ALL OF US:
WHAT WE MEAN WHEN WE TALK ABOUT INCLUSION

6 Degrees Reports

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INTRODUCTION

The idea behind this 6 Degrees-RBC report was borne out of a shared desire to look at how we can identify the underpinnings of inclusion—the mechanisms and tools that make communities economically, socially, politically, and culturally inclusive. In order to foster inclusion, we felt these mechanisms needed to be first identified, before we could support, interrogate, and improve them. Many are readily apparent, such as government policies, a robust civil society, and accessible education and health care—not to mention a direct and supported path to citizenship. Other are less obvious: quality of public transport, a credible banking system, and availability of public parks. Undertaking research into these less direct mechanisms, we believed, would make an important contribution to how Canadians understand our society, and how Canada might position itself globally as the 'how to' leader in creating an inclusive society.

But before we embark on this journey, we need to make sure we are starting from the same place and speaking the same language. The language of inclusion is not self-evident or well-established. To provide the necessary scaffolding, we commissioned Sarmishta Subramanian, editor in chief of the Literary Review of Canada, to explain, in effect, what we may be talking about when we talk about inclusion. Her essay puzzles out a number of the underlying issues, controversies, and considerations, and provides a birds-eye view of the fields of play below.

The second part of the report steps onto one such field of inclusion, looking at how 64 organizations employing 1.2 million Canadians think about diversity and inclusion in their respective sectors. The goal of was not to laud or shame organizations, but rather to simply understand the current score. Engaging in this exercise starts a vital conversation off on the right foot, acknowledging our shortcomings and understanding our successes. If anything is becoming immediately clear, it is that inclusion is an essential ingredient for both the innovation economy and our future economic competitiveness. Truly inclusive societies are better positioned to remain competitive, and newcomers who feel engaged are more willing to take chances, think differently, and spur the progress that we call innovation.

We invite you to join us as we begin to uncover what it takes to build that inclusive society.
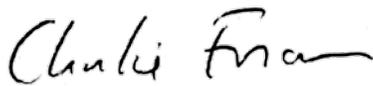
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Of the many echoes of the modern predicament to be found in Ancient Rome, one of the more intriguing surely lies in how the powerful empire ruled over its multinational, pluralistic citizenry.

The Roman Empire—whose far-flung borders ran at various times from England south to the Sahara, from Spain to Syria—had no choice but to wrestle with the realities of governing a diverse group of subjects, the vast majority of whom didn't speak Latin, and had never taken any of the proverbial roads leading to Rome. The roots of the empire's answer to that challenge can be traced to its very founding myth—Romulus, the surviving twin, declaring Rome an "asylum," calling all refugees, runaways, and outsiders of every stripe to his new city. The practice of recruiting soldiers of all ethnicities helped build Rome's formidable armies,[1] and as Mary Beard has written in her excellent book *SPQR*, slaves could win emancipation, and citizenship. Indeed, by the third century, whether out of wily pragmatism or a deeply felt sense of fairness (the Romans seemed to have both in spades) every free inhabitant of the Roman Empire, wherever he or she lived, was made a full citizen.[2]

The experience of coexisting with peoples different from us, then, is thousands of years old, with hints of its rewards and challenges and dilemmas and contradictions evident even in gladiatorial, slave-keeping Ancient Rome. We are not the first humans in history to think about how to live more harmoniously in pluralistic societies, though in the 21st century we are surely among a rare few to think about it in such a deliberate and active way. Governments like Canada's and Australia's grapple with questions around minority rights, while in the corporate world there is a robust infrastructure to pursue goals of diversity and inclusion. On a global scale the United Nations has pledged to "Leave no one behind" in the quest for universal human rights and economic opportunity, and the World Bank, an organization more commonly associated with market-friendly development programs, has set itself the task of identifying social exclusion's root causes.

Yet in the broader culture, at least in the West, the idea of inclusion recurs these days more often as irritant. Not long after Beard published her critically lauded, best-selling history of Rome, she found herself embroiled in a bun fight over, indirectly, inclusion. Her suggestion that the Roman Empire was more racially diverse than we often realize—made in the course of an online debate that arose about a black character in a BBC cartoon about Ancient Rome—quickly became a flashpoint for tensions around diversity and representation. There were fierce criticisms (and then much worse) that Beard was presenting a sanitized, revisionist picture of the times to better suit modern sensitivities. A well-respected historian at Cambridge University, Beard supplied facts to substantiate her claim, but, to her critics, this was just another case of an academic with a progressive, "politically correct" diversity agenda rewriting the historical record with feel-good fictions.

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The ideals of diversity and inclusion as well as their realities still challenge us, inspire us, divide us, and elude us. Consider the controversy over the leaked memo submitted by a Google engineer, James Damore, to his employer, about diversity policies, female engineers, and the nature of women's brains. The memo and its author's subsequent firing quickly turned into a referendum on everything from Silicon Valley's gender problem to the shrinking public space for dissenting opinions on the "diversity consensus," with Damore variously playing wounded free-speech hero or anti-progress villain. Questions around inclusion have also coalesced into thorny legal challenges in the United States, most recently with a 2014 suit against Harvard University, filed by an advocacy group representing Asian-American students who claim they have been discriminated against by affirmative action policies.

How do we pursue ways to be more inclusive of our most vulnerable without alienating the rest? How do we maintain social cohesion within societies that are diversifying and changing so rapidly? <u>What exactly do we mean by inclusion?</u>

In the political realm, rifts over diversity have deepened into serious fault lines: not only Brexit and the Donald Trump revolution, with its darkly anachronistic supporting cast of neo- Confederates and Nazis, but also the rise of anti-immigrant, nativist political parties and candidates throughout the Western world. Meanwhile, there have been conflagrations—in some cases literal ones—ignited by the social and economic alienation witnessed in Paris's banlieues and the outskirts of other European cities.

We may be in a golden age of "diversity and inclusion," but it would seem, as the London-based Indian writer Pankaj Mishra suggests in his recent book *Age of Anger*,[3] that an astonishing number of people around the world now count themselves as left behind—glum millionaires and the most penurious of the 99 percent; citizens of Western liberal democracies and denizens of Mumbai's slums; stateless migrants from war zones and working-class white Americans; disaffected young Muslim men and white male columnists for daily newspapers. How can so many feel so excluded? How did we arrive in this place, and where do we go now?

For globalizing, pluralistic societies—which is most Western countries today and a good many in the rest of the world—these are vital questions. They are all the more urgent in the shadow of a global migrant crisis that puts intense moral pressure on the world's richer countries to open their doors wider. Already, according to the United Nations, between 2000 and 2015, the number of international immigrants went from 173 million to 244 million,[4] and these migrants are ethnically and culturally more diverse than in earlier waves. The risks, and lost opportunities, of not integrating such large numbers of people hardly need to be spelled out. And there is an irrefutable humanistic, moral case for according all one's citizens the same rights and freedoms and responsibilities, the same access to economic and social success.

Dramatic changes in the global landscape are intensifying rifts and inequities, but they also present an opportunity for change, for real transformation. The challenge is in accomplishing this in ways that are effective and fair—and that are seen to be effective and fair—for everyone, including dominant majority groups. How do we pursue ways to be more inclusive of our most vulnerable without alienating the rest? How do we maintain social cohesion within societies that are diversifying and changing so rapidly? What exactly do we mean by inclusion? We are in a critical moment for such questions as a rhetoric of inclusiveness speeds ahead of actual change, and the impatience for progress turns, increasingly, to frustration. The short history of inclusion is full of optimistic and determined efforts, some with mixed results. Recently these have attracted a new wave of critics who are philosophically committed to the goals of inclusion, and are holding institutions to account in a bid to better define and achieve them. For anyone interested in a better system, it's illuminating to study those experiments—ideas in inclusion that have worked, and ones that haven't.

To begin, it helps to attempt to define inclusion, that nebulous word that can contain a multitude of meanings and interpretations. For the lay person, the term invokes everything from debates about Sikhs carrying kirpans and hijab bans in European cities, to removing barriers to education or professional opportunity for people with disabilities, and the diversity and inclusion buzzwords that are currently in vogue in workplaces and sometimes with equal vigour kicked around on social media. It is fair to say that inclusion can encompass all of the above, but at its fundament it is the idea of giving all citizens the chance to participate equally in economic, social, political, and cultural life.

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Inclusion as a common good is an idea that few reasonable people would argue against—even if the exceptions to that majority are making themselves heard loudly and brutally these days. There is very little to be said against robust political, social, and economic participation for all, and for the extension of rights, freedoms, and responsibilities for as wide a swath of a country's population as possible. The debate is over how to achieve this, of course: who bears the responsibility for it and how far to go in evening the scales.

The first step, though, is to understand the task. Since at least as far back as Regency England, the challenge of effectively helping the marginalized has been constrained by a lack of understanding, or curiosity, of what marginalizes people—and of the full experience of living on the margins. The revised 1834 Poor Law, with its unsanitary workhouses, seems designed to help—one uses the word loosely—an undeserving poor. Lawmakers had little interest in the question of why the marginalized were marginalized. Programs for the disadvantaged have obviously come a long way since, but only recently have they begun to explore more fully the underlying facts.

Inclusion is in a sense more easily understood as the absence of exclusion, and that term can be traced back to its use in the 1970s by the French government to define marginalized groups in need of assistance.[5] The economist Amartya Sen points to the usefulness of the concept of exclusion in defining poverty more holistically—not just by income, but by the "capability deprivation" on multiple fronts that accompanies low incomes. "We must look at impoverished lives, and not just at depleted wallets," he has written.[6] That is all the more true in heterogeneous societies in the developed world, in which marginalization can routinely occur without being attended by abject poverty. A World Bank report on inclusion rightly points out that considerations of social inclusion have "blurred the distinction between these two stylized poles of development," as developed countries wrestle with the problem of people within their own borders who have been left behind.[7]

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Not long ago Western countries responded to the challenge of creating an inclusive-with-a-small-i society with a classically liberal, difference-blind neutrality: equality guaranteed to all via a set of rights written for all, rather than targeted rights or programs for some. Over the past two or three decades, in countries that have been more traditionally reliant on immigration, and have had explicit policies and infrastructure for immigration and citizenship—such as Canada, Australia, and the United States—a different question emerged: does the enshrining of equal rights actually deliver anything approximating equality? Indigenous peoples in Canada have the same human rights as anyone else in the country, yet many still lack basic necessities like clean water, and are denied fair treatment in the justice system. The mere right to political or economic equality, likewise, does not guarantee either. Running for political office still relies on the ability to raise funds, one's social network, and connections to more experienced politicians, and so on. Economic opportunity is circumscribed by the financial resources to be suitably educated and trained, awareness of available jobs (which are not always advertised), the willingness of an organization to hire you, and the support you get if you are in fact hired. Both are challenging to pursue successfully from the margins, and from a historical position of disadvantage. We are all equal, but we are not all equal.

Thus the more recent idea that creating inclusive societies takes active work, beyond merely not-excluding. That work can take a number of forms, but the underlying philosophical idea represents what Charles Taylor, in a 1992 essay, described as a shift away from a politics of universalism and to a "politics of difference." The politics of difference, he wrote, "asks that we give acknowledgment and status to something that is not universally shared."[8] The recognition of that distinctness is the foundation for differential treatment—giving certain rights or entitlements to some groups but not others. The scenario Taylor explored in that essay was the Quebec question and language rights, but the logic holds for all sorts of minority group needs. Indeed, fifteen years later, Taylor, along with the sociologist Gérard Bouchard, investigated some of those needs in the landmark Bouchard-Taylor Commission, a Quebec provincial government-initiated study of reasonable accommodations for minorities within the province, aimed at nurturing pluralism. Earlier this year, in the wake of the Quebec City mosque shooting that killed six people, Taylor rescinded his support for one of his own report's recommendations, for a secular dress code. In an open letter in *La Presse*, he wrote that the measure, intended to pave the way for the other recommendations, had instead led to a host of broad attempts to restrict religious expression

(principally targeting Muslims) and fed an ongoing and divisive debate in the province[9]—evidence of how complicated a business this can be.

The biggest ongoing case in this country of the need for differential policy, of course, concerns Indigenous peoples, who continue to suffer exclusion on every major front (economic, social, political, cultural)—the legacy of a long-running political system that was explicitly designed to assimilate them and eliminate their culture. The Truth and Reconciliation Commission hearings and resulting report provide the most recent, and thorough, review of this dark history, as well as 94 concrete recommendations to address its effects. Some of these are aimed at bridging unforgivable gaps; others could be an illustration of the kind of group-differentiated policies argued for by the influential Canadian political philosopher Will Kymlicka, who has written extensively about the unique status of national minorities. Compared with, say, immigrants, whose ultimate goal is integration and whose needs are transitional, Kymlicka has written, national minorities may require differential policy on a permanent basis, in recognition of the need for the long-term survival of their cultures.[10] For this reason, he has argued for the term "multinational" over "multicultural" in this context—an idea that resonates with Prime Minister Justin Trudeau's declaration that Canada is a "post-national country."[11]

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The West is a relative latecomer to the challenge of designing these differential treatments for historically disadvantaged groups. To take an exceptional example from the other side of the world, India arrived at that juncture almost seven decades ago, a newly independent nation reckoning with its insidious caste system: baroque, ancient, and instituted and preserved by one of the world's most tolerant religions in one of the world's most pluralistic countries.

The Indian mechanism of "reservations" has been in place ever since, written into the 1950 constitution that also abolished the caste system, and built on a modest framework of quotas that goes back to the British colonial period and, in some states, even earlier. The most shunned of the castes, now organized into three broad categories—Scheduled Castes, Scheduled Tribes (many of whom live in forests in the northeastern states,

a world away from urban India) and Other Backward Classes—since the 1980s have had a percentage of government jobs, university spots, and legislature seats set aside for them, up to a limit of 50 percent. And so the largely urban, upwardly mobile children of middle-class Indians compete for the remaining half of those positions—except in states like Tamil Nadu, where reservations have translated to a winning political formula for the underprivileged vote, and therefore the percentage of reserved seats in government jobs is 69 percent, well above the ceiling set by the Supreme Court.[12]

Even beyond outlier states like Tamil Nadu, it is difficult to say how effective the system is. On the one hand, it allows participation in the economy for the country's most vulnerable, which cannot but help. Just how much it helps is the question. The population of all the targeted classes hovers somewhere around three-fifths of the country, and according to a 2013 report in *The Economist*, government jobs as a proportion of the overall job market are about 2 percent:[13] too few to register as sufficient change for the recognized groups, significant enough to seem constricting to everyone else. Reservations have been in place too long in India for the newly disadvantaged advantaged to fight them very consistently (though they may in part account for the fleets of tutors sicced on middle-class children from a young age). But from time to time there have been riots, as well as protests—as in 2006, when reservations were extended to include elite medical and other institutes, thousands protested, and doctors walked off the job.

Lawmakers, undaunted, continue. The state of Telangana recently increased its mandated reservations for disadvantaged Muslims, who have been slipped into the Other Backward Classes category. (The secular constitution bars reservations based on religion.) A third to half of seats in local councils and governing bodies are now reserved for women. And in the past few years there have been agitations from various other groups, including Patels and impoverished Brahmin priests in Gujarat—the most privileged of the privileged at one time—to be counted as economically disadvantaged and have reservations set aside for them, too.[14]

The Indian experience is uncommon in every way. The reservation system itself seems at times as elaborate as the caste system. And some of its ancillary effects—an apparent race to the bottom to scrap over quotas; it is also routinely blamed by the media for the Indian brain drain, and for contributing to already corrupt patterns of electioneering and vote-bank politics—are unique to India. But it is nonetheless intriguing to study as an almost 70-year-old, ongoing experiment in inclusion.

How do we correct historical injustices and disadvantage in a way that integrates groups, rather than deepening racial, economic, and other divisions, and drawing corrupt new pathways to privilege?

An example somewhat more comprehensible to readers in the West may be the case of South Africa—although here too we are speaking about a majority that functions like a minority. South Africa held its first all-races election in 1994, soon after it dismantled its system of institutionalized segregation, and millions of black South Africans have been educated and employed since. But on a host of different markers—from economic inequality to the ratio of black to white professors at universities—South African policies still fall short. The system of Broad-Based Black Economic Empowerment, an affirmative action-style plan put in place by the African National Congress that aims to expand black-owned businesses, promote more equitable racial representation in the workplace, and generally spur black participation in the economy, has come under serious criticism. Thomas Piketty declared it a failed experiment two years ago, noting that economic inequality was even worse now than during apartheid, with well over half of the country's wealth concentrated in the hands of a tenth of the people, the majority of them white.[15] And a number of South African leaders have criticized the program, including the political economist Moeletsi Mbeki, the former president's brother, who has blamed it for creating "a small class of unproductive but wealthy black crony capitalists."[16]

There is no shortage of infrastructure, including government legislation with a highly intricate set of rules and numerical targets for employers, with accompanying codes and scorecards. Businesses of a certain size are required to report on their progress with regard to a number of employment equity goals, including workplace diversity, for which long-term goals include a representative ratio of employees who are black, mixed-race and so on. (There are also minimum targets, such as a required proportion—less than 2 percent—of black disabled employees, say.) The laws have succeeded in bringing more blacks into the workforce, and into the middle class. But a great many of the poorest blacks are still excluded from both—the black unemployment rate is 40 percent (compared with 8 percent for whites) if you count those who have stopped looking for work.[17] Black South Africans are still held back by racism, and as in India, the knock-on effects have included rampant political corruption that infects the whole system, and according to some critics, a stifling of black innovation and entrepreneurship at a critical juncture in the country's history.

It would be a mistake to think that the experience of either country adds up to a warning against the adoption of inclusionary policies elsewhere in the world. What it does is frame important questions about how to design such policies, the conditions under which they can work, and the unintended by-products of some iterations of a differential-treatment approach. Does the official recognition of certain groups as "disadvantaged" (or worse, "backward") risk damning them to future discrimination? How do we correct historical injustices and disadvantage in a way that integrates groups, rather than deepening racial, economic, and other divisions, and drawing corrupt new pathways to privilege?

Hover around a busy area downtown in a city like Toronto at lunchtime, and you will more likely than not observe social groups encompassing a mix of ages, ethnicities, cultural backgrounds, and genders pouring into and out of the restaurants and coffee shops clustered around the office towers: Asian hipsters in conversations with middle-aged men in chinos; young black urbanites with fashionably quirky socks lunching with older suburbanite women and Mountain Equipment

Co-op types; huddles of women of varying ethnicities and ages in an array of office wear. "Work friends" can be remarkably different from each other in a way most people in our social groups outside of work are often not: a change in habits that comes from exposure, a shared culture, and the human impulse toward connection. They are also a reminder that the working world, like schools, can play an important role in citizenship and inclusion. Exposure and education are key in bringing people along, and the office is where many adults encounter both.

Indeed, the corporate world has become a significant actor in the field of inclusion in the West, part of a response to a market case for inclusion that has emerged in the past two decades. The argument is laid out succinctly in a 2016 report from the International Monetary Fund. "There is now strong evidence that inequality can significantly lower both the level and the durability of growth," the researchers write. "Even if growth is the sole or main purpose of the neoliberal agenda, advocates of that agenda still need to pay attention to the distributional effects."[18] The World Bank, another heavy investor in such global distributions, goes a step further in its report on social inclusion, in wanting to explore the reasons for those effects: "*why* certain groups are overrepresented among the poor and *why* some people lack access to education, health, and other services or receive poorer-quality services."[19] The report's answers to those questions settle on everything from food security to environmental sustainability, ideas that if followed to their logical conclusions should revolutionize the way the World Bank does business.

There are obvious reasons for the private sector's embrace of diversity and inclusion. Exclusion in a workplace, beyond being unfair, costs employers. A variety of experiences and backgrounds in a group is more likely to generate innovative ideas. Mixed workforces more closely resemble markets, and they reflect changing demographics; nearly half of American millennials are not white, and the post-millennial generation is even more diverse.[20] A study of Canadian diversity by the Trudeau Foundation and the Centre for International Governance Innovation found that for every 1 percent rise in ethnocultural diversity, a range of workplace sectors saw increased revenues and productivity of anywhere from 1 to 6.2 percent.[21]

Diversity policies are also useful insulation against discrimination suits. In fact, the expansion of corporate diversity programs came in the wake of several high-profile cases involving tens of millions in damages.[22] Inclusion in the workplace, at its best, is more than all this; it can harness the talents of a diverse group, and create a harmonious, productive whole that is greater than its parts.

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The diversity and inclusion business is thus a more than $8 billion industry in the U.S. alone,[23] with diversity symposia and unconscious bias workshops and consultants and official benchmarks, such as the U.S.-based Diversity Collegium's, now in its tenth year. More and more large employers in both public and private sectors employ diversity hiring goals or targets and appoint diversity managers or committees. When Google fired James Damore earlier this year, it would have come as a surprise to exactly no one that it has a chief diversity and inclusion officer (who is also a vice president)—even with, or perhaps all the more because of, the swirling possibilities of gender discrimination lawsuits. (The U.S. Department of Labor brought a suit against the company; its investigation earlier this year suggested widespread gender-based pay gaps. A group of current and former female employees is also considering a class-action suit, alleging pay gaps sometimes in the realm of tens of thousands of dollars.)

With so many companies investing in diversity, workplaces today should be significantly more diverse, with more leadership positions held by women and minorities. But as studies have found, this is not exactly the case. Between 1985 and 2014—over almost three decades—the percentage of black men in management positions at American companies with 100 or more employees crept from 3 percent to just 3.3 percent, according to a 2016 *Harvard Business Review* report based on

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interviews and data from 800 firms. The proportion of white women did rise, by 7 percent. But five years after companies introduced mandatory diversity training, the proportion of Asian-American men and women in leadership positions shrank on average by 4 percent to 5 percent.[24]

None of this is surprising given the methods most companies rely on in the pursuit of diversity, note Frank Dobbin and Alexandra Kalev, the authors of the *HBR* report. Diversity training, for instance, is a staple at Fortune 500 companies, and employed by many American and Canadian firms. But a substantial body of research over more than half a century shows that training is not particularly effective at encouraging people to confront their biases—and in fact, can provoke the opposite effect. Mandatory training, the kind favoured in lawsuit-wary corporate North America, is particularly pernicious at reinforcing biases rather than challenging them.[25] People, not surprisingly, don't like to be told what to think. (It is worth noting that Google announced in 2014 that more than half of its workforce had already been through unconscious bias training.)

A diversity infrastructure gives management a sense that it is taking steps toward change. But it doesn't always denote actual progress. In the last three years, a report from Deloitte found, the number of companies that consider themselves excellent at gender diversity went up by 72 percent, and nearly half of companies surveyed this year said their focus on global cultural diversity was adequate.[26] This is sobering to contemplate in the context of a well-publicized 2016 study from the University of Toronto involving a résumé audit, interviews, and 1,600 fabricated résumés sent to employers in sixteen American cities. The study found that black, Asian, and other minority applicants who modified their names to sound more white, and altered other references to conceal their ethnicity, were more than twice as likely to be called about a job as those who didn't.[27] Even more damning, the rate of callbacks for "ethnic"-sounding applicants was no higher from companies who say they are actively seeking diversity. And because applicants themselves were *less* likely to modify their applications to pro-diversity companies, minority applicants in fact fared worst at companies with a stated commitment to diversity.

A performance of diversity without the substance, then, can be damaging in very tangible ways. "Having an institutional aim to make diversity a goal," the British-Australian feminist scholar Sara Ahmed writes, "can even be a sign that diversity is *not* an institutional goal."[28] In her book *On Being Included: Racism and Diversity in Institutional Life*, Ahmed invokes the sociological concept of habitualization, developed in the 1960s, to describe the work that happens within an institution. Institutions, whether workplaces or universities (the focus of Ahmed's research), function with an interplay of habitualized activity (things workers no longer have to think about but just do instinctually) and deliberate activity (the active decisions they must make, innovative work that is done). One challenge of diversity as a goal, she notes, is that it must somehow travel from its designation of conscious aim to habitualized practice—surely the level on which true inclusion happens.

This presents a vexing challenge for employers: do nothing and the problem persists unchallenged; tackle the issue head on with the best tools currently available, and you could end up making it worse. It is, however, a conundrum worth wrestling with. Economic participation is vital in the inclusion equation, and workplaces have historically shown considerable bias in the other direction. Exclusion in one domain can also reinforce exclusion in others. And, for companies committed to real change rather than optics, there *are* diversity measures that can lead to that habitualization. Dobbin and Kalev identify college recruitment programs targeting women and minorities, for example, which they found more effective than bias training or hiring rules. (Managers who carry them out either volunteer or are chosen because of a proven ability in recruiting, and the emphasis is on finding talent—a positive exercise rather than a punitive one.) Voluntary training programs in general are much more effective; the freedom to choose allows people to act with more generosity, and change their points of view. Transparency and what the study calls social accountability can also be transformative. People behave better when they think others are watching, and this is no less true for people in offices. The possibility that their decisions might be reviewed by their peers resulted in managers making more equitable decisions. Eventually, it's habit forming.

In some ways companies may better achieve true racial and gender diversity without zeroing on either principle. There are also other kinds of diversity not captured in diversity spreadsheets at all: generational exclusion, for instance, a pervasive reality in the youth-focused West, and certainly in the workplace, where older employees are uniquely vulnerable to job loss or marginalization. There are ways to communicate a commitment to inclusion that encompasses these, and is less vulnerable to misapplication. The challenge lies in persuading employers to spend the energy to find them—and to employ measures that may take time, and may not boost the company's position in diversity rankings or be as satisfying to company lawyers.

Recently a group of Canadian researchers conducted a study to investigate how audiences of ethnic minorities respond to advertisements featuring ethnic minorities.[29] Participants in five experiments were shown ads featuring ethnically diverse models as well as ads with only white models. The study's surprising finding: minority consumers responded more positively to ads featuring white models than to ads showing models of other ethnicities than their own. In other words, advertising that featured one minority group offended members of other minority groups because it seemed to remind them they hadn't been included—a curious and yet entirely human reaction that gestures to the complexity of inclusion.

For one thing, ethnocultural minorities tend to draw their ethnic identity from a specific culture or place, rather than from a generalized marker such as "minority" that binds them to all other minorities. And intercultural dynamics are not only a matter of perception; they can describe very real differences between minority groups. This fact is hinted at in the case brought by a group of Asian-Americans against Harvard, and in a recent campaign to keep a 20-year ban on affirmative action in California that brought out hundreds of Asian-American students; the move to repeal the ban had significant support from Hispanic voters. Speaking about the Harvard suit, the lawyer and civil liberties advocate Alan Dershowitz warned about the difficulty of penalizing one group that has been discriminated against historically (Asian-Americans) to help another.[30]

No longer is exclusion simply a condition that a hegemonic majority inflicts on a minority; relationships between different minority groups can also be tinged with tensions over power and privilege and competing needs, and play into ideas about what inclusion should and shouldn't look like. The new critics of race-conscious policies and politics are not the kinds of people who go to white pride rallies and cry "reverse racism." They may be minorities who, once again, feel excluded because of their identity, minorities who want to be included but not on the basis of their identity, or members of the racial majority who are arguing not for the good old days, but for a broader vision of inclusion.

Consider race-conscious admissions in the United States. The approach has certainly yielded some diversity: white students made up 72 percent of the student body in 1994; roughly two decades later, that was down to 58 percent.[31] But if colleges look more inclusive, the picture complicates upon closer scrutiny. At 100 highly selective American universities, including Ivy League schools, black attendance actually declined or stayed the same in that same period.[32] General college enrollment rates for Hispanic students, meanwhile, more than tripled between 1996 and 2012, and Asian-American enrollment rates rose modestly.[33] If the point is inclusion, something is lost when some groups that were historically excluded are even more excluded now. And black enrollment numbers don't capture the gaps in performance, graduation rates, and post-degree incomes between black and white students. Merely being conscious of race when reviewing applications is not enough; students need real support long before they

No longer is exclusion simply a condition that a hegemonic majority inflicts on a minority; relationships between different minority groups can also be tinged with tensions over power and privilege and competing needs, and play into ideas about what inclusion should and shouldn't look like.

apply for college, and after they get there. Asians, Hispanics, and Blacks have all been victims of discriminatory practices in North America, and in many cases continue to be, but their particular experiences are vastly different, as are the policies needed to address them.

The problem lies in the temptation to view "diverse populations" as a single monolithic entity, a tendency subtly encouraged by quantitative targets (even unofficial ones) in HR departments or on campus. The flattening effect that an infrastructure of inclusion can have on the diversity that exists among minorities reenacts in a sense what the Australian academics Jon Stratton and Ien Ang have suggested is a failing of multiculturalism: the multicultural orthodoxy "constructs a binary relation between 'ethnic communities' and 'Australian society', as if the two were mutually exclusive, homogeneous entities."[34]

By emphasizing the differentness of a culture from the "mainstream"—a kind of race-less, neutral middle, as though such a thing exists—the discourse of diversity and inclusion can dull very sharp cultural differences within that culture. Ruby Hamad, a Lebanese-Australian writer and filmmaker, has explored this theme in her writings about Western perceptions of Islam. Rare is the news article about Muslims that doesn't feature an image of a hijab or niqab, she points out—even though both are symbols of very particular strains of Islam, and there are many communities, including her own, where women don't wear them. Editors have newspapers to publish, and stories needing images, and this may seem a picayune point, but Hamad has felt firsthand the effects of reinforcing clichés about Muslim identity in this way; often she has had to argue for the legitimacy of her own Muslim identity, which she says is "too Muslim for some, not Muslim enough for others."[35]

Too narrow a focus on one kind of inclusion can obscure other kinds of exclusion. The Equality of Opportunity study, led by Raj Chetty, a Stanford University economist, reviewed data on 30 million college students and found that many Ivy League universities have more students from families in the top 1 percent of income than in the entire bottom half.[36] The focus on "identity diversity" has created campuses that look more inclusive, but continue to exclude, this time on the basis of economic advantage. Intriguingly, California, where the

affirmative action ban remains, accounts for five of the top ten colleges in a *New York Times* ranking using Chetty's data tracking the percentage of students who come from the bottom fifth of the income scale but end up earning in the top three-fifths. At Cal State, Long Beach—in tenth place—79 percent of students make that generational income leap. (The top school, with 85 percent, is in New Jersey.)[37] A study of Californian colleges undertaken by Richard Kahlenberg, a fellow at the Century Foundation and a vocal champion for the goal of socioeconomic diversity, revealed that without the crutch of race-conscious policies, officials were forced to find other ways to make their student body diverse, and many did so by pursuing socioeconomic diversity—which ended up yielding more racial diversity as well. In seven of ten colleges Kahlenberg and his colleague studied, black and Hispanic attendance *rose* after the affirmative action ban.[38]

==**Merely being conscious of race when reviewing applications is not enough; students need real support long before they apply for college, and after they get there.**==

Class, then, may prove to be a more effective filter than just race. This is not to minimize the corrosive effects of racial discrimination directed at any stratum of society, but it does reflect the irrefutable reality that the effects of racism, and of every other kind of prejudice, are greatly amplified at the lower ends of the socioeconomic spectrum. Kahlenberg finds an unassailable champion for his view in the American civil rights movement: "It is a simple matter of justice that America, in dealing creatively with the task of raising the Negro from backwardness, should also be rescuing a large stratum of the forgotten white poor," Dr. Martin Luther King wrote in his classic text *Why We Can't Wait*.[39]

Notwithstanding their pedigree, even reasonable critiques of attempts at inclusion are difficult to articulate while a more fundamental controversy roils over any efforts made at all to include minority groups. During a period of unprecedented scrutiny of police shootings of black men (and children),

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six in ten white Americans said they believe discrimination against white people is as big an issue today as discrimination against people of colour, according to a Public Religion Research Institute and Brookings Institution survey.[40] A Pew Research Survey this year reported that only 36 percent of white people agreed that racial discrimination is a barrier to black people getting ahead today, compared with nearly twice as many black Americans[41]—interesting to contrast with a poll by the same group three years ago in which a majority of white respondents said they support affirmative action programs on campus.[42]

Discussions of coming demographic change appear to amplify the anxiety. Studies reveal that white subjects who are first shown demographic data of a future when whites no longer make up the majority are more likely to respond fearfully to survey questions about ethnic minorities.[43] Economic uncertainty has a similar dampening effect on tolerance and openness. In the book *Strangers In Their Own Land*, sociologist Arlie Hochschild reports on the frustration expressed by many white working-class Americans that they have been waiting patiently for prosperity, but that visible minorities are now cutting in line, with unfair advantages.[44] These attitudes are lent support by tangible action from the Trump administration, including a U.S. Department of Justice plan to assist legal challenges to affirmative action.

For now, sober progressive critiques of diversity and inclusion occupy a misshapen public space that also encompasses more self-serving arguments. It's a strange coalition: advocates for fuller kinds of diversity; people who interrogate the language and structure of race-conscious hiring; those who view any such accommodations as racism against white people; minorities who object to the insinuation in the language of diversity—however unintentional—that the old way, unfettered by demands of social justice, was a purer, virtuous pursuit of merit.

The diversity versus meritocracy argument is a particularly aggravating one, facilitated by apparent oblivion of the mediocre white men through time who were hired or promoted, and of the role of social or financial suasion in getting them there. In truth, real meritocracy would bar privilege of every kind. Some proponents of the invisible-hand approach might be surprised to discover that their patron saint, Adam Smith, was a believer in equality and merit to the extent that he argued against inherited wealth. "A power to dispose of estates for ever is manifestly absurd," he proclaimed. "The earth and the fullness of it belongs to every generation, and the preceding one can have no right to bind it up from posterity."[45] In the instance of a meritocracy so complete, it must be said, we would surely have a lot less need for inclusion programs of any kind.

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There are glimmers of hope for the reality of inclusion. In his book *Making a Global City*, Robert Vipond tells the story of a single Toronto school, Clinton Street Public School, in a community settled by waves of new immigrants through much of the 20th century. In 1921, 90 percent of students were from what some might call "old stock" Canadian or British immigrant families. By the 1950s, at least half the students were Jewish. By the mid-1970s the school was changing again—a protean marvel of ethnocultural diversity, teeming with students of Italian, Portuguese, Latin American, and East Asian origin.[46] This was not just demographic inclusion at work; teachers were creative, and responsive to the changing student body. In the 1940s, with the school's Jewish population on the rise, and a legal mandate to provide Christian instruction, the teachers simply decided to quietly ignore the law. In the 1950s, the school developed its own English as a Second Language curriculum, long before such a thing formally existed at the school board level. Clinton School was a thriving experiment in multiculturalism that is remarkably relevant today.

In truth, real meritocracy would bar privilege of every kind.

Across the Atlantic, five decades later, is another intriguing model, if a very different one: Iceland, a veritable utopia of gender-based inclusion where 48 percent of all MPs, close to half of board members of listed companies, and 65 percent of university students are women (though one hopes the scales aren't going to tilt much further one way). Every parent in Iceland is given 3 months of paid parental leave, and 90 percent of fathers take it. Iceland's government became the first in the world to mandate pay equity based on gender, and the country famously had a woman president from

1980 to 1996, and a female prime minister in the aughts.

There are lessons in both, as there are in the Indian and South African projects of inclusion. Democracies (Canada, Iceland, India, and South Africa all qualify), and liberal democracies, in particular, have an undeniable advantage when it comes to fostering inclusion. But to do it successfully takes more. Change appears to works best when it trickles up, or is at least supported by shifts, and creative thinking, at the grassroots level. A robust civil society also helps. This does not mean that policy work at the state level isn't important; it is crucial, but policy efforts at social inclusion seem to work best in concert with social change. It's not a coincidence that long before Iceland's pay equity laws or parental-leave policies came a day of protest, in 1975, in which 90 percent of Icelandic women—teachers, doctors, housewives, accountants—set down their tools and refused to work.

Any effort to build inclusion, on the street or inside corporate headquarters, therefore, has to address our perceptions. This deeper, truer kind of inclusion, unlike its quick-fix political facsimiles, takes time, but it is also more likely to endure.

This is because the most vital change doesn't begin at the level of behaviour. Laws, hiring guidelines, and admissions policies can mandate against racist or sexist or homophobic acts, but it is impossible to legislate against racist or sexist or homophobic thought—not to mention undesirable to try. Thought finds political and social and cultural expression; it elects presidents and prime ministers and decides the outcomes of referenda. Any effort to build inclusion, on the street or inside corporate headquarters, therefore, has to address our perceptions. This deeper, truer kind of inclusion, unlike its quick-fix political facsimiles, takes time, but it is also more likely to endure. The distinction between merely changing behaviour and a more

fundamental change in thought is as important for excluded groups as anyone else: essential human dignity matters as much as, if not more than, economic opportunity. "The truth alone triumphs"—not "We want those civil-service jobs"—was a slogan of India's independence movement, now enshrined on its national emblem. "Dignity before bread," as the historian Leon Aron has written, was the rallying cry of the Tunisian revolution.[47]

How we think and talk about inclusion, then, is as important as what we say or do about it. We have to somehow find a way to sympathetically bridge the difference between those who view societal inclusion as a zero-sum game—inclusion for some, however worthy of help, necessitates exclusion for others—and those who understand that inclusion for all actually increases the sum in the long run. It is possible, and indeed vital, to resolve this, and to do so without reducing inclusion to a market argument. But it is difficult to imagine many hearts or minds being changed in the fractious, vitriolic public arenas in which such conversations are now happening. The xenophobia being whipped up by Brexiteers and Trumpians, by their alt-right counterparts in our own country, speak to the worst angels of our nature—all of us. Those who lean toward the same troubling biases are tipped that way entirely. Many on the other side emerge increasingly radicalized. One cannot blame them, and cannot help but lament the narrowed possibility for a shared public conversation, a common arena for debate. To ask the former group to be less angry or extreme seems futile; to ask the latter is read as re-victimizing victims, placing on them the burden for change.

In the discourse, as in the sphere of policy, the burden for change must rest somewhere. A remarkable study about transphobia published in *Science* magazine last year overturned decades of conventional thinking about the effectiveness of political persuasion.[48] The study, conducted by two researchers, David Broockman and Joshua Kalla, was based on door-to-door canvassing of five hundred voters in Miami-Dade county, where a local ordinance was put in place protecting transgender people from discrimination. Broockman and Kalla, as it happens, had just debunked an earlier, similar study whose data and methods did not hold up. In the new study, which the pair led, canvassers conducted a ten-minute

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interview explicitly aimed at changing voters' minds, as well as before-and-after surveys. Later follow-ups tracked whether the change stuck. The study's revelation, which attracted attention from political scientists across the country, was that ten minutes of conversation did change many people's minds. It was in fact possible to shift opinion by talking. (Sometimes even subtler messages can have a similar effect; researchers in the minority-ads study found that ads that contained words like "gentle" or "forgiving" drew a less negative response from consumers who felt excluded than ads that didn't. A suggestion of compassion seemed to evoke that sentiment in the subjects.)

But what if you have been having the same conversation for years and getting nowhere? A number of Indigenous writers, leaders, and individuals scattered across Canada have evinced fatigue and anger at pointing out the same truths for half a century, over three major national commissions, with little change on the ground. This has come hand in hand with shifts in theories of aboriginal law, and recently there has been a move among some Indigenous people, though not all, to not identifying as Canadian at all. Some Indigenous commentators online have suggested the term "Indigenous Canadian" is an oxymoron, if not worse. For the rest of the country, it can appear as a new challenge—the elevation of the multinational concept to a next level, just as many have had a belated awakening on the shameful truth about Indigenous issues, have arrived at a new commitment to the idea that their country must *include,* in every way, Indigenous Canada. Are these the most painful effects of historical distortions of a people's identity, one course of which is to radicalize? Or is this in fact the natural progression of a modern multinational state, the recognition of many nations within its borders?

It may be both. In some ways this may be, for better or worse, a variation on the position staked by Quebec, whose citizens, incidentally, a decade or two ago went from identifying as French-Canadian to viewing themselves as Québécois. Maurice Richard has spoken of being criticized by the Francophonie for continuing to call himself French-Canadian after the rest of the province had moved on. Quebec's rhetorical shift did not alarm English Canada in the same way, and this may not reflect a deep-seated racism as much as the fact that it

happened largely in the French-language press, unobserved by much of the rest of the country. (There are, of course, also implications of other differences in the case of Indigenous peoples, among them the existence of treaties and land rights.) Indigenous individuals who reject the label of Canadian don't all live in one geographic area, but they did literally have different nations of their own long before Canada existed. And this shift is happening in what, for now, remains the dominant language of national Indigenous discourse: English. The rest of Canada is more aware of it, and this is surely a good thing, even if the conversation is then a more complicated one.

Opting out is another choice articulated by some, including the London-based writer Reni Eddo-Lodge, author of the book *Why I'm No Longer Talking to White People about Race.* Eddo-Lodge has written about the crushing "emotional disconnect" of trying to articulate racialized personal experience to a white person who is stubbornly oblivious to the existence of structural racism, of other, less privileged ways of experiencing the world. "Amid every conversation about Nice White People feeling silenced by conversations about race," she wrote in the *Guardian*, "there is a sort of ironic and glaring lack of understanding or empathy for those of us who have been visibly marked out as different for our entire lives, and live the consequences. It's truly a lifetime of self-censorship that people of colour have to live."[49] Whether or not this is a universal experience—whether or not any universal experience exists for people of colour, or any people—it is undeniably a reality for many, and the act of writing the book is a profound attempt to communicate it. Notwithstanding the book's title, this is the opposite of shutting down the conversation. In her writings, in interviews, Eddo-Lodge is speaking to *everyone* about race, including white people who feel remotely inclined to listen. It is a book that should change minds.

Still, its title, perfectly reflective of the high emotional pitch of social media, also raises questions. Can inclusion rest on the exclusion of some? Does it *need* the exclusion of some because even to include those voices is to perpetuate past wrongs? There is a natural friction between groups who want change and groups who are served by the status quo: the latter can exert an aerodynamic

drag on movement forward. But what do we do with unwanted voices that are a majority? It's easy to forget, for instance, with all the demographic projections and the discourse of a multicultural Canada, that we still live in a state where 80 percent of the population is white. It would seem unrealistic, not to mention exclusionary, to think we can build an inclusive society while tuning out or turning down that 80 percent, even if some of them (a minority, it is worth mentioning) are saying things we find abhorrent.

There is a principle at stake, of not allowing debates about inclusion to happen in an exclusionary way. The new vogue in the West is for a modulation of the conversation by suppression, a desire for the silencing of not merely hateful opinion, but divergent perspectives of many kinds. (It occurs even while some countries around the globe are developing a free press and free speech for the first time.) The argument made is that certain conversations must stop for other, more productive ones to occur; and anyway, it is impossible to silence the powerful majority. It is difficult to see how a modern, inclusive society benefits from the broader streak of illiberalism represented here. Does the suppression of some views not logically encompass the potential suppression of any or all views? Can a free society support the kinds of intolerance—including an intolerance of religion— that have become commonplace in modern progressive thought? Freedom of thought and speech are deliberately blind to content; making the freedom contingent on *which* thought or words defeats the point.

In this mode of thinking, it is not only racism or prejudice that is shut down, but also many other voices, including progressive ones—people broadly aligned with the underlying values who may not speak precisely the same forceful, coded language of online activism. This is all the more poignant given that these political or social constraints on speech have no effect at all on those fully committed to illiberalism and to the free expression of ideas of xenophobia, racial superiority, sexism, and social injustice.

There is another pragmatic argument to be made. The support of the majority is surely vital to the long-term health of minority rights. Even successful movements that have risen up from the grassroots have found support among the majority, or from cultural or political elites. (While this reality is far from desirable, significant research shows that policy is disproportionately influenced by the affluent. When there is a divergence in the preferences of the poor and the rich, it is the preferences of people in the 90th percentile of income that drive policy, and the racial majority is well-represented in that group. It may be more productive to challenge and change those preferences than ignore them.)[50] And while it may be impossible to silence the majority, it is certainly possible for a majority to *feel* silenced, which is a political obstacle as well as a moral and social one.

And while it may be impossible to silence the majority, it is certainly possible for a majority to *feel* silenced, which is a political obstacle as well as a moral and social one.

The problems of a mildly uncomfortable majority are, of course, not the concern of activists demanding the most basic forms of inclusion for black Americans, or Indigenous Canadians, or any other disadvantaged group. Nor should they be. Discomfort pales before real economic and social injustice, and in any case the work of activists has generally been to throw rhetorical grenades, to build pressure in the system, to remind everyone that these debates have stakes, and to shift the conversation from the edges. This is important work. Yet it is also a fact that a position of discomfort is not one from which people will act with the greatest generosity or fairness. The frustration of activists is understandable; they don't want to negotiate with people who refuse to "get it." We cannot then leave this entirely to the activists. Responses have to come from somewhere else, too—from minorities who are *not* too exhausted to talk about it, from reasonable members of the majority who don't default to one of a few modes currently available in the popular discourse, which include angry reactionary; sanctimonious, slightly self-loathing recovering white person; and silent observer. They have to come from the middle, and be heard by the middle, which means they may have to come outside the polarized zones of social media.

Countries such as Canada and Australia have staked a lot in the idea of achieving inclusion by recognizing, and accommodating, difference. That mode of thinking has migrated from courts and parliament houses out into the public arena. In the public discourse, the challenge is in how we as citizens can achieve that recognition of particularity, and answer its demands, while still achieving a recognition of the universal—respect for all groups, and people. We could do worse than to consider the advice of the American philosopher Martha Nussbaum, who has written about the value of applying the literary imagination in a judicial context. Adopting the posture of "concerned reader of a novel," she writes, allows a jurist to be merciful.[51] For the lay person too, there is much to be said for viewing the world this way, to approach our disparate fellow humans with genuine curiosity and sympathy, with a desire to understand "the entire complex history of their efforts."[52] Taking in the lives of others, and their whole stories, would allow us to be more compassionate, and like Nussbaum's reader, to participate, and observe, to expand what we see.

Inclusion has been described as a "mutually beneficial state for both the community and the individual."[53] Much rides on that "mutually beneficial." True inclusion improves life for each of us, and for all of us. The language of a politics of difference, as we use it in Canada today, relies on what is owed to distinct groups and individuals, the rights of citizens. But ultimately those distinct groups, and indeed all groups, owe something to each other, too. This can be hard to remember in discussions of inclusion and exclusion, which often bring into clear view the failures of governments. But it is nevertheless true. What we owe each other is a question for governments to answer, but it is also a question for individuals to untangle: what our responsibilities are as citizens, what our obligations are to those different from us, and what we owe to our communities—each of us, and all of us.

Sarmishta Subramanian
September 2017

It is more fundamentally about how we see our place in the world, about our ability to imagine and achieve a good life in every area that is meaningful to us.

Defining inclusion is so difficult in part because inclusion depends on perceptions—of fairness, of equity—which vary depending on the person doing the seeing. In fact, questions of perception lie at the very heart of the question. Inclusion, after all, is not merely about literal rules—legalizing gay marriage or mandating equal access to services. It is more fundamentally about how we see our place in the world, about our ability to imagine and achieve a good life in every area that is meaningful to us. The deprivation or confinement of this ability limits the richness of that life; its expansion sustains that vision, allows it to flourish. The capacity of all citizens to have this, in turn, allows a society to flourish.

INCLUSION: THE NEW CALCULUS OF DIVERSITY

In addition to exploring *what we mean when we talk about inclusion*, it is important to look at *what we do when we talk about inclusion*.

As the previous essay lays out, workplaces play a vital role in building citizenship and fostering inclusion. They are where our ideas of inclusion are tested anew every day. Increasingly, businesses see their challenge as more than simply mirroring our changing society. They're eyeing an opportunity to harness that diverse society for an economy that's more inclusive, sustainable, and innovative.

To better understand how workplace inclusion can foster stronger companies and spur economic growth, we conducted an extensive survey and series of follow-up interviews and roundtables with some of the country's largest employers. Between July and September 2017, Royal Bank of Canada and the Institute for Canadian Citizenship surveyed 64 leading organizations that collectively employ 1.2 million Canadians. The purpose was not to paint a rosy picture or pat ourselves on the back for diversity well done. Rather, we wanted to capture the fences of the discussion, by laying out where organizations did well, and where they fell short of their own ambitions. We wanted to know: how can companies ensure diversity isn't window-dressing? How can they leverage diversity to better compete on the world stage? And how can they make it easier for their organizations to seek inclusion of thought, and not just inclusion of identity?

The results of the survey are fully laid out in the appendices. We found the majority of organizations surveyed see themselves as being diverse, and often go to great lengths to foster diversity within their ranks. However, while they are successful at building diverse workplaces, the next step of inclusion often remains elusive.

The stakes are enormous. Medical providers are under pressure to deliver health care to more people at less cost. Resource companies must respond to climate change and other environmental challenges. Technology firms are striving to capture the promise of artificial intelligence without inflicting its cost on untold millions. Solving these challenges will be easier if we manage to get the best out of all our citizens. One-fifth of Canadians are designated visible minorities, they are younger than the overall population, and their numbers are growing. That trend will continue as immigration becomes the leading source of population growth. Canada is welcoming some 300,000 immigrants annually, and the current government wants to increase that number significantly. The obstacles to gender inclusion are equally daunting. Some 60 percent of Canadian females aged 25-64 have post-secondary degrees, the highest level in the OECD. Ensuring they have a presence and a voice at the highest echelons of the Canadian economy must be a priority. Those achievements, however, would not be nearly enough. Our shortcomings in promoting inclusion for people with disabilities is disturbing. And in workplaces across our survey, the exclusion of indigenous peoples remains the greatest challenge of all.

Teck Resources

Mining is dirty and loud. The industry's workforce is aging. And many think it is still an old boys' club. For Canadian mining giant Teck Resources, these factors stood in the way of recruiting more female and Indigenous employees. It explored ways to make that happen, and discovered it had to get back to basics. Goggles and helmets that fit women was one step. The company has since expanded those efforts, altering its talent-development practices and training employees to recognize unconscious bias. Teck knows that its future lies in convincing women, Indigenous peoples and millennials that there is a future for them in an old industry.

In analyzing the results of that survey, five key findings emerged.

1. **Understanding diversity: achieved.**
Canadian employers know what diversity looks like, agree on the benefits of a diverse workforce, and have made it a priority. Most of the firms surveyed (88 percent) defined diversity as the dimensions/characteristics that differentiate us (race, gender, sexual orientation, physical ability, and the like) but must be respected. Around half considered invisible characteristics, such as work style, as reflective of diversity. A sizable majority said they have programs to develop a diverse pipeline of talent, and affinity groups to provide support and networking opportunities to employee subsets. Around 55 percent of firms attempt to measure the impact of diversity initiatives. Some 48 percent use a diversity scorecard to evaluate their progress; 97 percent of them said their scorecards help raise the profile of their diversity efforts among organizational leaders.

2. **Diversity is still about gender.**
More than 80 percent of the study's participants pointed to greater gender diversity as a measure of their diversification efforts' success. While that's a positive sign, there is plenty of evidence in Canada that women's participation in senior management ranks and in boardrooms continues to lag behind other countries. More than half of the participants felt they have not done enough to include women. The areas where most participants said they still fall short include employing indigenous people and individuals with disabilities.

3. **Inclusion is in the eye of the beholder.**
While all our participants agreed that inclusion is good, they were deeply divided on its meaning, whether it is: (1) an active process of integration; (2) an outcome (such as being respected or valued); (3) a tool that can be used to advance strategic objectives; or, (4) some combination of the first three options. The difficulty of defining inclusion explains the difficulty the participants had in measuring it: many have taken the path of least resistance by relying on employee engagement surveys, rather than trying to quantify its impact on business.

4. **Diversity and inclusion reside in HR. Innovation, elsewhere.**
When asked to rank the top three reasons to invest in diversity and inclusion, close to two-thirds of respondents identified the ability to attract and retain talent. A smaller number see it as a way to increase employee engagement. Many organizations focus their measurement of diversity and inclusion efforts around hiring and retention, but the human resources angle on diversity is only the tip of the iceberg. Roundtable participants worry this approach significantly curtails an employer's ability to connect the dots between diversity, inclusion, and overall company performance. When asked if they measure the strategic impact of diversity and inclusion, 52 percent had metrics for employee engagement, while only 11 percent had metrics for innovation.

5. **Diversity needs data. So does inclusion.**
Around 40 percent said their organization didn't have metrics to measure the impact, efficacy, or return on investment of diversity initiatives, and that number rose to 47 percent with respect to inclusion initiatives. For those who did have metrics for their inclusion initiatives, the vast majority relied on engagement surveys rather than try to measure the actual return such programs provide.

Torys LLP

Law firms can be pressure cookers. Tough clients. Long hours. For Torys, one of the country's leading law firms, the challenge is being inclusive at every stage of the career cycle—whether the lawyer is just out of school or juggling professional and family challenges. Torys has worked to champion junior and mid-level women associates. And it created a "Women in Business Development Program" that focuses on boosting one's profile and handling challenges like boardroom interruptions. Torys is now working to ensure there's constant dialogue between the firm's diversity committee and its various affinity groups.

The results from the survey point to the need for new thinking on diversity and inclusion. In our roundtable discussions with the survey participants, they already had some ideas. *Don't leave diversity and inclusion to the Human Resources department.* It should be be a preoccupation across the organization. *Turn to data—it's a language that business understands.* Figure out ways to measure the business impact of inclusion. *Make sure diversity and inclusion reaches an organization's highest echelons.* Paying lip-service to inclusion won't work if the people running the company are cut from the same cloth.

Rogers Communications

The cable and communications giant began to see diversity and inclusion as a strategic priority only three years ago. It's now racing to make diversity and inclusion second-nature across the organization— no easy feat for a company with nine major businesses. It has asked each of those businesses to implement a diversity scorecard, and has one for the organization as a whole. To underscore that it means business, Rogers is using diversity and inclusion metrics to hold senior leaders to account.

Hootsuite

The tech industry has a diversity problem—just look at the negative headlines some firms have received over their failure to hire or retain women and minorities. Hootsuite, a fast-growing social media company, worries about investing millions to foster change without seeing concrete results, and then being publicly lambasted for its shortcomings. The Vancouver firm is embracing both tested and disruptive methods to tackle the inclusion problem: on the one hand, implementing unconscious bias training; one the other, toying with the idea of doing away with affinity groups altogether.

APPENDIX 1: RESEARCH METHODOLOGY

The Royal Bank of Canada and the Institute for Canadian Citizenship conducted the survey from July to September 2017. In total, 132 organizations were invited to participate. Large employers from the FP500 were asked, but hospitals, universities, and smaller (by number of employees) law firms and technology companies were also included in order to make the sample more representative of the Canadian economy.

The survey was sent via email to senior human resources and/or diversity and inclusion leaders in each organization. Respondents were asked: (1) if they were knowledgeable about their organization's diversity and inclusion practices; and, (2) if they had the authority to complete the survey on behalf of their organization. If not, respondents were asked to forward the survey to the proper person or team within their respective organization. Participating companies and their responses are kept anonymous.

The final sample consists of 64 organizations. Collectively they employ over 1.2 million Canadians: the smallest organization employs 500 individuals, while the largest organization has nearly 160,000 full time employees. The average employer size is 19,000 and the median of the sample is 7,900.

Globally, these organizations employ 3 million individuals. Overall, 86% of the organizations are headquartered in Canada. Even when the hospitals and universities are removed from the sample, 80% of the remaining companies are Canadian. Of the organizations surveyed, 29.6% are public sector organizations, including 9 major research universities.

In addition, RBC and ICC conducted ten in-depth interviews to gain further insights into specific industries and companies. We want to thank Dalhousie University, Hootsuite, KPMG Canada, RBC, Rogers Communications, Sunnybrook Hospital, Teck Resources, Torys LLP, Toyota Canada, and WestJet for sharing their insights into the challenges and opportunities they face in fostering inclusion in their workplaces. Employer roundtables were also held in Toronto and Montreal in late August and early September 2017 to discuss preliminary findings from the report and to gather additional qualitative data.

APPENDIX 2: RESPONDENT DEMOGRAPHICS

Nearly half (45%) of respondents were large organizations that employ more than 10,000 full-time workers. By looking at respondents' websites and annual reports, we calculated that the 64 organizations surveyed employ 1.2 million Canadians and a total of 3 million full-time workers worldwide.

Respondents represented a wide range of industries in Canada. Health care and education were the most common, with 14% each, but the remaining 72% of organizations came from the private sector. The in-depth interviews covered 10 out of 13 sectors.
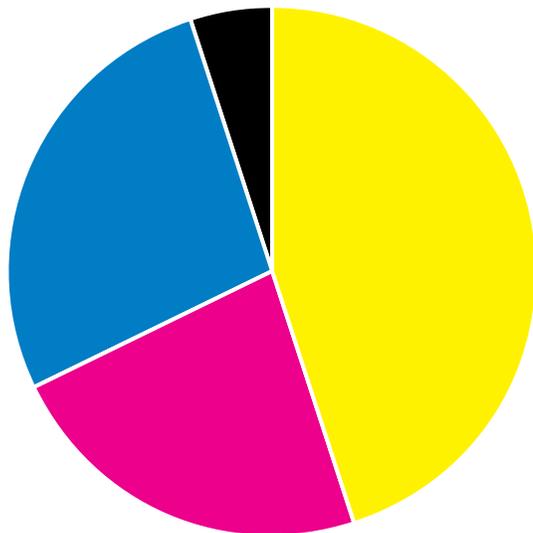
RESPONDENTS BY NUMBER OF FULL-TIME WORKERS

- More than 10,000 (45%)
- 5,000 to 10,000 (23%)
- 1,000 to 4,999 (27%)
- 500 to 999 (5%)

RESPONDENTS BY PRIMARY INDUSTRY

- Health care/ Life sciences (14%)
- Education (14%)
- Financial Services (13%)
- Energy and Utilities (9%)
- Telecom and Media (8%)
- Law (8%)
- Other (6%)
- Professional Services (6%)
- Consumer Goods/ Manufacturing (6%)
- Mining (5%)
- Technology (5%)
- Retail (3%)
- Travel and Hospitality (3%)

APPENDIX 3: SURVEY RESULTS

The Business Case

Canadian employers overwhelmingly agree on the benefits of having a diverse workforce and an inclusive workplace. Evidence of this includes: (1) every respondent either strongly agreed (87%) or agreed (13%) that inclusive teams make better decisions than teams that are not inclusive; (2) a majority either strongly disagreed (34%) or disagreed (34%) that diversity and inclusion can have drawbacks; and (3) 82% of respondents strongly agree that inclusion is required to translate diversity into performance results such as innovation.

There is also a consensus overall from nearly every employer that their respective organizations should do more to build a diverse workforce (46% strongly agreed and 48% agreed) and to foster a more inclusive workplace (52% strongly agreed and 41% agreed). Similarly, when asked if their "organization takes full advantage of the benefits offered by the diversity of its workforce," 13% disagreed, 20% neither agreed nor disagreed, and 56% agreed—indicating that a small minority do not take advantage of diversity's benefits, while the majority of companies can further leverage its advantages.

TO WHAT EXTENT DOES YOUR ORGANIZATION AGREE WITH THE FOLLOWING STATEMENTS:
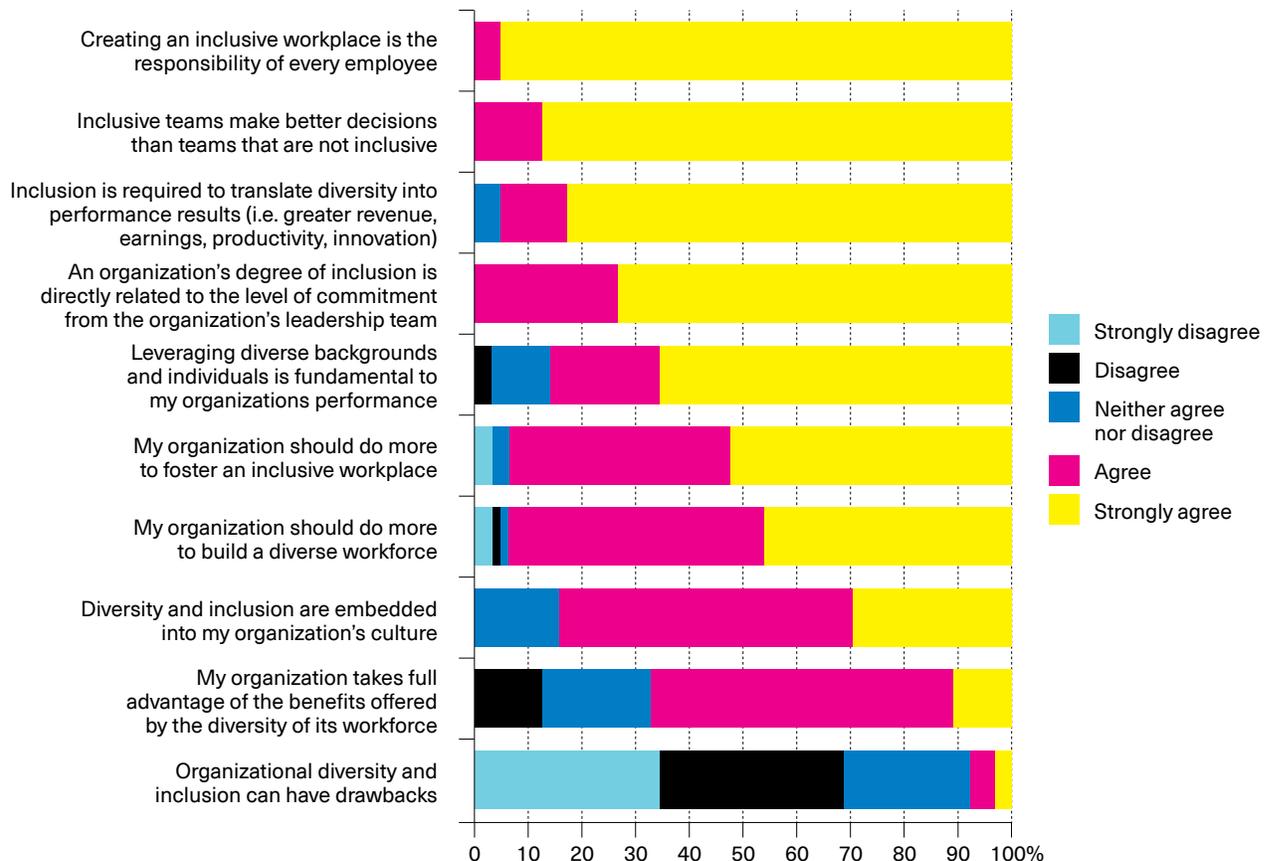
Priorities

Respondents were asked to take stock of their diversity and inclusion efforts in two ways. They were asked both where their organizations "have improved" and "need to improve" regarding diversity and inclusion within their workplaces. Respondents were given a list of nine categories and were asked to rank their top three.

Gender was by far the most commonly identified area where diversity and inclusion has improved in the workplace, with 81% of respondents selecting it as one of their top three choices for diversity and 76% for inclusion. Looking to the future, approximately 4 in 10 Canadian employers stated

that they still need to improve their gender diversity and inclusion, suggesting that this is still an area that requires attention.

Organizations were most likely to say they lagged behind in diversity and inclusion with respect to indigenous peoples and persons with disabilities. Only a minority of respondents chose either category as one where they have improved, but over 80% chose Indigenous peoples and nearly two-thirds chose persons with disabilities as to where they need to improve their diversity. The two categories were tied at 65% each for where respondents need to improve their inclusion.
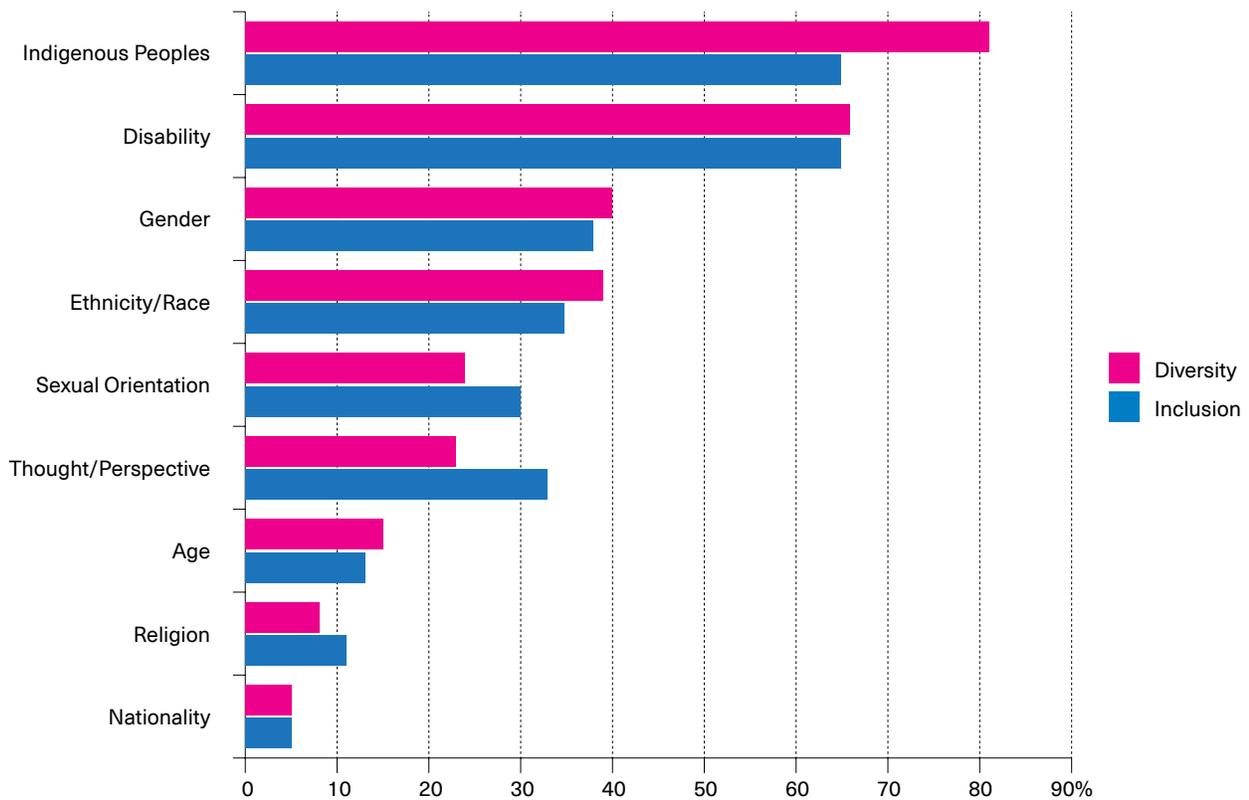
DIVERSITY AND INCLUSION—HAVE IMPROVED

Which of the following categories do you feel your organization has improved its diversity *in the most? Please rank top three.*
Which of the following categories do you feel your organization has improved its inclusion *of the most? Please rank top three.*
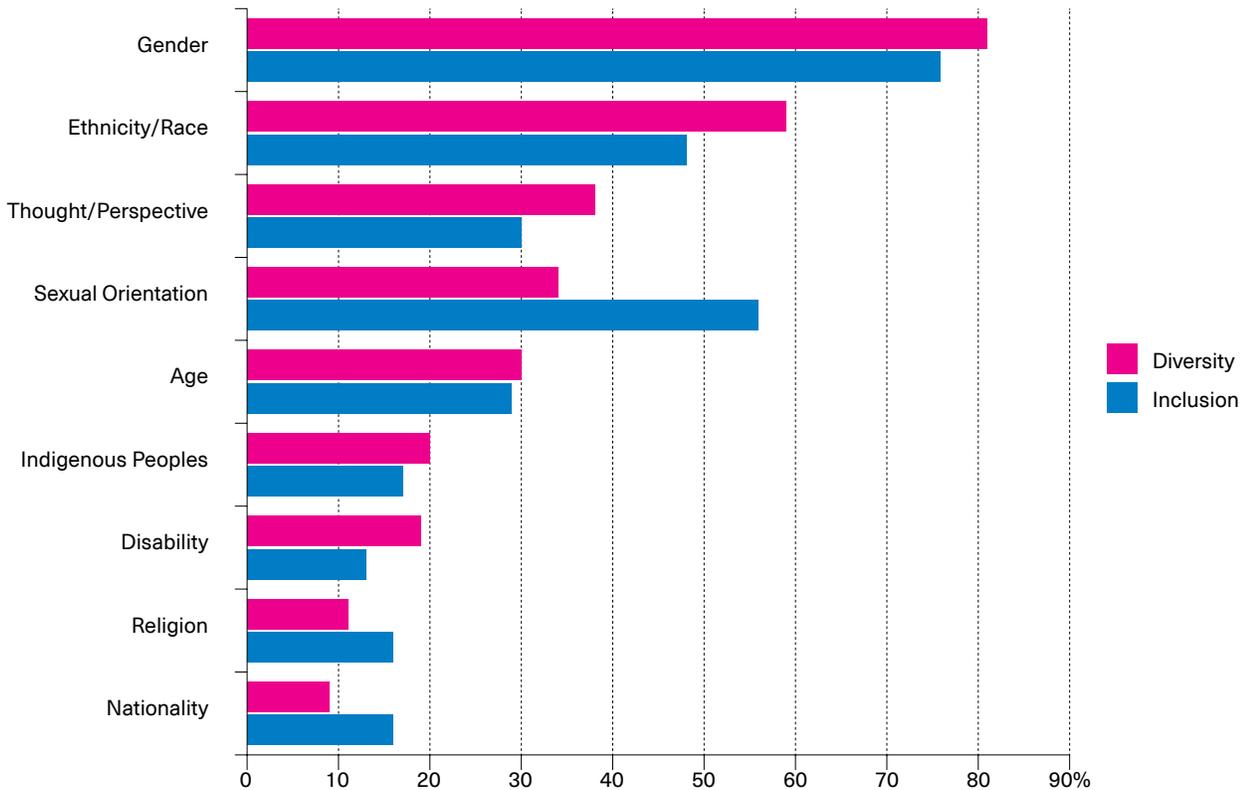
DIVERSITY AND INCLUSION—NEED TO IMPROVE

*Which of the following categories do you feel your organization needs to improve its **diversity** in the most? Please rank top three.*
*Which of the following categories do you feel your organization needs to improve its **inclusion** of the most? Please rank top three.*

Legend:
- Diversity
- Inclusion

Categories (top to bottom): Indigenous Peoples, Disability, Gender, Ethnicity/Race, Sexual Orientation, Thought/Perspective, Age, Religion, Nationality

Strategy

When asked what approach to diversity and inclusion (from the 2016 Global Diversity and Inclusion Benchmarks) characterizes your organization's strategy, the most common answer was: organizational development (35%), dignity (30%), social justice (17%), competence and skills (14%), and compliance (3%).

Employers use a wide variety of initiatives to foster a diverse workforce. Eight out of ten organizations use employee resource groups, three-quarters have programs in place to develop a pipeline of diverse talent, and 70% provide professional development opportunities for under-represented groups.

Nearly half (48%) of organizations reported using a diversity scorecard to annually track progress and performance on diversity and inclusion. Of those who have one, respondents find that having a diversity scorecard raises the profile of the

organization's diversity and inclusion initiatives among the senior leadership team (45% strongly agreed, 52% agreed, and 3% neither agreed nor disagreed). Almost every organization (93%) also said that it is part of their organization's strategic reporting. Nine out of ten reported that they conduct year-over-year comparisons of their scorecards as a means to hold leadership accountable on diversity and inclusion.

Finally, the overwhelming majority of organizations stated that their investment in diversity and inclusion will increase over the next five years, with 39% stating that it will increase significantly, 51% stating it will increase somewhat, and only 10% stating it will neither increase nor decrease.

PROGRAMS AND INITIATIVES TO PROMOTE DIVERSITY AND INCLUSION

My organization has the following programs and initiatives in place to foster a diverse workforce.
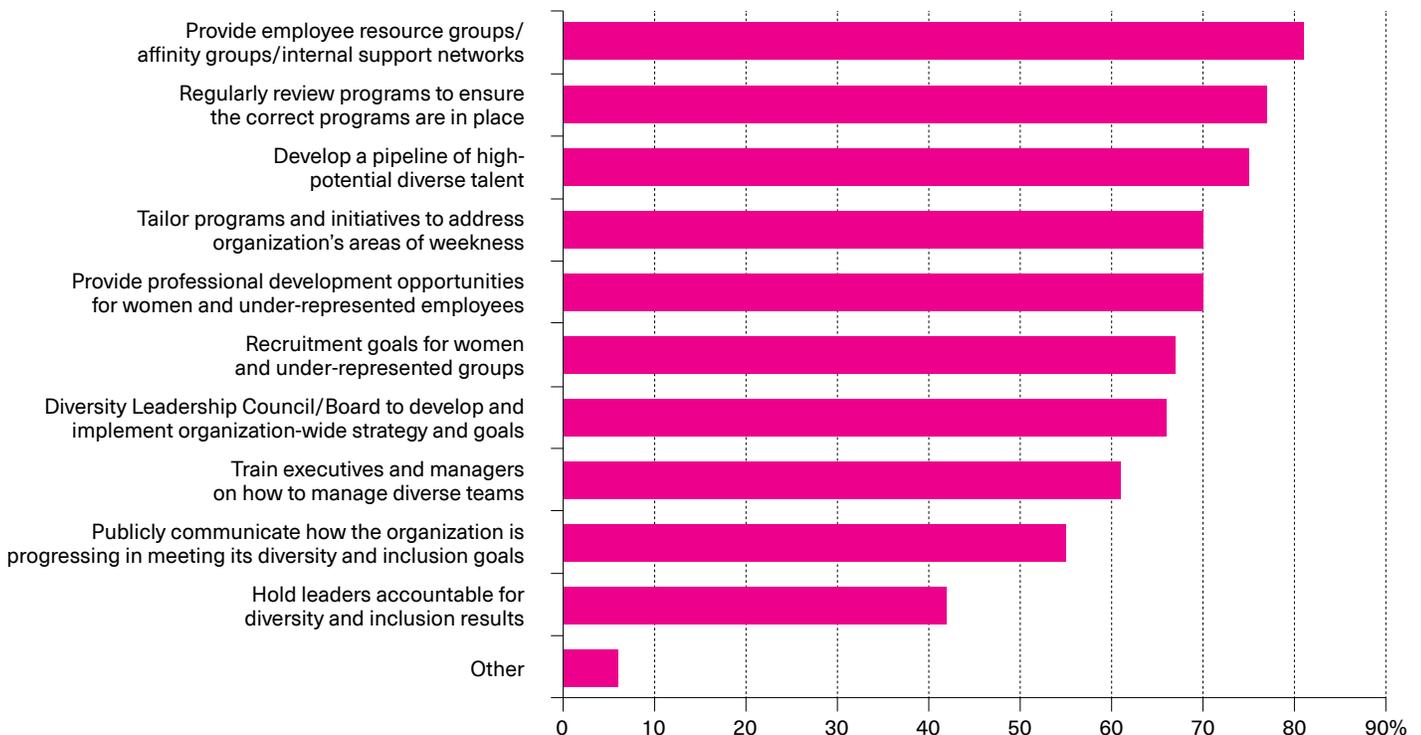
Measurement

Organizations use a range of metrics to measure diversity and inclusion, including representation by job level (75%), participating rates in diversity and inclusion training (67%), and inclusion-related questions on employee surveys (64%).

However, significantly fewer organizations have metrics to measure the strategic impact, efficacy, and/or return on investment of their diversity and inclusion initiatives. A slim majority (55%) has metrics for their diversity metrics and a slim minority (47%) has metrics for their inclusion initiatives. In both cases, 6% of respondents stated that they did not know whether they had these metrics.
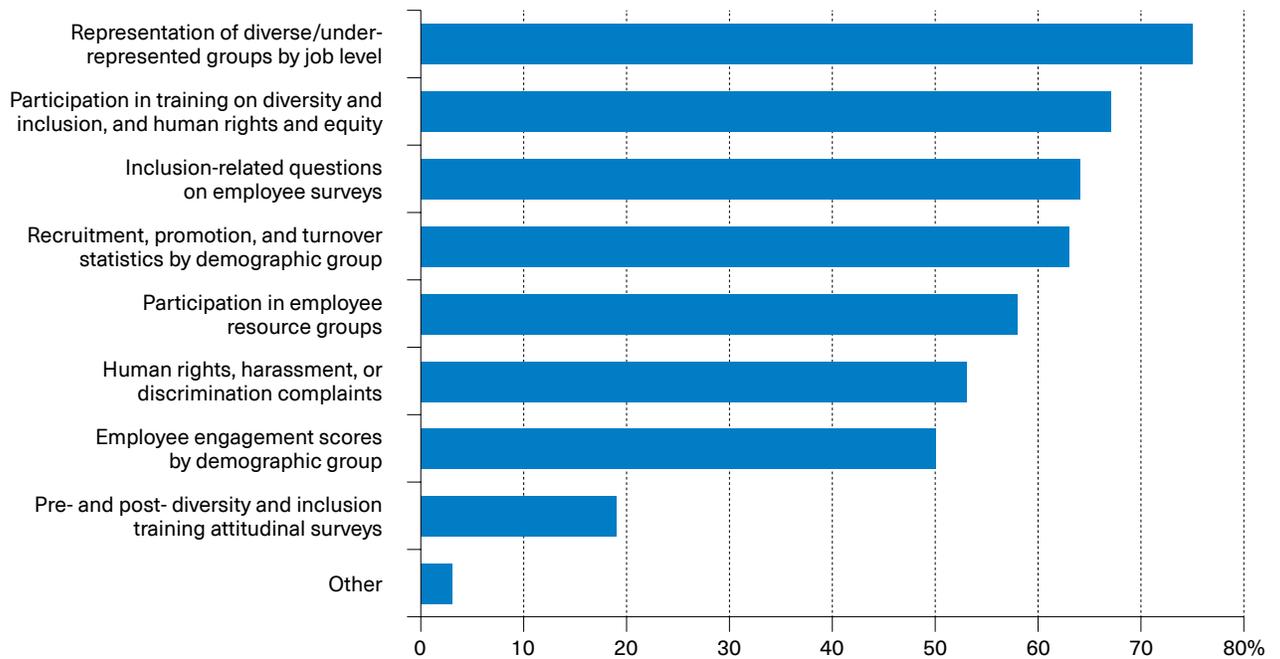
For those who stated that they have metrics to measure the impact of their inclusion initiatives, nearly every respondent (90%) stated that they use employee engagement survey responses in relation to inclusiveness. Similarly, nearly three-quarters (74%) use participation rates in inclusion programs.

The numbers then steadily fall for metrics measuring efficacy or ROI. This outcome suggests that the measurement of inclusion is still focused on employee engagement, rather than the strategic impact of fostering inclusion on the organization's performance.

Finally, Canadian employers overall do not hold their leaders or employees accountable for progress on diversity and inclusion. Of the three examples of accountability that we surveyed for, the results were low. Only 22% of respondents tied diversity and inclusion results to leaders' and managers' annual performance objectives. Twenty-seven percent incorporated diversity results into performance reviews of those at the partner and/or executive levels, and only 11% include diversity and inclusion competencies in the annual performance review of every employee.
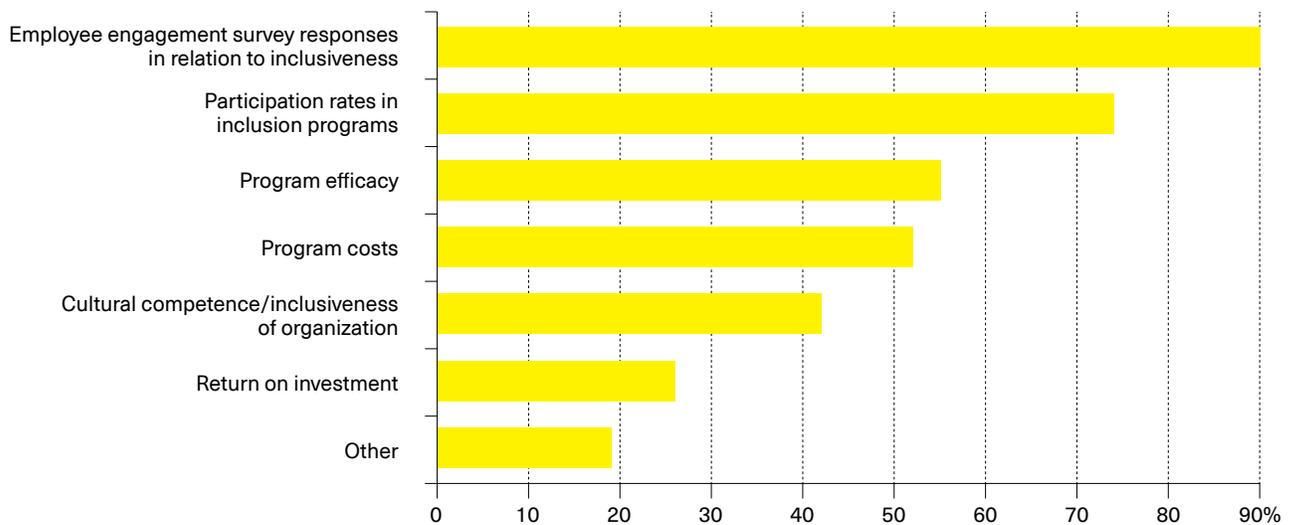
METRICS TO MEASURE THE EXISTENCE OF DIVERSITY AND INCLUSION

My organization uses the following metrics to measure diversity and inclusion.

Metric	Value
Representation of diverse/under-represented groups by job level	75
Participation in training on diversity and inclusion, and human rights and equity	66
Inclusion-related questions on employee surveys	63
Recruitment, promotion, and turnover statistics by demographic group	62
Participation in employee resource groups	57
Human rights, harassment, or discrimination complaints	52
Employee engagement scores by demographic group	50
Pre- and post- diversity and inclusion training attitudinal surveys	19
Other	3

(x-axis: 0 to 80%)

METRICS TO MEASURE IMPACT OF INCLUSION INITIATIVES

If yes [organization stated in previous question that it does measure the impact of its inclusion initiatives], my organization uses the following metrics to measure impact, efficacy, or ROI.

Metric	Value
Employee engagement survey responses in relation to inclusiveness	90
Participation rates in inclusion programs	74
Program efficacy	55
Program costs	52
Cultural competence/inclusiveness of organization	42
Return on investment	26
Other	19

(x-axis: 0 to 90%)
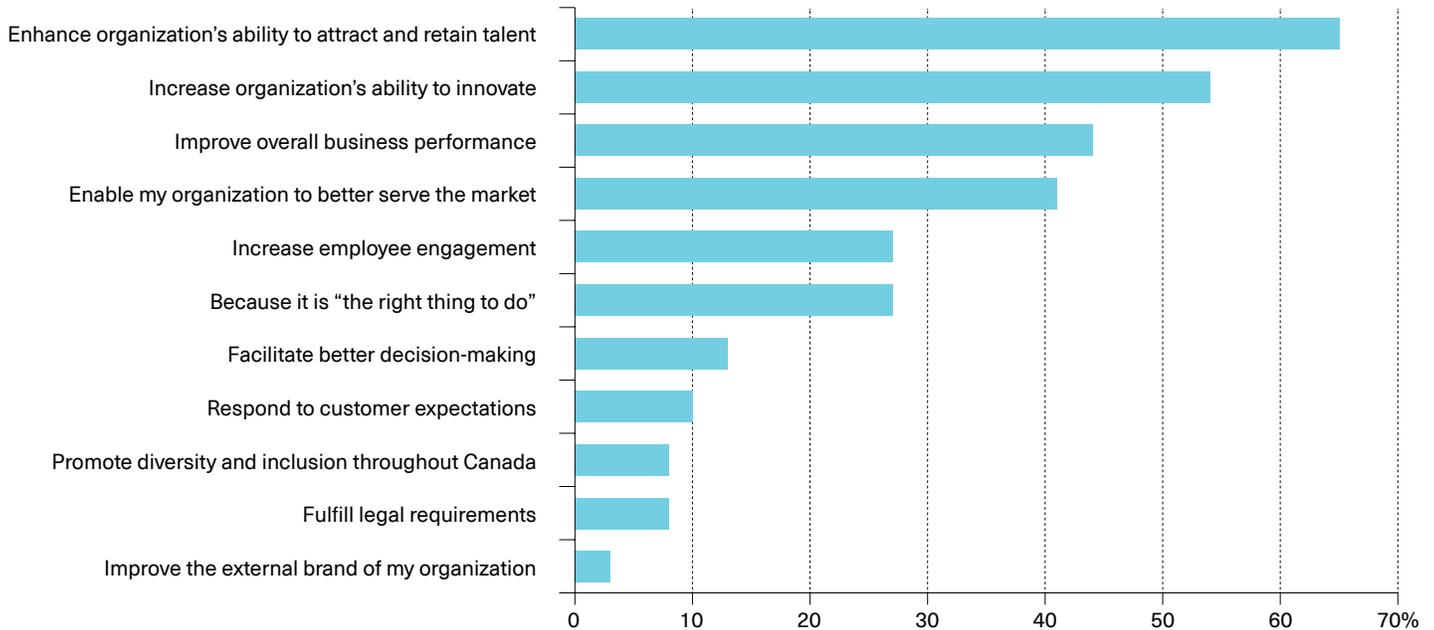
The Innovation Challenge

When asked to select the top three reasons why their organization invests in diversity and inclusion initiatives, the top answers reflected talent first, followed by innovation.

However, very few organizations have metrics to measure the impact of diversity and inclusion on their organizations. Removing the top seven performing organizations from the sample (those that measure at least six of the seven metrics), the number of employers tracking inclusion as a business driver plummets—red being the entire sample, blue being without the seven high-performing organizations. What remains are metrics to measure engagement and talent management, rather than innovation and the ability to make better decisions. This outcome suggests that only a handful of employers in Canada are at this advanced stage, while the overwhelming majority is not.
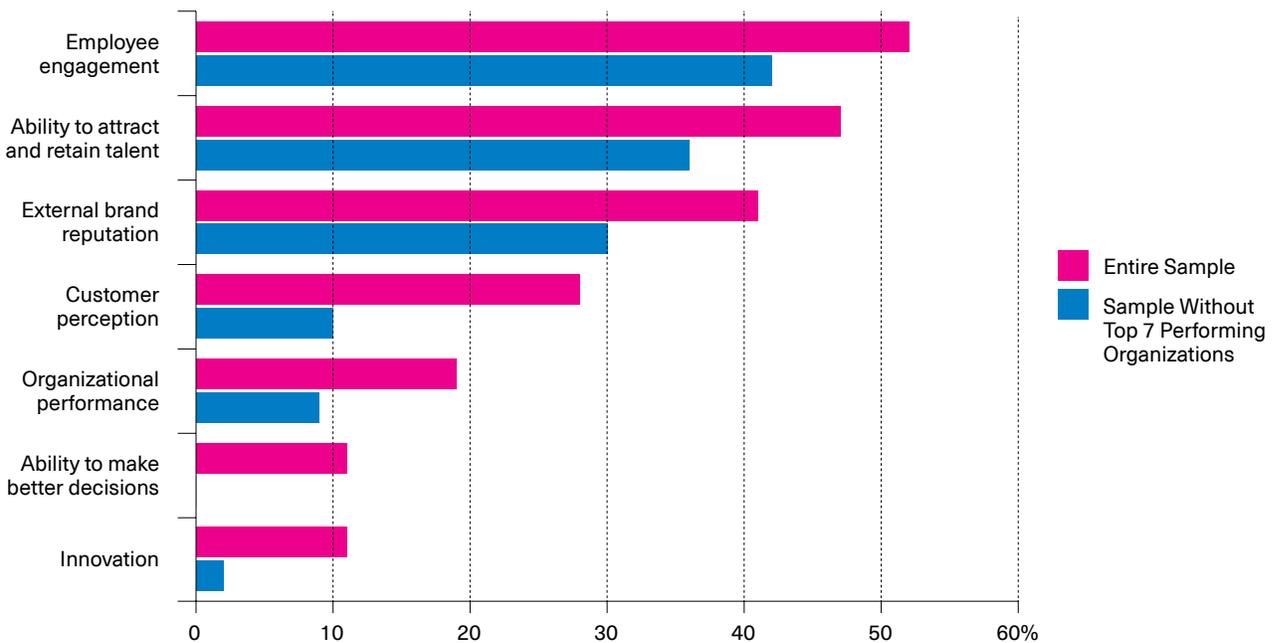
WHY ORGANIZATIONS INVEST IN DIVERSITY AND INCLUSION INITIATIVES

Please rank the top 3 reasons why your organization invests in diversity and inclusion initiatives.

Category	Value
Enhance organization's ability to attract and retain talent	~65
Increase organization's ability to innovate	~54
Improve overall business performance	~44
Enable my organization to better serve the market	~41
Increase employee engagement	~26
Because it is "the right thing to do"	~27
Facilitate better decision-making	~13
Respond to customer expectations	~10
Promote diversity and inclusion throughout Canada	~8
Fulfill legal requirements	~8
Improve the external brand of my organization	~3

MEASURING THE STRATEGIC IMPACT OF DIVERSITY AND INCLUSION

My organization measures the impact of our diversity and inclusion practices on:

Category	Entire Sample	Sample Without Top 7 Performing Organizations
Employee engagement	~53	~43
Ability to attract and retain talent	~47	~36
External brand reputation	~41	~30
Customer perception	~28	~10
Organizational performance	~19	~9
Ability to make better decisions	~11	—
Innovation	~11	~2

Entire Sample

Sample Without Top 7 Performing Organizations

APPENDIX 4: DEFINING DIVERSITY AND INCLUSION

The survey also asked each organization to specify how their organization defines diversity and inclusion. For diversity, nearly every organization (89%) stated that diversity is the dimensions and/or characteristics that differentiate people from one another. When defining diversity, 49% included invisible traits in addition to the more standard visible dimensions of diversity.

Respondents were more divided on the meaning of inclusion, which remains a more elusive concept. There is disagreement as to whether inclusion is an active process of change and/or integration, an outcome such as the feeling of respect, a tool to advance strategic objectives, or some combination of the three. After codifying each of the definitions into the categories, results are: Process (16%); Process & Outcome (31%); Outcome (29%); Tool and Outcome (7%); Tool (4%); Process & Tool (0%); Process & Outcome & Tool (13%).

Half of respondents chose to answer an optional question, "How do you distinguish diversity from inclusion?" Respondents gave a variety of answers, but a common metaphor that 20% of respondents gave to describe the difference was, "Diversity is the mix; inclusion is getting the mix to work well together."

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All of us: What we mean when we talk about inclusion Sarmishta Subramanian

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ABOUT

6 Degrees

6 Degrees challenges our unsettled age, by exploring citizenship and inclusion in a world that demands answers now.

6 Degrees drives a global conversation on citizenship and inclusion. The Canadian initiative is at once an immersive annual three-day event in Toronto, a series of one-day sessions across the globe, and a digital space where ideas and experiences are continuously shared. 6 Degrees is about connection, conversation, artistic representation and the power that comes from bringing engaged people together. It counters rising nativism and exclusion, and instead, invites everyone to find a place in our circle. 6 Degrees breaks down barriers and brings together authors and activists, artists and academics to think out loud and reframe the debate over inclusion and active citizenship. It is also about language: how better language can make for better thinking; how we can reframe issues to open hearts and change minds.

6 Degrees is presented by the Institute for Canadian Citizenship.

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Soyez des nôtres lors de notre plus importante discussion à ce jour : Comment bâtir et maintenir des sociétés véritablement inclusives? 6 Degrés est une nouvelle tribune mondiale explorant l'inclusion et la citoyenneté au 21e siècle. Cet espace citoyen de trois jours réunira tous les ans à Toronto des penseurs, des activistes, des artistes, des politiciens et des leaders de la société civile afin de poser des questions pertinentes et trouver des réponses utiles au sujet du défi fondamental de notre époque: l'édification de sociétés inclusives.

6 Degrés est présenté par l'Institut pour la citoyenneté canadienne

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6 Degrees Citizen Space

6 Degrees Citizen Space involves the brightest minds and the boldest methods, bringing thinkers, doers, executives, artists, politicians, and civil society leaders together in order to get them talking about what is really happening in the world. The annual three-day Citizen Space took place in Toronto from September 25-27, 2017.

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Institute for Canadian Citizenship

Powered by a passionate and committed national network, the Institute for Canadian Citizenship (ICC) delivers programs and special projects that inspire inclusion, create opportunities to connect, and encourage active citizenship.

The ICC is a national charity co-founded by The Right Honourable Adrienne Clarkson and John Ralston Saul.

Mené par un réseau national passionné et engagé, l'Institut pour la citoyenneté canadienne (ICC) offre des programmes et des projets spéciaux pour inspirer l'inclusion, favoriser les rencontres et encourager une participation active des citoyens.

L'ICC est un organisme caritatif national cofondé par La très honorable Adrienne Clarkson et John Ralston Saul.

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It is the "golden age" of inclusion, a time when countries, corporations, and other groups worldwide are more conscious of the benefits of inclusion. Yet, an ever expanding number of people worldwide count themselves as being left behind, from white working-class Americans to disenchanted young Muslim men to residents of Rio's favelas to white liberal newspaper columnists.

HOW CAN SO MANY FEEL SO EXCLUDED?

WHERE DO WE GO NOW?

These are vital questions in our ever more globalized, connected world. Inclusion is an idea that few reasonable people would argue against; there is little to be said against political, social, and economic participation for all, or for the extension of rights, freedoms, and responsibilities to as many as possible. Yet its practice seems fraught with questions, and tensions. This report peels back the layers of the discourse and offers a start to a more thoughtful conversation infused with renewed compassion.

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