and representations of racialized immigrants in text and image. These websites "produce discourses that help constitute and sustain the relative position of different groups in society" (Edwards, 2011). These discourses serve to reinforce stereotypical perceptions, attitudes and behaviour (Benschop & Meihuizen, 2002).

Stylistic Strategy of Triple Narrative

Public relations documents, such as annual reports and corporate websites, use a stylistic strategy (Boje, 2008). Stylistic strategy story is an orchestration which is defined as "the juxtaposition of varied styles for image management" (Boje, 2008, p. 123) and the dialogism or "interactivity of various modes of expressing organizational image in interplay with the forces of narrative control" (ibid.). According to Boje, stylistic strategy story has been common in the marketing research domain but not used as an analytical framework in the strategy domain (and I would add *not* diversity management as strategy).

Boje's (2008) work allows us to view corporate websites as social constructs and human products, which are value-laden, rather than unproblematic and well-balanced accounts. Like annual reports, corporate websites are well-designed products used by organizations to actively construct and manage their corporate identities. Boje (2008) bases his narrative strategy stylistic on

Goffman's (1959) ideas about image or impression management. Boje cites Goffman (1959, p. 210) when asserting that a "projected image, say in [a corporate website] is 'the polite appearance of consensus' between writers and readers" (Boje, 2008, p. 125). Corporate websites constitute strategic narratives in an orchestration of dialogic writing stylistics including texts, numbers graphics and photos. "The ontology of strategy stylistics, its repetition, is how one style inter-animates another, or deviates from an old one" (Boje, 2008, p. 125). By using this analytical framework, we can reveal the multiple styles of the official narrative based on the image and counter image. The image narrative may be authentic style or deceptive (Boje, 2008). Hence, official narratives allow organizations to control the potentially negative counter-stories related to controversial issues such as human rights, harassment or discrimination cases, or other emergent rumors of scandal. The stylistic strategy offers a powerful analytical framework for my study.

For the purposes of my research study, I analyzed corporate websites using the stylistic strategy of triple-narrative as my analytical framework. To explain the triple narrative stylistic strategy, I focus on the following elements: (1) Three levels of narrative; (2) Foucauldian Discourse Analysis; and (3) Historical and Contemporary Context.

The Three Levels of Narrative

As discussed earlier in this chapter, an organization's corporate website targets a variety of audiences and "carries the risk that an image inconsistent with

managerial ideology is being constructed inadvertently, and will emerge in counter-story" (Boje, 2008, p. 130). This notion is central to the triple narrative, where two or more orchestrated narratives, give rise to a third and more emergently dialogized story (Boje, 2008) that runs counter to the first two narratives. The annual report and corporate website are examples of triple narrative stylistic. This analytical framework has been used to uncover the untold narratives within McDonald's annual reports (Boje, 2008) and to conduct a case study analysis of three US multinational corporate websites with subsidiaries in Canada and Argentina (Paludi & Mills, 2013). In his analysis of McDonald's annual report, Boje (2008) uses the triple narrative to examine financial and other factual information presented at the first level, supported by images, captions and interpretations of the charts relating to healthy, active, happy lifestyles. A third narrative draws out a missing story about the threat to McDonald's corporate image and fear of death of the firm.

The first and second level narratives are referred to as control narratives, where lists of assets, facts, narrative rhetoric and surface stylistics, image, photos, testimonials and so on are used to actively manage corporate identity and control their image. The third narrative is the missing emergent story, left out "inadvertently and sometimes by defectors, on purpose" (Boje, 2008, p. 131). Analysis at this third level requires us to read between the lines for clues in the narrative control of the corporate website. A critical reading of the first two narratives and specifically "symptomatic reading" between the lines, enables the disclosure (or exposure) of silences, absences, exclusions and potential deceit.

Boje (2008) says that traces of a third narrative may be found in between the first two narratives,

> "in the plurality of stylistics, the photos, scientific-sounding jargon, the accounting tables, the letter from the CEO, and some quotes from customers, employees and sometimes community folks, there is a terror of death, a fear of it" (p. 132-133)

Therefore, all these stylistic elements as presented in the first two levels of narrative are not only interrelated but are essential for constructing the third narrative.

Foucauldian Discourse Analysis

Boje (2008) draws on Foucault's notion of discourse, allowing us to reveal dominant discourses which structure the way reality is perceived (Mills, 2003), and unmask the discourses that are marginalized and excluded, which lurk silently behind the illusions of corporate speak. Discourse, as defined by Foucault, is a regulated set of statements and rules that are distributed and circulated, playing a crucial role in its capacity to produce and sustain hegemonic power. For example, dominant diversity discourses such as the business case are produced by organizations through official corporate websites, and are continually reproduced and circulated within our society, as legitimate "knowledge" (Mills, 1997). At the same time, there are other texts which are excluded (or suppressed) by institutions to limit what can be counted as knowledge.

According to Foucault (1981) in the *Order of Discourse* one criterion for exclusion is that of taboo subjects (such as racism), while another centres around the discourses of those considered as 'other,' (Mills, 1997), for example the racialized immigrant new to Canada. The third exclusion according to Foucault is the division between true and false where those certified as experts (such as the *Best Employers of New Canadians*) are privileged to speak the truth, whereas those without such power cannot speak the truth (Mills, 2003).

In Western cultures, Foucault has demonstrated the obsession with the will to truth is supported by a range of institutions such as educational institutions, media outlets, government institutions, corporations, etc. (Mills, 1997). These institutions work to exclude (or supress) statements which they classify as being false, while keeping 'truths' in circulation, lending them validity, worth and legitimacy. While, in theory, any person can utter anything that they want, Foucault argues that they are restricted by discursive limits sanctioned by such institutions, and judged to be 'true' only if they fit with other statements authorized within society. For example, Foucault examines the educational system as one that regulates discourse. Educational institutions have many unspoken rules about who can speak and what statements are considered authoritative (Mills, 2003). A Foucauldian analysis of universities would focus on the way certain types of knowledge are excluded, and the rigorous process whereby students' ideas are required to conform to the type of knowledge deemed acceptable by the authorities. Thus, the system of silencing, commenting on, assessing, and so on is about the "institutionalization of discourse and the mapping out of power relations

between the lecturer and student" (Mills, 2003, p. 61). This begs the question of what Canadian corporate websites are silencing and commenting on when it comes to race, ethnicity, gender, class and diversity. All of these discursive controls are clues to the power relations and inequalities within the workplace.

I use Foucauldian discourse analysis to explore how power inequalities are constituted, reproduced, sustained and legitimated by corporations, as well as unveil the workplace power struggles as reflected in the privileging of dominant discourses and the marginalization of others (Phillips & Hardy, 2002). By examining these methods, practices and disciplinary techniques, I seek to uncover ways by which official (hegemonic) knowledges are normalized and legitimated and serve to exclude naïve knowledges.

Historical and Contemporary Context

The third element of this study focuses on the discursive environments in which discourse is located (Vaara & Tienari, 2010). Although some strands of discourse analysis are considered ahistorical and too linguistic in scope (Anais, 2013), more scholars are making a case for situating discourses contextually. According to van Dijk (2008) "it is no longer adequate to just examine the linguistic structures of discourse … but to look beyond discourse and examine its cognitive, social, political, cultural and historical *environments*" (p. 237).

Foucauldian versions of discourse analysis are more societal and historical in nature, examining the constitution of selected phenomena across different time periods or epistemes. Approaches to discourse analysis range from those primarily

focused on organizations within a contemporary context (Thomas & Davies, 2005; Varra & Tienari, 2010) to those which analyze organizational and societal phenomena over time (Mills, 2006; Mills & Helms-Mills, 2006). Within an organizational context, discourse analysis researchers seek to trace how discourses are constructed and reproduced in relation to certain phenomena. For example, I explore how diversity management discourses and constructions of racialized immigrants have evolved over time to have a particular meaning today. I also examine how these discourses draw on and influence other discourses and are sustained through such practices and policies as colonization and multiculturalism.

Foucault's approach extends beyond simply exploring the contextual information for understanding literary work. Foucauldian discourse analysis is concerned with the distal context or history (Mills, 2003). Phillips and Hardy (2002) refer to the distal context as the broader social context such as the cultural setting. This type of analysis is also interested in "how it [distal context or history] privileges some actors at the expense of others and how broad changes in discourse result in different constellations of advantage and disadvantage (Phillips & Hardy, 2002, p. 25). This type of analysis can be seen as "a historically-based study of what the discourses within the archive allow to be stated authoritatively" (Mills, 2003, p. 24). Foucault is concerned with the analysis of the historical processes at work in the construction of what we know about the past. Hence, it is only by examining the past that we can defamiliarize what we know about the present. "We have to know the historical conditions which motivate our conceptualization. We need a historical awareness of our present circumstances"

(Foucault, 1982, p. 778). This approach is concerned with the workings of power and with describing the history of the present (Mills, 2003) in order to analyze the conditions under which consensus over the truth (or validity) claims was first achieved.

Foucault's notion of history is different from other more traditional notions of history ("whig history") that are linear, stable, and assume progress and development over time. Instead, Foucault argues that history is discontinuous, fragmented, shifting and lurching in ways that are not entirely within our control (Mills, 1997, 2003). Although he has been criticized by historians for his approach, Foucault uses historical material for reasons different from those of historians. Mills (2003) quotes Kendall and Wickham (1999) asserting this difference of purpose:

> "The Foucaultian method's use of history … does not involve assumptions of progress (or regress) … it involves histories that never stop; they cannot be said to stop because they cannot be said to be going anywhere. To use history in the Foucaultian manner is to use it to help us see that the present is just as strange as the past, not to help us see that a sensible or desirable present has emerged … or might merge" (p. 78)

In essence, Foucauldian analysis is used to disturb and disrupt the taken for granted accounts of history by focusing attention on the excluded accounts (Mills, 2003; McHoul & Grace, 1993).

Foucault suggests that discourses absorb and build upon discourses from the past, which raises the point of intertextuality. Intertextuality refers to how discourses link with and draw from other discourses and implies the insertion of history into text and vice versa (Fairclough, 1992). Intertextuality points to the dynamic nature of discourses, how they transform earlier discourses, and restructure existing discourses to generate new ones (Fairclough, 1992). Therefore, we must examine how broader discourses constituted by complex macro-social process evolve over time and affect institutional practices and understandings (Hardy & Phillips, 1999). This study has an intertextual dimension. In exploring how the discourse of diversity management and constructions of racialized immigrants have emerged in the contemporary context, I examine how these discourses draw from other discourses such as discourse of immigration, multiculturalism, managerialism, otherness, and so on.

Historical scope is central to postcolonialism. Through a postcolonial lens I examine historical accounts to analyze current organizational and management diversity practices and constructions of the immigrant (Prasad, 2005). Working in the postcolonial tradition allows me to focus on colonial and neocolonial processes in past and present circumstances, and to restore "a strong sense of historical cultural awareness to our understanding of contemporary organization" (Prasad, 2005, p. 280. As noted by Prasad et al. (2006):

> "Crucial aspects of the context for understanding workplace diversity include the history and relative oppressive actions toward different groups, the legislation around access to education, work and health, human rights,

> the societal placing of diversity groups and the shifts in the salience of issues at different times, caused by activism internationally and the local level" (p. 10)

I use a poststructuralist approach to explore how diversity management has become a taken-for-granted social discourse aimed at managing and controlling racialized immigrants. By utilizing Triple Narrative as Stylistic Strategy (Boje, 2008) as my analytical framework, I discuss how Canadian corporations orchestrate narratives on their websites that give rise to a third emergent silence or shadow narrative about diversity and racialized immigrants. I introduce "shadow" discourse here to refer to the suppressed alternative or oppositional discourses that are counter-hegemonic. The value of the Triple Narrative framework is that it allows us to critically read between the lines of narrative control within corporate websites, allowing me to disclose silences, absences, exclusions and potential deceit when it comes to the discourses of diversity management and the racialized immigrant. I now discuss how my research design and study is implemented.

Research Design

My investigation focuses on the 2013 *Best Employers of New Canadians* (Canada's Top 100, 2013) which has been recognized as the "nation's best employers for recent immigrants" (Best Employers for New Canadians, 2013). This recognition program was discontinued in 2014. Unfortunately, my telephone message to the organizers inquiring about the reasons behind this decision was not returned. According to the website, employers were recognized with this

distinction for their ability to assist new Canadians in making the transition to a new workplace. Organizations that receive this distinction are announced in a special feature issue of *The Globe and Mail*. Employers of any size may apply and can be privately held or publically listed.

A selection committee reviews applications and selects companies based on the following criteria:

1. They offer programs specifically designed to assist employees who are recent immigrants to Canada.
2. They have taken steps to reduce employment barriers for recent immigrants, such as by recognizing educational credentials or experiences.
3. They assist new employees with foreign professional or educational credentials in getting these qualifications formally recognized in Canada.
4. They offer "onboarding" programs, such as internal coaching or mentoring, to help new employees who are recent immigrants understand the Canadian workplace.
5. Their managers and employees receive training in cross-cultural issues or inclusiveness to help create a welcoming and productive environment for employees who are recent immigrants.

Phillips & Hardy (2002) point out that from a theoretical point, research sites should be "transparent" in their examination of the phenomenon under study. By transparent it is understood that the research site provides adequate access to texts and a good source of discursive data (Phillips & Hardy, 2002). A key advantage

of using public relations texts on corporate websites is the accessibility of texts and images for all companies selected (Singh and Point, 2006).

Research Site and Access

I am particularly interested in analyzing public relations texts related to diversity management and new immigrants. These texts and images include the diversity web pages of the 24 corporations based in Ontario and listed on the *Best Employers of New Canadians* 2013 listing. I accessed web pages where diversity or recent immigrants to Canada were represented as well as diversity reports and press releases that referenced diversity, where these were available. According to Phillips and Hardy (2002) "naturally occurring" texts are considered ideal sources of data for discourse analysis. "Naturally occurring" suggests that these texts appear in normal activities and represent actual examples of language- in-use. Phillips and Hardy (2002) explain that "By this we mean that texts form part of the discourses that constitute the phenomenon under investigation" (p. 71).

I accessed corporate websites of the 40 companies on the *Best Employers of New Canadians* 2013 listing. The 40 companies are broken down by head office location as follows: 3 in Alberta, 4 in British Columbia, 3 in Manitoba, 24 in Ontario, 2 in Quebec, 2 in Saskatchewan, and 2 in Nova Scotia. These companies are Canadian owned or local branch-plant subsidiaries of foreign owned corporations. For the purposes of this examination I have drawn the boundaries for the study around companies with head offices in Ontario. This is a plausible choice for several reasons. Firstly, Ontario receives the highest percentage of new

immigrants to Canada compared to other provinces. Secondly, Ontario is the province with the largest share of people born outside the country. Thirdly, of the 40 companies on the Best Employers of New Canadian's list, Ontario held the largest critical mass (60%) of companies recognized for this 'distinction.' (Refer to Appendix A for a listing of the 24 companies examined). Finally, having lived, worked and volunteered in Ontario for the last 11 years, I am most familiar with this province in relation to its diversity climate and immigrant settlement issues.

Text and Image Collection

Phillips and Hardy (2002) identify a number of different texts for discourse analysis including "talk, written texts, non-verbal interactions, film, television program and other media, symbols and artefacts" (p. 70). Hence, I was particularly interested in written text, images and numerical data related to diversity and racialized groups and people. I searched each of the 24 websites for key terms such as "diversity," "equality," "equal opportunity," "ethnicity," and "immigrants." Where I failed to find references to these terms, I used company search engines and Google to confirm the lack of information. Most references to these terms were within the career and corporate social responsibility sections of the websites. Several companies included diversity messages from the Chief Executive Officer or referenced a commitment to diversity within their corporate strategy and information pages. All pages related to my searches were downloaded, including diversity and equity statements, diversity reports and texts and images related to diversity strategy. Annual reports were excluded from the search given the inclusion of privately held companies in the mix.

I recognize that corporate websites are regularly updated and therefore my study takes a snapshot view. Thus, I downloaded all pages and saved them in PDF format on my computer to allow me to analyze the same set of texts and images over the timeframe of my analysis. While I was careful to download all relevant web pages for this study, I do recognize that given the complexity of websites, my findings were on a 'best effort' basis (Singh & Point, 2004). Hardcopy printouts of all digital downloads were organized by company, into a large binder.

Identifying constructions of the racialized immigrant within the enduring diversity discourses was imperative to my analysis. Hence, in addition to accessing the corporate webpages, I also accessed media articles from four newspapers in the Greater Toronto Area (*The Globe and Mail*, *The Toronto Star*, *Mississauga News* and the *National Post*) to uncover the voices of the racialized immigrant (Chapter 7) other. Here, I adopt Spivak's call to shift from a concern with the voices of the coloniser or colonized elite to the voices of the subaltern cut off from or without access to the lines of social and labour market mobility (Spivak, 1988). Search terms such as "immigrant," "new Canadian" and "internationally educated" were used in combination with "labour market," "job," "workplace," "barrier," and "challenge," within the time frame of January 2005 to July 2014. This period was chosen as it roughly corresponds to the same time frame utilized to analyse Minister Kenney speeches (see Chapter 5). All articles which included the voices of immigrants were included in the analysis. More than 110 media articles, varying in length, were used for the analysis. The use of the popular press as a source of data for critical research is quite common (Golnaraghi & Mills, 2013; Golnaraghi

& Dye, 2012). In my study I endeavoured to create as inclusive a set of narratives from the media by accessing news pieces written by journalists as well as letters to the editor and opinion pieces. This approach is supported by Rojas-Lizana's (2011) study of letters to the Editor, which concluded that such letters gave voice to the less privileged. I sought to explore the ways in which racialized immigrants construct and negotiate their experiences with the Canadian labour market and how they negotiate challenges and barriers in this process.

Text and Image Analysis

There are many approaches to textual discourse analysis and organizational discourse analysis (Hardy & Phillips, 1999; Mantere & Vaara, 2008). For example, Phillips and Hardy (2002) highlight four approaches to discourse analysis and Alvesson and Karreman (2000) provide four categories which are a continuum allowing for multiple perspectives. Approaches range from interpretivist (Potter & Weatherall, 1987), to critical realist (Fairclough, 1992, 1995), to poststructuralist (Foucault, 1979; Phillips & Hardy, 2002). My approach located in the latter, views discourse analysis as the study of how discourses construct social reality (Phillips & Hardy, 2002). This approach allows researchers to study organizational discursive practices to reveal how some privileged interests are served at the expense of others, and the role these practices play in reproducing structures of power, domination, hegemony and resistance. A poststructuralist understanding of discourse analysis reveals a much broader and more abstract approach, with no one single prescribed way of approaching the analysis (Phillips & Hardy, 2002). Instead, researchers design their own path

towards data collection and analysis guided by their theoretical framework and research objectives. During the analysis stage, Boje's (2008) Stylistic Strategy of Triple Narrative is used as the analytical framework along with Foucauldian discourse analysis (Foucault, 1979; Phillips & Hardy, 2002). This approach is deemed appropriate given the theoretical frame of this project. The two combined approaches allow me to interrogate the texts and images in a way that permits me to meet the objectives of this research study.

Throughout this study, I sought to examine how these "exemplar" companies were constructing their dominant discourses. Hence, I accessed different webpages including corporate information, careers, corporate social responsibility, diversity statements and strategy, images, figures and other documentary accounts that shape the narratives of these corporations (Boje, 2008).

My first objective was to show that dominant diversity discourses such as the business case stem from a fictive protection against fears that the organization will perish in the face of global competition. Hence, dominant discourses serve to maintain the status quo as opposed to truly valuing the immigrant identity. Second, my objective was to use a postcolonial lens to show that, despite claims of promoting and embracing diversity, equal opportunity and inclusivity within organizations, employers promote essentialized representations and binary constructions of racialized immigrants. These discursive representations are constructed through the practices of discrimination and 'othering': practices which are evident within these dominant discourses. Specifically, I look for discursive strategies used to create "differences" between the dominant groups and the

racialized immigrant in order to reproduce power relations that privilege managerial interests while marginalizing the interests of the racialized immigrant. I am also interested in exploring how corporate initiatives designed to accommodate racialized immigrants actually serve as techniques through which disciplinary power attempts to suppress conflict and control difference.

My last objective was to challenge the notion of 'othering' by uncovering the exclusions and silences and opening up the dominant diversity discourses to alternative readings. It is my assumption that the public relations-induced diversity showcased on corporate websites, is driven by a capitalistic model where corporations' "first and absolute mandate is to make money and enhance profits" (Munshi & Kurian, 2005, p. 514). My principal aim here is to challenge strategies that serve to create 'otherness' by teasing out the counter (or shadow) narratives. Hence, here I shift from a concern with the voice of corporations to the voices of the racialized immigrant (Foucault, 1982; Spivak, 1988) that are erased by corporate texts. I look for ambivalent productions of 'otherness' where dominant discourses reflect the moral purpose to civilize and save the 'other' but also see the 'other' as incapable of being changed. Here, I look for contradictory views regarding racialized immigrants which emanate from tensions between paternalism and empowerment (Hardy & Phillips, 1999). I also access other publicly available documents such as books about Canada's immigration history, media articles, government studies, and human rights commission documents that tease out the racialized immigrant experiences with labour market settlement. These documents provide clues to (discursive) practices of exclusion such as racism and

discrimination, the voices of the 'other,' and how power abuse is enacted, reproduced and legitimated by corporations that privilege dominant discourses and marginalize others.

Ethical Considerations and Reflexivity

Research involving public documents and observation of research participants within public meetings such as conferences, does not require Research Ethics Board (REB) review and approval (Government of Canada, 2010). I use documents and texts from public sources such as corporate websites, media articles, and books, etc. Since it can be expected that corporations and their representatives are seeking public visibility through these channels, an ethics review is not required (Government of Canada, 2010). That said, critical management researchers "have a moral responsibility in presenting knowledge that has consequences for future applications" (Kelemen & Rumens, 2008, p. 200). Critical reflexivity requires one to question and examine taken for granted assumptions (in this case, related to diversity in the workplace) in an attempt to produce knowledge that makes a positive difference. Thus, researcher reflexivity is a key feature within the *post* traditions (Kelemen & Rumens, 2008; Linstead, 2010).

Hardy, Phillips and Clegg (2001) explain that "Reflexivity involves reflecting on the way in which research is carried out and understanding how the process of doing research shapes its outcomes" (p. 535). As Weick (1999) argues, reflexivity for its own sake should be avoided. This problem occurs when the researcher's

voice is elevated, potentially silencing the voices of those it aims to tease out. On the other hand, reflexivity which induces self-doubt and paralysis on the part of the researcher is also counter-productive (Weick, 1999). Instead, reflexivity implies that the researcher should be reflective about the implications and aspects of their research (Bryman et al, 2011; Linstead, 2010; Martin, 1990).

In so doing, the use of "I" and a personal tone is essential for this project (Martin, 1990). I am a first-generation immigrant, Muslim woman from the Middle East who moved to Canada more than 30 years ago. The move was not by choice, but prompted by a revolution that forced my family out of our country and home. Since moving to Canada, I have lived a complex journey in negotiating my own immigrant identity, at times feeling a sense of 'otherness' but also having moments of consciously challenging 'othering.' I discovered postcolonialism and the impressive body of fieldwork (Prasad, 2005) which motivated a very personal decision to change my dissertation topic. As I began to engage with the concepts of postcolonial theory, I found a community that spoke a language that resonated for me; I found my voice and home. What I had not anticipated was how personal this journey became, fraught with many highs and lows, doubts and breakthroughs, and deep self-reflexivity - with postcolonialism at its centre. Postcolonial reflexivity involves recognizing how our thoughts, actions, utterances, teaching and so on are connected to the larger global context and to Eurocentrism (Broadfoot & Munshi, 2007).

At a personal level, I began to observe my own taken-for-granted assumptions about myself as a minority person, living in the West. I never truly

identified myself as being 'Western' or the 'other,' even though I have lived in Canada since 1980. I was somewhere in between. What surfaced through my own consciousness was how my assumptions about my identity played into my interactions with dominant groups and vice versa. I was inside yet outside of the dominant culture. I also discovered that throughout parts of my life, I suppressed parts of my identity in an effort to fit in to the dominant norm. I have learned to question my own assumptions and beliefs about my identity and the immigrant experience. This experience raised my own awareness of "the formidable structure of cultural domination … for formerly colonized people" and the "dangers and temptations of employing this structure" upon myself and others (Said, 1978, p. 25). Pursuing research projects which challenge 'othering' is a conscious act on my part to reclaim my 'voice' by resisting dominant discourses through opening up a space for alternative readings.

At a scholarly level, the postcolonial tradition offered a way of seeing things differently. I began to explore diversity topics that offered opportunities for change and social justice. As I settled into my research, I realized that I do not stand outside the lives of power elites or racialized immigrants. Parallel to my research, my own life, who I am, and who I am becoming, were also under study and reflection (Clandinin, Murphy, Huber & Orr, 2010). As the chapters unfold, I include my own reactions, experiences and observations where fitting.

Conclusion

This chapter provided an overview of my analytical framework and research design. My research assumes a 'built-in critical stance" (Vaara & Tienari, 2010), which means that I examine discourses from the perspective of and in the interest of racialized immigrants. This stance aims to reveal how some privileged interests are served at the expense of others, and the role these hegemonic practices play in maintaining structures of power, domination, hegemony and resistance. Indeed, issues of power, domination, hegemony and resistance discussed throughout the previous chapters are the hallmarks of poststructuralist and postcolonial approaches. Hence, my approach seeks not only to identify dominant discourses, but also to ask whose interests are served and whose are marginalized within these discursive formations.

I do not take a 'neutral' stance in my research, but explicitly situate myself in favour of the racialized immigrant. I take an explicit position to understand, expose and resist social inequality in the contemporary context (van Dijk, 2008). My study focuses on unmasking the taken for granted assumptions of diversity management located within the functionalist paradigm that serves to privilege managerial interests, shaping social reality and constraining racialized immigrants. In so doing, I attempt to destabilize taken-for-granted ways of thinking about diversity and racialized immigrants in the workplace.

CHAPTER 5 – HISTORICAL DISCOURSE ANALYSIS:

CONSTRUCTIONS OF 'IMMIGRANTS'

> *"We can surely learn a lesson from our great neighbour to the South for there is such a thing as a country being swamped by unemployable and undesirable immigrants. Thus Limited Selective Immigration is Canada's great need today. Prospective immigrants should be selected preferably from British stock or from among the more readily assimilable peoples of Europe."*
>
> – Kate Foster, *Our Canadian Mosaic* (1926, p. 11)

Introduction

In this chapter, I undertake a discursive review of selective scholarly work and government texts to 'reveal' something of the postcolonial roots and immigrant discourses as the context for my analysis of corporate websites in the ensuing chapters. This chapter examines the ways in which particular discursive features found in the examined texts functioned to outline how the immigrant has become a discursive 'other' and how historical discourses construct and represent the 'immigrant' negatively. I argue that such constructions of the immigrant 'other,' have been structured according to certain discursive strategies over time, and accrued truth value through production and reproduction by institutions and sites of power. Constructions of the immigrant reinforced false or fictional representations suggesting real differences between the dominant and the 'other.'

A discursive strategy that forms the main focus of this chapter is the construction of binaries produced by selective knowledge about the dominant and the 'other.' As laid out by Said (1978), these binaries are structured in terms of hierarchical oppositions, where the dominant are linked with the superior pole and

the ‘other’ linked with the inferior. Such constructions shape power relations, enabling production of stereotypical accounts, privileging one (idealized) group at the expense of another (stigmatized) group. Hence, I seek to make visible the dynamics of power at the heart of the systemic production and reproduction of the “fictional truths”, as well as legitimate and authoritative narratives of the historical events and persons.

In seeking to provide something of a historical account of difference, I am aware of the need to take a reflexive approach to the past in order to avoid the pitfalls of an ahistorical account (Paludi, Helms-Mills, & Mills, 2013). Hence, as discussed in the previous chapter, I draw from Foucault’s notion of discourse (1979) and history as a way of framing my review of how immigrant was constructed over time. The discursive construction of “white,” and “immigrant” for example has changed over the years. Using this discursive lens, I am interested in the distal context and how it privileges some actors at the expense of others, in this case the dominant at the expense of the immigrant ‘other.’ Distal context refers to that part of the external or background context outside our direct perception. Some familiarity with Canada’s older and broader historical discourses on diversity allows for the examination of contemporary constructions of the immigrant, along with diversity management practices.

By adopting a discursive lens, I attempt to steer away from presenting any linear, stable or progressive representation of history, as this perspective is contradictory to the intent of my research. Admittedly, this endeavour initially proved to be challenging for me in execution and required several iterations due to

years of being exposed to the traditional linear approach to history. The analysis I offer in this chapter encompasses a subjective sampling of scholarly work, selectively analyzed and presented rather than a 'complete' presentation of historical events. Hence, I do not review past events in a chronological order, nor narrate the evolution of immigration policy. Instead, I begin with Foucault's notion of the history of the present (Kendall & Wickham, 1999) where the problematization of the past serves to illuminate a present-day problematic, a methodological strategy which serves to unsettle (and subvert) the taken-for-granted character of extant knowledge (Weatherbee, Durepos, Mills & Helms-Mills, 2012).

It is important to note that the analysis of original historical texts and documents is beyond the scope of this research project. Hence, I have analyzed the (discursive) constructions of immigrants from excerpts of original texts and documents found in the scholarly work of Richard Day, Eva Mackey, Vic Satzewich, and Elke Winter, among others as well as documents from the Citizenship and Immigration website (namely Minister of Citizenship, Immigration and Multiculturalism speeches) in order to uncover how the images and identities of immigrants produced in historical discourses during different periods. In particular, I look at constructions of immigrants between 1867 - 1947 and 1967 - 2012. I chose to focus on the period after Confederation in 1867 which marked the self`-governing Dominion of Canada and a period of rapid immigration into Canada. The second period marked the introduction of the "point system" in 1967 which claimed to assess all immigrants according to skills

and training criteria as opposed to *explicit* racial and ethnic discrimination, a notable shift from the discourses of previous immigrant policy. Further, this period marked a dramatic increase in the percentage of racialized groups immigrating to Canada. I am interested in investigating the ways in which immigrant identities have been constructed during this period in order to highlight the discursive representations and management practices of the present.

Immigrant Constructions 1867 - 1947

The construction of the immigrant within a discourse of binary opposites was apparent in the period between 1867 and 1947 (Park, 2008). Consistent with Said (1978), I observed how identities were constructed in such oppositional binaries as civilized versus savage, desirable versus undesirable, superior versus inferior, preferred versus non-preferred, acceptable versus prohibited, belonging versus difference, Canadian versus alien, and legitimate versus illegitimate. The discourse of the immigrant is founded on fictive assumptions that the 'immigrant' does not share membership in the same humanness and moral community as those constructed as superior. These binary classifications, and in particular notions of 'immigrant' otherness, shifted and mutated designating different targets of opposition or approval at different times for different uses.

While the constructions of what constituted superior or inferior within the system of binaries changed, the validation of one group was connected to the devaluation/marginalization of another (Park, 2008). Celts and Nordics were constructed as undesirable until they were outnumbered by the influx of

Mediterranean and Eastern Europeans (Slavs) who were found inferior, except when measured against the 'degenerate' Orientals (Park, 2008). Individuals legitimated as superior members of the Canadian stock gained legitimacy from the construction of the opposite group deemed too inferior for inclusion. Hence, the discourse of the immigrant and the binaries that marked difference shifted and mutated based on the needs of those who constructed and deployed this discourse.

Constructions of the undesirable 'other' were rampant in historical discourse. Further, that which was classified as Anglo-Saxon "British subject" or "Canadian national" was the ethnic (or racial) standard against which the racialized discourse of immigrants, marginalization and otherness was built. Valverde (2008) quotes Emily Murphy, a conservative feminist, who believed in the myth of Anglo-Saxon superiority:

> "I think the proximity of the magnetic pole has something to do with the superiority of the Northmen. The best people in the world come out of the North, and the longer they are away from boreal regions in such proportion do they degenerate" (p. 181)

One of the most dominant discourses of racial and cultural differentiation was the binary of the 'Northmen' ideal against the 'new immigrant'. This classification of Northmen was an identity constructed out of the British ideal and led to the gradual legitimation of the American, Irish, Scottish, German, and Scandinavian (Day, 2000). By the early 20th century, although the British immigrant was still constructed as the most desirable ethnic group, some of the other groups that were

previously represented as unassimilable immigrants were now reclassified as racially and culturally preferred races to those of the incoming 'foreign misfits', typically Southern and Eastern Europeans, Asians, Africans and Caribbeans.

Stereotypical images and fictional constructions of the 'other' were common, often contrasting what is Canadian in opposition to the alien or foreign 'other.' Hence, prejudice against the foreign 'other' served to distort images and stereotypes about them, thereby justifying their exploitation, seduction, displacement, exclusion, assimilation and so on. Said's explanation of orientalism is relevant to the construction of the immigrant foreigner as 'other,' and the Canadian identity as ontologically superior. Satzewich (2011) highlights a quote from Stephen Leacock in Porter's classic Canadian study in *The Vertical Mosaic: An Analysis of Social Class and Power in Canada* (1965)

> "Learning English and living under the British flag may make a British subject in the legal sense, but not in a real sense … I am not saying we should absolutely shut out and debar the European foreigner, as we should and do shut out the Oriental. But we should in no way facilitate his coming" (p. 67)

The discursive constructions of the differences represented by immigrants were multiple, as Westerners were consistently orientalising and exoticizing immigrant representations. Such representations served to construct the 'other' at varying degrees of difference and social distance to the Canadian identity, and as a threat to the dominant Anglo-Saxon society. Further, constructions of the inability

of the 'other' to assimilate to the prevailing standards served to further substantiate their difference and "inferiority." The discourse of assimilation emphasized the immigrant difference, highlighting the need to Anglicize and Canadianize and, while at the same time suggesting an inability to do so.

Constructions of difference did not necessarily follow a stable logic: to be foreign or alien was ascribed to a variety of causes. In the case of the Chinese for example, their inability to become one of "us" was the marker of difference. In a resolution drafted by the Dominion Government in Ottawa, the Chinese are described as

> "alien in sentiment and habits. They do not become settlers in any sense of the word … They have a system of secret societies which encourage crimes amongst themselves … The use of opium has extended throughout the Province to the demoralization of the native races" (Anderson, 2008, p. 92)

Ukrainians in particular were described as the "scum of Europe" for they were "swarthy, smelled of garlic, were crude, drank too much and were destined to bring the country down" (Satzewich, 2011, p. 37). Here is another example:

> "What is this country coming to? Doukhobors pouring in by thousands on the eastern slope, Galicians swarming over the central portions, and rats taking possession of Dawson City, one would imagine that Canada has become a veritable dumping ground for the refuse of civilization" (Day quoting Calgary Herald, 1 Feb, 1899)

This system of binary opposites represented new immigrants or foreigners as backward, inferior, uncivilized, undesirable, strangers, foreign, and so on, while the superior Westerner was depicted in positive terms as modern, progressive, hardworking, disciplined, civilized and capitalistic. These and other foreign, unsophisticated, inferior groups were constructed in opposition to Anglo-Saxon Canadian values because they were entrenched in archaic, backward traditions incomprehensible to modern and civilized Canadians.

> "The foundation of all social order is based upon a vigorous and intelligent people and the state cannot long endure whose foundation rests not upon those of its own race and kind, but upon a race not only alien in so far as their birth is concerned, but of a different type of humanity and civilization … who do not assimilate with us, who would not if they could, and who could not if they would" (Day, 2000 quoting C. Wilson from Sessional Papers of the Dominion of Canada, p. 125)

The discourses of essentialism were rampant, describing immigrant characteristics as fixed and biologically based (Park, 2008). In such discourses Anglo-Saxon "British subjects" and "Canadian Nationals" were deemed by nature to be superior. To cite a few examples, Jewish immigrants were invidiously described as belonging to "a very neurotic race, while many of them are of unusual ability, yet a certain proportion prove to be mental defectives" (Valverde, 2008, p. 177). Blacks were portrayed as over-sexed rapists who were biologically unfit to survive cold northern climates (Valverde, 2008). In the early 20th century, it was common and not controversial to refer to immigrants as parasites, menace, detrimental and

degenerate. Park (2008) asserts that "Such representations reified a varying set of problematics … [marking] the immigrant as emphatically different … and the stereotyped constructions of the strange and alien immigrant functioned to estrange and alienate immigrants" (p. 178).

Some discourses that attempted to 'solve' the "problem" of the rapid influx of immigration, through well intentioned, were equally troubling in their representation of immigrants. One of the most notable and famous texts to sound alarm bells about the problematic immigrant was J.S. Woodsworth (1909), in his popular book *Strangers within our Gates* (quoted in Chapter 1). Woodsworth shared a prevailing and popular belief that for immigrants to become good Canadians, they would have to assimilate by embracing Anglo-Canadian Protestant values, or be excluded (Knowles, 2007). He made use of tables chronologically to show the number of incoming immigrants as 'evidence' that the "flood" of immigration was becoming worse (Day, 2000). The flood metaphor is used in the book to magnify the immigrant problem, most notably from undesirable parts of the world. Hence, the tables and charts provided tangible 'evidence' of the problematic 'others' threatening the nation.

In his work, I found implicit and explicit discourses of orientalism and exoticism. The chapters of the book are laid out in such a way that imply a racial hierarchy starting from the Anglo-Saxon ideal and descending by chapter to the least assimilable immigrants. Woodsworth offers a taxonomy or hierarchy of "racial" and ethnic desirability (Day, 2000). It is not surprising to find that immigrants from Great Britain are seen as the most desirable and amongst the best

citizens to maintain the British cultural traditions. Next, immigrants from the United States are cited as desirable settlers, followed by Scandinavians, Germans and French. The Chinese, Hindus, Galicians, Ruthenians, Poles, the Leventine (Greeks, Turks Armenians, Syrians and Persians), Negroes and (Aboriginal) Indians are all represented with a list of differences at the inferior pole of hierarchy, constructed as uncivilized, untrustworthy, and unassimilable. This ethnic stratification is also described in some detail by Edmund Bradwin in his study of the ethnic division of labour in the early frontier work camps (Bradwin, 1972). Woodsworth's solution to the dilemmas of mass immigration was the assimilation of immigrants already in Canada to the Anglo-Canadian ways, and the exclusion of any future immigrants deemed undesirable and a threat to the Canadian-British traditions from coming to Canada.

A reflexive pause is necessary here to express the emotions I experienced upon reading Woodsworth's representations of the undesirables. I was troubled by his taxonomy and representations, including the homogenizing discourse implied. As a personal footnote, I was surprised to read about the 'Leventine' category where my people with a rich history and culture, the Persians, were conflated with Greeks, Turks, Armenians and Syrians. Rampant with reductive stereotypes, the 'Leventine' were represented as deceitful, natural liars, miserable in physique, with a vulnerability to communicable disease, a distinct menace, detrimental and burdensome. These stereotypical images are similar to the Islamophobic discourse in the media today about the Muslim population.

The "flood" metaphor was particularly prominent during the early 20th century due to a massive influx of "inferior," unassimilable immigrant flows (Day, 2000). This racist discourse of difference was enacted into a number of laws that served to restrict, deport, exclude and contain the problematic 'other.' For example, the Immigration Act of 1906 was the first restrictive policy of immigration, giving the government "new discursive and legislative powers over Foreign bodies [to exclude and deport], both incoming and existing" (Day, 2000, p. 138). The government also passed legislation that resulted in implicit discrimination. For example, the Continuous Journey Act set out that all immigrants to Canada were required to come directly from their country of origin by a continuous journey, in effect closing the gate to India, China and Japan (Knowles, 2007). This legislation led to the Komogata Maru incident – where a ship hired by a wealthy Sikh merchant remained for two months in the Vancouver harbour with over 370 East Indian immigrants. While the 'other' attempted to resist the discriminatory nature of this legislation, they were eventually forcibly returned to Asia. The Immigration Act of 1910 and 1919 introduced further restrictions and exclusions including cultural elements (i.e., customs, habits, etc.). Asians had already been excluded through the infamous head tax and banned completely in 1923 via the Chinese Immigration Act (Satzewich, 2011). Anti-Foreigner discourse and exclusionary regulations were fully entrenched by the great economic Depression of the 1930s.

After World War II, while fostering population growth was deemed imperative by The Canadian government, immigration policy still included

restrictions such as constructing the ideal immigrant as being those with "absorptive capacity" into the Canadian economy (Knowles, 2007). Legislation still embodied discriminatory measures that served to exclude the "undesirables" such as Orientals from immigration. The so called "old" immigrants from commonwealth countries and the United States were preferred to immigrants from other countries. Hence, binary constructions were revised to ensure that old commonwealth immigrants remained at the superior pole and new immigrants at the inferior. Immigrants' potential value to the Canadian economy (as workers or investors) and their ethnic origins were the markers of desirability. Thus the 'northmen' were still constructed as industrious, intelligent and ideal contrasted against the 'new immigrant' who was not as absorptive.

The Canadian political and corporate elite constructed an exclusionary, marginalizing and assimilationist discourse prior to the 1960s when it came to managing the problem of "difference". Under the guise of "[protecting] the national economy, polity or society; … or most commonly, some 'crisis' or 'emergency'"(Day, 2000, 144), racialized immigrants that were classified as a problematic 'other' were managed, included, excluded, deported, contained, assimilated or appropriated depending on the changing needs of nation-building (Mackey, 2002). Coercive actions during the first half of the 20th century were justified because immigrants were constructed as being problematic and unlike a Canadian national or British subject. Constructed through the hierarchical categorization and stereotypical descriptions, cultural differences were seen as inherent, fixed and immutable. The problematic others "became infinitely

manageable populations as well as bit players in the nationalist imaginary, always dancing to someone else's tune" (Mackey, 2002, p. 49).

Immigrant Constructions 1967 - 2012

The conceptualization of the immigrant within a discourse constructed around binary opposites resurfaced, although in a less explicit way, from 1967 to 2012. The introduction of the point system which claimed to have removed overt racial, ethnic and religious bias from the selection process was anything but 'universal,' 'objective,' or a 'fair' method of selecting immigrants. The point system introduced a discourse in which the ideal immigrant under the economic class was classified as one with the 'right skills.' It is argued that the social construction of skill is closely tied with social status, and potentially other differences such as race, ethnicity, language, and gender (Abu-Laban & Gabriel, 2002). Since the point system assesses immigrants on education, training and language-based criteria, it is arguably privileging those who can access and afford appropriate education and training. "Many of the foreign-trained professionals we attract to Canada are coming from the top social economic strata of their home societies" (Kenney, November 19, 2009, para. 5). Similar class based hierarchies are revealed in the selection criteria of the business program where investor immigrants must have a certain net worth and a commitment to invest these funds in Canada for a number of years.

Indeed, these alleged "objective" standards may be further interrogated. Scholars have drawn connections between the location of immigration offices

abroad and accessibility to Canada. For example, immigration services are more accessible in those countries deemed to the most desirable (i.e., United States, the British Isles, and northern and western Europe) or lucrative (i.e., Hong Kong). In contrast, less desirable source regions (i.e., Southern Europe, Africa, and South Asia) had fewer immigration offices that could not accommodate the level of interest shown in Canada (Abu-Laban & Gabriel, 2002).

During this period, the discourse of immigration is imbricated with the discourse of globalization, where the 'best immigrants' are defined as those with the skills and competencies that will enhance Canada's domestic economy as well as its competitive position in the global economy. Within this same discourse, a 'war' for the 'best immigrant' talent is evident as Canada competes with Australia and Britain in seeking to attract the "world's best and brightest" (Kenney, June 26, 2010, para. 13). Constructions of what constitutes "superior" and "inferior" within the system of binaries are still evident, where the validation of the 'skilled' immigrant may be contrasted to the problematization of the non-economic immigrant. The 'skilled' immigrant is elevated as superior in terms of economic potential and economic contribution, in contrast to the less desirable non-contributors, such as those from the family and refugee classes. Abu-Laban and Gabriel (2002) quote MP Art Hanger who argues for considering the cost of immigration:

> "… [P]roblems will only be made worse if we accept the flood of immigrants …especially when those immigrants are chosen largely from the family and refugee classes and not as independent immigrants chosen

> for their human capital, chosen for their skills, their ability to quickly and independently integrate into Canadian life as well as their needs to contribute to the economic needs of the country" (p. 64)

The construction of the undesirable or inferior immigrant stereotype is one which is described as a drain on Canada's economy and welfare state, is not self-sufficient nor able to integrate, and is unable to contribute to Canada's competitiveness. According to Knowles (2007), in the early 1990s less than 20 percent of Canada's immigrants were selected according to the point system, whereas in 2004 immigrants in the economic class accounted for 56 percent of newcomers to Canada.

The notion of the ideal 'skilled' immigrant is held against the Anglo-Saxon Canadian ideal: educated, English-speaking, upwardly mobile, industrious, and intelligent. The ideal 'skilled' immigrant is conceptualized within a neo-liberal discourse and constructed as one who has the necessary skills, competencies and training to join and contribute to the labour market, is competitive, self-sufficient and able to easily 'integrate' into Canadian society, and represents no cost to the economy. The ideal 'skilled' immigrant chosen for their "human capital" is treated as a commodity under the economic discourse where their value is equated to their productive (and consumer) capacity. Highly 'skilled' immigrant capital is desirable to help the country grow and prosper in the new global economy.

Paradoxically, although skilled immigrants are on the superior end of the selection continuum when compared to non-economic classes of immigrants, their

constructions as ‘other’ are ubiquitous within government discourses (Li, 2001). The validation of the Anglo-Saxon or “Canadian” superiority continues to be invidiously contrasted with the problematization of the ‘skilled’ immigrant. A hierarchy of desirability has emerged with the refugee and family class as the least desirable and the Canadian, Anglo-Saxon as the most desirable. The ‘skilled’ immigrant falls somewhere in-between those polarized opposites, whose desirability rests on distance from the desirable ideal. Images and constructions of the ‘other’ have again resurfaced, contrasting what is Canadian and ideal ‘human capital’ in opposition to the presumed “unresourceful” and inferior ‘other.’ The discursive differences represented by ‘skilled’ immigrants at the inferior end of the hierarchy include lacking proficient English language skills (or French in the case of Quebec), lacking Canadian work experience, lacking a Canadian degree and lacking an understanding of Canadian values (Kenney, March 26, 2013).

The discourse of integration attempts to solve the ‘skilled’ immigrant dilemma, having once again the best of intentions, yet perpetuating and hyper-inflating difference and inadequacy from the Anglo-Canadian norm. Within this discourse, assimilation gives way to integration, although many critics argue that both perspectives share the same underlying assumptions. Within official government discourse, assimilation and integration are presented as binary opposites (Day, 2000). Assimilation assumes elimination of distinctive group characteristics, while integration assumes that unintegrated groups and individuals are unable to participate fully in the economy and society. The concept of integration within government discourse “refers to a process by which immigrants

become productive members and develop close relations with mainstream society" (Li, 2003, p. 3).

This discourse defines success as when immigrants earn as much as their native Canadian counterparts, when they adopt the English or French language, move away from ethnic enclaves, and participate in social activities of the mainstream society, thereby discarding differences that fall outside of the dominant society (Li, 2003). The construction of the 'skilled' immigrant is problematic as it perpetuates hegemonic modes of social relations within a Canadian context. Integration assumes homogeneity and conformity to Canadian standards, full participation and embracing of social cohesion, common purpose, and national identity. This discourse of integration serves to magnify the 'skilled' immigrant's problematic difference.

An oppositional strand was also apparent within the discourse of integration, orientalising immigrant constructions. Such representations served to construct the 'other' as people in need of help with settlement programs and services such as language training, etc. The texts symbolically suggest that the government and its funding agencies are discharging their moral obligation to help with immigrant integration. By promoting government funded immigrant adjustment and settlement programs, such as language training, the discourses emphasize the need for Western guidance and supervision to educate the immigrant about the Canadian labour market, the English language and Canadian norms and values. The discourses reflect tensions between paternalism and empowerment. The notion of paternalism promotes stereotypical and essentialist

notions of immigrants as helpless and in need of help, suggesting that such adjustment and settlement programs empower immigrants so they may eventually become equal to dominant groups. Implied in this discourse is the assumption that the dominant powerful group can solve the immigrant problem and equalize the opportunity and potential of problematic immigrants with those of the non-problematic majority.

The discourse of immigration, intersecting with that of globalization, constructs multiculturalism and cultural diversity as strategies to exploit the country's competitive advantage. Government documents assert that Canada is uniquely multicultural, with a long history of openness, pluralism and respect for diversity. Yet, at the same time, the "Hotel Canada" metaphor is now utilized in government discourse in the early 21st century representing Canada's

> "lack of identity, our lack of pride and symbols and institutions are seen as a virtue in a global society … many see Canada as the perfect rooming house, a perfect and accommodating post-nation state or as a soulless railway terminus, a place that demands little of its citizens" (Kenney, November 19, 2009, para. 19)

The discourse of integration now takes centre stage. This discourse requires immigrants to rapidly integrate into Canadian society, and deepen their understanding of Canadian values, symbols and institutions that are rooted in 'history', values of respect and human dignity and equality for men and women, and democracy. Implied in this discourse is that Canada's multiculturalism is about cohesion and solidarity whereas the subtext suggests conformity and

assimilation to the superior Canadian norms and values. In other words, the discourse of integration serves to once again to essentialize "difference" and reconstruct the "other."

The discourse of immigration also increasingly emphasises security and control. Immigrants unable to integrate are now constructed as a threat to Canadian values, identity and economy: "The immigration discourse has a tendency to reify specific cultural and racial differences and to represent them as threats to Canadian core values" (Li, 2003, p. 5). Hence, constructions of difference signify danger and a threat to the health, economic and social well-being of Canadian society. Not unlike the discourse of assimilation discussed in the previous section, the discourse of integration highlights the need to Canadianize immigrants and to require them to participate fully in the political, economic, social and cultural life of the country. Much like the quality standards and controls imposed on a production line, the quality of immigrant human capital is managed and regulated by way of restrictive policies that serve to limit access, to raise selection standards, job experience and language skills requirements. These restrictive practices serve to control the intake while essentially excluding undesirable "human capital."

Once again, the 'flood' metaphor has re-emerged as discourses attempt to regulate the potential for rapid influx of problematic immigration through enactment of immigration policy changes that serve to restrict, exclude and contain the undesirable 'other':

> "One of the great privileges we enjoy in Canada is that people from all around the world want to move here … some two billion people would like to migrate to Canada. Well as open and generous as we are, of course we can't accommodate two billion people … That's why we have a managed, planned, limited immigration program" (Kenney, March 26, 2013, para. 2-3).

For example, in 2012 the government introduced an overhaul of the Federal Skilled Worker Program (FSWP) which further institutionalizes and privileges Western norms into policy, serving to exclude and restrict the problematic 'other.' The policy changes restrict the number of designated in-demand occupations and impose a cap on the number of immigrants under this category. Further, policy changes increase emphasis on and points awarded to Canadian work experience. They also impose higher English/French language requirements, require an assessment of foreign educational credentials prior to application, and assess the ability to settle more readily in Canada. Intentionally or not, such changes impact who is accepted into the country, privileging those who come from English speaking countries, while screening out the undesirables. Such changes result in implicit discrimination and exclusion at the point of entry.

Furthermore, additional restrictions on the Provincial Nominee Program including more stringent language requirements, caps on the number of applications and the need to meet certain economic objectives. An "expression of interest model" for skilled workers and other economic immigrants would allow governments and employers to recruit immigrants from a pre-screened pool of

applicants. This move not only allows the dispersal of immigrants away from first-tier cities to smaller Canadian cities, but also suggests that immigrants under this program are more dependent on employers for their immigration status. While engaging employers upfront may allow for more effective matching of skills and expertise to jobs, this model can also be problematic:

> "Employers seek people who can contribute immediately at the least cost … their ability to select … [immigrants] … removes the incentive to invest in training …, to recruit people underrepresented in the labour force … And it can change the labour market by depressing wages and working conditions" (Alboim & Cohl, 2012, p. 19).

Another policy change encompasses the focus on the "Canadian Experience Class", providing a path for permanent residence for international students. This policy targets a younger more 'flexible' workforce that is educated in Canada and "is presumably able to adapt to Canadian society" (Sakamoto et al., 2013, p. 3). One can assume that a younger immigrant is represented as being more malleable to adapting and settling into Canadian society. Restrictive policy moves are justified once again because immigrants continue to be constructed as being problematic, and foreign to Canadian values. Hence, immigration policy still encompasses restrictive elements that construct the ideal 'skilled' immigrant as those with an 'absorptive' capacity to integrate into the Canadian economy.

Conclusion

This chapter provided a context for this study by exploring constructions of the immigrant in Canada within government discourse. I have indeed utilized "strategic essentialism" (Spivak, 1987) in my review and critique. This strategic exploration served to show how stereotypical binary constructions have been used to manage, include, exclude, represent positively or negatively, assimilate, integrate, transform or appropriate the 'other' depending on the changing political, economic and social needs of nation building (Mackey, 2002). Furthermore, the manner in which "others" or difference(s) were constructed in official discourse has mutated and shifted over time justifying changing government legislation and policy.

Although 'multiculturalism' and immigration policies post 1967 may not be seen as overtly assimilationist and racist as policies of the past, they still draw on previously constructed notions of difference informed by colonialism and earlier nation-building projects (Mackey, 2002). Through the analysis of texts and scholarly work regarding government discourse (both written and spoken), I have uncovered strands of different and interrelated strategies through which immigrants are constructed as problematic. This discourse suggests that the problem of diversity has been triggered by the large numbers of immigrants from non-traditional source countries (i.e., "racialized" immigrants) (Li, 2001). According to Li (2001), government immigration discourse encompasses a racial subtext, even in a post-World War II era, where the "concept of *diversity* is used as a substitute for *non-white immigrants*, especially those from Asia or Africa" (p.

91). This problem is seen to be caused by the ‘flood’ of racialized immigrants to Canada’s major centres as well as concerns over security and the economy. Concerns over security have to do with racialized immigrants, as they are constructed as being foreign to Canadian values. While on the one hand, Canada is constructed as open, generous and tolerant of diversity, on the other hand an oppositional discourse reflects a fear of Canada losing its national identity due to mass immigration. Hence, such constructions place the racialized immigrant in polar opposition to the dominant, serving to amplify differences through the (discursive) practices of “othering.”

CHAPTER 6 – DOMINANT DISCOURSES ORCHESTRATING THE IDEAL EMPLOYER

> *"We recognize the value and power of tapping into a full spectrum of ideas and abilities that people possess. Doing just that has been a strong part of RBC's past success and is crucial for seizing opportunities ahead. We are competing in a global marketplace, and we know that our growth will depend on an increasingly diverse and global marketplace."*
>
> Gord Nixon, RBC's President and Chief Executive Officer

Introduction

In this chapter, I undertake a discursive review of corporate websites to reveal dominant diversity discourses orchestrating the ideal employer. By using Boje's (2008) Triple Narrative Stylistic strategy, I explore the orchestration and interplay of textual narratives (first level) and surface stylistics (second level), as control narratives used to actively manage corporate identity and image. Dominant diversity discourses grounded in managerial interests and public relations rhetoric serve to place corporations in a positive light as exemplars of diversity-friendly employers of immigrants. Yet, historical contextual factors and immigrant experiences of high unemployment and labour market discrimination provide the incentive for the importance of identifying dominant diversity discourses and their underlying assumptions.

As discussed in Chapter 4, drawing from Boje (2008), it is proposed that corporate websites "can be read as a fictive protection against the death of the firm, one that is a plurality of three narrative controls" (p. 131). Corporate narratives of idealized employment and diversity practices, innovative approaches,

unique initiatives, and benefits gained by the organization are ways to reinforce the corporate image in the face of intensifying global competition and human rights action.

This chapter is composed of two parts. The first part focuses on dominant diversity discourses within first level textual narratives. For this analysis, I downloaded 145 webpages from the career, diversity, corporate social responsibility, and corporate profile home pages of the 24 *Best Employers of New Canadians 2013* companies located in Ontario (Appendix 1). At this level I examined dominant discourses in "official-speak" (Boje, 2008) related to careers, diversity and inclusion, corporate profiles, global reach, etc.

The second section examines second level narratives which encompass photos, captions, CEO letters and employee testimonials of diversity, all of which are designed to persuade the audience that the organizations celebrate and value diversity, perform well as an employer, and are completely transparent. This chapter sets the stage for my critical analysis of the third narrative which examines the conceptualizations and images (or lack thereof) of the immigrant in the workplace in Chapter 7. I critically read between the lines of too-muchness and allusions of image examined in this chapter in order to unearth the emergent shadow discourse of silences, absences, exclusions, and deceptions as these are clues to the status of the immigrant, the power relations and the inequalities within the workplace.

First-Level Narrative

In the first narrative, the copious corporate information, corporate social responsibility and career webpages are designed to persuade and win over the publics to give weight to quantity, exhaustiveness and too-muchness (Boje, 2008). The first step in the analysis was to identify the most dominant discourses.

Discourse of Globalization and Market Dominance

Within the pages on corporate websites, the discourse of globalization, modernity and dominance were prevalent, projecting images of organizations as local, national and/or global titans. Phrases such as "world leader," "largest in the world," "global leader," "largest employer," and "strongest in the world" appear frequently on corporate webpages. Copious facts and figures testify to the global span and reach of multinational and transnational corporations through their commodities, brands and services, offices and manufacturing facilities, and the number of their customers and employees. A number of webpages provide epic narratives of corporate history recounting stories of nation-building, national and global expansion and a proliferation of achievements:

> "A global organization with offices around the world we tell the stories people want to hear with our world-leading innovative technologies." (Christie Digital)
>
> "For 150 years, we've proudly served businesses across Canada and beyond. Since our founding in 1864, we've built our reputation on quality, trust and integrity, and have helped companies large and small, from shore to shore, achieve their dreams and make our nation one of the world's most prosperous." (Ernst & Young Canada)

> "Our growing operations include approximately 62,000 people in 35 countries working on the challenges our clients face." (NTT Data)
>
> "Patheon serves approximately 300 clients, including 19 of the 20 largest pharmaceuticals companies, 8 of the 10 biotechnology companies, and 8 of the 10 specialty pharmaceuticals companies. Patheon is #1 in the world for pharmaceuticals development services and #2 commercial manufacturing." (Patheon)
>
> "We are one of Canada's largest banks and one of the largest banks in the world, based on market capitalization ... We employ approximately 79,000 full-time and part-time employees who serve more than 15 million personal, business, public sector and institutional clients through offices in Canada, the US and 44 other countries." (RBC)

Facts and figures about the number of countries where organizations operate, the number of full-time employees, industry sectors distinctions and awards are all listed. Hence, through the discourses of globalization, modernity and dominance, organizations attempt to consistently project their positive image – past, present and future – as prosperous, strong global players that dominate their markets. The underlying assumption of market domination may be reminiscent of a colonial and missionary heritage centred on the notions of space and resources (Broadfoot & Munshi, 2014).

The 'Sovereign' Customer

Within the corporate information and career pages, an emphasis on the local, national and global customer takes centre stage, seemingly fundamental to organizational paradigms. Du Gay and Salaman (1992) discuss this 'sovereign customer' who "has become central to characterize not only the will to serve external customers but also the redefinition of internal relations within organizations" (Skalen, Fougere & Fellesson, 2008, p. 12). This reference to the

'sovereign customer' falls within a managerial discourse where customers are constructed as if they were managers. When Du Gay and Salaman (1992) suggest that customers are being treated as if they were managers relates to the notion that customer satisfaction is critical to competitive success where the customer is like a 'sovereign' whose will rules. Hence, this construction of the myth of the 'sovereign customer' by management affects forms of employee control, stipulations of employee standards, and a new need for employees to be competent and 'enterprising' (Skalen, Fourgere & Fellesson, 2008).

External developments and pressures are cited as prompting organizations to actively keep pace with the changing needs of the market and find new ways to enhance their competitiveness. Emphasis is placed on entrepreneurship and innovation within the organization in order to achieve market focus and meet customer needs. Hence, organizations are constructed as being enterprising, nimble, innovative and responsive to their customers. This corporate discourse is also evident in public sectors such as academic, healthcare and government institutions where the construction of modern, entrepreneurial institutional identities surface. Examples include the following:

> "We didn't become a global leader by sitting on the sidelines. We're actively involved in shaping the industry and transforming technologies so physicians have what they need to help their patients move forward with life." (Medtronic)

> "The pharmaceuticals industry is growing and compared with other industries is in the early stages of adopting manufacturing and development outsourcing strategies … Patheon is an established leader in this relatively new segment. With a wide range of manufacturing capabilities and significant scale in the world's two largest pharmaceutical markets the company is uniquely positioned

> to serve as a strategic global manufacturing partner to the industry's leading innovations." (Patheon)
>
> "A modern public service keeps pace with the rising expectations of citizens for high quality, cost effective public services. The Ontario Public Service has earned a reputation as an innovative organization. Like private sector companies that are constantly upgrading their products and services to serve their customers better, we are constantly transforming the public service to meet the challenges of the 21st century." (Ontario Public Service)

Within the same corporate discourse, active development of flexible, innovative organizations means increasing productivity through their employees who willingly give their ideas, their initiative and commitment to the continuous improvement of the organization (Du Gay and Salaman, 1992). The 'ideal' enterprising employee is conceptualized within a Western neo-liberal discourse and constructed from competencies such as self-reliance, responsibility, rationality, industriousness, and intelligence. The corporate goals of attracting, recruiting and retaining exceptional diverse top talent with competencies and knowledge are evident within this discourse as companies strive to compete locally, nationally and internationally while continuing to meet consumer needs. The texts attempt to project images whereby employees are encouraged to develop their skills and are given many choices and options to excel in their careers:

> "Picture yourself working for one of Canada's leading financial institutions, where a spectrum of possible career paths offers you remarkable choice, flexibility – and a real opportunity to grow." (CIBC)
>
> "Dentons is always looking to invest in the highest-quality talent, recognizing that our success is built on the diverse and unique strengths of each of the members of our firm" (Dentons)
>
> "A career is about choice. So why choose KPMG? Our answer is simple: great people and great projects at KPMG. Expand your

> personal network, learn from professionals and work on fascinating projects." (KPMG)

Career webpages display empowering and motivational texts that strive to convince prospective employees that they can add value to the company, both to the market and themselves. The discourse operates on the assumption that employees who merit training, development and promotion opportunities are of the highest-quality, and are rational and committed to organizational shared values. The underlying neo-liberal message within this discourse is designed to drive organizational performance, cost-effectiveness and growth.

A number of companies suggest that employee contributions are essential for international growth and, as such they place value on international experience. In addition, because of their global presence, these companies entice prospective employees with the premise of numerous opportunities to work in different countries. For example:

> "Our people gain international experience with 18-24 month assignments at Deloitte locations around the world, or through shorter-term exchanges in places like Australia, New Zealand, India and South Africa." (Deloitte)
>
> "We benefit from the strength of our collaborative team, both nationally and internationally – which provides an added advantage to our clients and unique opportunities for your career to enjoy the benefits of being part of a global community of colleagues." (Dentons)
>
> "We can provide you with global opportunities and experiences, offer assignments that inspire you and help you move closer to your long term goals." (Ernst & Young)
>
> "We are a global company with plenty of room to grow, and even offer opportunities to work in different countries." (Patheon)

The underlying notion is that top performers (i.e., Western employees) want to work for major corporations that actively engage in providing opportunities internationally and that international experience is a valued asset prized by the company. A prosperous career where employees can achieve their long-term goals is indicated through references to a collaborative organizational culture and values. A global community of colleagues appear to be waiting to offer assistance with an abundance of assignments, constructing a seemingly collegial network through which employees will be supported. This finding raised a key research question in this study: Is this same corporate discourse that values international experience equally available to prospective immigrants who often come to Canada from the very source countries in which these organizations operate and where international secondments are offered (see Chapter 7)?

The Enduring Business Case Discourse

Of the 24 organizations examined, 20 make direct reference to diversity – some within a paragraph, and others offering more in-depth webpages and hyperlinks. Within the diversity pages the *business case* or *economic* discourse was, by far, the most dominant discourse. Indeed, 18 of the 20 organizations adopted the business case discourse, thus supporting the aforementioned suggestion that the business case for diversity may well be the most enduring argument for effectively managing diversity. The business case discourse was adopted in ways that are consistent with the main arguments of this research project (see Chapter 2). The goals of most corporate discourse are those of meeting the needs of the idealized 'sovereign' customer, improving organizational

competitiveness and efficiency, and seeking market advantage. This normalized business case discourse "enshrines the achievement of organizational economic goals as the ultimate guiding principle and explanatory device for people in organizations" (Litvin, 2006, p. 86). Citing Georgiou (1973), Litvin refers to this orientation as the 'Goal Paradigm' which justifies people's commitment to capitalism. Hence, the business case discourse takes organizational goals, growth and financial returns as the underlying criteria for success. In a sense, this is saying that diversity must be an investment priority because it pays financial returns.

Diversity is also linked to a multicultural discourse and the assertion is that diverse customers are best represented by a diverse work-force. The logic is used to promote a demographic condition whereby organizations are encouraged to become 'multicultural,' thereby reflecting Canadian norms and values just by the presence of people whose origins are from elsewhere (Wrench, 2007). This discourse suggests that only through diversity can organizations supply the products, services, and customer care that meet the needs of different client or customer groups in order to grow and maintain market dominance.

The organizations studied also explain that the benefits of drawing ideas from a diverse group of employees often lead to creative and innovative solutions to business challenges. The business case in terms of innovation and creative capacity suggests that diversity is beneficial because it enhances innovative capacity which, in turn, drives financial growth (Christiansen & Just, 2012). This argument also supports the myth of the customer 'sovereignty.' Here the case for

diversity is linked to the corporate discourse which suggests that the more diverse organizations engage in greater collaboration, have better ideas, are more innovative, and make better (i.e. more rational) decisions. Hence, corporations offer to embrace those employees who challenge established practices and offer new and unique ideas. Corporations assert that the benefits of multiple perspectives and diverse experiences allow the organization to better analyze problems and generate more creative solutions. Whether these competencies are actually embraced is another matter, however as there is little evidence to support claims that workplace diversity improves firm performance (see Chapter 2).

Despite the rhetoric of celebrating difference, diversity is constructed as a "big idea" in business, one which promises to facilitate innovation and growth within the dominant Western ideology and attribute to the progress of the organization. According to Litvin (2006), within this discourse "the colourful chaos of human diversity disappears into a synchronized, mutually indistinguishable chorus, whose members' only purpose is to function as instrumental, interchangeable cogs in the profit-making machine" (p. 87). Thus, the organization appears to take centre stage, while the diverse workforce is concealed in the shadows.

Competing Discourses: Social Imperative versus Economic Imperative

The use of the discourses of equity and social justice within the business case discourse was particularly interesting. The social justice discourse was particularly strong in public sector organizations, yet it was also evident within the discourses of some private sector organizations. This finding seems viable given

the social justice mandate of public sector organizations (Tomlinson & Schwabenland, 2010). The 'employment equity as mandated' discourse was also evident and appeared in several organizations' websites. This is not surprising given that many of these organizations are federally regulated and are required, by law, to have employment equity programs. The use of equity discourse in terms of (legal or charter) rights is most concerned with respect, fairness, and anti-discrimination legislation. In this sense, diversity is constructed as a managerial strategy for upholding legal responsibilities. Examples include the following:

> "The Hospital is dedicated to a positive and respectful work environment for all employees; equitable and accessible services for patients, families and visitors; and an inclusive, welcoming surrounding for all." (Mount Sinai)
>
> "St. Michael's Hospital is an equal opportunity employer and is committed to fair and accessible employment practices that attract and retain employees." (St. Michael's Hospital)
>
> "RBC is committed to ensuring that all employees are treated fairly and with respect and are not discriminated against in the workplace based on personal characteristics, such as race, gender, age, religion, sexual orientation and physical capabilities. By adopting and supporting government compliance requirements, RBC is able to create a more representative, inclusive and productive work environment for all employees." (RBC)
>
> "Xerox is strongly committed to the principles of employment equity and values diversity in the workplace." (Xerox)

The discourse of inclusion sends a moral message about diversity, namely, that diversity management should promote diversity whether legally obligated or simply because it is the right thing to do. What is perhaps the most interesting aspect of this discourse is the use of an inclusive definition of diversity in which all differences are accommodated by organizations. This is a slight shift away from the equal opportunity legal understandings of diversity that focus on those

elements of diversity which can be seen – sex, race, ethnicity, ability, etc. In doing so, the inclusive approach creates space within the business case discourse for other dimensions of diversity (i.e. thinking styles, perspectives, skills and experiences) many of which appear to be privileged over the more traditional indicators of "difference." Furthermore, within this inclusive space dominant groups can participate without feeling threatened. Examples include the following:

> "Inclusiveness is about much more than creating an open and equitable environment based on race, culture, gender, sexual orientation, age and physical ability. It's about embracing the different ideas, perspectives, skills and experiences that diverse individuals bring to the table – putting them together to address familiar problems in new and innovative ways." (Ernst & Young)
>
> "We celebrate our differences and draw on the strengths and capabilities of all Ontario communities. We welcome and respect divergent points of view to inform and enlighten us." (Ontario Public Service)
>
> "We all bring with us diverse perspectives, work experiences, life styles and cultures. A source and driver of innovation, diversity is a "big idea" in business and society. At RBC we know the power of diversity is unleashed when we respect and value differences." (RBC)

This shift in discourse is problematic for a number of reasons. First, the inclusive approach invokes more dimensions of diversity, while privileging those related to competence. When competency-based dimensions of difference elevate ideas and perspectives over other dimensions, these dimensions may serve to silence and supress race, ethnicity, gender, class, and power inequalities. Rather than simply being 'managed,' this all-inclusive perspective legitimizes the notion that employees can bring their authentic, whole selves to work, challenge established practices and offer unique and interesting ideas that will be embraced.

According to this discourse, organizations construct cultures of inclusion and collaboration that are open, welcoming and supportive of differences and which foster divergent thinking and innovation. This representation begs the question of whether corporations are actually accommodating differences and working to change corporate/organizational power structures so that designated minority groups supposedly have the power to change organizations (Ely & Thomas, 2001). This corporate celebration of diversity seems at odds with the inclusive definition of diversity that requires "individuals to strip their performances of idiosyncrasies, preferences and other 'differences' … to fit into the overall pattern determined by the pursuit of bottom-line 'organizational goals'" (Litvin, 2006, p. 87). Secondly, an unexploited workforce with special knowledge about specific markets and customers provides potential for organizations to achieve economic growth and innovation. While these subjects are "not conceived as being in need of help or without power" (Christiansen & Just, 2012, p. 405), diversity is still constructed as something to aim for, control, leverage, and harness. Finally, the social justice and equity discourses are seen to articulate either a moral message (inclusion) or a legal requirement (employment equity and rights). While the social justice and equity discourses emphasize structural issues, equality and anti-discrimination, they also demonstrate a hierarchical distinction between those in need of action and those in a position of privilege (Christiansen & Just, 2012).

There were also cases where both the business case discourse and the social justice discourse played a significant role. What may be surprising is the

manner in which the discourses were engaged. This is illustrated in the following examples:

> "At TD, we believe that diversity is key to our success in the competitive global marketplace … As part of our team, you will be treated fairly and recognized and rewarded for your ability. You'll have access to opportunity for career growth and personal development. You'll work in a culture that actively supports respect; where the fundamental values of diversity and inclusion are ingrained and promoted in our corporate policies and principles."(TD Bank Group).

> "The University of Ottawa is committed to recruit, hire and invest in its staff in a fair and inclusive manner. It firmly believes that this benefits all concerned parties and optimizes innovation, engagement and performance. The University also values the contribution of individuals and diverse communities." (University of Ottawa)

From the quotes above it is evident that while a space has been reserved within the business case for social justice issues, this appears to be in order to attract and retain ideal enterprising employees (Dye & Golnaraghi, 2015).

These findings raised a number of important considerations. Perhaps organizations are co-opting these competing discourses in pursuit of organizational goals and business case ends. This strategy implies that engaging these discourses together renders the cause for diversity as accomplished – but is it accomplished when it comes to the racialized immigrant? As discussed by Humphries and Grace (1995) where organizations use such competing discourses, it is feared that the discourse of diversity is employed largely for pragmatic reasons which may result in limiting options for resistance and encouraging unfair practices. What are the risks of using these competing discourses, when it comes to the immigrant?

Competing Discourses: Ethnocentric versus Polycentric

The discourse of multiculturalism is also evident and linked to diversity. Corporate strength and growth are conceptualized by some organizations at the intersection of diversity and inclusion and shared dominant values, vision and purpose. Hence, corporate values, akin to the Anglo-Canadian dominant culture, are established as the norm. On the one hand, organizational diversity is about accessing sufficient 'difference' to foster innovation and growth. On the other hand, it is also about cohesion, solidarity, and a belief in a prescribed set of shared values. This very notion of shared values suggests that the dominant corporate elite is constituted as the ideal whose knowledge, ideas and practices are privileged. Hence, as Litvin (2002) argues the enduring business case for diversity serves to maintain and reproduce the status quo and does not adequately address power differentials. These discursive practices serve to racialize, perpetuate inequalities and breed 'otherness,' because they continue to conceptualize "difference" in terms of its departure from Western hegemonic norms, values and practices. My findings are supported by Kaasila-Pakanen (2015) who explicates that the discourse of multiculturalism within diversity management discourses "acknowledg[es] and advanc[es] the idea of separate and pure cultures … yet another legacy of colonial mindset" (p. 11).

Denton's (law firm) is the only organization under study that promoted a polycentric organizational structure (resulting from the merger of three firms in Canada, US and UK) within the business case for diversity. The company claims to have no single headquarters, no dominant national culture, and no shared

values. "Within a polycentric vision, the world has many dynamic cultural locations, many possible vantage points … No single community or part of the world, whatever its economic or political power, should be epistemologically different" (Shohat & Stam, 1994, p. 48). The company claims to have 75 locations globally (also represented in a map of the world), and diverse in terms of geography, language and nationalities. They go on to suggest that they get hired by clients because they understand the nuances of different cultures and regions. Yet, ironically, a promotional video privileges men and women only from offices in Canada, the UK and US, with one lawyer from Warsaw, Poland. This dominant diversity discourse is coupled with globalization and polycentricism. Together, these intersecting themes imply the benefits for cross-border transactions, access to more capital, and economic growth that will allow the company to become bigger and more successful. The lawyer from Poland explains that the polycentric structure will allow them to bring new areas of expertise and talent into Africa. Progress is seen as "Western", and power does not appear to be dispersed across its offices internationally, regardless of their relative economic or political power. The video ends with a Canadian lawyer explaining that Denton's law firm represents the languages of the world, the culture of the world, the legal systems of the world and that "Denton *is* the world!" Given the strong discourse of globalization, this statement is reminiscent of the language of colonization where the discourse of polycentricism justifies diversity for a competitive advantage.

Second-Level Narrative

The second narrative is more textual with some images that serve to emphasize the first narrative. It encompasses hyperlinks, additional webpages, images, videos, employee testimonials, and CEO letters. The second step in the analysis was to identify the most dominant discourses in the second narrative.

Images of the "Best" Employer

Within almost every company website examined, space is allocated to showcasing "Best" company logos, designations and lists of awards and recognition. These plaudits range from industry product and innovation awards to best employer recognitions such as Canada's *Top 100 Employers*, *Best Employers of Diversity*, *Best Employers of New Canadians*, and so on. The function of these accolades is to signal the value organizations place on these awards and how they may legitimize their reputation amongst different stakeholders regarding the firm's performance and future growth and earning potential. A positive reputation indicates that the organization's concern for and interest in social issues may be attractive for different stakeholders and potential customers and investors who are interested in social responsibility. Slater et al (2008) and Roberson and Park (2007) suggest that there is some performance value in efforts and expenditures devoted to attaining a "best" company designation. It is not surprising that there are countless 'Top Employer' logos and hyperlinks, showcasing the organizations as 'exemplars.' While it is possible that organizations may benefit from the goodwill generated through recognition as a 'best case' of diversity, this notion is

problematic as it is unclear whether diversity-friendly discourses equate to action beyond the profitability motive to enhance minority groups' positions in the organizations.

Within almost every website a plethora of hyperlinks can be found on the career pages further legitimating these "market-leading," "best" employers. These links include far reaching office locations (often showing global span and reach), featured job opportunities, training and development programs, total rewards, and much more. Public and private sector organizations alike provide links to their social media platforms such as Facebook, Twitter, Youtube etc. where they can keep connected with their publics globally on a 24/7 basis.

Images of the Ideal Workforce

Of the 24 organizations, nine webpages are completely textual or utilize images (for example, technology, innovation and growth) or clip-art silhouettes of people. Where there are images, they portray happy, positive workplaces where everyone seems content. A number of career webpages utilize images of women to support their focus on gender equality throughout different levels of the organization while others utilized images attempting to represent the workforce using the "all-inclusive" approach. Examples include the following:

Figure 1. Deloitte Career, the People Page (April 13, 2014)

Figure 2. Ernst & Young Career Page (April 14, 2014)

Figure 3. NTT Data Career Page (April 14, 2014)

Figure 4. Patheon Career Page (April 14, 2014)

These images offer a taxonomy or hierarchy of the inclusive workforce. In Figure 1, the hierarchy starts with the older white male, followed by the white female, then the millennial white male, and lastly, at the margins, the somewhat blurry black male. Figure 2, depicts two images of older white males in a managerial or position of power and privilege directing or explaining a work related process to female employees. In the bottom right image, the black male employee is once again behind the scenes, looking through newspapers. One image depicts a white female manager reviewing work with another female employee. Figure 3, shows an older white male as the point of focus talking with two younger, likely millennial, male employees. The image portrays perhaps a mentoring relationship where the older white male is sharing an interesting story. Finally, Figure 4 represents a similar hierarchy with the older white male employee as the focal point, with female employees beside him, and the younger millennial male and black male employee behind them. These images are reminiscent of Woodsworth's taxonomy of desirability, with the white older male exemplifying the enterprising ideal, followed by the female, next the millennial, and lastly the racialized employee.

Captions on career webpages support these desirable traits of the enterprising employee, and appear to offer opportunities for challenge, achievement of personal goals and growth, making a difference and building a life. Based on the assumption that human motivation is universal (Frenkel & Shenhav, 2003), a somewhat uniform message is projected through the captions, one that further supports first-level narratives. Examples include the following:

- Achieve what matters to you (CIBC)
- The Sweet Spot (Deloitte)
- Opportunities that stay with you for life (E&Y)
- Fresh Future, Find out where your career can take you (Loblaw)
- Purpose. People. Potential. Come make a difference at Nordion (Nordion)
- Bringing out the best in you (RBC)
- Exploring opportunities. Discover challenges which will help you grow as an individual (Xerox Canada)

Deloitte's caption "The Sweet Spot" plays on the green spot within the company logo utilizing a male dominated sports (Golf, baseball, tennis etc.) metaphor which portrays how optimal career prospects offer the best combination of opportunities, rewards and so on. These captions are framed within a Western neo-liberal discourse that celebrates individual drive to achieve, seek challenge, and be motivated to develop, move up the corporate ladder and grow. This implied hierarchy embedded in the images, coupled with the captions, provide clues for decoding which traits that are more desirable or less desirable - in this case, the hierarchy depicts the most desirable status as the Western white male.

Images of Diversity in the Workplace

In examining the webpages for the 20 companies that make mention of diversity, 10 have devoted at least one or more webpages to diversity. Videos showcase organizational difference in a happy and positive light as employees give glowing testimonials about their organizations' approaches to diversity.

Happy background music and supplemental footage (to the interviews) shows happy employees working together and serving customers. In support of the first-level narratives, diversity is constructed as a "big idea" in business and society, one which promises to lead to innovation and growth. Diversity is also represented as being part of the fabric or DNA of the organizations and innate in everything the organizations do. Thus diversity allows employees to bring their whole "authentic" selves to work and to be themselves while at the same time prescribing to shared values. The value of diversity appears to be in bringing positive energy and knowledge to work. Supporting the first-level narratives, organizations are discursively constructed as innovative, changing, and pursuing excellence, while at the same time caring and nurturing and embracing diversity.

Most captions on the diversity pages support the dominant business case discourse found in the first-narrative:

- A workplace that represents the community (CIBC)
- Levering our diversity for your competitive advantage (Dentons)
- As diverse as you are (E&Y)
- Diversity for Growth and Innovation (RBC)

Four diversity pages are completely textual or utilize abstract images or clip-art silhouettes of people remaining silent about the diverse human factor within their organizations. The remaining six organizations use images that range from photos of individual employees with diverse profiles or employees in a team setting. There is a strong preference towards women (as represented by the

number of images) within these pages, showcasing the responsibility of organizations to attract, recruit and retain more women – the next preferential dimension of diversity after the older white male.

In addition to images of women, other images portray other dimensions of diversity. Examples include the following:

Figure 5. Nordion Career Page, Diversity (April 15, 2014)

Figure 6. RBC Career Page, Diversity (April 15, 2014)

Figure 5 represents the notion of collaboration and diversity through the multitude of colorful hands stacked on top of one another, with the lightest colored hand at the top of the pile. Figure 6, represents a business meeting which depicts the white male in a managerial role wearing a white shirt, holding a document in his hand talking to an older racialized male who wears a dark coloured suit. A

female employee also in white is standing in between the two. These images raise the question of whose interests are privileged within these "happy" organizations.

Figure 7. Home Depot Career Page (April 14, 2014)

Figure 8. KPMG Career Page, Diversity, Equity & Inclusion (April 14, 2014)

Figure 7 and Figure 8 stood out in my analysis as they strive to bring difference away from the margins. Figure 7 is from Home Depot's career pages where cultural diversity is integrated throughout the various links. Other images showcase the results of their workforce census including a world map marking their employees' countries of origin as well as a list of the diverse languages they speak. Figure 8 is from KPMG's Diversity, Equity and Inclusion page which

places a racialized male at the focal point with three white employees listening intently to his story.

While the images attempt to represent the value of diversity and inclusion, these images stand in contrast to other images elsewhere on the organizations' webpages where racialized employees tend to be at the margins or invisible altogether. For example, in the Home Depot Canada Company Information pages, five of the six images depicting employees serving customers at the store level showcase white men and women only. Examples include:

Figure 9. The Home Depot Canada Company Information Page (April 14, 2014)

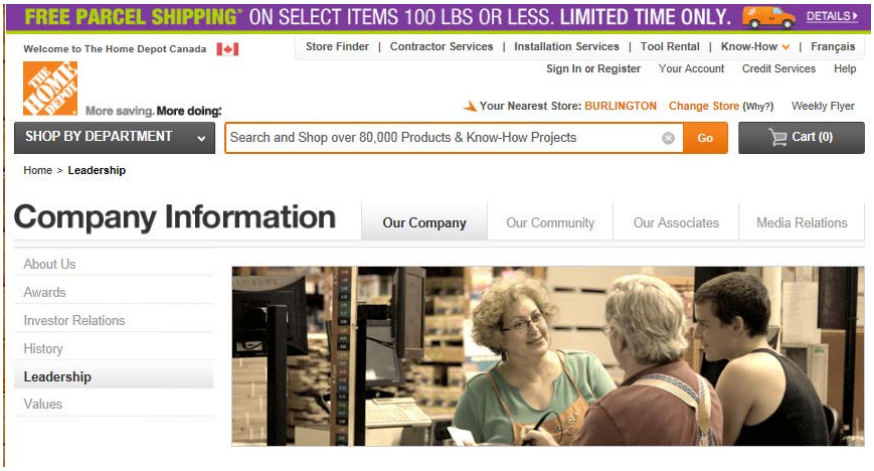

Figure 10. The Home Depot Canada, Company Information Page (April 14, 2014)

Conclusion

In this chapter, I have examined dominant diversity discourses and have shown how organizations attempt to orchestrate their image as ideal employers within their public relations efforts. Public relations practitioners use impression management to establish the legitimacy of their organizations (Vaara & Tienari, 2008). The positioning of the organizations' market dominance and innovative capacities coupled with a global capitalist discourse are used to legitimize the organization. The public relations efforts further mobilized diversity management as a necessity in the face of global competition. At times, contradictory discourses are accessed to lend further legitimacy to diversity management.

Dominant diversity discourses are intertwined with discourses of globalization that are rooted in a capitalistic logic of expansion and growth, and which construct images of powerful employers that dominate their markets and industries globally. The corporate brand and managerial discourse take centre stage on most corporate websites which are designed to appeal to preferred audiences and publics such as investors, customers and the ideal prospective employee. Discursive constructions of organizations as enterprising, nimble and innovative serve to appeal to these audiences and publics in an effort to drive economic growth and development. Hence, the global consumer takes centre stage, legitimating the idealized corporate employee who is seen to contribute to productivity through such highly valued competencies such as self-reliance, drive, and diverse experiences. Given constructions of what constitutes the ideal enterprising employee, where is the racialized immigrant situated? How are they

represented in corporate webpages and within dominant diversity discourses? In the next chapter, I read between the lines of the first and second level narratives (Boje, 2008) to reveal the images (or lack thereof) of the immigrant in the workplace.

Chapter 7 – IMAGES OF THE 'IMMIGRANT' AT WORK

> *"Immigrants come here energized; they want to start a new life. There are many good things they bring with them and as a society we have to provide fertile ground if we hope to harvest that."*
>
> Reza Shabazi, Executive Director, New Canadians' Centre of Excellence, Windsor (Kirk, 2007, B8)

Introduction

This chapter provides a critical analysis of the third narrative (Boje, 2008) which examines the conceptualizations and images of the immigrant in the workplace. Here, I draw from my analysis in Chapters 5 and 6 to critically read between the lines of my findings in order to reveal the missing counter-story (or shadow discourses). In the third narrative I propose that corporate webpages can be read as a defensive discourse of fears of organizational demise in light of intensifying global competition and the resulting pressures to adapt and innovate. But it is more than that. While diversity and the 'immigrant imperative' may be promoted as a key to innovation and growth, a contradictory narrative may also be discerned which constructs the immigrant, as an alien or foreign 'other' whose "difference" presents an additional threat to the Canadian workplace.

In this chapter I continue my review of texts from corporate websites to examine (discursive) constructions of the immigrant. Of the 24 websites reviewed, nine make meaningful reference to immigrants (or new Canadians, internationally trained, etc.) within their career pages. The silence about the immigrant in the majority of pages is curious particularly given that these organizations are the *Best Employers of New Canadians*. Perhaps this silence provides a clue into the target audiences and publics for whom these webpages are written. Considered through a

different lens, perhaps this silence provides further clues into the hierarchy of the ideal corporate employee discussed in the previous chapter, where the immigrant is at the bottom (inferior) end of the scale. This silence may also point to the all-inclusive approach that most organizations take to diversity management whereby dominant and excluded (or under-represented) employees are placed on an equal footing in an attempt to appeal to the interests of all employees.

For my research project, identifying stereotypical constructions of the immigrant (i.e. "racialized" see Chapter 5) within the enduring diversity discourses is essential. Understanding the images and position of the immigrant subject within the dominant discourses reveals the constraints and contradictory practices that serve to construct the 'other.' I use a postcolonial lens to show how constructions of the immigrant exaggerate differences that serve to 'other,' while simultaneously reinforcing power differentials, and stereotypical perceptions of this group. As highlighted in Chapter 4, I have also accessed media articles from four newspapers in the Greater Toronto Area to uncover the voices of the immigrant (Foucault, 1982), namely those without access to the lines of social and labour market mobility (Spivak, 1988).

Media texts are recognized as representing the hegemonic discourses constructed by sites of power (Golnaraghi & Dye, 2012). It was questionable whether immigrant voices were 'allowed' to provide a different version of the 'facts' regarding labour market settlement. However, by accessing media articles, I sought to maximize the number of discursive events that were represented in the voices of the immigrant. In this way, I try to recover, resurface, and give back

voice to articulate the experiences of the 'other.' Finally, I seek to challenge strategies that seek to 'other,' by revealing the voices of the immigrant that are suppressed in corporate texts. I endeavour to address this imbalance by accessing a more inclusive set of texts that provides clues to the discursive practices of exclusion, such as racism and discrimination. At the same time, I include in the discussion the reactions and possible resistance by immigrants. While immigrant voices in the media were not as robust and fully represented as one would hope, nevertheless, the analysis proved to be useful as I was able to gain insight into their experiences in regard to labour market settlement.

Mainstream Employer Views – Constructions of the Immigrant

I sought to explore the ways in which immigrants were discursively constructed particularly within a labour market context. The narratives of few employers suggested that immigrants are desired for their international experience, and for their potential contributions to the economic growth and wellbeing of the organization (Sakamoto et al., 2013). Yet, I also observed that employers construct the immigrant as an 'other,' and identify 'real' differences between them and the 'ideal' enterprising employee (see Chapter 6) (Bhabha 1990, 1994; Said, 1978). Employer images of the immigrant are often constructed within a dominant discourse of integration. Resource pages in the career sections of websites specifically for immigrants showcase community agency integration programs that offer Canadian experience, language training, and more. Perhaps the underlying message is that before immigrants can apply for a job within the organization, they

should take advantage of these services. Hence, successful integration into the workplace presupposes a number of underlying assumptions which I explore in this section.

The influence of a government immigration discourse (see Chapter 5) is clearly evident as most company websites have pages devoted to government-funded service agencies that offer immigrant integration programs. These services are geared to help immigrants acquire the necessary social, language, and 'Canadian experience' skills needed for integration and 'fit' (i.e. adaptation) into the mainstream workplace. Within this integration discourse found on corporate websites, the dominant language is that of employers supporting, assisting and helping immigrants through the provision tools, resources, programs, sponsorships, and partnerships with government funded agencies.

These programs focus on the supply-side (Wrench, 2007) concerned with how to assist immigrants with integration in order to 'fit' them into Western organizations. Integration programs attempt to address perceived barriers faced by immigrants such as no Canadian experience, language and other deficiencies. For immigrants to be of value to organizations, their integration (i.e., absorptive capacity) and introduction into the "Canadian-way", as a first step, is paramount. I now explore what this dominant discourse of integration implies about constructions of the immigrant.

Canadian Experience versus International Experience

Of the nine corporate websites examined, four utilize the enterprising discourse which links the value of immigrant talent and their international experience to company success in the global marketplace. A few examples include the following:

> "We believe for Canada to succeed in the global marketplace, attracting, employing and fully integrating immigrants in our workforce is imperative." (RBC)
>
> "Your experience is valued at St. Michael's and we are seeking internationally Educated Professionals to become part of our team." (St. Michael's Hospital)
>
> "Welcome to Canada! You have international experience and a unique understanding of the global market that TD values." (TD Financial)

However, in almost all cases this distinctive corporate discourse was situated within the dominant discourse of integration. Immigrant resource pages typically promote internships, bridging programs and foreign credential assessment to help immigrants. Internship and bridging programs seek to help immigrants gain 'Canadian experience,' although there are no guarantees of employment after successful completion of these programs. For employers, such programs may be attractive as they provide low 'risk,' low cost access to immigrant labour and an opportunity to evaluate the intern's 'fit' within the organization. Credential assessment agencies are available to immigrants to have their foreign credentials (often unknown to employers) assessed in order to provide Canadian equivalency. Whether the credentials are then recognized, however, is another question all together. Yet, the rhetoric embedded within the

discourse of integration is congruent with that of government immigration discourse – the desirable 'skilled' immigrant is one who integrates quickly, contributes and adds value to the organization.

What is ironic is the value that organizations place on international experience in other sections of their career pages geared to the mainstream – offering global projects, secondments and so on. Yet, the same discourse fails to recognize the international skills and experiences of immigrants, who often come from the very countries in which the organizations have market presence. This inconsistency suggests that while employers may have an awareness of the knowledge and skills that immigrants offer, they may not fully recognize and value how international experience may serve their own strategic mission.

Downie's study (2010) of Canadian organizations that employ immigrants indicates that companies may prioritize diversity and inclusion in their reports in order to access a broader talent pool and be recognized as an employer of choice. Yet, the goals of improving innovation capabilities, accessing new domestic markets and accessing new global markets were given much lower priority. The majority of employers with a domestic and global presence reported that they had not asked immigrant employees about their knowledge of domestic ethnic and international markets. These findings suggest that perhaps employers who are less open to learning from immigrant employees, may offer them fewer opportunities to be innovative and may not recognize their contributions as such.

It may very well be that the 24 companies under study as employers of choice do adequately recognize the value international experience of immigrants yet do not ostensibly acknowledge their experience on their websites or in their published submissions to the *Best Employers of New Canadians*. Needless to say, positive accounts of immigrants are few and far between when compared to negative narratives of immigrant inferiority and inadequacy which were analyzed from the media reports:

> "Xerox Canada is a case study in how integrating immigrant workers can bolster innovation. About half of its staff is immigrants hailed from 35 different countries. It credits immigrants with boosting its innovation rate, which has reached about 130 patentable ideas over a year. It says its staff is also helping the company better compete in a global market." (Grant, 2010, B7).

These findings appear counter-intuitive given that the dominant business case discourse (see Chapter 6) links diversity to creativity and innovative capacities of organizations. If anything, these findings provide clues as to employer perceptions and views about immigrants' capacity to innovate and assist the organization to grow and access new markets. Downie's study (2010) highlights some of the ways immigrants are contributing and making Canada more innovative. For example, it records that approximately 35 percent of Canada Research Chairs are foreign-born, and that immigrants help boost the value of exports, foreign direct investment and patentable ideas. Given Canada's 14th place global ranking in productivity and innovation (Downie, 2010) it seems that immigrants and their international experiences would be desirable to employers.

English Language Competence

English language programs and conversational talking circles offered by agencies were also referenced in immigrant resource pages. Such integration programs assist immigrants in raising their language competency to a level required for employment. A number of organizations under study endorse offering language and conversation classes within the workplace for immigrant employees. What is unclear is the length of time immigrants need to participate in language training to be perceived by employers as having adequate language proficiency. As noted by Kulushkin and Watt (2009), "[S]ome employers 'play it safe' by hiring candidates whose language proficiency exceeds the actual requirements of a job" (p. 9). Hence, the standards (objective and/or subjective) employers put in place may act as a barrier to employment for some immigrants. A high level requirement for English language proficiency serves as an exclusionary practice at the point of recruitment, whether intentional or not.

Canadian Workplace Culture

While Canadian workplace cultures and sub-cultures vary and change, there are some standard depictions of the Canadian workplace culture with norms around attire, etiquette, etc. (Kulushkin & Watt, 2009). In looking at images (where present) on the career pages targeting immigrants, most of these images represented non-white men and women who dressed in professional Western business attire. Such images symbolize how employers define integration into the Canadian workplace culture. Of particular interest were the contrasting

representations of the immigrant in product and service pages (mostly by banking institutions) targeting the newcomer immigrant customers. While most organizations, such as CIBC, RBC and TD represent immigrant customers as Western in appearance and engaged in recreational and family fun activities that are typical in Canadian society, there are select images that represent these immigrant customers as maintaining elements of their own culture.

Examples include the following:

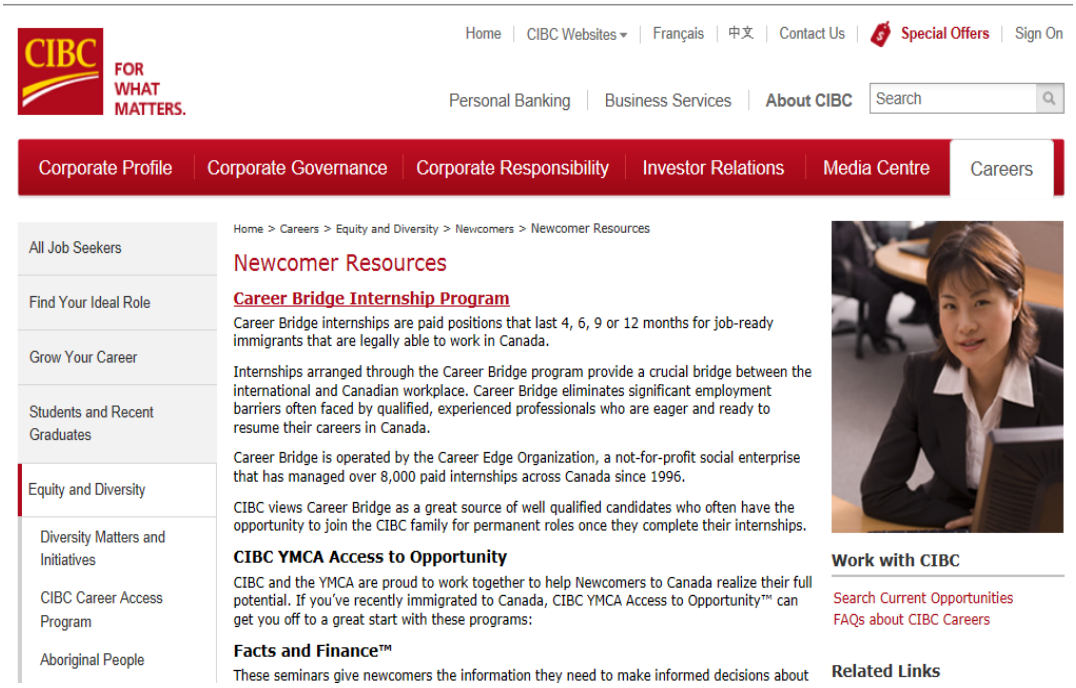

Figure 11. CIBC Newcomer Resources Page (April 14, 2014)

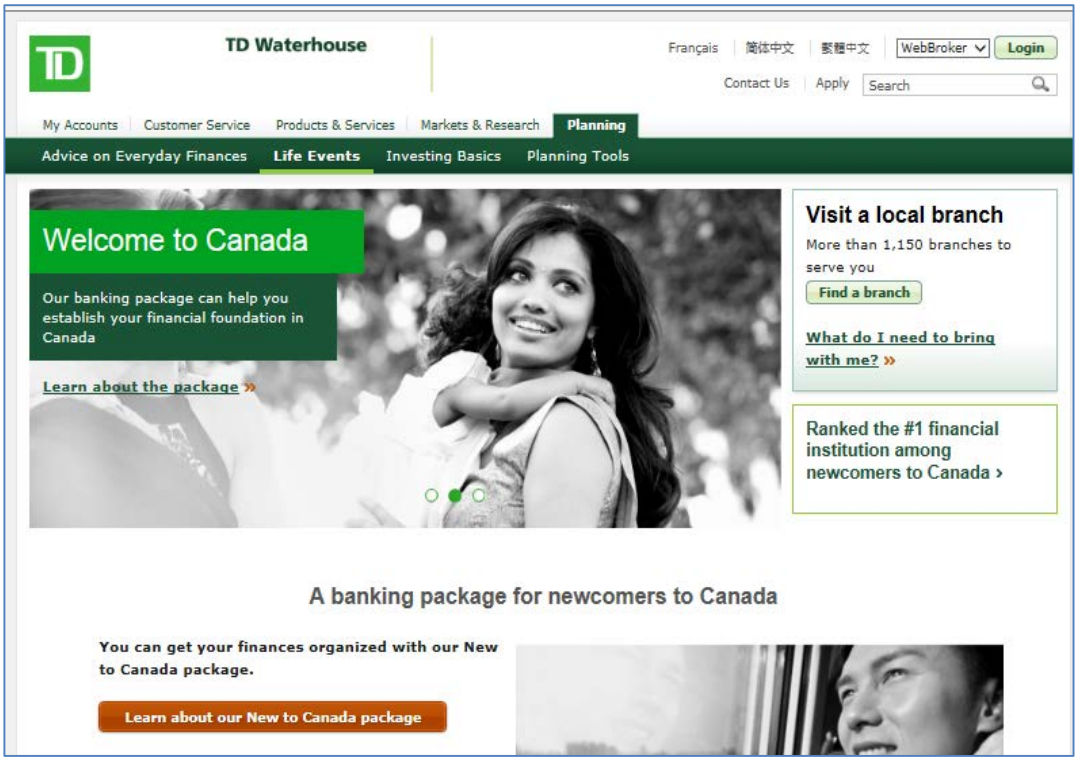

Figure 12. TD New to Canada Page (April 14, 2014)

Figure 11 shows the CIBC Newcomer Resources page under Careers. The image represents what appears to be a successful immigrant who has integrated into the Western organization. She is conventionally dressed the part in a professional, non-descript business suit, as she pleasantly sits at her desk in front of a computer. This image is complemented textually with four CIBC integration resources that imply 'fit' into the Canadian workplace requires that the immigrant first complete programs to learn about the Western workplace culture. Figure 12 is from TD's Products and Services webpages, titled Life Events, New to Canada. This image portrays a mother and child in the park, where the mother is wearing what appears to be a traditional sari typically worn by women in South Asia.

These images metaphorically and symbolically suggest the contrast between constructions of the immigrant as employee versus the immigrant as customer. One conforms to the Western workplace culture whereas the other maintains some elements of her cultural identity in her personal context. Integration into the workplace appears to segregate one's personal from one's professional work life. Said (1994) argues that a key component of orientalist discourse is the maintenance of cultural boundaries between the dominant and 'other.' The orientalist discourse suggests that immigrants (i.e. racialized) "bring with them different values and behaviours that are incompatible with those in traditional Canada" (Li, 2003, p. 84).

Employers' requirement for 'Canadian experience' is a complex construct. An elusive term, 'Canadian experience' can mean a number of things. While it encompasses elements of hard skills, it is often associated with tacit knowledge or soft skills ('fit' within the Canadian workplace) (Sakamoto et. al, 2010). The notion of 'Canadian experience' is problematic given its unspoken, tacit nature which cannot be easily codified, acquired or demonstrated on résumés (Sakamoto et al, 2013). It is also about demonstrating the ability to adapt to Canadian cultural norms and customs in the workplace. Hence, one can argue that Canadian experience is less about technical and professional skills, and more to do with cultural fit, sameness and conformity.

This distinction is constructed on the premise that immigrants come from many different cultures that are often incompatible and incommensurate with the mainstream host culture. Integration implies conforming to the "Canadian-way"

within the workplace. This is a problematic notion that serves to perpetuate hierarchical cultural conceptualizations with the Canadian-way at the (superior) top of the scale, and the immigrant-way at the (inferior) bottom of the scale. While employers often encourage the notion of bringing one's whole authentic selves to work (see Chapter 6), one may ask, is that a real option for immigrants? Given the symbolic representations of these images, are organizations looking for conformity or do they genuinely support all differences as part of their diversity and inclusiveness mandate? Or perhaps, are some differences within the range of diversity discourses too "alien" or "foreign" for organizations to embrace? With emphasis placed on conformity and integration, only those who adopt the practices of the majority culture are likely to gain access within organizations. But even this conclusion is questionable, as I explore in the next section.

Views of the 'Other' – Immigrant Constructions

I sought to explore the ways in which immigrants construct and negotiate their experiences with the Canadian labour market. I was particularly interested in exploring how immigrants negotiate the challenges and barriers faced as they attempt to settle into the labour market. I was able to find powerful voices of the immigrant in media articles analyzed (see Chapter 4), offering complex narratives. In this section, I attempt to provide insights into these complexities by providing a space for immigrant voices to be heard. I am interested in revealing the multiple ways in which immigrants speak about their experiences. What became apparent in this research were the differences between the experiences of immigrants who

were eventually successful in integrating into the labour force, and those who were not. I outline below the themes that emerged.

International Experience versus Canadian Experience

My analysis showed that most immigrants came to Canada with high hopes of building a better life, wanting to use their extensive international skills and experiences to land a professional job. In some cases, immigrant voices appeared to romanticize the West, seeking a better life in a multicultural country known for its spirit of acceptance. Others subscribe to the colonial discourse of Western superiority and advancement, wanting to move to a better country where they could improve their quality of life and advance their careers. Some expected to find a job immediately in their field, while others anticipated some difficulty upon their initial entry:

> "In her home city of Sao Paulo, Yane Brogiollo was a manager at Hewlett Packard Co, where she oversaw a team of 15 database professionals ... They were "wonderful" jobs and she earned a good salary. Sao Paulo was crowded though, and too big … So a year and a half ago, she moved to Vancouver, hoping to find a better quality of life" (Grant & Trichur, 2011, B8)

> "When Mohamad Sjamaun arrived in Toronto from Jakarta last year, he had high hopes for being able to use his skills and extensive managerial experience to land a professional job to be able to support his wife and four children." (Wallace, 2010, para. 1-3)

> "When Ana Engel arrived in Calgary from South America in 2001, the human resource professional was confident she would land a job in her field in no time." (Teel, 2007, para. 1-3).

The media analysis showed that immigrants were frustrated and shocked to experience rejection and a lack of interest from employers. The contradiction lay

in having been accepted into Canada for their international experience, skills and competencies, only to discover that employers are simply not interested in hiring them. Many immigrants spoke of having sent out numerous résumés with little to no interest from employers:

> "Since arriving in Canada, he has applied for managerial jobs at more than 100 companies without even a nibble. 'I sent resumes and cover letters about my experience and there was no follow up.'" (Wallace, 2010, para. 1-3)

> "Despite 15 years of IT experience and a master of science degree in computer engineering, 70 job applications have yielded only five interviews and no offers." (Grant & Trichur, 2011, B8)

> "When Iraqi-trained engineer Hiam Al Sabery came to Canada in 2005, in eight months he sent resumes to more than 250 companies and didn't land a single interview." (Anonymous, 2013, B1)

Several reasons may explain why immigrants are having no success with recruiters. First, studies suggest that applicants with Anglo names are more likely to land job interviews than those with foreign sounding names (Oreopoulos, 2009). Orepoulos (2009) found that after sending out 6,000 mock résumés in the Greater Toronto Area for a wide range of jobs, Anglo names were more likely to receive call backs than people with the same education and experience from India, China and Pakistan. In fact, in my analysis of media articles, I found the narrative of one immigrant who replicated this same experiment by sending out his résumés under both his real name and an Anglo name. He found that his Anglo alter-ego received responses from three of the five companies and resumes under his real name received only one response from the five companies (Roberts, 2006). These findings illustrate the difficulty recounted by immigrants who have experienced

conscious and subconscious stereotyping and discrimination from recruiters with prejudices against foreign sounding names.

This finding made me reflect on my own experiences as an immigrant with Canadian education and experience, yet a foreign sounding name. I have secured all of my jobs through my network of contacts (i.e., past professors, mentors, and business associates) who have introduced me into the different companies for which I have worked. In one instance, I initially sent my resume to the Human Resource department, essentially a cold call, and did not receive a response. Yet, when I was introduced to the same organization by one of my business contacts, they offered me a position. It made me wonder what my fate would have been, as an immigrant with a 'foreign' sounding name, if I had not taken the time to build my own network of relationships.

Second, the lack of recruiter interest in immigrant resumes is interpreted by many immigrants as a problem of over-qualification or the lack of 'Canadian experience' as outlined in my media analysis:

> "That's basically the argument I received whenever someone got back to me, that I didn't have any Canadian experience. That was the barrier, mostly, or some people would say, 'you're overqualified' even though I wanted to start over again in HR, I was willing to do that" (Teel, 2007, para. 1-3)

> "The first thing they [employers] look is for Canadian Experience," she says [Yane Brogiollo, immigrant from Brazil]. "If you don't have that, they don't call you for an interview. And if you don't get an interview, it's hard to show your skills." (Grant & Trichur, 2011, B8)

> "The situation reminded me of the corruption I faced in my country," says Mullisi, 37. Canada is the globe's kitchen sink, draining the Third World's best brains, Mullisi argues. But once those brains are here, we're only interested in their brawn. "Canadian experience" is

> our code for this. "If you don't have Canadian experience or Canadian education, your fate is security guard or construction." (Porter, 2011, A10)

The lack of 'Canadian experience' was by far the most dominant discursive restrictive practice identified in the media articles where immigrants were quoted. Such quotations point to the frustrations immigrants feel when faced with rejection from employers, particularly when they were deemed 'skilled' enough to immigrate to Canada. Some explain this lack of recognition by employers as a dismissal of their years of international experience as 'useless.' While examination of professional licensing bodies (i.e. engineers, physicians and surgeons, accountants etc.) is beyond the scope of this study, it does bear mention here. According to a report by the Office of the Fairness Commissioner (2013) in Ontario, similar barriers exist to professional licensing as racialized immigrants continue to be under-represented among those accepted into full membership of the professions. Canadian experience requirements continue to present barriers for racialized immigrants as they contribute to the length of the registration and licensing process.

While immigrants appear to see themselves as highly qualified given their international experiences, they also recognize that they do not appear to be good enough for Canadian employers. In view of the hegemonic discourse of globalization and market dominance (see Chapter 6) and the idealized sovereignty of the domestic and global customer, the self-reported dismissal (or devaluing) of immigrant experiences, and frustrations with being 'shut out' of the labour market appear to contradict the hegemonic discourse of diversity:

> "There is an assumed deficiency of everybody coming in from the outside, no matter where they're coming from and regardless of the skills and experience they're bringing … It's a Canadian first, inward looking attitude that says, 'We know what we're doing.'" (Girard, 2006, K03)

What my findings have shown is that immigrants are constructed as inadequate and 'risky' when compared to the Western norm. It appears that they have to take extra steps to prove their value to organizations and by completing the integration programs already discussed. Immigrants who do find jobs in their preferred occupation, often have to accept more junior support roles within their profession simply to survive. Hence for these immigrants, embracing representations of the deficient and inadequate immigrant simply allows them to get their foot in the door.

> "When she left a successful job in marketing with RBC in Trinidad … Alana … was unemployed for the first time since she was 19. After months of searching, she says, she took a job two weeks ago doing billing from 7 pm to 3 am for a Toronto based shipping firm" (Papemy, The Globe and Mail, December 4, 2010)

> "Eventually a lower level job as a construction coordinator helped him secure a position at Edmonton engineering and architecture firm Stantec … he is now a manager in the electrical instrumentation engineering department at SNC-Lavalin in Saskatoon" (The Toronto Star, September 16, 2013)

My conclusion is in line with the Conference Board of Canada's (2004) focus group findings of racialized people, namely, that most participants felt they had to work harder to succeed. A number of different reasons advanced to explain this perception included the need for managers to justify hiring immigrants by using their long hours and productivity as evidence of their value to the organization. Other subjects indicated that they needed to work extra hard to show

their co-workers that they were not hired because of their skin colour, but only for their competence.

These focus group findings made me question why 'Canadian Experience' is constructed as being superior to the international experience offered by immigrants. As noted by The Conference Board of Canada (2004) study, "[I]ronically, Canadian organizations outsource and offshore a variety of tasks to countries such as China and India, where Chinese engineers create manufactured goods for the Canadian market and accredited Indian IT specialists give Canadians advice on their computer problems over the phone" (p. 4). But when it comes to immigrants working in Canada, international experience is devalued, and immigrants are shut out from the workplace. Hence, this disparagement (or depreciation) of Canadian experience serves to construct international experience as illegitimate. Oreopoulos' (2009) study also supports the conclusion that Canadian employers value international experience less than Canadian experience.

When faced with labour market barriers, particularly the 'Canadian experience' gap, my analysis suggests that a number of immigrants attempt to reinvent themselves and start all over again in order to overcome the barriers to entering the labour market. The discourse of inadequacy is not acceptable to these immigrants and they appear to reposition themselves within the constraints they experience. By resisting unfair or inequitable labour market discrimination and exploitation, such as low paying jobs, this reinvention of self, provides an opportunity for re-empowerment and self-advancement:

> "We are well educated and it's hard to imagine spending the rest of our lives toiling in labour jobs' says Patel …. 'It's not a choice. For many of us going back to school is our only way out – to get the decent jobs we deserve.'" (Keung, 2006, N1)

> "This [going back to school] is the only way we can get over the 'Canadian experience' hurdle' says Madondoro … 'It's a gamble because there's no promise of a job when we graduate, but we're buying a chance to get out of labour jobs" (Keung, 2006, N1)

For these two immigrants, spending the rest of their lives in low paying, physically demanding survival jobs was not an option. They saw going back to school and securing a Canadian credential, as a way out of their undesirable circumstances. From my own experience as a college professor, I have observed that college-level diploma and Graduate Certificate programs are typically attractive to immigrants facing labour market settlement challenges. First, these programs are shorter in length, minimizing the amount of time an immigrant is away from their employment search. Second, programs with a work placement component are more desirable as they allow immigrants to get their foot in the door in the workplace. As noted in the second quote above (Keung, 2006), immigrants often see this choice as a gamble given employment is not guaranteed.

The discourse of 'Canadian experience' is really about 'fit' within the organization. The Conference Board of Canada's (2004) focus group of racialized participants supports the notion that the expectation that prospective employees "fit" with a position or an organization is one of the main barriers for applicants. According to participants, "[F]it or suitability often comes down to chemistry between the hiring manager and the candidate. Racialized candidates who had been unable to create a rapport with hiring managers due to different backgrounds

and ethnicity left the interview feeling that prejudice may have been at play" (p. 3). Participants also noted that relatively few managers with hiring authority are racialized persons, which introduces more (interpersonal and demographic) barriers into the selection and recruiting process. The dominant discourse of 'Canadian experience' appears to mask anxieties about immigrants. It also serves to devalue skilled immigrants and discursively constructs them as inadequate, a labelling process which in turn makes it easy to blame those who face discrimination for their state of 'otherness' (Sakamoto et. al, 2013). The bias towards Canadian experience does little more than encourage assimilation into the mainstream seeking sameness or excluding difference from the mainstream culture: a process which demands conformity and devalues difference.

English Language Competence

For many immigrants the need to become well versed in English is another obstacle they must overcome. Statistics Canada (2005) in its longitudinal study of new immigrants in the workforce found a connection between immigrants' language skills and labour market participation. Meeting the high standards of language requirements set by employers requires an investment in time and money. Moreover, my own media analysis suggests that some immigrants believe that a mere accent is enough to steer employers away:

> "Even though he speaks nuanced English, he still feels language is a barrier. 'It's very hard for me to get to where I was in China,' he says. 'I can improve my English, my understanding of the culture, but I can never get rid of my accent. I think that's a barrier for me doing business with locals … I can feel it. If I spoke without an accent, people would feel more comfortable with me" (Friesen, 2012, A10)

This finding is consistent with evidence from Conference Board of Canada's (2004) focus group of racialized people where participants also suggested that speaking with an accent had lost them opportunities by being screened out of job competitions. According to a COMPAS research project (2009) a vast majority of senior executives indicated that inadequate language skills stopped them from hiring foreign trained professionals, yet in the same study very few immigrants saw their language as inadequate. There appears to be a discrepancy in the perceptions of employers and immigrants. According to Sakamoto, Chin and Young (2010) when it comes to seeking jobs, skilled immigrants try different avenues to demonstrate their 'fit' related to perceptions around language. These research findings suggest that some immigrants mimic the forms of speaking and behaving which they believe employers are looking for. For example, one of the informants in their study spoke a particular type of English in job interviews.

Language proficiency requirements set by organizations have the power to define who is privileged within the recruitment process. At one level, language proficiency may signal professional competence where the (native) English-speakers are perceived as more professionally competent than immigrants within the Western corporate discourse. At another level, the notion of language competency also introduces images of superiority and inferiority derived from historical colonial relationships which inevitably (re)produce post-colonial identities and subjectivities (Vaara, Tienari, Piekkari and Santti, 2005). Immigrants must invest heavily in raising their English language proficiency "and

ultimately accept an in-built inequality when pursing their … careers" (Vaara et al., 2005, p. 615).

Canadian Workplace Culture

My media analysis also showed that internship and mentorship programs often allowed immigrants to gain access into workplaces where they could showcase their 'fit.' Some immigrants felt that they did not necessarily need the Canadian experience, but only needed to learn how things were done within the specific company at which they were hired for work placement. Furthermore, the narratives suggest that immigrants see these programs as opportunities where they can 'prove' themselves and gain 'faith' from employers. Such work placement programs are appealing to some immigrants, as they offer more practice at 'being Canadian' and allow immigrants to show that they can 'fit' into the workplace.

Mentorship programs allow immigrants to gain access to networks and facilitate introductions to contacts in the field and in the 'hidden' job market. Mentors typically coach immigrants on job search strategies and Canadian workplace norms to assist them in their job searches. According to a 2013 study by ALLIES (Assisting Local Leaders with Immigrant Employment Strategies) mentees involved in this program were reported to have improved their economic standing and employment rates twelve months after the mentoring, thereby demonstrating the program's viability and value (ALLIES, 2013). While it is often claimed that mentoring programs help to create better labour market outcomes, they also raise some important considerations. First, such programs are typically

run on a small-scale, only providing access to a limited number of immigrants. For example, since its inception, The Mentoring Partnership has facilitated 9,400 matches in Toronto (The Mentoring Partnership, 2014). While this is a commendable feat, the number of matches pales in comparison to the number of immigrants underemployed or unemployed. Second, why is it that employers need a referral from a Canadian mentor to recommend an immigrant? Is this another way to minimize the perceived 'risk' associated with immigrants? Does a referral signal an unspoken endorsement of 'fit' to the organization? Finally, the hidden job market and word of mouth recruitment techniques are equally problematic as such practices serve to restrict access, creating barriers to equality and equity. The hidden job market is particularly relevant for small businesses that represent a high percentage of hiring in Canada (Pulfer, 2010). According to a Canadian Federation of Independent Business (CFIB), the majority of small business owners report not having hired an immigrant between the period of 2003 to 2006 due to lack of resources to advertise or hire outside of their usual networks (Pulfer, 2010).

'Other' Experiences

My media analysis also pointed to other negative consequences associated with the discourse of difference and the marginalization faced by immigrants. Themes of mental health challenges surfaced, including depression, anxiety, and challenges to self-esteem, self-confidence and physical health due to loss of status and labour market rejections. My media analysis also indicated that some immigrants believed that they were worse off in Canada than in their home countries. Some immigrants reported they were unemployed for the first time in

their lives or unable to live the same standard of life as in their former home countries:

> "It's a serious lifestyle change … It challenges your self-esteem, your self-worth. It is psychosomatic, affecting your digestion, eating habits and confidence" (Mississauga News, 2009, para. 14-15)
>
> "I feel very stressed because there is a lot of physical work … physically I feel strained sometimes because almost eight or nine hours you are standing. So like pain, back pain, that kind of pain. I was not used to this" (Mississauga, News, 2009, para. 14-15)

In some cases, such challenges have led to suicide, particularly among Chinese immigrants, who see these negative experiences as a loss of "face", as having no future, and as a waste of life (Keung, 2006). These findings are supported by Dean and Wilson's (2009) study of 22 recent immigrants in Mississauga, Ontario who reported mental and physical health impacts due to loss of income, employment related skills, social status, family pressures, and stressful and strenuous working conditions.

Within my analysis, I also detected a theme of resistance whereby some immigrants, in their struggles against marginalization and exclusion, either opted to leave the country to return home or accepted jobs in another country.

> "I really love Toronto, and if they ever let me practice here I'll be happy to come back … But in Canada, they doubt our credentials. I think that's unfair. I was one of the top students in my college. In the U.S. if you score well on exams, you can get a residency to repeat your training" (Jimenez, 2005, A1)
>
> "If so many countries in the world felt I was worth something and put me to work, then I can't understand why Canada feels I am useless … If it was that I didn't know how to do the job, fine. But I am being ignored before I can even get started. I cannot find work, I cannot stay" (Girard, 2006, K03)

According to the Organization for Economic Co-operation and Development, Canada is not faring well at matching immigrants' education and experience to their jobs and that greater numbers of immigrants are living in poverty (McMahon, 2013). Despite high education levels, immigrants' labour market outcomes in Canada have declined over the last three decades (Wilson-Forsberg, 2014; Li, 2013). It is not surprising then that as many as a third of immigrants leave Canada to go back to their home country or to a third country (Jimenez, 2005). This 'brain waste' of racialized immigrants cannot be adequately addressed strictly through supply side integration programs. It is clear that demand-side systems and policies are designed to screen out "intolerable differences" (whether consciously or subconsciously) through exclusionary gatekeeping practices.

Conclusion

My analysis in this chapter has shown that integration policies and practices may be conceived of as a discursive formation that downplays the similarities while magnifying differences between the racialized immigrant and the dominant norm. I have also shown how the discourse of integration about racialized immigrants emphasizes a set of (pejorative or critical) statements (e.g. lack of Canadian experience, language deficiencies, and lack of Canadian workplace culture knowledge) which are internalized by employers and form the parameters within which immigrant identities and constructions are formed.

My analysis has also shown the discourse of integration attempts to narrow the gap between the perceived deficiencies of immigrants and the accepted cultural standard of the 'Canadian-way.' Integration within this discourse is conceived narrowly, where conformity by immigrants appears to be the only option. Hence, good enterprising immigrants are constructed as independent, self-sufficient and able to integrate into the labour market as quickly as possible, without draining public or institutional resources. Integration discourse is problematic as it constructs the successful immigrant around Eurocentric norms, establishing binary hierarchies between "Canadians/Canadian values/Canadian society on the one hand, and all newcomers/immigrants on the other" (Abu-Laban, 1998, para. 50). This integration discourse presupposes that racialized immigrants will have to conform to the organizational culture and practices of the majority. These integration processes are problematic as they reinforce differences that define the 'other,' and prompt immigrant workers to adjust to dominant standards. There are no attempts to adopt a poststructuralist approach of how immigrants are constructed. Constructions of the immigrant therefore fall within binaries of self/other, immigrant/non-immigrant, white/non-white, enterprising/deficient, and Canadian/foreign. These binary categorizations are incommensurate serving as functions of inclusion and exclusion. For this reason, the business case for diversity and the integration discourses only serve to further entrench existing hierarchies and unequal power relations.

While integration programs serve a useful purpose, what is problematic is that successful labour market access is understood to lie in the reform of the

immigrant rather than changes within the organization (Mills & Simmons, 1995; Wrench, 2007). According to Li (2003), "Despite the policy objective of defining integration as a two-way street that requires accommodation on the part of both immigrants and Canadian society, the integration discourse suggests that it is the immigrant and not the Canadian society and its institutions that are required to change" (p. 10).

A review of the integration programs listed by the 24 organizations under study found no report card or hard metrics related to immigrant recruitment, retention or advancement within organizational settings. Instead most employers highlighted community sponsorships of immigrant events and partnerships with agencies as the basis for their community integration programs. Only a handful of companies such as Deloitte, RBC, and Xerox Canada referred to their published submissions to the *Best Employers of New Canadians* to some strategies for institutional change. Dominant themes included recruitment practices that attempt to be 'bias-free,' as well as the removal of 'Canadian experience' as a pre-requisite to employment. The question remains, however, as to why meaningful discourses about demand side changes are generally absent from employer public relations efforts.

In 2013, a notable counter discourse which problematizied 'Canadian experience' requirements surfaced in the media. This report was authored by a handful of academic scholars (Sakamoto et. al, 2013) and its recommendations supported by the Ontario Human Rights Commission, immigrant advocacy organizations (The Maytree Foundation) and some employers. The Ontario Human

Rights Commission released a policy statement (OHRC, 2013) announcing that the Canadian experience requirement by employers and professional regulatory bodies was discriminatory and a violation of human rights. The new policy attempts to transfer responsibility onto employers and professional regulatory bodies to demonstrate that a requirement for Canadian work experience is a bona fide requirement. A few employers (namely RBC and KPMG) have publicly supported this policy and have contributed to this change in discourse. This counter discourse is still missing from their corporate webpages where immigrants are concerned. Yet, as this report illustrates resistance at the local level is indeed possible on the part of immigrants, employers and government agencies. I cannot help but wonder about other employers who remain silent when it comes to immigrants and discriminatory practices evident in the labour market. While this (provincial) policy move is an important one, is it enough to produce meaningful discursive change on the demand side? In my concluding chapter, I integrate and discuss my findings, draw conclusions and outline the implications of my research.

CHAPTER 8 – CONCLUSION

> *"Taking difference seriously means not only allowing the Other to speak but also being open to the possibility that the Other's perspective may come to influence or even supplant your own."*
> Broadfoot & Munshi (2007:260) quoting Cheney (2000)

At the conclusion of my dissertation, I cannot help but reflect over the last several years since I embarked on this research. I believe that my research objectives have been met and that valuable insights were gained from this research project. In this final chapter, I bring together my findings related to my research questions raised and pursued in Chapters 5 through 7 in order to outline the implications of my research. Recall that my research questions are: What are the dominant diversity discourses of corporate Canada? How are immigrants represented within this discourse? How are these representations informed by historical discourses that have served to construct racialized immigrants as a discursive 'other'? How do immigrants that face labour market challenges construct their own experiences? I have discussed why surfacing the voices of the 'other' reveals some of the strategies (and practices) that corporate documents have used to silence naïve, shadow or counter discourses while privileging interests of the dominant at the expense of 'others.'

In examining these research questions, I used as my analytical frame Boje's (2008) Stylistic Strategy of Triple Narrative drawing from poststructuralist and postcolonial approaches. By using this approach, I argue that greater insights can be gained into how diversity management has become a taken-for-granted discursive formation aimed at managing, controlling, stereotyping and excluding

racialized immigrants. The Triple Narrative as Stylistic Strategy (Boje, 2008) framework has enabled me to discuss how Canadian corporations orchestrate their images through public relations narratives on their websites which serve managerial interests. I have also shown how these narratives reproduce a West-centric discourse of modernity and development that legitimates the enterprising employee as the ideal and the immigrant as inferior. By challenging the exclusion and suppression of the narratives of the 'other' from corporate public relations, I have attempted to reprise the voices of the 'other' that have long been treated as subjects who need to be controlled, managed and resocialized in order to fit within these organizations.

By allowing for a critical reading of what is being excluded from public relations narratives, I attempted to extricate an emergent counter narrative (shadow discourses), one which has opened up opportunities to challenge the powerful hegemonic representations of racialized immigrants while also offering a space for their resistance. I begin by summarizing my findings and commenting on their theoretical and practical implications. I then assess the contributions and limitations of my research, opportunities for future directions, and my own concluding reflections.

Dominant Discourses and Immigrant Representations

My investigation in this research project has identified a complex network of (social) interaction (Hardy & Phillips, 1999) which includes the federal and provincial governments, employers, professional licensing bodies, government

funded service agencies, the media, and academia amongst other stakeholders in how the racialized immigrant is constructed. Phillips and Hardy (1997) and Hardy and Phillips (1999) demonstrate the complexities and inter-discursive relations that characterize and surround institutional fields that show how refugee constructions were constituted by many actors. Similar discursive elements can also be seen in the analysis presented in my research project. I have shown how institutional structures and support mechanisms work in concert to legitimize taken-for-granted truths about the immigrant 'other' – one who is constructed as "intolerably different" and inferior to the ideal enterprising employee. Fictive binary oppositions have been constructed within dominant discourses, entrenching distinctions and inferior representations of immigrants which serve to perpetuate unequal power relations. These sites of power and influence construct and reconstruct representations and images of the 'problematic' immigrant, thereby attempting to normalize discriminatory practices that serve to exclude, marginalize, and control the immigrant, while at the same time suppressing conflict.

I have demonstrated how immigration discourse in Canada has had a strong 'East-West' dimension, where racialized immigrants have been classified at the bottom (inferior) of a stratified scale of ethnic desirability. Such constructions have strongly influenced immigration policy. I have shown how Canada throughout its history of 'nation-building' and immigration has inherited prejudices of ideas of European supremacy. Since 1967, the so called 'skilled' immigrant must now qualify in terms of the stringent criteria within the new point

system that screens immigrants for their language skills, education, work experience, and their adaptability (a subjective notion) in order to be accepted into Canada. Yet, there is a gap between immigration policy and the realities (barriers) of professional licensing requirements and labour market settlement.

The public relations narratives included on corporate websites, is a strategic communications tool utilized by organizations to communicate with and "manage" relationships with key publics (Dutta and Pal, 2011). "With its primary bias toward serving corporate interests and managing relationships on behalf of corporate players, public relations is fundamentally a capitalist tool" (Dutta and Pal, 2011, p. 212). As diversity management discourse has taken centre stage in public relations programs, I have used a postcolonial lens to show that the happy, positive discourse of the business case for diversity is used as a rhetorical device to evade and conceal the core issues of employment equity for racialized immigrants. Hence, organizational discourse within public relations has become a strategic tool that conceals and silences discrimination, racism, unequal power relations and other conflicts that are rampant in the workplace (Prasad & Mills, 1997).

Within the business case for diversity discourse, racialized immigrants are constituted as less able, and less valuable than the idealized enterprising employee. These "deficiencies" are attributed to a lack of 'Canadian experience', language skills, and fit. In such cases, immigrant identities are discursively constituted in negative terms as having inferior or no skills, suited only for less work (under-employment or survival jobs). While the inclusive approach to diversity management discourse appears to embrace all differences, this study has revealed

a hierarchical binary division in this discourse between the enterprising employee and the problematic immigrant.

While the 24 companies are reputable as immigrant-friendly employers and as responsible community partners working with immigrant facing agencies, this study has problematized the discursive construction of an 'exemplar.' The silence of most organizations about immigrants on their career pages, raises the question of why the racialized immigrant is marginalized and left out of this discursive space. For those corporate websites that included immigrants in the discursive space, the discourse of integration was most powerful – suggesting that the acceptance of the immigrant is based upon their ability to integrate and conform to the Western ideal.

Furthermore, there is a gap between the business case for diversity (Chapter 6) and the related discursive practices (Chapter 7). As outlined in Chapter 6, the dominant diversity discourses emphasized improved performance in the economic case and/or enhanced equality and access through the social or moral case. Yet, practices uncovered in Chapter 7 were inconsistent with these aims. The potential for diversity to achieve enhanced creativity and innovation (through its capacity to drive financial and market growth) was one dominant theme uncovered. Yet, the innovative capacity of immigrant talent is often overlooked by those employers in Canada that do not appear to value international experience.

With little evidence of metrics related to recruitment, retention, and promotion of racialized immigrants (save for one or two companies such as Xerox), the question becomes, what are the employer practices that promote equal

and fair access to the labour market? With primary focus on supply-side integration programs, the question of what demand-side changes are being made within organizations remains unanswered. Further, what are the workplace experiences of immigrants who successfully achieve 'integration' into mainstream employment? Zanoni (2011) examined different dimensions of diversity showing how an organization recognized as the "best case" or exemplar for diversity actually exploited the 'other' through its strategic actions to ensure competitiveness and profitability. My study highlights the limitations of these so called "best practices" and exposes their dark sides.

Implications and Contributions of My Research

Those who have researched diversity management through texts on corporate websites have explored the dominant discourses and social contexts impacting diversity issues in the workplace. In this study, I have attempted to bring new insight to this literature by looking at how the organizations under review use control narratives to create the official story of diversity in the workplace. My research has also provided the space to carve out the hidden (or shadow) counter narrative as it relates to representations of racialized immigrants. The control narratives emphasized the rhetoric of globalization and market domination, the role of diversity in innovation and growth, and community support for the new immigrant. On the other hand, the counter-narrative revealed a process of exclusion, marginalization, discrimination, and silencing of the new immigrant when it comes to labour market settlement. In this study, I have attempted to

consider the silences, absences and exclusions in a meaningful way and I attempted to narrate a counter-story (shadow discourse) from the perspective of the 'other.'

I have also used a postcolonial lens (Said, 1978; Bhabha, 1994) to examine the public relations practices of corporations, and to unveil the imprint of colonial and orientalist discourses in the practices of workplace diversity in Canada (Prasad, 1997). Traditional postcolonial studies have focused on the colonization of Middle Eastern, Asian, African and other former colonies by American and European (Western) powers. I have extended the postcolonial analysis beyond the direct relationship of the colonizer and colonized and I show how Canada has inherited (and internalized) its ideals from its imperial colonizer.

In examining diversity discourses of corporate Canada and images of immigrants situated within this discourse, I have shown through the tensions in Canadian society when it comes to the racialized immigrant. One of the key tools of globalization is public relations through digital media, as these media serve the needs of organizations within a domestic and global landscape (Dutta and Pal, 2011). Such organizations have significant influence as providers of products and services, and as employers and communicators. The postcolonial lens has been particularly helpful in examining how the Western communication model of corporations transmits (and legitimates) the Western management values and knowledge. This study has sought to explore how discourses about immigrants, integration and their inferiority are produced, reproduced, and legitimized. Using a postcolonial lens has allowed me to challenge taken-for-granted assumptions

underpinning the discursive construction of the immigrant 'other' which continue to be reproduced at sites of power. Employers, corporate communicators, and human resources departments are all sites of power and influence. These corporate discourses are dispersed into norms and practices that serve to normalize knowledge claims and representations of the immigrant 'other' by attempting to control difference.

Dominant discourses construct representations of racialized immigrants through the production of stereotypical images (i.e., deficient, inferior, inadequate, in need of integration to adapt) to justify the exclusion and ongoing management of immigrants within organizational contexts. An historical review of the legacy of colonization and colonial mindsets has enabled me to explore how discrimination and subjugation are continually perpetuated through colonial discourse and institutional practices. Stereotypical representations of the immigrant over time have become entrenched as discursive practices that serve to construct the 'other.'

When it comes to immigrant access to mainstream organizations, managers are privileged subjects with the power to discursively stratify, marginalize or exclude immigrants and to define whether they are able to adapt to organizational cultures or not. Hence, elements of 'diversity' which are not welcomed are then excluded, controlled and/or managed. This study attempted to explain how unequal power relations have emerged historically, and how macro and micro-level discourses are interrelated and contribute to placing racialized immigrants at polar opposite to the mainstream ideal.

Furthermore, following decolonization theories, I have attempted to represent the voices of the 'other' where hints of resistance against discursive attempts at marginalization and exclusion can be found. A greater sensitivity to the colonial assumptions embedded within dominant discourses of the business case for diversity and immigrant integration is needed. By 2031, racialized people are expected to increase to 30.6% of the Canadian population, with South Asian and Chinese immigrants driving much of this growth (Quan, 2014). Hence, demand-side initiatives must work in concert with supply-side integration initiatives to remove barriers and discrimination allowing for meaningful labour market access for all immigrants.

In speaking about my dissertation and research findings, I have often been asked what my suggestions would entail to affect change when it comes to the employer and racialized immigrant dynamic. As I have explained this field is very complex. My intention for this research was not to privilege the shadow discourses over those which are dominant as both discourses are "incomplete" in their own ways. Instead, my analysis attempted to analyze the impact of societal and organizational discourses on sources of inequality in organizations and show how "the sameness and the difference paradigms" (Ghorashi & Sabelis, 2013, p. 81) place racialized immigrants in a hierarchical power relation. Finally, I attempted to explore structures of dominance and provide examples of agency and resistance to better understand the "impact of normalizing power of dominant discourses in organizations … and find conditions for emancipation within discursive spaces" (Ghorashi & Sabelis, 2013, p. 81)

While emancipatory change may be slow, I believe it is possible on a number of levels as I discuss later in this chapter. While some argue that an overreliance on the business case absolves organizations from social justice obligations (Bell, Connerley, and Cocchiarra, 2009; Prasad & Mills, 1997), others argue that the business case can accommodate social justice issues in an otherwise profit-driven world (Ahmed, 2007; Tomlinson & Schwabenland, 2010). I support Ahmed's (2007) contention that access to the business case and social justice discourses offers a space for transformation and change within organizations. The co-existence of both discourses allows diversity to be more appealing for uptake by organizations. As I have shown in this research project, discourse may not always translate into action as racialized immigrants continue to face labour market discrimination. In this respect, social change always depends on how the discourse is practiced within organizations and by whom (Ahmed, 2007). Hence, while the 24 organizations under study are recognized as the *Best Employers of New Canadians*, their discursive practice is primarily around immigrant integration. The question remains as to what changes have been made to accommodate polycentric cultures that embrace differences rather than Eurocentric cultures that continue to construct divisive boundaries.

The principles of non-discrimination and employment equity are included in a number of federal and provincial legislative statutes (i.e., Charter of Human Rights and Freedoms, Employment Equity Act, Human Rights Code, etc.). The Ontario Human Rights Commission is attempting to change the concept of racialized immigrants and to advance the representation of immigrants through a

counter discourse of discrimination related to 'Canadian experience.' The Ontario Human Rights Commission, which has formal authority over all non-government employers in Ontario, can bring pressure to bear on immigrant constructions and discriminatory practices through their discursive interventions. The new policy on Canadian experience certainly provides recourse for racialized immigrants who face discrimination in the labour market. Yet, their lack of knowledge about recourses available to them, plus a "standard of proof that is quite high, and the complexity of the process deter many who have legitimate concerns about employment related discrimination" (Mennonite New Life Centre, 2011, p. 2).

With more stringent criteria within the Federal Skilled Worker point system, immigrants are now screened for high levels of language skills, education, work experience and adaptability by employers and professional licensing bodies in order to settle in Canada. Ironically, racialized immigrants continue to struggle with labour market access and are underrepresented in professional position (jobs in their profession, leadership roles and boards). Critical scholars have long argued that voluntary diversity programs alone are ineffective and serve to reinforce the status quo. Perhaps one potential avenue is the introduction of employment equity legislation in Ontario that requires transparent and clear outlines of how human resources and recruitment processes and policies provide fair and equitable access and recognition of international credentials (Mennonite New Life Centre, 2011). This legislation will help to overcome systemic barriers faced by immigrants. This access should be available at all levels of the organization, including senior

management, middle management, and within human resources departments and recruiting offices as well as in corporate communication departments.

However, as various scholars (Thomas and Ely, 1996; Lorbiecki, 2001) have argued approaching diversity strictly with the goal of increasing racial, national, gender and class representation and recruitment in organizations, is not enough. While the way organizations have accommodated diversity has mutated over time, the resistance mode (Dass & Parker, 1999) is evident when it comes to the racialized immigrant. Racialized immigrants in particular are perceived to be a threat, and unlike the 'ideal' enterprising employee. As such, discriminatory practices persist, protecting the status quo. While the economic discourse of diversity views diverse skills, qualifications and experiences as assets that add value to growth and innovation, racialized immigrants are still seen as a liability, unless they can conform through integration. Clearly, these notions are problematic.

The third narrative of Canadian employers under study showed representations of dominance, market expansion and a commitment to diversity through images of racialized men and women. A closer look suggested a hierarchy within the spectrum of difference juxtaposed to the ideal enterprising employee. What is more, rhetorical representations of racialized groups were never narrated from their own perspective. Instead, the successful racialized immigrant was idealized around Eurocentric norms, one who conforms to the mainstream culture and practices. These 'exemplar' organizations promote and celebrate their 'best-practices' when it comes to immigrants, yet this study has revealed such practices

are problematic. Most corporate best practice rhetoric hides not only ethnocentric tendencies of organizations but also the shadows of these practices. “Creating diverse structures and processes can only be made possible if organizations are willing to undergo structural and cultural transformation, which might prove difficult as most diversity initiatives are either isolated or episodic” (Lorbiecki, 2001, p. 353).

Based on my findings, I propose embedding pluralism and the principles of polycentrism (Shohat & Stam, 1994; Munshi 2005) into diversity within organizations to allow for re-visioning change. This notion calls for re-visioning (and restructuring) power relations between cultural communities, and challenging discursive practices built on dualistic views which create binary oppositions such as us/them, Canadian/immigrant, West/the Rest, ideal/inferior, etc. In this revision of discourses and discursive practices, there are many dynamic cultural locations and vantage points, where no one group is constructed as having lower value in comparison to another. Further, such re-visioning goes beyond essentialist conceptions and narrow definitions, and instead entertains identities as multiple, unstable, fluid and having contradictions that can be accommodated (and resolved). It is a hybrid space where the similarities and differences can be explored. Such organizations disperse power, empowering the disempowered and emancipating subordinated (i.e. subaltern) discourses (Shohat & Stam, 1994). Hence, it is by allowing for safe spaces for honest conversations, thinking and imagining from the margins, and seeing minorities (racialized immigrants in this case) as active, agentic, participants in deconstructing dominant or restrictive

discourses that we can begin learning, entertaining contradictions and affecting change.

Limitations and Future Directions

I have made a point of stepping back from my research project to deconstruct my process in an attempt to learn from the experience. First and foremost, I reflexively examined my own participation in this research. As a first generation immigrant, I bring my own beliefs, biases, assumptions and prejudices with me and note that my analysis cannot be separated from me, the researcher, and my interpretations. Hence, my interpretation and position in this dissertation may have been influenced by my own experiences. My intent is not to produce another truth, but to provide an alternative lens that demonstrates more than one understanding is possible. I recognize that this work is one interpretation of many possible interpretations or other accounts of the same series of events. What I have attempted to is to destabilize the notion of 'immigrant' within an organizational context.

While I believe this study has offered significant findings, I also recognize that an over-reliance on critical analysis of discourse alone may be problematic. As noted by Wrench (2011), "… the problem of critical discourse analysis is that it may attribute too much significance to words and metaphors" (p. 132). A strength of this study is the use of a wide range of documents and texts (academic, government, organizational and media). Yet, I also recognize that there is an opportunity to complement this research with "information on real-world practice"

as interviews would reveal much more than textual analysis alone (Wrench, 2007, p. 132).

This research is by no means over – if anything it has set the stage for more work to be done. Future scholars may wish to extend this study through examining discourses of immigrants from different source countries, different genders, as well as those who are able to integrate quickly versus those who are not. Another area of research that is ripe for exploration is that of the workplace experiences of racialized immigrants in Canada, that is, after they have integrated into mainstream employment. Additionally, studies of overt and subtle discrimination and stereotypes faced within the workplace by racialized immigrants would provide important insights into employment equity and human rights. Another topic for research could also examine discourses of middle and senior managers within organizations to better understand how they construct immigrant identities and experiences. Further studies could also examine how such discourses and constructions may differ between those managers who are members of the dominant group and those who are racialized. Finally, examining discourses of employees within marketing and communication as well as human resources departments would provide further insights into some of the findings in my study. It is my hope that this dissertation helps in our understanding of images of how immigrants are constructed when it comes to labour market settlement. I would also hope that this study provides a case for the use of a postcolonial lens in the quest to reduce or eradicate discrimination in organizations.

Final Reflections

Throughout the course of my research, I have been reflecting on my own reactions to my analysis and findings. When I first began conducting this research, examining the historical context of immigration, reading expanding critical work in this field, and developing my own analysis of the texts and images, I felt angry and frustrated with the hegemonic discourses that served to legitimize diversity management, and to problematize the notion of "difference." I became even more angry and frustrated as I examined the discursive approaches that serve to marginalize and exclude some racialized immigrants from the labour market altogether. It was disheartening to read the long suppressed voices of the immigrant workers, and discover the sweeping generalizations and negative stereotypes made about them. This anger and frustration was rooted in a helpless and hopeless feeling that prompted me to wonder whether disadvantaged groups, (such as racialized immigrants) could move beyond these enduring discourses that continue to be produced, reproduced and associated with particular institutions or site of power.

Having worked for two of the companies under study for a number of years, I also could not help but recognize that the treatment and goal of diversity management is generally well-intentioned. What is problematic is the truth claims underpinning these programs. My anger and frustration have now empowered me to the point where I believe in the micro-level power to resist that lies in all of us as individuals. This research has allowed me to engage in postcolonial reflexivity (Broadfoot & Munshi, 2007) by raising my own awareness and questioning my

own assumptions and beliefs. This process has been deeply personal as I have interrogated my sense of self asking who am I as an immigrant, as a woman, a Muslim, an Iranian, a Canadian, and a working professional who has grown up in Canada. While I consider myself to have been privileged and successful in my career as a marketing and communications professional and later in academia, what I have discovered is how I actually supressed 'controversial' parts of my identity (such as being a Muslim woman) and views in order to conform and be successful within the mainstream. There were many instances in my working life where I did not challenge misrepresentations of the 'other' – I was silent for different reasons – including the desire to 'fit' in.

Postcolonial self-reflexivity has enabled me to question myself and to raise my awareness about what I choose "to say or don't say, think or don't think, teach or don't teach," (Broadfoot & Munshi, 2007, p. 254) write or don't write, as I am indeed deeply connected to the contexts in which I engage. What has been the most powerful learning experience for me has been the decision to end my own silence, embrace my voice and publicly challenge misrepresentations of the 'other'. Undeniably, I believe one voice can affect change, even if it starts with one person at a time. And if we want to contribute to change, we need to share our narratives, stories, and struggles, to expose injustices and to challenge acts of marginalization. Hegemonic power requires our complicity and silence. To break the power, we have to break our silence.

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APPENDIX A – 2013 Best Employers of New Canadians (Ontario)

Table 1 – 2013 Best Employers of New Canadians (Ontario)

Company	Head Office	Industry	Publically Listed	# Years Ranked	Racialized Person(s) Representation
Christie Digital Systems Canada www.christiedigital.com	Kitchener, Ontario	Digital Technology	No	5	Sr. Mgmt = 20%
CIBC www.cibc.com	Toronto, Ontario	Financial Services	Yes	6	Sr. Mgmt = 0% Board = 0%
COM DEV www.comdev.ca/	Cambridge, Ontario	Manufacture	Yes	2	Sr. Mgmt = 0% Board = 0%
Deloitte & Touche Inc. www.deloitte.com/ca	Toronto, Ontario	Professional Services	No	5	Sr. Mgmt = 5%
Dentons LLP (in 2012 listed as Fraser Milner Casgrain LLP) www.dentons.com/	Toronto, Ontario	Professional Services	No	5	Sr. Mgmt = 0%
Ernst & Young LLP www.ey.com/ca	Toronto, Ontario	Professional Services	No	3	Sr. Mgmt = 0%
Health Canada www.hc-sc.gc.ca	Ottawa, Ontario	Government	No	1	Not available
Home Depot Canada www.homedepot.ca/	Toronto, Ontario	Retail	Yes	1	Sr. Mgmt = 12% Board = 18%
Humber College www.humber.ca	Toronto, Ontario	Higher Education	No	2	Sr. Mgmt = 20%
KPMG LLP www.kpmg.ca	Toronto, Ontario	Professional Services	No	6	Sr. Mgmt = 0%
Loblaw Companies Limited www.loblaw.ca	Brampton, Ontario	Retail	Yes	3	Sr. Mgmt = 0% Board = 0%
Medtronic www.medtronic.ca/	Brampton, Ontario	Manufacture	Yes	2	Sr. Mgmt = 31% Board = 36%
City of Mississauga www.mississauga.ca	Mississauga, Ontario	Government	No	3	Council = 0%
Mount Sinai Hospital www.mountsinai.on.ca	Toronto, Ontario	Health Care	No	4	Not available
Nordion Inc. www.nordion.com	Ottawa, Ontario	Pharmaceutical	Yes	3	Sr. Mgmt = 0% Board = 11%

Company	Head Office	Industry	Publically Listed	# Years Ranked	Racialized Person(s) Representation
NTT Data Corporation www.nttdata.com	Toronto, Ontario	Information Technology	Yes	2	Sr. Mgmt = 18% Board = Not available
Ontario Public Service www.gojobs.gov.on.ca/WhoWeAre.asp	Toronto, Ontario	Government	No	3	Not available
Patheon Group Inc. www.patheon.com	Ottawa, Ontario	Technology Consulting	No	1	Sr. Mgmt = 20%
Royal Bank of Canada www.rbc.com	Toronto, Ontario	Financial Services	Yes	3	Sr. Mgmt = 25% Board = 6%
St. Michael's Hospital www.stmichael.com	Toronto, Ontario	Health Care	No	6	Sr. Mgmt = 0%
TD Bank Group www.td.com	Toronto, Ontario	Financial Services	Yes	6	Sr. Mgmt = 18% Board = 7%
University of Ottawa www.uottawa.ca	Ottawa, Ontario	Higher Education	No	4	Sr. Mgmt = 0%
Xerox Corp. www.xerox.ca	Toronto, Ontario (US Parent)	Manufacturing	Yes	4	-
York Regional Municipality www.york.ca	Markham, Ontario	Government	No	3	Council = 5%

Note: Racialized Person(s) Representations in Management and Boards were examined according to information and images disclosed on corporate websites at the time analysis was conducted.