

Discrimination in Canadian Education and Training: The Multicultural Imaginary

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Abstract

Canada's reputation on the world stage as an inclusive multicultural nation attracts many new immigrants to the country each year. Immigration is essential to the development of Canada's economy and over the last decade, immigration has grown substantially with immigrants making considerable contributions to Canada's economic growth. This immigration trend includes international students, many of whom enroll in Canadian post-secondary institutions with the intention of transitioning to permanent residency after graduation. Largely among these immigrants is also those classified as skilled workers, which have amassed significant education and training in their home country and have migrated to Canada with the hope of contributing their expertise to the Canadian workforce. However, notwithstanding Canada's reputation of inclusivity and fairness which lure many of these immigrants to the country, their experiences upon arrival prove this to be otherwise.

In this era of internationalization and globalization, neoliberal agendas have now become important aspects of many institutional and national governments' higher education and immigration policies. This paper uses a critical race approach to examine the relationship between internationalization and neoliberal agendas throughout Canadian higher education and Canada's skilled worker immigration program. Findings include the perception that some faculty and employers display discriminatory behavior, which unfairly places limitations on racial minority students and employees. Discrimination in Canadian education is found to exist not only within the schools, but within a system that places greater value on Canadian education and training over foreign credentials. I conclude by suggesting that for this trend to be addressed at a systemic level more concentrated deliberations and concerted efforts are required.

Contents

Introduction	4
Background and Rationale	7
Theoretical Framework	10
Methodology and Data Analysis	12
Significance	12
Findings	13
Discrimination against Visible Minority International Students	13
Discrimination against Internationally Trained Immigrants	17
Conclusion	20
Recommendations	22
References	24

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In 1971, Canada announced a policy of multiculturalism with the intention of improving the quality of intercultural relations. Throughout the subsequent decades, the country has become known for its multiculturalism, welcoming many new immigrants each year. In fact, it prides itself on being a global stalwart of peace and inclusion. This reputation in addition to the popular push for global education has attracted many international students and immigrants into the country. In this paper I aim to highlight the fact that though Canada prides itself on being a multicultural nation, the reality is not necessarily what one would imagine. The country successfully markets itself internationally as an ideal destination to study, work, and build a life, yet minority groups are systematically ostracized because of their differences. Racism exists in schools where discrimination is visible towards minority groups and inequity is also significantly experienced by skilled immigrants of racialized classes.

Immigration accounts for almost all of Canada's labour force growth. Approximately 75% of the country's population growth emerges from immigration, tackling labour shortages in major sectors such as health care. According to the Government of Canada, immigrants make up 39% of dentists, 37% of pharmacists, 36% of physicians, 23% of registered nurses, and 35% of nurse aides and related occupations. The Immigration, Refugees and Citizenship Canada (IRCC) office anticipates that by 2036, immigrants will represent up to 30% of Canada's population, compared with 20.7% in 2011. Actions to support a strong and resilient recovery have been proposed by the Economic and Fiscal Update, which include an \$85 million investment to reduce backlogs in Canada's immigration system, speed up the citizenship process, reunite families, and welcome people who can help address Canada's labour shortages (Government of Canada, 2021).

Studies show that for the past 15 years, the number of international students enrolling in Canadian post-secondary institutions has been increasing considerably. According to the government of Canada, the number of international students in Canada had grown by 36% since 2007 to more than 239,000 in 2010. The government reported that this was fast-tracked from 2008, with yearly growth rates reaching 10.2% in 2009 and 11.3% in 2010. Data released by Statistics Canada in 2016 also reflect that international students encompass an increasing proportion of the university student population in Canada. International students accounted for 11% of students at Canadian universities in 2013-2014, up from 7% in 2004-2005. In January 2014, the federal government in collaboration with the Department of Foreign Affairs, Trade and Development Canada (DFATD), announced that Canada's Economic Action Plan and the new Global Markets Action Plan, would refocus Canada's International Education Strategy to substantially increase the number of international students; a target set to reach 450,000 by 2022 (Government of Canada, 2014). The new quota represents another economically driven immigration scheme to bolster the Canadian economy via foreign labour, offering skilled economic migrants' pathways to permanent residency in a two-step immigration process (Gates-Gasse, 2010).

More recently, Citizenship and Immigration Canada reported that the number of international students studying in Canada continues to grow steadily. In fact, it is stated that the increase between 2015 and 2016 was substantial, from approximately 457,800 to 524,000 exceeding the 2022 target mentioned previously, an increase of 14.4% (Government of Canada, 2020). This trend is of course welcomed since international students significantly impacts the Canadian economy through revenue generation, among other things. In 2010, international students spent over 7.7 billion dollars on tuition fees, housing services and discretionary

expenses. A total of \$15.5 billion was put into the Canadian economy in 2016 by international student expenditures across the country. The comparable number in 2015 was \$12.8 billion. This represents a 21.2% increase in international student spending between 2015 and 2016 (Government of Canada, 2020).

Sociologically speaking, multiculturalism refers to the presence of people from diverse racial and ethnic backgrounds. Ideologically, it consists of a relatively coherent set of ideas and ideals pertaining to the celebration of Canada's cultural diversity. At the policy level, multiculturalism refers to the management of diversity through formal initiatives in the federal, provincial, territorial, and municipal domains (Brosseau and Dewing, 2018). True multiculturalism exists in Canada to a large extent, with the presence of the Indigenous, French, and British peoples as well as other racial and ethnic groups. Multiculturalism is also safeguarded under the Canadian Charter of Rights and Freedoms alongside religious freedom and protection from discrimination based on religion and ethnicity. There are therefore structural legal protections in place to help promote inclusion and diversity. Despite its admirable qualities however, there is a pretentious air about Canada's multiculturalism with many subtle (and some not so much), discriminatory undertones.

The term 'multicultural imaginary' was coined by Associate Professor Helen Forbes-Mewett, a leading sociologist at Monash University in Australia after a period of research carried out in the city of Shepparton. She found her experience to fulfill her expectations only partially, describing it as being good on the surface with a narrative of being a welcoming place for immigrants to establish a sense of community though somewhat pretentious (Forbes-Mewett, Hegarty & Wickes, 2022). The term is being used in this paper to highlight some of the

disparities that exist between Canada's multicultural image and experiences of its visible minority groups by means of the neoliberal education system.

Background and Rationale

International education has become competitive globally with countries such as Canada, Australia, the United States, Switzerland, and others competing for competitive advantage. Gribble (2008) states that for many developed countries the international student market has become not only an important source of revenue for local economies but also a way of addressing skill shortages in key areas. She notes that in Australia, for example, significant numbers of international students are applying for permanent residency, taking advantage of changes in Australia's immigration policy. Bhandari and Blumenthal (2011) point out that countries which were once primarily "sending" countries have now also developed their own strategies to attract foreign students and encourage international educational exchange. Canada, being a hub for multiculturalism, with a diverse cultural population, is a major part of this global trend. Policy changes have been made in Canada, which accentuates the recruitment and retention of international students. Essentially, the policy adjustments make international education a key element in the government's economic strategy. This underscores the importance placed on receiving and retaining international students. Such adjustments in international education policy are grounded on the presumption after graduation, international students make model immigrants since they have already undergone Canadian education and training (Government of Canada, 2014). Furthermore, Employment and Social Development Canada predicts that two-thirds of job openings in the coming years will require post-secondary education.

Amid Canada's drive to receive international students, there is also an external push for international students to study in the country. Johnstone and Lee (2020) reveal that by studying in the West, international students and their families are seen to be benefiting from upward mobility. Consequently, international students of Western education are viewed as privileged, having freely chosen to study in the West. Canadian education is marketed to international students on this notion of upward mobility, which according to the Canadian Bureau for International Education (CBIE), is among the top three reasons international students choose to study in Canada. The top three reasons listed are (1) Canada's reputation of safety and stability, (2) The quality and reputation of Canada's education system, and (3) The tolerance and inclusivity of the Canadian society (CBIE, 2022). Yet researchers have found that "despite the promise of this 'upward' mobility, which has created a huge influx of international student migration around the world, in reality international students become further consolidated as Others in white dominate societies" (Johnstone and Lee, 2020). According to CBIE, 72.5 percent of international students express the intention to remain in Canada after finishing their studies (CBIE, 2022).

Although the number of international students in Canada continues to increase, there has however not been a corresponding growth in the number of international students transitioning to permanent residency status. These findings prompt one to wonder why more international students are not remaining in Canada and transitioning to permanent residency. Though more research is needed to conclusively determine the success rate of international students across Canada, statistics show that there is a relatively high failure rate of international undergraduate students in several Canadian post-secondary institutions. Post-secondary academic failure is a serious concern for educators globally, including those in Canada. Moreover, the majority of

those who drop out tend not to return (Shaienks, Gluszynski, & Bayard, 2008). Given the demand for graduates, and the beneficial impact of international student graduates to the Canadian economy, it is especially imperative that international students complete their studies. Not only is the success rate of international students an issue, but limitations to upward mobility are also found among international graduates. As previously indicated, Canada markets itself internationally as an ideal destination not only to study, but also to work, and build a life. Consequently, many immigrants flock the country each year to live and work. One such group of immigrants are those classified as skilled workers.

Over the last decade, immigration to Canada has grown substantially with immigrants making considerable contributions to Canada's economic growth. Immigration is essential to the development of Canada's economy by means of job creation, promoting innovation and addressing labour shortages. It is no secret that new immigrants help to enrich the Canadian society and support the aging population. The Government of Canada reported that in 2019, Canada welcomed more than 341,000 permanent residents. Despite the challenges resulting from the COVID-19 pandemic, Canada also admitted over 184,500 new permanent residents over the course of 2020.

Singer (2019) notes that Canada has averaged 250,000 new immigrants per annum since 2001, but the Liberal Government has established 300,000 new immigrants per annum as the new normal going forward. The increasing number of immigrants can be attributed to Canada's liberal immigration policies set forth by IRCC. In fact, IRCC announced at the end of 2021 that the Government of Canada has met its target of 401,000 new permanent residents for that year, surpassing the previous record that was set in 1913. IRCC notes that “this historic achievement is particularly significant in the face of the pandemic's many challenges” indicating that their

employees processed a record half a million applications in 2021. To achieve this feat, IRCC added resources, embraced new technology and brought more processes online, changes which are all described as “permanent improvements to Canada’s immigration system” (Government of Canada, 2021). Immigration policies have however failed to protect visible minority immigrants from prejudice and unfair treatment. Notwithstanding the prevalence of anti-discrimination legislation in Canada, visible minority workers continue to experience discrimination within the job market. In addition to experiencing occupational segregation, visible minority workers have lower average earnings, fewer job opportunities, are over-represented in low-income work and under-represented in managerial and professional occupations (Adams and Flores, 2022). Dietz et al. highlights the fact that Canada’s economy experiences losses of over \$11 billion per annum due to the underutilization of immigrants’ skills and as much as \$12.6 billion due to them being underpaid (2015, p. 1319)

The focus of this paper will be the discrimination experienced by visible minority immigrant students and workers. Discrimination has proven to be a predominant deterrent to equitable treatment in both the school and work environment, impacting international students and internationally trained immigrants of racialized classes. Given Canada’s reputation of peace and inclusion, such behavior should not be tolerated in this country.

Theoretical Framework

With the importance placed on the neoliberal view of globalization and international education in Canada, I have chosen a critical race policy perspective to guide this research. In a neoliberalism framework, it is theorized that in a knowledge-based society, higher education leads to mass enrollment, accessibility, privatization, affordability, decentralization, and accountability. These trends are reflected in higher salaries, career mobility, and a greater quality

of life for people with higher education degrees. Largely absent from this analysis is the role that race plays in both economic stratification and the political structuring of rules to iterate economic gains. Though it minimizes the importance of capital and wealth, the neoliberal frame overstates the functional role of education and personal responsibility. More education however, will not solve the issue of racial wealth disparity. Studying and working hard is not correlated with wealth for black families and other families of color to the same degree it is for white families. In fact, the racial wealth gap grows rather than dissipates with education. According to Hamilton et al (2015), black families headed by college graduates have around 33 percent less wealth than white families headed by high school dropouts. Sadly, it is the unavoidably “unearned birthright of inheritance or other family transfers that has the greatest effect on wealth accumulation, and likewise is the largest factor erecting barriers to wealth accumulation for people of color” (p. 3).

Black men and women with a college degree have nearly a 70 percent higher mortality rate than similarly educated whites. The maxim that blacks and other visible minority individuals need to ‘work twice as hard’ as whites to overcome social obstacles must also consider that there may be physical and psychological costs of exerting above normal effort in discriminatory and racially stigmatized environments. This is the case particularly for high achievers who pose a threat to the achievement of economic positions desired by the socially dominant group.

Although these statistics have been sourced from the United States, there is a prevalent climate of racism and discrimination in Canada, which often goes refuted. While Canada is a multicultural country, owing to its rapidly evolving demography and the specific notion of multiculturalism protected in its Constitution, there remains an overabundance of challenges associated with equity, diversity, and human rights (Carr & Lund, 2007).

Taylor et al (2015) notes that Critical Race Theory ideas are used by many scholars in the field of education to understand among other things, issues of school discipline and hierarchy, tracking, controversies over curriculum and history and bilingual and multicultural education. These theorists discuss the increase in biological racism in educational theory and practice. Some question the Anglocentric curriculum and even allege that many educators apply a “deficit theory” approach to the teaching of minority children (cited in Delgado and Stefancic, 2017, p. 7).

Methodology and Data Analysis

Data for this paper was sourced through the review of several qualitative studies found in already existing literature as well as the IRCC’s website. When reviewing the literature, particular attention was paid to methodical construction on the theme of international students, skilled immigrants, neoliberalism, and critical race theory, all while taking into consideration the reputation of journals, qualitative approaches, and the recommendations. The focus was placed mainly on studies in Canada, though studies done in the United States and a few other western countries were also reviewed. As there are several official reports, studies, and dissertations on international students, the literature review takes grey literature into consideration. The analysis of this data was primarily directed by the literature.

Significance

Findings of the study is beneficial in providing aid to school administrators and the Canadian government as they develop policies to assist racialized international students and skilled immigrants in a successful journey throughout the Canadian post-secondary education system and beyond.

Findings

The findings reveal that discrimination is faced by most international students in Canada, though those of visible minority races experience discrimination at significantly higher levels. Also facing discrimination are foreign trained immigrants to Canada, despite the extensive process of elimination required for entry into the country. Each of these are detailed in the following two sections of the paper which focus on the discrimination faced by visible minority international students, and internationally trained immigrants.

Discrimination against Visible Minority International Students

School can be a very unfavorable environment for racialized students as they are constantly subjected to subtle everyday racism from peers and educators alike. People of color are continuously discriminated against in schools, often being held behind. Cummins (2014) suggest that the academic achievement of minority group students is directly influenced by the structures of schooling, which tend to reflect the values and priorities of the dominant group, and by the patterns of identity negotiation students experience in their interactions with educators in the school. Interactions between teacher and student are never impartial. Moreso, if diversity among educators or within class content is non-existent, students will feel unrepresented. In contexts of social inequality, these interactions either reinforce the devaluation of minority group culture, language and identity in the broader society or they challenge this devaluation. Sefa Dei and Lara-Villanueva (2021) note that numerous students are “streamed” into academic levels below their capacities due to teachers’ low expectations of them and discrimination in general. English language learners (ELLs) are one such group that experiences the effect of teachers’ low expectations.

Canadian immigration patterns have resulted in an unprecedented number of ELLs in the school system (Faez, 2012). English proficiency test scores have become an important focus for admissions committees in many Western universities, a reaction to claims that non-English speaking international students are reducing the quality and value of higher education (Benzie, 2010). Weak English language skills are found to be related to numerous negative outcomes. Several studies show that the poorer the English proficiency of international students, the less adapted they were to the host culture (Surdam & Collins, 1984), the more difficulty they had making friends (Heikenheimo & Shute, 1986), and the less satisfied they were with their social and community relations (Perrucci & Hu, 1995). On the other hand, higher English proficiency levels have been found to have positive effects on international students' perceptions of security and well-being (Sawir et al, 2012), their ability to form bonds with students other than co-nationals or fellow international students (Hendrickson et al, 2011), and their academic success (Daller & Phelan, 2013). Notwithstanding such research, policy makers in both Canada and the United States appear to have discounted the Programme for International Student Assessment (PISA) research regarding to the use of international students' first language as an intellectual tool and a reflection of their identity, in addition to the importance of reading engagement as a major factor in determining reading achievement.

In a survey of staff's experiences with international students, Probertson et al. (2000) found that because of the students' language proficiency, staff were not considerate. Instead, they blamed international students for not taking responsibility for their own academic progress. In a separate study carried out on non-English speakers by Schutz and Richards, it was found that weak oral English skills and being in the minority negatively affected the ability of international students in Canada to make friends. Students in this study also reported instances of insensitive

behavior by professors that concerned not only them, but also their non-English speaking classmates (Schutz and Richards, 2003). Another dimension is added to these prejudices when dealing with international students of racial minority groups.

Language is not merely a politically neutral means of communication, but a social practice that shapes subjectivity and establishes power relations among members of different racial and class groups. Having identified the discrimination faced by people of color and ELLs, this paper also recognizes a direct correlation which exists between both groups. There is a natural intersection of race and language for people of color who do not have a strong command of the English language. Professor of Linguistics, Valerie Fridland explains the interconnectedness of social identity and language by identifying how students face bias based not only on speech, but culture as well. She posits that one can be the victim of linguistic bias, even if they speak standard English. Referred to as linguistic profiling, research both in linguistics and social psychology has looked at how subtle and often unconscious linguistic practices predispose us to react to and think about people differently depending on their race.

Parmegiani (2006) shares her experience as a teacher of developmental writing at Bronx Community College, where she says African American students are often opposed to the idea that there is such thing as 'Black English' and more so the suggestion that they, as African Americans, are not native English speakers. She further states that a lot of her African American students have great misconceptions about Ebonics, which they often associate with "slang," "street language," or "bad English." It is believed that these misconceptions have a lot to do with the reason many black learners are not willing to identify with Ebonics, at least in a classroom setting. However, students might also be resisting a discourse that delimits possibilities for constructing a Self that is based on race. "As teachers of academic literacy who seek to increase

students' access to the dialect of power, it is our duty to try to dispel misconceptions about Ebonics. But it is not our duty to essentialize students' subjectivity by suggesting that they need to identify with any particular language or dialect because of their skin color” (p. 647).

Research reveals that discrimination is evidenced in the workforce as well. In studying language prejudice and discrimination in the Australian healthcare system, Johnstone and Kanitsaki (2008) found that the negative attitudes and behaviors in hospital domains concerning people who spoke accented English or who did not speak English proficiently were supported by “a dislike of difference, fear of difference, intolerance of difference, fear of competition for scarce healthcare resources, repressed hostility toward difference, and ignorance” (p. 19). The English language when spoken is often identified by terms such as ‘good’, ‘broken’, and ‘bad’, which is indicative of the notion that there is a specific ‘good’ way of speaking the language. And given that English is the language mainly spoken in Western countries of power, individuals of non-Western descent or for whom English is not their first language is prone to language discrimination even if they have a good command of the language. The quotation below from Urciuoli (1996, p. 3) explains this anomaly:

“The sense that the language of foreign English speakers is ‘different’, ‘bad’, or ‘wrong’ is further reinforced ‘by reactions encountered in routine experiences’, for example, by ‘information barriers: who controls what one needs to know, what one must do or say to be understood or believed’. Language and communication in multicultural contexts are thus highly politicised because, ultimately, ‘the interpretations that count depend on who has power’” (cited in Johnstone and Kanitsaki, 2008).

Johnstone and Lee (2020) postulate that international education is a place of advantage and privilege for Western Education. They infer that those classified as ‘others’ have been

cultured to think of their cultural practices and education as inferior to preserve whiteness supremacy. Even upon completion of this ‘superior’ education however, racism permeates throughout the world of work for international graduates of color from Canadian (Western) universities.

Discrimination against Internationally Trained Immigrants

The notion of Western supremacy as introduced in the previous section is evident in skilled worker immigration. Skilled immigrants are welcomed into Canada on the notion that jobs akin to their education and training are available. In 2020, the country set a target of welcoming 85,800 new skilled immigrants to the country, comprising over 40% of all immigrants that year. Despite being welcomed however, skilled immigrants throughout Canada are systemically devalued when searching for job opportunities. They struggle to find jobs, face substantially higher levels of unemployment, and earn lower wages compared to skilled non-immigrants. In a 2011 audit study done by Research Fellow Philip Oreopoulos, he found that a greater likelihood of Canadian-born individuals with English-sounding names receiving a call-back for a job interview than individuals born outside of Canada. More specifically, a 9.7% difference in call-backs from employers was found between resumes with English-sounding names and those with foreign-sounding names and foreign experience and education. Dietz et al (2015) found an 11.1% employment rate gap between non-immigrant and immigrant skilled workers. Oreopoulos also found that employers placed much greater value on Canadian experience than Canadian education when considering whether to interview applicants with foreign backgrounds, noting that employers are “more interested in foreign-born applicants with more Canadian experience” (2011, page 167). I note here that by having worked in Canada, it is

assumed that an employee would be more familiar with the ‘Canadian way’ of doing things. I therefore posit that Canadian experience can be considered a form of on-the-job-training.

The preceding facts are particularly ironic given that Canadian immigration policy places focus on attracting immigrants with superior levels of education, experience, and industry demand. In fact, research reveals that although they possess relevant education and credentials, even to the point of over-qualification, visible minority professionals have struggle to secure jobs in their various specialties (Adams and Flores, 2022). Research Fellow, Philip Oreopoulos notes that IRCC uses the strategy of attracting such high-level talent to “offset an anticipated skilled labor force shortage and encourage economic growth” (2011, p. 148). Oreopoulos aptly explains the points system used by IRCC as such:

“More than half of today’s immigrants enter Canada under a point system, which rates applicants based on their highest degree, language ability, age, whether they have work experience at occupations deemed “in demand,” whether they already have a job offer, have worked or studied in Canada previously, and have cash at hand. Virtually every immigrant who enters Canada under the point system now has at least an undergraduate degree. The overall percentage of recent immigrants with an undergraduate degree is about 60 percent, compared to 20 percent for Canadian born of similar age (Statistics Canada 2008)”.

Considering the stringent criteria for immigrating to Canada as a skilled worker, why then would skilled immigrants face such inequity within the labor market? In actuality, the more skilled and qualified immigrants are, the less likely they are to find employment comparative to their local counterparts, what Dietz et al. (2015) refers to as ‘the skill paradox’. Whereas in absolute terms the employability of immigrants increases as they possess more advanced skills, it decreases in

relative terms to comparable locals. Reasons for this include the devaluation of foreign education and experience by Canadian employers, concerns surrounding English language proficiency, and general discrimination. Dietz et al. (2015) further posits that employment discrimination has two basic components: (1). wherein immigrants' skills, such as their academic and professional degrees as well as their work experience, are unfairly devalued, or (2). wherein their skills are valued but viewed as a threat to locals, prompting anti-immigrant biases.

In studying the experiences of discrimination faced by internationally trained engineers in Canada, George and Chaze (2014) found that foreign credentials served as a basis for devaluing visible minority applicants. They discovered that an important element of credential recognition is associated with past work experience where job applicants are required to show a history of having worked in Canada. Liu (2007) indicates that this Canadian work experience requirement is deemed proof that the applicant possesses the required language skills and can perform well in a Canadian work environment (cited in George and Chaze, 2014). Such requirement is however unrealistic for newcomers, placing them at an evident disadvantage.

English language proficiency (ELP) is a highly subjective concept and as such, even immigrants with a fluent English language skillset are prone to discrimination due to their accents. Viewed by employers as an indicator of difference, and a representation of one's foreign ancestry, foreign accents are deemed unsuitable for high status jobs (George and Chaze, 2014). Supporting this thought, Creese and Kambere (2003) theorize that a foreign accent is a socially defined phenomenon with inconsistent rewards for persons with varying accents. An individual with a British or an American accent for instance, would not be treated the same as one with an African accent. Participants studied by Creese and Kambere in their focus group felt that their

accents prevented them from receiving jobs that require speaking with the public in a Canadian accent.

As a result of legal and policy changes deterring blatant racism, individuals are not as likely to face obvious discrimination at work as in the past. According to Dietch et al. (2003) however, most research done on workplace discrimination ignore the subtle practices of discrimination faced by vulnerable employees, which calls for a need to expand the interpretation of the term discrimination (cited in George and Chaze, 2014). It is necessary to understand that not all discrimination is overt or even intentional, though unacceptable nonetheless. Determined more through its impact than intent, systemic discrimination occurs when societal practices limit the potential of success for certain groups of people. In reference to discriminatory hiring practices George and Chaze (2014) further identifies as an example that the practice of heavily relying on professional associations for references could be considered discriminatory for new immigrants who have no access to such contacts. Also identified in research is the role homophily plays in limiting access to professional jobs (Ashley and Empson, 2016). Essentially, homophily refers to the love of sameness. Karimi et al. (2018) posit that homophily has the potential of disadvantaging minority groups by restricting their ability to establish links with a majority group. More specifically within the context of this paper, professionals may prefer to hire colleagues that resemble themselves in terms of race, ethnicity, country of origin and accent, thus disadvantaging visible minority employees, among others.

Conclusion

Despite numerous policy interventions and practices in the public and private sector, Canada has failed to eliminate the experiences of discrimination against visible minorities. (George and Chaze, 2014). The literature shows that some university faculty members and

employers display discriminatory behavior, which unfairly places limitations on marginalized students and employees.

Universities have sought to develop specialized programming to respond to the barriers preventing full and equitable inclusion of international students in academic, language and cultural domains. Post-secondary schools across Canada offer dedicated services to international students through an international student centre of some form. This is intended to ease the transition into this new culture and help create a sense of community for international students. This service responsibility rests almost entirely on educational institutions due to international students' temporary status, and their ineligibility to access traditional immigrant settlement services that work to alleviate the hardships of settling in a new country. Albiom (2011) notes that this is problematic because of the lack of legislated standards for educational institutions to provide international student services, resulting in differences in the quality support offered by universities, and in turn, the quality of education received. To solve international students' challenges effectively, both social integration and system integration are required. Social integration is achieved when there is "reciprocity between actors in contexts of co-presence," and system integration happens through "reciprocity between actors or collectivities across extended time-space" (Giddens, 1984, p. 28). The research also implies that to reverse underachievement among students of minority groups, classroom instruction must affirm students' identities and challenge patterns of power relations in the broader society.

Some excuses given for workplace discrimination in Canada include weak English language skills and insufficient Canadian work experience. This paper identified however that such excuses are contradictory and unreasonable since new immigrant workers to Canada must have already satisfied stringent ELP requirements and would unlikely have the required

Canadian work experience being asked of them by employers. Hiring practices in Canada rely heavily on professional references and discriminate against both newcomers to the country and visible minority graduates from Canadian universities who might not have the professional networks to provide such references (George and Chaze, 2014). Barriers such as these reproduce inequalities within the workforce, particularly to the disadvantage of internationally educated and visible minority professionals. These are means by which "the Other will continually be at a disadvantage within [the Eurocentric] system" (Johnstone and Lee, 2020, p.10). The difficulties immigrant professionals face in finding suitable jobs in Canada have been found to affect their health and well-being and are directly correlated to an overall feeling of dissatisfaction with life in Canada (George and Chaze, 2014). This places Canada at risk given the potential for economic loss to the country if these immigrants decide to return to their own countries or to other countries that are eager to utilize their skills.

Recommendations

Given the persistence of discrimination against visible minorities in Canada, more concentrated deliberations and concerted efforts are required to address this trend at a systemic level. Discrimination against visible minorities in Canada results in over \$11 billion CAD in economic losses each year in the form of unemployment and underemployment and leads to both demoralization and poor mental health in skilled immigrants (George and Chaze, 2014). It is therefore imperative that companies as well as policymakers take appropriate measures to reduce employment discrimination in Canada, such as reviewing human resource management strategies and pushing for more equitable policy. It is also imperative that universities become aware of the disadvantages faced by their visible minority students in securing employment. Universities should assist in preparing these students for the challenges that exist in securing employment in

their respective fields. One way of doing this is emphasizing means by which these young professionals can build professional social networks for themselves to advance their careers.

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