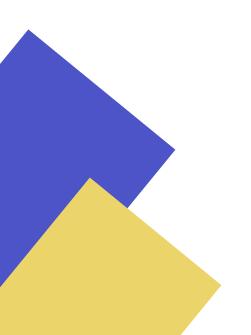# Advancing Equity and Racial Justice in Canadian Workplaces and Labour Unions

Karl Gardner

Ph.D., York University

Author: Karl Gardner

Contributors: Luann Good Gingrich

Navjeet Sidhu

Table of Contents

Executive Summary

Despite an increased awareness of the prevalence of workplace racism in Canada—and a chorus of well-intentioned commitments to combat it—Black, Indigenous, and racialized workers continue to experience widespread racial discrimination in the labour market and their workplaces.

Insofar as they increase worker power and protections, unions are uniquely positioned advance anti-racism in the workplace. While historically unions have an uneven track record when it comes to standing in solidarity with racialized, Indigenous, and migrant workers, they are gradually becoming committed advocates for anti-racism and equity in the workplace. There is much more work to be done in this regard, however.

Black, Indigenous, and racialized workers face a second issue: beyond facing racism in their workplace, they also experience racism within their unions. Despite being organizations founded on principles of justice and solidarity, unions are not immune from the structural forces of capitalism, settler colonialism, hetero-patriarchy, and white supremacy that continue to influence Canadian society. Unions still have much room to improve in the areas of diversity, inclusion, equity, and justice for their members.

This report is focused on addressing these dual challenges: how can unions effectively champion anti-racism in the workplace, while also combatting racism embedded within their own organizations? Written in collaboration with Unifor's Social Justice Fund and the Global Labour Research Centre at York University, this report presents the results of a systematic review of academic literature and of union materials that focus on what unions can—and are—doing to advance equity and racial justice. Accordingly, this report is organized into two broad sections, *Building Anti-Racist Workplaces* and *Building Anti-Racist Unions*, each of which have several sub-sections that detail specific areas for union leadership, staff, and rank-and-file members to consider. It is meant to a provide practical summary of research and resources documenting anti-racist strategies of union organizing, and offer recommendations and helpful resources to unions as they pursue anti-racism in their work.

Summary of Findings

Building Anti-Racist Workplaces

In the area of *Hiring and Promotion*, unions are found to be helpful in promoting diversity within a workplace generally, but have had less success in combatting employer discretion in the hiring process. Unions must therefore continue to bargain for equity clauses in hiring processes, and creatively find ways to balance entrenched union benefits such as seniority with racial stratification and equity concerns. Unions must also work toward creating targeted training opportunities to support racialized members in the promotion process and establish joint employment equity committees to continue to foreground diversity and equity at all levels if hiring and promotion.

Collective Bargaining is a key mechanism for unions to advance anti-racism within the workplace. Bargaining teams that have high levels of diversity are important not only because equity is right in principle, but because they can also be effective in speaking directly to equity issues in the workplace. That said, there is no guarantee that diverse bargaining teams will necessarily advance equity proposals. Therefore, beyond ensuring diversity, collective bargaining processes must be transparent and open to rank-and-file scrutiny; be rooted in rigorous equity data and mobilized through bargaining surveys; and must include the meaningful involvement of relevant constituency committees. This represents a move from "equity in bargaining" (diversity on bargaining teams) to "bargaining equity" (advancing equity the process *and* outcomes of collective bargaining).

Relatedly, it goes without saying that *Collective Agreements* are fundamental mechanisms to ensure that workplaces are more equitable spaces for all workers generally, and marginalized workers specifically. The report collected a series of specific and evidence-based areas for unions to bargain equity into their collective agreements in the realms of: wages, harassment and discrimination, leaves, equity training, recognition and acknowledgements, racial justice staff.

Workplace *Grievances* are another area that unions must make meaningful strides to improve from an equity perspective. Racialized and Indigenous members often have little faith in the grievance process, arguing that they won't be believed, or, if they are, that the grievance process will not result in any meaningful change. There is little value in having a grievance process if Indigenous and racialized members do not feel confident in it. Union activists and human rights advocates have noted that speed, transparency, and a commitment to enforce collective agreement language are important here.

Advocating beyond the workplace for *government policies* that enshrine equity in the workplace at the provincial and national levels are other important avenues which unions must continue to use. Union advocacy has been effective in advancing provincial Indigenous employment programs and partnerships, Anti-Racism Directorates, minimum and living wage

campaigns, as well as mechanisms for the collection of equity data and intersectional lens in policy development.

Workshops and Workplace Education is a key mechanism for unions to use to advance anti-racism in the workplace. Trainings, workshops, toolkits, and educational materials are excellent ways for workers to learn about how racism operates in the workplace, their role in perpetuating it, and how it can be challenged. However, evidence shows a prevalence of trainings designed to only symbolically take on racism or focus on individual actions—such as "unconscious bias trainings" or one-time anti-oppression workshops. These are shown to be ineffective. Instead, unions should push for educational materials and programs that frame equity as an ongoing process and commitment to be taken on as a workplace. This move toward a collective humility and responsibility is key for organization- or workplace- level change.

Building Anti-Racist Unions

The baseline for addressing racism *within* unions is *improving diversity* in union membership and leadership. This must be done through ensuring there are equity seats in leadership, establishing and adequately funding constituency committees, organizing non-unionized workplaces with higher levels of racialized workers, and ensuring that the unions priorities reflect the diverse needs of its members. Diversifying representation is a necessary, but insufficient, strategy for achieving racial justice.

More important in this process is *fostering inclusion* within union structures, environments, and membership. Diversity and inclusion are distinct concepts—diverse representation is not an indicator of an inclusive workplace. Indeed, there is little value in diversifying unions if they remain discriminatory spaces for Black, Indigenous, and racialized members. This sub-section outlines ten areas that unions can focus on to foster inclusion in their organizations, all of which require a comprehension review of policies and practices and an acknowledgement that combatting racism is everyone's responsibility.

Public statements acknowledging the histories and contemporary struggles of Black, Indigenous, migrant, and racialized members have become a ubiquitous feature of union webpages. Unions now routinely acknowledge past injustices, contemporary struggles, and affirm their solidarity with communities-in-struggle. Sometimes, these statements include reference to actions that are being, or will be, taken to resist racial discrimination. While acknowledging the pervasive and ongoing issues faced by Black, Indigenous, and racialized people is important for unions to continue to do, members are often much more interested in unions showing that they are taking the necessary steps to combat racism in meaningful and tangible ways.

Unions must conduct systematic equity reviews and make the necessary changes to *internal structures* that perpetuate racialized inequities within their organizations. What makes systemic racism so difficult to identify and root-out is partially that it operates in "colour blind" ways. That is, many polices and established practices are simply assumed to be "race-neutral," but can produce and perpetuate racial discrimination. A variety of different structures are surveyed here. It is important to keep in mind that while Black, Indigenous, and racialized members should be involved and offered leadership roles in this work, it cannot be understood as only their responsibility.

Community organizing and social justice campaigns are important features of union renewal—or, how unions will remain relevant and progressive forces in the 21st century labour movement. Models of union organizing that prioritize connections with social movements and organize to build solidarity with the communities they represent have been proven to not only combat the waning power of unions, but also stand to benefit their most marginalized members. How the union frames its work publicly and to its own members is important to cultivating a shared collective identity based in justice or all people and fostering solidarity across historical racial divides within the membership.

Finally, *member training and education* opportunities are crucial areas for unions to popularize equity-building efforts within their membership. Building on the discussion above about workplace training strategies, training and educational opportunities for union members should balance (1) raising awareness of how racial discrimination occurs through individual behaviour with (2) an analysis of the systemic racism and the need for collective mobilization to combat it. The report found three broad categories of training: consciousness-raising, bargaining, and organizing. Considering unions as sites of formal and informal learning is also taken up here. On this point, it is suggested that unions capitalize on informal sites of learning, such as grievance processes and constituency committees, as spaces that can also facilitate important learning about anti-racism.

Introduction

A 2021 report from York University's Institute for Social Research reveals that 96% of Black Canadians believe that racism is a problem in the workplace.[1] 36% of Black workers are unionized in Canada—which is slightly higher than the national average—yet racism remains a major issue.[2] Unions have been working to build solidarity with Black communities across the country, finding ways to combat anti-Black racism through collective bargaining, internal equity reviews, and through symbolic and tangible efforts to support anti-racist social movements.[3] Despite these important commitments, Black workers continue to face racism in the workplace and, even more unacceptably, their unions.[4]

Indigenous workers face well-documented discrimination in the Canadian workplaces and the labour market more widely.[5] While in recent years unions have taken up the work of reconciliation and Indigenous solidarity, unions continue to contend with their complicity in ongoing colonialism in Canada. As Fernandez and Silver note,

> Historically, although Indigenous people have often worked for wages and been active in unions, it has too often been the case that unions and union members have reflected the racist views of the dominant culture, and that unions have worked to protect non-Indigenous workers to the detriment of Indigenous workers and those Indigenous people who have wanted to work for wages.[6]

In response, unions and labour organizations have "dedicate[d] significant resources and staff to: organizing Aboriginal workplaces; dispelling myths about Aboriginal peoples among their members; providing union training for Aboriginal workers; and altering union structures to increase the voice of Aboriginal members in union decision making."[7] This work is necessarily complex and ongoing, and unions still have a long way to go in combatting anti-Indigenous racism in their workplaces as well as in internal union structures, policies, and practices.

Racialized workers more generally, and especially immigrants, continue to face harassment, discrimination, and racism in Canadian workplaces—unionized or not. Rising anti-immigrant attitudes and Islamophobia,[8] growing anti-Asian racism during the COVID-19 pandemic,[9] continued police violence against Black, Indigenous, and racialized communities,[10] and the sustained widening of a racialized wage and wealth gap in Canada all demonstrate the enduring violence caused by racism—and the urgent need for anti-racist action in our lives, our workplaces, and our communities. Indeed, das Gupta argues that "Unions have a crucial role to play in the fight against racism, both in the labour market and in counteracting systemically racist practices in specific workplaces."[11] Over the past few decades, unions have made concerted and meaningful efforts to become more diverse and inclusive, and organize workers who are not part of the white, male, heterosexual norm.[12] The result has been mixed, however. While unions have undoubtedly made numerous advances in the realm of equity for workers inside and beyond the

workplace, recent research has shown that racialized immigrants have less access to unionized employment and, when they do secure a unionized job, the increase to their wages is lower than that experienced by white immigrants.[13]

The task of building anti-racist workplaces and anti-racist unions is made all the more difficult by the unrelenting march of neoliberal austerity. Austerity wears away at working class solidarity and weakens unions and other worker organizations. As Guard et al., argue:

> the contemporary assault on organized labor has made unions, almost without exception, less radical, less innovative, and less willing to take risks. Despite a burgeoning academic literature spawned by activist academics in labor studies urging unions to democratize, reconnect with the community, and resume their decades-old role at the front of social justice struggles, union leaders tend toward conservatism and are wary of change.[14]

This only deepens the need for a strong commitment to racial justice within unions, as contexts of increasingly risk-adverse and conservative union politics threaten to sideline equity in the name of focus on "bread and butter" issues of wages or seniority. As Briskin argues:

> The negotiation of diversity inside unions is a task made more salient and more difficult by the deepening exploitation of racial and gender differences by corporate capital, the neo-liberal invocation of patriarchal and individualistic values for workplaces and households, and the increasing silence of the Canadian state on equity issues. In this context, the risk that equity concerns inside unions will be marginalized has increased.[15]

Therefore, racial justice is not just important because it is morally right, but it is necessary for unions to remain relevant and viable institutions for the protection of all workers. Without a commitment to equity and racial justice, unions risk ending up in the dustbin of history.

This, of course, is less of a condemnation of union activity, and more of an opportunity for unions to engage in a process of revitalization in the face of these new challenges. At the current juncture, unions have the choice between accommodation or transformation. Accommodation seeks to leave the increasingly unequal relationship between employers and unions in tact, by prioritizing short-term gains and defending basic issues (which are often *not* equity issues). Such an approach is confined to a reformist approach to "trimming the edges" of a fundamentally unjust system of wage labour by striving to maintain the status quo or make modest gains. A commitment to transformation requires unions to focus on building radical, militant, and organized groups of workers that are willing to exercise their collective power to advance the struggles of all workers––and especially those who are racialized, Indigenous, and have precarious status.[16] This approach shifts union approaches to organizing and bargaining toward considering how to transform the structures and patterns that keep unions on the defensive. This requires unions to challenge the status quo and take disruptive political action within and beyond the workplace.

This report presents the findings from a systematic review of the academic literature on the role of unions in advancing equity and anti-racism in the workplace, as well as their internal organizational structures. This was supplemented with an environmental scan of 20 union websites to survey contemporary strategies and "best practices" used by Canadian unions to combat racism.[17] The list of unions was developed in conversation with the Global Labour Research Centre and Unifor's Social Justice Fund, and were scanned for posts, documents, resources, and workshops that focused on addressing racism either in the workplace or within the union itself. Terms such as "racism," "anti-racism," "equity," "racial justice," and "discrimination" were used in the website search bars. The academic and union-based literature was then screened, read, and coded to capture prevalent themes in union responses to racism. To augment the literature assessment and to account for relevant anti-racism strategies that may not be publicly accessible, five informal consultations were held with union staff dedicated to advancing equity and anti-racism within their unions to get a better sense of current initiatives and access to any important documents that might have been missed. Altogether, approximately 185 individual materials were reviewed and coded. This report offers a thematic analysis of these resources, focusing on key resources and themes that emerged. While a significant amount of academic and union-based resources are included below, this report does not offer an exhaustive account of the anti-racism work being taken on by unions across the country. There is undoubtedly inspiring work happening that unfortunately are not included here. Instead, this report humbly offers one perspective on this work and places it in conversation with relevant academic writing on the role of unions in advancing the struggle toward racial justice. Hopefully this report can act as a resource for union leadership, staff, activists, and rank-and-file members to use in their work to advance equity and racial justice.

Defining Our Terms

For our purposes here, brief working definitions to some key terms are provided to offer a common basis from which to understand how unions can best identify and combat racism.

White Supremacy
A political, economic, social, and cultural system that creates a hierarchy of race, privileging whiteness and oppressing those not considered white. Within a white supremacist society, the further one is considered to be from whiteness, the less access they will typically have to safety, privilege, and power. Black, Indigenous, communities of colour are differentially racialized and therefore differentially positioned within white supremacy. For this reason, Black, Indigenous, and racialized workers are noted specifically within the report. While individuals from these communities can and do participate in white supremacy—e.g. racialized communities engaging in anti-Indigenous racism—they will never fully benefit from a system designed to exalt whiteness.[18]

Racism

In one sense, racism is a simple concept. Racism is prejudice, discrimination, and violence directed at individuals and communities based on perceived or assumed racial differences. In another sense, racism is much more complex and multi-dimensional. Agnes Fleras argues that there are five major ways in which racism can be define: (1) racism as *biology*, or dislike of others because of beliefs about genetic or phenotypical difference; (2) racism as *ideology*, or disdain for others because of ideas about racial difference or superiority; (3) racism as *culture*, or a distrust of people for their values or ways of life; (4) racism as *structural*, or discrimination that this embedded in laws, institutions, and otherwise assumed "race-neutral" processes; (5) racism as *domination*, or unequal authority and power concentrated within a ruling class who uses this power to discriminate against non-white people. Of course, instances of racism can involve multiple of these types, and so this definition encompasses the various levels and dimensions of racism.[19]

Diversity
Is concerned with questions such as: who is "in the room" or "at the table?" Do the positions of power, authority, and respect adequately reflect the many differences that exist in the workplace or union specifically, and society more generally? To pursue diversity is to prioritize representation as the (or a) solution to racial inequity. Diversity is important because it can identify clear racial inequalities in organizations and businesses by comparing the composition of leadership and positions of power to the composition of employees, union membership, or society more broadly. However, without a deeper understanding of the ways in which racism co-operates alongside capitalism, settler colonialism, hetero-patriarchy, and ableism, diversity can end up prioritizing symbolic over substantial change. That is, more Black or Indigenous CEOs will do little to address the systemic oppression that these communities endure every day under capitalist, colonial white supremacy.

Inclusion
Is concerned with questions of: whose perspective is sought out, recognized, and valued? Who is implicitly or explicitly made to feel welcome, worthy, and respected, and who is not? A workplace or union may therefore be diverse, but not inclusive. Going beyond issues of representation, inclusion is concerned with making policies, processes, and practices more inclusive for Black, Indigenous, and racialized people. Changes in language, accessibility, policies, and workplace culture are some common ways in which organizations seek to become more inclusive. However, without a structural analysis of how racism operates in structural and "colour blind" ways, diversity and inclusion risk uncritically facilitating the greater presence and inclusion of Black, Indigenous, and racialized people into institutions that continue to perpetuate racism—albeit in ways that are less explicit or obvious.

Equity
Is concerned with questions of justice. Equity is based in a more holistic understanding of inequality in society and how it might be address. Given the profound systemic, historical, and enduring *in*equality in society, equity recognizes that in some cases racial justice may not

necessarily entail treating everyone exactly the same—as this would ignore the systemic inequalities in society. Equity is the means to seek equality as the end goal; but understands that the in order to achieve equality we must attend to, rather than ignore, the ways in which white supremacy is embedded in society. Equity, therefore, considers justice as "what is fair, under the circumstances."[20] It offers a more subjective and comprehensive vision of racial justice for Black, Indigenous, and racialized workers—one that acknowledges that substantial changes are required that go beyond the limits of diversity and inclusion.

Anti-Racism & Racial Justice
Focus on actions taken at the individual, organizational, governmental, and global level to combat racism and white supremacy. If anti-racism is an individual and collective practice, then racial justice is the goal. Anti-racism recognizes that under conditions of white supremacy, one cannot be "not-racist": we are all complicit in different ways. To combat white supremacy, then, we must be *anti-racist*: we must identify and dismantle racism in all its dimensions. To be an anti-racist is to commit to a continual process of learning and action to abolish white supremacy. This does not only mean to abolishing whiteness and the structural privileges associated with it, but to reject all inequalities associated with racial difference. Therefore, the process of creating of anti-racist workplaces and unions is *not* getting everyone to "not see race," but one that requires us to acknowledge our collective responsibility and commitment to build spaces and relationships that actively dismantle and reject racism. Anti-racism is therefore aligned with equity in that it goes far beyond the limits of representation and inclusion and seeks to create fundamental change in society.

Building Anti-Racist Workplaces

"There is discrimination and bias at every stage of an individual's career, and even before it begins," writes UK House of Lords member Ruby Macgregor Smith in here national review of racism in the workplace.[21] Racialized workers experience racism at work in multiple ways, from workplace and hiring policies, to organizational culture, to individual interactions and micro-aggressions.[22] Racism operates covertly and overtly; it is (re)produced systemically and interpersonally. In his article analyzing how 15 trade unions across five European countries sought to combat racism in the workplace, Jefferys noted that:

> Occasionally racism appeared directly, where derogatory verbal comments are used to humiliate the 'minority' worker, where 'minority' workers are deliberately given the hardest or worst or lowest-paid work by supervisors and managers, or where, despite their experience and qualifications, these 'racialized Other' workers are systematically denied greater responsibilities. But more often we observed the unchallenged presence of indirect racism, where organisational procedures and rules often inadvertently permit differential treatment between 'majority' and 'minority' workers in favour of the former and to the disadvantage of the latter.[23]

As the beginning of this review pointed out, 96% of Black workers in Canada believe that racism is an issue in the workplace. This number undoubtedly remains high for other racialized and marginalized groups in society. Workplaces, unionized or not, are not immune from the inequalities and divisions embedded in society. There are barriers to equity across almost every area of the workplace, including recruitment, hiring, classification, promotion, training, and working conditions.[24] Therefore, workplaces must develop equity plans that go beyond symbolic gestures and quotas to truly advance anti-racism.[25] Racialized and Indigenous workers must take on an additional workload caused by racism in the workplace[26] and use a variety of strategies to navigate the overt and covert racial landscapes of their workplaces.[27] Racism, as Rita Dhamoon convincingly demonstrates, forms part of an unacknowledged workload that Black, Indigenous, and racialized workers must take on.[28] Unions, as organizations fundamentally committed to justice and equity, are uniquely positioned to combat racism in workplaces and advance anti-racism for the benefit of all workers. Below, several key themes were found in the data collected for this report that designate key areas for union organizing to build anti-racist workplaces.

Hiring and Promotion

One component of creating anti-racist and equitable workplaces is to ensure that workplaces are diverse. The realm of hiring is crucial in this regard, but it is a area largely controlled by the employer. Unions must focus on pressuring employers to embed equity into hiring and promotion

processes, as well as address the ways in which systems of seniority may work against equity in some cases.

A foundational mechanism that unions uphold is that of seniority, which, when understood in historical context, may entrench racialized inequities.[29] For example, Alimahomed-Wilson notes how Black longshoremen in southern California were systematically discriminated against within their union.[30] The Local deregistered approximately 500 Black longshoremen, citing the workers' "lack of seniority" as the reason. However, Black workers had not accrued as much seniority as their white co-workers because Black workers had been completely barred from founding the union years earlier.[31] The article goes on to describe the negative effects this union racism had on the labour movement writ large, including the proliferation of costly racial discrimination lawsuits settled by unions, the erosion of working-class solidarity, and the undermining of Black workers as full and equal union members.[32]

There is a dearth of research addressing the tension between seniority (a ubiquitous workplace protection and foundational issue for unions) and racial inequities. The tension is not immediately apparent: seniority is often assumed to be simply about length-of-tenure and classification and therefore "race-neutral." However, histories and systems of white supremacy have produced barriers to Indigenous and racialized members accruing the same amount of seniority as their white co-workers, meaning that seniority protections may actually work to entrench racial hierarchies in the workplace. Research shows that unions have taken action to adjust seniority rules as an equity initiative. Briskin notes that:

> Some unions have taken on the potentially explosive issue of seniority. After a considerable struggle, members of the Canadian Union of Postal Workers (CUPW) agreed, in 2003, to alter seniority rules so that part-timers who become full time (and vice versa) do not lose their seniority when they change class of work. This change has been extremely important for the many women who work parttime in the post office.[33]

Unions must therefore also be developing strategies to shift seniority clauses that might reduce their operation as barriers to racialized and Indigenous members. As well, unions have found ways to ensure that when a position is not filled via the standard seniority system, that the position will be considered using an equity lens.[34] There are further ways in which unions can influence the hiring process to ensure it is non-discriminatory and that hiring pools are diverse. Pushing for employment equity clauses in hiring processes via bargaining—e.g. attending to candidates' identification with groups designated under Canada's *Employment Equity Act*—is an important way that unions can ensure that workplaces become more diverse.[35]

In a study by labor scholars from Canada and New Zealand, it was shown that there was a positive correlation between unionization and the seeking of employment equity information (specifically immigration and ethnic minority status) by the employer.[36] Interestingly, and somewhat contradictorily, they found that unionization did not have a relationship to lower levels

of discrimination against immigrants and ethnic minorities in hiring. So, while unions are helpful in promoting diversity, they were shown to be less successful in combatting discrimination by the employer in the hiring process.

It is therefore key that unions do not leave equity up to the employer's discretion, and combat myths about employment equity (e.g. concerns over hiring less qualified candidates). In a study on training and equity initiatives on a Vancouver Island highway building project, Cohen and Braid note that it was the intentional commitment to equity hiring on behalf of Highway Constructors Ltd. (a Crown Corporation) that led to a "stunningly successful" model of equity initiatives. They note that

> It would be safe to say that both equity and local hire initiatives would not have occurred if a voluntary initial agreement from these parties had been relied upon. The equity provisions were a result of a top-down decision that was codified both in the collective agreement and the structure of the project's management.[37]

The reasons for this, they argue, were the support for equity initiatives in the Provincial government, the support from local women's groups and Indigenous organizations, and the tacit support from local communities because the commitment to equity was paired with a commitment to local hiring.

Importantly, there is also a "business case" to be made for diversity in hiring and promotion practices. Though some studies that show mixed or non-conclusive connections between diversity and "positive outcomes" for employees and employers,[38] there is a growing literature that documents the role diversity plays in widespread improves in the areas of: organizational commitment; job satisfaction; retention; access to a more diverse client base; creativity, innovation, and problem-solving; corporate image; and ultimately, economic performance.[39] For example, Hunt et al. note that

> The analysis found a statistically significant relationship between a more diverse leadership team and better financial performance. The companies in the top quartile of gender diversity were 15 percent more likely to have financial returns that were above their national industry median. Companies in the top quartile of racial/ethnic diversity were 35 percent more likely to have financial returns above their national industry median. Companies in the bottom quartile for both gender and ethnicity/race were statistically less likely to achieve above-average financial returns than the average companies in the dataset (that is, they were not just not leading, they were lagging).[40]

From this perspective, diversity is understood as a form of latent potential that workplaces can capitalize on to improve organizational performance, innovation, and well-being. The way that workplaces can unlock this potential, Maitland and Steele argue, is by fostering inclusion. This requires workplaces to collectively *understand* inclusion in tangible ways, *measure* the impacts of inclusion, and *build* more inclusive workplaces.[41] Importantly, Maitland and Steele caution against

"piecemeal" approaches to diversity and inclusion, demonstrating the need for holistic and systems-based approaches that emphasize shifts in the entire workplace ecosystem.

Therefore, an important point that emerges from this literature is the relationship between diverse workplaces and inclusive workplaces.[42] That is, workplaces can be diverse but remain discriminatory and alienating places to work for women, LGBTQ+, racialized, and Indigenous workers. Scholarship on this aspect would likely improve the rigor of "business case" studies, as solely measuring diversity only provides a part of a larger set of relationships between employers, employees, equity, and firm performance. That said, unions would be wise to use studies demonstrating the "positive business outcomes" of diversity to unwilling or reluctant employers, if the principled stance of "equity is important because it is the right thing to do" is not gaining traction at the bargaining table.[43]

As CUPE National's five-year Anti-Racism Strategy makes clear, employment equity must "include collective bargaining language that establishes more equitable hiring and promotion clauses, targeted training to provide opportunities for promotions and transfers, provisions for designated positions and the establishment of joint employment equity committees."[44] Below we take up the themes of collective bargaining and collective agreements.

Collective Bargaining

In a context of neoliberal austerity and white supremacy, unions will most often need to fight for advances to anti-racism through adversarial negotiation at the bargaining table. There are many important factors that contribute to how successful a union will be in the process of collective bargaining.[45] External factors, such as the historical context between the union and employer, the current provincial and federal government, existing labour legislation, and the social context all contribute to the probability that a union will be successful in the collective bargaining process.[46] Unions, however, sometimes have limited power to change these factors.[47] Internal dimensions therefore form the focus of this section.

It is crucial to think through how we can integrate anti-racism into the bargaining process *within* our unions. An anti-racism bargaining guide produced by the United Commercial Food Workers notes that

> Our role as labour advocates requires us to promote equity in bargaining by being more explicit about how our collective agreements can address structural racism in the workplace. Our collective power at the bargaining table allows us the opportunity to address wages, benefits, and workplace treatment in a way that reflects the different lived realities of our diverse membership."[48]

So, unions must ensure that equity proposals are present and prioritized in negotiations with the employer. These proposals sometimes have the benefit of being non-monetary in nature, making the employer potentially more willing to consider them. But unions should not shy away from bargaining equity proposals that stand to contribute resources and financial benefits to workers that have historically been excluded and disadvantaged in the workplace. And while bringing equity to the bargaining table is important, we also need to think about how to embed equity into the collective bargaining process more generally.[49]

In her analysis of internal union strategies and structures that facilitate and support gender equity in bargaining, Linda Briskin argues that unions must understand a key distinction between two models of equity in bargaining.[50] The first model, "representative democracy," focuses on simplistic understandings of diversity—that is, equity can be achieved in bargaining by diversifying the identity-composition of the bargaining team. Diverse representation and equitable participation in collective bargaining does have inherent benefits. Labour writer Rhea Rollman notes that "having a diverse membership in the room renders equity issues like race and gender more prominent and personal; the process keeps them on the agenda more effectively than closed-door negotiating, especially while union leaderships are still predominantly white and male." Rollman then quotes Megan Hillman from CUPE 3903, which represents academic workers at York University, who argues

> When you are trying to bargain improvements to equity language, it can be very important and very helpful to have a room full of equity seekers so that the employer has to face people, and say "No, we don't think you, as a Black woman, should have more right to a position than the white man." Or to say "No, we don't need to make the university more accessible," to a room of people with mobility devices, who couldn't get into the room. When the employer has to face the people that they are saying no to, it gets harder to say no.[51]

Rollman's piece not only demonstrates the benefits of diverse bargaining teams, but of "open bargaining," a model of collective bargaining that is transparent and actively involves rank-and-file membership. Notwithstanding these benefits of representation, this model risks considering the work of equity to be completed once a threshold of diversity or participation is achieved, for example, on a bargaining team. The "representative democracy" model considers the presence of diverse members as *the* achievement of equitable bargaining. Perhaps this achieves "equity in bargaining" but what about "bargaining for equity?"

Briskin reminds us that there can be no guarantee, however, that diverse bargaining teams will inherently result in the advancement of equity in bargaining. While Briskin argues this point from the perspective of gender diversity, we can easily identify similar limitations of an approach to anti-racism that begins and ends at representation. Briskin argues for a second model, "representational justice," which shifts the focus from individual and essentialized "equity champions" toward championing institutional vehicles for equity within the union. While the

former model focuses on achieving an end result of diverse bargaining teams, a representational justice approach focuses on "collective procedural inclusion," which "shifts attention from the individual equality champions of representative democracy to vehicles for championing equality."[52] In this model, equity considerations are embedded within all aspects of the bargaining process, and evaluated on their ability to advance equity proposals in bargaining *outcomes*.

So, what does this all mean in practice? There are three areas for unions to consider when thinking through how to achieve "equity in bargaining" (diverse representation on bargaining teams) while also successfully "bargaining equity" (tangible and intangible benefits of prioritizing equity in the bargaining process).

As a baseline, the **composition of the bargaining team** is important to consider. Historically, bargaining team members have been overwhelmingly filled by white men. This suggests a problem in diverse representation, as discussed above, that should be addressed. This does not mean that equity proposals cannot be negotiated by less- or non-diverse bargaining teams. However, the importance of creating more inclusive and diverse bargaining team has multiple positive effects, including:

- Inclusive and diverse bargaining teams represent advances in union equity structures;

- Training and leadership opportunities for racialized and Indigenous members;

- A more comprehensive knowledge and diverse perspectives on impactful equity issues and solutions;

Whether or not bargaining teams are chosen or elected, finding ways to build equity into the selection process is an important baseline for equity.

The **collection of equity data and priorities via bargaining surveys** is necessary to equip the bargaining team with, in order to make equity proposals both impactful for union members as well as for employers to take seriously at the bargaining table. Increasingly, unions and unionized workplaces are conducting equity audits and surveys to get a holistic and intersectional understanding of their workers' identities. Gathering this information is an important first step,[53] but it must be tied to concrete bargaining demands and political actions by the union to be effective. For example, if an equity survey shows a notably discrepancy between the proportion of racialized and Indigenous workers in a union and on its bargaining teams, the union should work on recruitment, the electoral or appointment process, and/or designate equity seats to ensure equitable representation. Beyond gathering and mobilizing equity data, bargaining teams must gather information about what issues are priorities for racialized and Indigenous workers. For example, if an equity survey reveals that racialized workers in the union are more likely to occupy precarious or lower-waged jobs, feel unsupported in grievance processes, or experience forms of discrimination or harassment that are not included in the Collective Agreement, these must be

specifically addressed at the bargaining table.[54] Readers can consult the list of resources in the Conclusion that specifically offer examples and sample language on equity proposals, under "Bargaining and Collective Agreement Resources."

Third, the **active involvement of constituency committees** in the bargaining process is shown to be invaluable in crafting and honing of proposal language, troubleshooting employer negotiation tactics, and ensuring the voices of racialized members are being heard. Constituency committees are those that bring together members of an equity-seeking group—e.g. racialized, Indigenous, women, trans, disabled workers—to develop their skills and influence within their union.[55] Briskin demonstrates how organizing within these committees has been shown to contribute to many positive developments within unions,[56] including expanding leadership and activist capacity, especially for women of colour;[57] building solidarity with racialized communities;[58] deepening leadership accountability;[59] and broadening the collective bargaining agenda.[60] Foley echoes this point in her study of the role of women's committees in advancing equity in unions over a 25-year period.[61] Further, she convincingly concludes that the more constituency committees are meaningfully involved in the collective bargaining process, the more likely equity issues are negotiated and won.[62]

There is always the concern that separate and specific committees for various marginalized groups will lead to isolation or tokenization, however. As Mills and Clarke note in their analysis of Indigenous solidarity efforts by unions:

> Strategies used to increase the representation of Aboriginal peoples within CUPE and PSAC have mimicked those of other marginalized groups, such as the creation of separate organizing committees and the creation of representative seats on executives. There are questions as to whether these newly formed committees will serve as ghettos for Aboriginal peoples or whether they will foster a transfer of power to Aboriginal members.[63]

These are important concerns, especially at a time when diversity and inclusion is becoming increasingly symbolic and de-politicized. Briskin argues that striking a strategic balance between autonomy from, and integration into, the union is essential in order to maximize the efficacy of these committees.[64] Mills and Clarke go further, however, to argue that, beyond creating more committees,

> A true transfer of power would involve changes in the distribution of financial resources and control within unions through the hiring of Aboriginal staff, the funding of Aboriginal controlled representative bodies with direct lines to union decision making, and Aboriginal representation in key decision-making seats."[65]

Clearly, "bargaining equity" requires more than just diverse bargaining teams. The collection of equity data, the meaningful role of constituency committees, and a clear and ongoing mandate that prioritizes equity are each important to the process as well. Bargaining teams must also be

accountable to the membership, which often means moving away from closed-door bargaining sessions.[66]

Collective Agreements

Beyond incorporating equity into union bargaining processes, bargaining team members must also focus on negotiating specific equity proposals. Academic and union-produced literature tends to focus on a specific sub-set of issues, which are summarized below.

Wages

Across the board (public, private, unionized, non-unionized), racialized and Indigenous workers typically earn fewer wages than their white counterparts.[67] This racialized wage gap is further compounded by intersecting dimensions of gender, immigration status, disability, etc. Unions are understood as an important vehicle for addressing this gap, as they contribute to higher wages generally, and a narrowing of the racialized wage gap specifically. Yet, the gap does persist in unionized workplaces, and deserves special attention in the collective bargaining process.

The racialized wage gap is, admittedly, difficult to address through collective bargaining and collective agreements, as earnings are often tied to length of service and classification of duties.[68] Despite these difficulties, the Union of Food and Commercial Workers notes that

> the issue of the racial wage gap must still be considered in our collective bargaining and organizing. This can be done by ensuring our labour activism includes organizing non-unionized workplaces in which racialized workers are highly represented. We also need to ensure that there are protections in place in our collective agreements that can support and retain racialized staff who might experience racial discrimination in the workplace.[69]

Beyond unionizing workplaces with high numbers of racialized and Indigenous workers and ensuring these workers are retained following experiences of discrimination, unions should also pressure employers or governments to embed mechanisms into collective agreements that correct the racial wage gap, and widen the recognition of prior work experience to support racialized workers who are newer immigrants to secure the rank or classification they deserve.

Harassment and Discrimination

It is well documented that workplace harassment and discrimination is an occupational health issue which often has roots in systemic inequality.[70] Indeed, harassment and discrimination harm individuals' mental and physical health, and have the added effect of eroding worker solidarity.

As a CUPE National report on the topic notes, "there is strong empirical evidence linking harassment to psychological stress responses that can lead to a multitude of chronic negative health conditions…. Negative job outcomes from harassment can include higher sick leave, fewer promotion opportunities, reduced productivity, social isolation and higher turnover."[71]

By now, most collective agreements include a clause that prohibits discrimination against workers in accordance with provincial human rights legal frameworks. Multiple sources note, however, that sticking only to what is outlined in provincial legislation may leave out specific forms of discrimination.[72] As Lippell notes,

> Legislative definitions are the product of political compromise; they are often intentionally convoluted, and should not be used by occupational health and safety or social psychology practitioners as guides to determine when prevention interventions are justified.[73]

Unions should therefore prioritize bargaining clear, specific, and expansive language into their Collective Agreements, so that all workers are adequately protected by collective agreements.[74] There is also the issue of how effective unions are at utilizing and enforcing the grievances processes that undergird anti-harassment and discrimination language, which is addressed in more detail below (under *Grievances*).

Leaves

Unions would be wise to consider how Collective Agreement language pertaining to employee leaves can be made more equitable. In Canada, many statutory holidays correspond with the observance of Christian religious holidays. This is not a coincidence, but a product of ongoing processes of settler colonialism and white supremacy. Accordingly, unions ought to bargain language that allows racialized, Indigenous, and religious minority candidates access to leaves for observance of significant days and cultural practices, with attention paid to the fact that some holidays do not occur on the same day each year. There are multiple resources that offer templates for unions bargain into their collective agreements regarding different kinds of leaves.[75]

Training

Providing training opportunities for employees and management is an increasingly common mechanism through which to advance anti-racism in the workplace. Indeed, one of the Truth and Reconciliation Commission's Calls to Action specifically addresses the need for education on Indigenous peoples and "skills-based training in intercultural competency, conflict resolution, human rights, and anti-racism."[76] Unions can champion anti-racism by pushing the employer to support training opportunities for employees, middle-managers, and senior executives,[77] and even

make them mandatory for upper-level management.[78] The emphasis of the training can be general or specific to the workplace, sector, and/or geographical location. For example, the Public Service Association of Canada noted that

> Everyone in the federal government can benefit from training on systemic racism. It creates healthier work environments for racialized workers, and it ensures unbiased delivery of public services and programs to all Canadians, including Indigenous peoples, Black people, and other racialized Canadians. That's why we are proposing the government offers training on equity, diversity and inclusion, and the history of Indigenous peoples and residential schools to all federal public service workers. It's a small but meaningful step towards fighting racism.[79]

It is important to note here that training on issues of equity do not constitute a box to check for workplaces to become equitable. Equity and racial justice require holistic efforts to transform workplaces, and cannot rely on sporadic and piecemeal initiatives. Unions should therefore be aware of employer approaches to equity that rely on a single or small number of superficial trainings in order to boost their internal or external image.[80]

As well, there is a tendency to ask or expect racialized and Indigenous people to run the equity trainings—often without additional pay—to which the employer and union agree. This is not only tokenizing, but it sets up racialized and Indigenous people to fail. In an insightful report about how white supremacy culture operates in organizations, the Centre for Community Organizations notes:

> Our research has also documented a pattern where racialized employees are punished for things that would not even qualify as mistakes, or are being held accountable to expectations that were never made clear to them. The most common example we hear is that a racialized employee is assumed to be responsible for leading diversity or antiracism efforts in an organization, often without that ever having been made clear in the job posting or the job description. They are then blamed for the failures or conflicts that arise from those initiatives (or the lack of them).[81]

The point here is *not* that racialized and Indigenous people should not be part of equity trainings––indeed, everyone is implicated in the (re)production of white supremacy in an organization and society at large. Instead, it is to examine the ways that white supremacy can operate even in the desire to do equity trainings in the assumptions we hold. Especially, but not only, when it is largely white, upper management asking: Who ought to design and run these trainings? Who do we assume would inherently be interested in doing so? And who will be held responsible (formally or informally) for the outcomes of these trainings? The answer to these questions should not uncritically be assumed to be solely racialized and Indigenous people in the workplace.

Anti-racism is a workplace-wide challenge, and therefore the workplace itself should work to become what the Centre for Community Organizations calls "learning organizations," which understand "learning as a significant organizational goal" and "find ways to facilitate learning at

all levels, drawing on different forms of knowledge in order to not only face change, but to thrive with it."[82] They isolate four characteristics of learning organizations:

> A **structure that supports learning**, characterized by few formal hierarchical levels. It prioritizes teamwork and gives a high amount of autonomy to staff members and teams. This facilitates open communication throughout the organization, encourages risk-taking and innovation, and allows the organization to remain flexible.

> A **learning climate** that cultivates a feeling of trust and safety throughout the organization, that demonstrates an appreciation and facilitation of learning, and ensures the process of learning is a pleasant and safe one for all. Such a climate makes learning from mistakes and failures easier, acknowledges that individuals learn in different ways, and underlines that learning at all levels is of strategic importance for the organization.

> A **social take** on learning, acknowledging that meaningful and transformational learning usually comes unexpectedly, while working and interacting with others. As such, learning organizations seek to create and multiply the appropriate contexts and containers for informal learning to happen.

> A **capacity to navigate complexity**, allowing the organization to imagine, prototype, apply and evaluate novel, ecological and durable ways of addressing change and organizational challenges.

Once again, this positioning of employee training as simultaneously an organizational process and goal is antithetical to the understanding of training as a singular event that one must complete to become an "ally." Commitments to learning about and enacting anti-racism in one's workplace(s) and everyday life therefore must be ongoing and take the "long view."

Recognition and Acknowledgements

In an effort to recognize and take responsibility for ongoing colonial and racial violence, Collective Agreements can include:

- Acknowledgements of the Indigenous lands upon which the workplace unit is situated or where the project was located; [83]

- A "statement of co-operation" about "respecting and/or co-operating with Indigenous peoples and/ or communities where the workplace stood, or the project was being done… sometimes include[ing] consideration for Indigenous culture and customs";[84]

- Paid or unpaid time off in observance of

  o International Day for the Elimination of Racial Discrimination (March 21st)

  o Asian Heritage Month (month of May)

  o National Indigenous Peoples Day (June 21)

  o Emancipation Day (August 1st)

  o National Day for Truth and Reconciliation (September 30th)

Without a broader commitment to taking action to support Indigenous communities in their struggles for justice and decolonization, however, these mechanisms may appear superficial and symbolic. Recognition is therefore only the first step that unions must take in the broader process of reconciliation.

Racial Justice Advocates

Some Unifor locals have recently taken to bargaining Collective Agreement language for the establishment of a "Racial Justice Advocate" in the workplace. The template provided by the Unifor states that the advocate will be Black, Indigenous, and/or racialized, and functions as "a workplace representative who will assist and provide confidential support for Black, Indigenous and racialized workers whose role in the workplace will include:

  o Listening;

  o Tracking and reporting any incidences of racism and discrimination to management and relevant Union staff including Unifor National Human Rights Director.

  o Providing support to black, indigenous and racialized members including concerns related to racial discrimination and racial violence in the workplace;

  o Assisting with racial justice initiatives both inside and outside the workplace;

  o Promoting access to community culturally appropriate services;

  o Working with facility leadership to develop, implement and monitor an anti-racism action plan that is aligned with both Company and Union anti-racism and equity strategies;

  o Networking with allied organizations and local community partners.[85]

Unifor recently created a Racial Justice Advocate program during negotiations with the Detroit three automakers (General Motors, Ford, and Chrysler) in 2020. Since then, nearly 150 Racial Justice Advocate positions have been bargained in Unifor contracts. Further time and a comprehensive evaluation of the program will be required to determine the successes and challenges Advocates are facing on the shop floor and opportunities for improvement.

Grievances

To accompany strong Collective Agreement language on harassment, discrimination, and equity, unions must be ready and willing to enforce it—which is to say, to bring grievances forward on behalf of racialized and Indigenous members. Unfortunately, there is a perennial issue within unions of not taking the concerns raised by racialized, Indigenous, female-identified, and trans workers seriously.[86] As the recent Anti-Racism Strategy published by CUPE National notes,

> When reporting workplace racism, Black, Indigenous and racialized members are often told that they are overreacting or misinterpreting racist behaviour and discriminatory practices. Fear of backlash and lack of union support may prevent members from coming forward with their experiences.
>
> […]
>
> Local leaders need to know how to support Black, Indigenous and racialized members who are experiencing it. Locals should promptly file grievances related to racial discrimination and harassment, and bring them through the grievance procedure in a timely way from start to finish. Violence and harassment targeting Black, Indigenous and racialized members should also be reported to joint health and safety committees.[87]

Here we see the need for unions to build grievance processes with properly trained officials and an embedded equity lens so the concerns brought forward by racialized and Indigenous people are taken seriously. Further, there are important considerations around issues of confidentiality that might help alleviate concerns around backlash. Unions would also do well to develop an expedited grievance procedure for the settling of harassment and violence complaints, which would ensure that the most pressing grievances for the health and well-being of racialized and Indigenous workers are resolved in a timely fashion. Finally, grievances are important opportunities for unions to mobilize collectively around an otherwise individualized issue. This process of collectivization is an important means of cultivating solidarity within the membership, and of pushing back against the individualizing tendencies of the grievance process.[88] Grievances around issues of equity are, and must be framed, as a whole-of-union issue (while respecting any privacy concerns of individuals involved) and they can be integrated into existing racial justice campaigns.[89]

Workshops and Workplace Education

Black, Indigenous, and racialized workers routinely speak to the need for workplaces to offer workshops and educational opportunities for workers both to learn about the importance of equity, as well as to develop their skills in advancing anti-racism in the workplace. In a study of the experiences of racialized nurses in Ontario navigating dynamics of violence and support in the workplace, Choinere, MacDonnell, and Shamonda reveal that nurses spoke to

> to the gaps in programs of workplace support, such as orientation, mentoring, and other practice-setting assistance, which are important for all nurses, but particularly critical for those from divergent cultures and/or educated in other countries. Educational support through formal professional curriculum, training, and informal peer networks have crucial roles in building professional and organizational capacity for nurses across domains of practice.[90]

As we can see here, the opportunities for worker education exist across the spectrum of work: on-boarding and orientation materials; mentorship and peer networks; and formal opportunities for training and skill development within and beyond the workplace.

As such, opportunities for training have become a ubiquitous aspect of anti-racism strategies in Canadian workplaces, unions, and governments today. Reflections on what kinds of union trainings are more or less effective in advancing anti-racism are scarce,[91] but there is a growing critical analysis of the paradigm of "unconscious bias training" that is useful to note. Noon argues that individual agency is overstated in psychological studies of unconscious bias training, arguing that from a sociological perspective such training "looks pointless."[92] The concept of "unconscious bias" has a particular allure to workplaces looking for an easy "quick fix" to racism, because it is not about blame. Noon argues that "It is convenient to believe that racial discrimination is not a product of our conscious thought but deeply embedded, so discrimination is not really our fault."[93] Though not necessarily about blame, the central focus of this kind of training is the individual. The focus on an individual's "unconscious bias" ignores the systemic, socio-cultural contexts that (re)produce individual bias, and reduce racism to inter-personal relations in the workplace. Noon insightfully shows that this approach to anti-racism, which focuses on future shifts to individual action as the way to end discrimination, ignores the structural aspects of racialization and racism, which act as constraints on individual action.[94]

Unconscious bias training is useful insofar as it gets people thinking about discrimination, and their role in it. But Noon concludes that this particular approach to anti-racism is ultimately flawed, inadequate, and liable to be treated as a "quick fix" that employers can use to demonstrate their commitment to addressing equity issues in the workplace, ultimately constituting

> yet another distraction from the embedded, structural disadvantages within organisations; disadvantages that require far more radical solutions than introspective sessions that simply nudge managers and employees, often begrudgingly, into recognising that they are biased.[95]

This point is important in a couple ways. First, it should direct us away from building trainings that solely treat racism as an individual, case-by-case issue. Gone are the days that acknowledging our "invisible knapsacks," privileges, and unconscious biases will constitute a threshold for building anti-racist workplaces—these were deeply flawed approaches to begin with. Second, our trainings must go beyond acknowledging the existence of structural forms of discrimination— white supremacy, colonialism, hetero-patriarchy, etc.—toward demonstrating how they operate in practice and how they can be transformed. This is not only important because discussions of structural oppression tend to get abstract, academic, and therefore potentially alienating, but also because it returns our focus to what we can do as individuals and collectively in ways that balance the important of individual actions with a keen understanding of the structural aspects of racialization and racism.[96] In a US-based analysis of 708 private sector establishments between 1971 to 2002, Kalev, Dobbin, and Kelly summarized their findings this way:

> Efforts to moderate managerial bias through diversity training and diversity evaluations are *least* effective at increasing the share of white women, black women, and black men in management. Efforts to attack social isolation through mentoring and networking show modest effects. Efforts to establish responsibility for diversity lead to the broadest increases in managerial diversity.[97]

Therefore, a shift away from positioning one-off diversity trainings as the solution—and toward the solution being building individual and collective responsibility for anti-racism and equity—is both an effective and evidence-based way to advance equity in the workplace.

"Systemic racism is about more than individual acts of harassment or racial stereotypes," writes labour activist Jojo Germino. In manifests through workplace culture, policies, and practices that advantage folks that are white, male, heterosexual, and non-Indigenous in overt and more subtle ways. Greater diversity within the workplace is not a simple solution here: without a commitment to fostering workplaces cultures of inclusion and equity, diversity is virtually meaningless. To contest systemic racism, unions must embark on a "deliberate and sustained process of change" in the workplace and within our unions.[98] To this effect, there are numerous of union-designed trainings and educational resources that are publicly available. This are surveyed in more detail below, in the *Member Education and Learning* section.

Government Policy

Unions must also go beyond advocating solely for their members and use their influence to push for employment equity measures at the policy level. As Linda Briskin argues,

> Unions also need to take full advantage of existing legislative and human rights frameworks and compel employers to fulfill their obligations to equity seeking groups. At the same time, pressure on governments is essential to improve equality legislation, particularly around pay

equity and employment equity; labour market protection through better minimum wages and employment standards; and family-friendly innovations on leaves, child care, and all initiatives that support positive flexibility.[99]

The Federal *Employment Equity Act* (EEA) is an obvious starting point for national unions, and unions can continue to advocate for the *Act*'s continued improvement and enforcement. As a recent submission to the Federal Government by CUPE National points out,

> Weak accountability and enforcement mechanisms means that the EEA lacks teeth. Parliament has not carried out the five-year review required under the EEA since 2002, and the Canadian Human Rights Commission has been unable to carry out proper audits under the EEA for lack of resources.[100]

The EEA only covers about 10% of the workforce in Canada, however, so it is inherently limited in its ability to make the sweeping equity shifts needed in Canadian workplaces.

Beyond the EEA, there are several campaigns and worker demands that unions ought to either begin, or continue, supporting in tangible and sustained ways. Unions should advocate for justice for migrant workers. There are hundreds of thousands of temporary status and undocumented migrant workers in Canada that are subject to hyper-exploitation due to their lack of permanent immigration status. Many migrant workers are exempt from employment standards and minimum wage acts, fear deportation if they raise workplace issues, and are prohibited from unionizing. The irony here is that migrant workers are vital to the functioning of the Canadian economy—meaning that migrant workers are treated as essential, yet disposable, features of the Canadian labour market.[101] Unfortunately, unions have had a checkered history in relation to supporting migrant workers.[102] Historically and today, migrant workers are scapegoated for economic hardship and unemployment by governments, corporations, and unions. Despite being subject to poor working conditions, low and precarious wages, and an underlying threat of deportation, unions has displayed a tendency to turn toward xenophobia rather than solidarity in response. This has resulted in migrant workers having to pursue organizing strategies beyond traditional union structures.[103] This reality is both a critique of traditional union organizing histories *and* a crucial opportunity for unions to commit to including migrant workers in their organizing efforts. Taking direction from provincial and national migrant worker organizations, unions must commit resources and take action to support calls for the end to hyper-exploitative and precarious working conditions for migrant workers, major reforms to the Temporary Foreign Worker and Domestic Caregiver Programs, and permanent immigration status for all migrants in Canada.[104]

Provincially, while legislative equivalents to the EEA currently do not exist,[105] there are crucial government initiatives that unions can, and have, advocated for anti-racism in the workplace. Here are some recent examples:

The **Aboriginal Employment Development Program**, which ran from 1998 to 2010, was "a comprehensive employment and training initiative to improve the recruitment and retention of Indigenous workers in the health care and other sectors in the province."[106] Despite its cancellation, it stands as a model for employment equity at the provincial level. During its operation, thousands of Indigenous peoples were hired, received work-based skills training, and more than 21,000 workers received "Indigenous awareness training."[107] The success of this program echoes the argument made by Cohen and Braid that successful employment equity initiatives depend on support from government and leadership.[108] Similar partnerships between unions, employers, and provincial and municipal governments should therefore be considered in other provincial contexts.

The creation of **Anti-Racism Directorates, Councils, etc.** are also important mechanisms to advance anti-racism at the level of government. Ontario's Anti-Racism Directorate has developed province-wide anti-racism strategies, including implementing employment equity initiatives via hiring, promotion, education, and data-collection commitments.[109] Alberta's Anti-Racism Advisory Council also recently made a series of recommendations that, if implemented, would meaningfully advance anti-racism in across the province. A primary issue with these organizational bodies is that their funding and continued operation are beholden to the whims of governments.[110]

Continuing to advocate for **increased Minimum or a Living Wage** is another important avenue though which unions can use their influence to advance anti-racism at the provincial level. Racialized men earn 76 cents for every dollar earned by white men, and racialized women earn 59 cents.[111] Racialized workers are more likely to work in precarious and part-time work, and less likely to be a member of a union. Even within unionized workplaces, the racial wage gap persists.[112]

As well, unions would do well to also consider advocating for: broadened **race-based data collection**; the establishment of **provincial employment equity legislation**; incorporating a **gender- and equity-based analysis** into provincial budgets; and **increasing partnerships and funding** with unions, non-governmental organizations, and community groups representing working class, Indigenous, racialized, gender-diverse, LGBTQ+, and disabled communities.

Building Anti-Racist Unions

Even though unions and the labour movement are founded on the basis of equity, dignity, and justice for workers, they are not immune to reproducing the political, economic, and socio-cultural inequalities that exist in our society for racialized and Indigenous peoples.[113] According to Hunt and Rayside,[114] Canadian unions have demonstrated more of an appetite for equity issues than those in the US. However, many labour scholars have reveal a long history of racism within the Canadian labour movements and unions. For example, Foster notes that in the 19th and early 20th century, the Canadian labour movement was explicitly racist, with labour leaders advocating for racially discriminatory immigration policies, prohibited union membership to various ethnic groups, and encouraged deportation and social exclusion.[115] Das Gupta similarly documents the long history of Canadian labour movement racism, concluding that while Canadian unions have made some progress toward anti-racism since the 1990s, there is still much further to go.[116]

Racism in our unions can take a variety of forms.[117] It can look like an Indigenous person being elected to a bargaining team, assuming they can speak to all the "equity needs" of the membership, and then being told that these are distractions from "bread and butter" union demands such as wages. It can look like a racialized member bringing forward a harassment complaint or a grievance after experiencing racism, and union stewards, staff, and/or leadership not taking them seriously, or being told to "hold off" on a complaint because the union is in the middle of an important campaign. It can look like racialized members being told at equity issues can be "divisive" when they are shared, or that equity issues are the work of a specific committee and therefore have little value in general union spaces. Racism can be the tokenizing of racialized members, stereotyping and offensive "jokes," the devaluing of their work, and the expectation that the work of combatting racism is primarily work for racialized members to take on. It can be embedded in union policies and practices that appear to be race-neutral, but which therefore do not account for differential levels of access, capacity, and inclusion. The variety of ways that race and racism operate within unions can make the work of anti-racism feel daunting. However, there are many examples of union members doing this work and setting their unions on a path toward justice and equity. Below are the main themes that were identified in the collected literature detailing important areas of consideration for unions to more effectively live up to their commitments to anti-racism.

Improving Diversity

First and foremost, to accurately assess the equity landscape unions must know their membership. Unions must be committed to gathering relevant data from their membership in order to identify gaps in representation in leadership and committee roles; the dispersion of members across employment sectors; the proportion of members in permanent, part-time, and precarious work. The

"equity audit" or "social mapping" has become a ubiquitous part of union equity work, often going on to form the foundation for a strategic plan to address inequities within the union.[118] Take, for example, OPSEU's summary of their 2020 Social Mapping Project:

> A Member Survey that collected data from over 27,000 members on the demographics of the membership and their experiences of the OPSEU/SEFPO. It provided a robust sample for an extensive set of analyses at the level of the overall membership as well as within seven equity groups of focus and their intersecting identities.

> A Membership Systems Review that identified positive practices and unintended systemic barriers to inclusion of the full diversity of OPSEU/SEFPO members. This involved an extensive documentation review and a series of fact-finding interviews; inputs from more than fifty (50) members through interview or focus groups; consultations with the Equity Committees/Caucuses; targeted analysis of the census survey responses; and an external review that highlighted relevant good practices from 14 other labour organizations.

> Close collaboration with the Equity Unit, Social Mapping Project Committees and the Equity Committees/Caucuses helped compile information, identify priorities, guide the analysis, provide insights and interpret findings.

> A Final Consolidated Report includes forty nine (49) recommendations with suggested approached for implementation that provide a road map for evidence-based systemic change within OPSEU/SEFPO.[119]

Note here that OPSEU used a variety of methods to build depth and detail into their social mapping project: surveys, interviews, focus groups, consultations, and an external review. As well, it has been shown that working closely with constituency committees improves the process of data collection and analysis.[120] Altogether, the goal of the equity audit is to assess the level of diversity across all aspects of the union's work in order to identify and rectify organizational or structural manifestations of white supremacy, hetero-patriarchy, and ableism through improved representation. Diversity is especially important to achieve at the level of leadership positions or committees, as these function as the outward "face" of the union and can signal a union's commitment to diversity in ways that alter entrenched hierarchies of power and privilege. The membership and racialized communities are far more likely to take union efforts to increase diversity seriously if the often white and male leadership is willing to (for forced to) step aside and cede some of their power in order to advance equity within the union. The value of social mapping therefore goes beyond developing a greater awareness of racialized disparities and inequities within the membership and union leadership—it also begins to build a common language and understanding of equity within the union, raising awareness across the membership in a positive and transparent way.[121]

Across the board, unions repeat on the importance of having a membership and leadership that accurately reflects the national or regional population. While this is a good baseline goal for

unions, it also reveals the limits of a primarily diversity-focused approach to equity: even if the proportions of membership identity are "just right," there are various other layers of discrimination and oppression that will continue to plague the union. This is, as we noted in the introduction, where the importance of inclusion and equity come in.

Fostering Inclusion

Organizations often confuse diversity and inclusion—or assume that increases in diversity signify increases in inclusion. This, however, is not the case. A union's membership may be diverse but still struggle to be an inclusive space for racialized members. A union depends on meaningful contributions from all its members to remain steadfast in the face of austerity and white supremacy. Therefore, ensuring that the union's policies and practices are inclusive is crucial in the work of anti-racism.[122] Unions can work to foster inclusion in a wide variety of ways, including:

- Conducting a thorough <u>internal review</u> or "equity audit" of union policies and procedures from and equity lens, in conversation with racialized and Indigenous members and committees. [123]

- Union leadership can practice humility and reflection when inevitably met with feedback and criticism from racialized and Indigenous members. Leadership must be <u>accountable, receptive, and take action</u> in response to feedback.

- Racialized and Indigenous members should be <u>recruited and equipped to succeed</u> in bids for union leadership roles and committees. Ensuring selection, election, and on-boarding processes are designed with equity in mind is crucial to ensuring that a diverse range of candidates are meaningfully considered and valued.

- The <u>election process</u> itself should be considered from an equity standpoint: are there barriers in the electoral process that might prevent racialized and Indigenous people from participating?[124]

- Create opportunities for racialized and Indigenous members to receive <u>mentorship, training, and experience</u> within and beyond the workplace to build their capacity to take on leadership and organizing roles within the union.

- Create and adequately <u>resource committees focused on equity</u>. This develops spaces for racialized, Indigenous, and gender-diverse folks to connect, strategize, and effectively contribute to improving the union.[125]

- Confirm that the <u>union's anti-harassment and anti-discrimination policies</u> are up to date, clear, and enforced in a timely matter. Racialized workers are less likely to bring their

grievances forward due to a lack of confidence that the process will produce effective results.

- o Ensure <u>union events</u> are inclusive of a range of ethnic and cultural norms, and that the union is present at cultural events outside the workplace that are valued by racialized members.[126]

- o Work toward running <u>inclusive meetings</u> where all members feel comfortable and excited about participating in meaningful ways, and that this participation is valued by the union.[127]

- o Unions must continue to be <u>visible and vocal in their condemnation of racism</u> within and beyond the workplace, responding to current events and lending material support anti-racist campaigns and social movements. What is crucial here is that unions do not settle for an endless line of public statements, but display actions that the union is taking to advance anti-racism (this is covered more below).

Public Statements

Surveying the websites of Canada's major unions, one can find an abundance of public statements that: condemn racism; acknowledge various days marking commitments to human rights and recognizing histories of oppression; and pledge to oppose racism and discrimination in the future. Website areas dedicated to anti-racism, racial justice, and equity are crowded by such statements. Historically, racialized and Indigenous union members have fought long and difficult battles for unions to recognize and stand in solidarity with the fight for anti-racism—so from this perspective, the ubiquity of these statements is a positive development.

However, while there is important symbolism in these statements, racialized and Indigenous workers recognize that statements do little to change material circumstances of oppression, and are more interested in seeing tangible actions being taken by unions to combat racism in the union, workplace, and community. Two recent declarations from the Canadian Federation of Nurses Unions opposing anti-Black and anti-Indigenous racism stand out as exemplary cases of effective statements.[128] Both begin with historical context, written with a level of detail that goes beyond the typical boiler plate recognitions of past oppression. They then go on to detail a series of commitments to take action from their specific location as nurses in Canada. The commitments are a mix of general pledges to root out racism, demands on governments, and specific actions they will take to systematically review policies, procedures, and best practices from an anti-racist lens.

Internal Structures

Many aspects of this literature review have already isolated specific internal policies (anti-harassment, election procedures, etc.) as sites to asses with an equity lens to combat racism. This section therefore reiterates the importance of engaging in a systematic, ongoing, and humble process of internal assessment of all policies, procedures, and practices within the union. "It is not about a few individuals being aggressive or hateful," states a resource developed for the Toronto York Region Labour Council's *Yes It Matters!* campaign, "it's about how institutions of power were formed and operate today."[129] In their study of how unions are developing solidarity with Indigenous peoples, Mills and Clarke note, "Addressing the concerns and needs of Aboriginal workers required that CUPE and PSAC adapt their strategies to meet the needs of Aboriginal peoples in different types of workplaces, and that they *address the internal colonialism within their own structures*."[130] A holistic and organization-wide perspective must therefore be taken.

What makes systemic racism so insidious is that it often operates in race-neutral or "colour-blind" ways—that is, it operates in spaces or within rules that may appear to be equal. As Geronimo reminds us:

> Systemic racism happens when people assume that the "normal" ways of doing things are race-neutral. This ignores historical facts: society and its institutions of power – economic, social, cultural, and political – were built on racist assumptions, policies, and practices…. For example, a union may adopt a "universal" approach to organizing and can be considered to be "colour blind." It does not appreciate the fact that certain groups are more vulnerable than others during an organizing campaign. Without ever intending to do so, this actually privileges certain groups and discriminates against others.[131]

In short, the received knowledge from experienced labour scholars and activists are to leave no stone unturned. Racism, discrimination, inequality often become embedded in the very foundations of institutions—even unions—and therefore union activists and leadership must be prepared to make the necessary changes at all levels.[132]

CUPE Ontario recently adopted an *Anti-Racism Organizational Action Plan* that stands as a useful example of how this work can be taken up in a thorough and transparent way. The Plan clearly lays out how racism was identified and understood within the union spaces, and outlines action items that will be taken "to remove systemic barriers for Black, racialized and Indigenous members, specifically as these barriers are perpetuated, normalized, and legitimized through the union's organizational culture, policies, programs and practices." Using Geronimo's four dimensions of equity work (Assess, Aim, Act, Audit),[133] the Action Plan outlines three core priorities: (1) increase participation and representation of racialized and Indigenous members; (2) grow education, training, and leadership opportunities for racialized and Indigenous members; and (3) conduct a systematic, biannual audit of CUPE Ontario's policies from an equity lens.[134]

Additionally, unions must also prioritize hiring Black, Indigenous, and racialized unions organizers to increase the connection and engagement between these communities and their unions. Equitable policies are only useful as racialized and Indigenous members are aware of them and trust that they will be effective. Organizing staff must reflect on how they approach and organize alongside workplaces that have higher concentrations of Black, Indigenous, and racialized workers. For example, Jeffreys and Ouali analyzed union anti-racism efforts in France, Belgium, and the UK and found that when primarily white union activists were selected to take on equity or anti-racist organizing tasks, they (intentionally or not) reflected many of the union's prejudiced or discriminatory attitudes. In their research, they found that

> Direct racism was rare, but indirect racism was pervasive in nearly all the workplaces we investigated. This was not just because of the upturn in societal racism of recent years. It was also because white local union activists often practised or tolerated exclusionary attitudes and practices towards visible minority workers. They shared, or chose to reflect, the often negative views of their white members despite union policy.[135]

As a result of a union representative reproducing the very discriminatory attitudes that exclude marginalized workers in the first place, racialized and migrant workers were found to have even less of an incentive to become more involved in their unions. Therefore, internal policies governing the hiring and training responsibilities must ensure that union organizers and staff are equipped to represent the union when working with workers who have historically been (formally or informally) excluded from unions.

The *Yes It Matters!* campaign provides a useful list of guidelines to help unions embark on this work. There are some important points to consider here. First, a union-wide effort requires a well-regarded leader to spearhead the effort. This can help increase the legitimacy and respect for the project, but also has the benefit of avoiding some of the workflow gaps that can occur in committee-work. It is also important that internal equity work has the full and vocal support of union leadership, so the formal adoption of documents such as *The Charter of Inclusive Workplaces and Communities*[136] and other displays of support will help what might be a long process along. Another significant aspect of this work is related to the involvement of racialized and Indigenous workers. There is a crucial distinction here between ensuring that racialized workers are valued and involved in equity work, without assuming its only our responsibility and leaving it all up to them. Clearly dividing the responsibilities, involving equity and human rights committees, and providing plenty of room for rank-and-file involvement are all helpful to distribute the work and invite participation. If there is found to be a dearth of people with the capacity or the training to undertake this work, then the union must prioritize developing the skills of leadership and rank-and-file members through trainings and educational resources.

Community Involvement and Social Justice Campaigns

There is now a sizeable literature critiquing traditional and business approaches to unionism, promoting instead alternative forms of unionism.[137] Broadly under the umbrella of "union renewal," scholars have developed concepts of community unionism, social justice unionism,[138] or social movement unionism as innovative and much-needed shifts to union organizing and alternative organizing models.[139] A core theme of such new forms of unionism are the commitment to going beyond the traditional boundaries of the labour movement.[140] Importantly, Foley observes that

> Current renewal strategies… overlap significantly with those that female union activists have practised for many years in an effort to advance equity for marginalized members. That they are being touted as "new" indicates that the many ways female and equity activists have contributed to union strength in the past have gone largely unnoticed within the larger union community.[141]

Indeed, many of the dimensions of union renewal do tend to meditate on the very struggles for inclusion, equity, and social justice that racialized, Indigenous, LGBTQ+, and women activists have advocated for within and beyond unions for decades.

Speaking broadly, the process of renewal has a membership dimension (density but also diversity), economic dimension (bargaining power and wealth redistribution), political dimension (influence over state policy and connections with social movements), and an institutional dimension (shifting internal dynamics, structures, and practices).[142] Chun clarifies this definition to centre the process of renewal on deepening union commitments to social justice:

> In Canada and the UK, scholars use the term 'community unionism' to describe efforts by unions to forge alliances with non-labour community groups and embrace campaigns beyond the workplace to challenge employment precaritization. In the US, scholars use the term 'social movement unionism' to make distinctions between bureaucratic union models focused on service provision to dues-paying members and union organizing models guided by a social justice commitment to improve the lives of workers at large.
>
> […]
>
> These alternative models signal a shift towards movement-oriented strategies which emphasize the need to go beyond traditional union tactics, such as the strike, and develop alternative sources of associational power for low-paid, precariously employed workers…. Movement-oriented union approaches have provided a strategy and a vision for organizing precariously employed workers across social and cultural difference.[143]

While it is beyond the scope of this review to detail the many debates about these different forms of unionism, there are a handful of useful takeaways in relation to building anti-racism into our

union work. There are specific ways in which unions can frame their work, specific kinds of campaigns that can challenge social and economic inequities, and better bridge the gap between unions and marginalized communities.

In an article about the Hospital Employees Union (HEU) in Vancouver, Chun demonstrated that "movement-oriented union strategies, such as living wage campaigns, enable unions to challenge the nexus between social and economic disadvantage," and that while "alternative union models promote inclusive forms of class solidarity…. unions must contend with internal conflicts that divide workers along racial–ethnic boundaries and employment status."[144] Campaigns to establish a living wage are important in their own right—but they stand to benefit those who are most disadvantaged in the workforce: women, racialized people, Indigenous people, and immigrants. Chun notes that HEU employed an approach to union organizing that forged relationships with community groups and social movements. She notes that "alternative union models also emphasize the centrality of combining struggles for redistribution with struggles for recognition—that is, efforts to revalue the social worth and identities of women, immigrants, people of colour and other socially marginalized people."[145] In an article analyzing how five trade unions across the UK attempted to organize migrant workers, Mustchin argues that community unionist approaches such as providing educational environments such as English for Speakers of Other Languages (ESOL) courses was an effective way to increase the interest and engagement of migrant workers. He notes:

> The use of learning centres, with learning project workers and union tutors coming into contact with migrant workers and providing advice and information on employment rights, including in translated form, represented a significant source of support for migrant workers given the weak regulatory and enforcement context. This support and representation led to these workers being more likely to engage with unions as a source of support, representation and advice relating to their employment.[146]

These case studies highlight that unions must often think beyond traditional union organizing methods to find unique ways to connect with and organize alongside workers who are often left on the margins of union activity: largely racialized, Indigenous, and migrant workers. Some recent and inspiring examples of this include when workers in the Amalgamated Transit Union Local 100 in Minneapolis refused to drive buses that were requested by the police to transport arrested protestors after the police killing of Daunte Wright.[147] Or when the International Longshoremen's Warehouse Union shut down one of America's busiest ports for Juneteenth, citing their solidarity with Black communities resisting police brutality and racial discrimination.[148] Here we see unions using one of their most effective tactics—withdrawing workers' labour—in solidarity with movements for racial justice.

The authors above did note some cautionary tales about these campaigns, however. The HEU's decision to focus on campaigns supporting racialized women and immigrants cause internal divisions, primarily from the middle-class and white sections of the union. In a time of neoliberal

austerity and rising anti-immigrant sentiments, this is a very real hurdle that many unions will have to deal with. Mustchin's study across five unions in the UK found a similar tension arise when unions would devote resources specifically to supporting migrant workers.[149]

Chun found that humanizing the campaign through narrative arcs and personal stories, however, proved to be an effective way of cultivating solidarity across socio-economic divides within the union.[150] This argument resonates with a broader literature on building solidarity within social movements, which stresses the importance of constructing a coherent collective identity and organizing identification *with* this collective identity.[151] Solidarity is distinct from collective identity, but the two are intimately linked. internal process of negotiating and constructing a union's collective identity is undoubtedly an important, if sometimes overlooked, area of focus in in union analysis. As well, the interests, grievances, and goals of a union must be strategically framed in ways that communicate a shared sense of injustice to *all* those within the union's collective identity. Drawing from a rich literature on social movements, we can see that the construction of a collective identity has been convincingly shown to be an important factor in the "emergence, trajectory, and impact" of social movements.[152] It is also well supported that the identification *of* and *with* a movement's identity and demands makes broad participation in, and commitment to, a social movement much more likely. Strategies to build unity *within* unions will be important here: collective opportunities to revitalize the age-old union slogans "an injury to one is an injury to all" and "there can be no economic justice without racial justice" will prove helpful here, as public education and consciousness-raising efforts will strengthen the internal solidarity within a union.

More broadly, successful union campaigns and labour movements must construct "injustice frames." The argument here is that labour campaigns must be attentive to how campaigns are framed in ways that conceptualize an issue as "an injury to all" and position the union as offering the solution.[153] A good campaign frame reveals unequal power relations, defines a collective union identity in opposition to these relations, identifies clear targets, and allows for a re-imagining of what changes are possible. It therefore is designed to strengthen internal solidarity, garner public support, and bring people to support the union.[154]

Therefore, there remains a related question of how to frame racialized and migrant workers' positions within the union. In their study of union campaigns in Spain, Denmark, and the UK Connelly, Marino, and Lucio observed three broad "logics" of union approaches specifically toward how migrants are positioned. They are summarized as approaches defined by the logics of class, race, and social rights. They note

> The logic of *class* leads unions to consider migrants as part of the wider working class: common interests between migrant and local workers entail general solidarity among workers. The second logic, of *race or ethnicity*, insists that migrant workers' distinctive situation and interests mean that more general policies are insufficient to promote effective representation. This logic can also apply to other groups, such as women. The third logic, of *social rights*,

engages unions with issues that are not directly workplace-related (housing, health, welfare or general labour market rights). This logic is often applied to migrants not just as workers but as (potential) citizens.[155]

There are obvious tensions within and between these three logics. These can be summarized as the tensions between universalistic (migrant workers are workers, and therefore labour campaigns are inherently pro-migrant) and particularlistic (migrant workers have distinct circumstances and needs that must be attended to in labour campaigns) approaches. This view is detailed further by Alberti, Holgate, and Tapia, who found in their study that

> trade unions tend to consider migrants primarily as workers (taking on a so-called 'universalistic' approach), rather than as migrant workers with particular and overlapping forms of oppression (a 'particularistic' approach). As a result, unions tend to construct a dichotomy between workplace and migration issues, impeding the effective involvement of diverse and marginalised workers into unions.[156]

What is important to note here is that it is not that migrants (or other marginalized workers) are passive or uninterested in involvement in their unions—in fact, research shows quite the opposite.[157] It is instead that, once again, labour and union campaigns must be attentive to the ways in which they resonate (or ignore) racialized, Indigenous, and migrant workers. As Mills and Clarke point out: "Indigenizing labour unions does not imply a merging of unions with Aboriginal organizations, but rather that unions *make space within their collective identities* and structures for Aboriginal workers, while *forming alliances in areas of common concern* with Aboriginal peoples."[158] The solution posted in both studies (as well as many others) is that a more effective integration of strategies is needed. Unifor, for instance, has taken steps at solidifying and advancing its Indigenous solidarity and reconciliation work by establishing a formal "Indigenous Liaison" staff position. This position (staffed by an Indigenous leader) aims to build linkages and develop partnerships between Unifor and Indigenous communities across Canada, identify community projects the union can help support, and creates opportunities to educate membership on issues impacting Indigenous communities, the legacy of colonization and forced assimilation, while sharing aspects of traditional Indigenous culture and worldviews. Each union and each situation are unique, but being attentive to building solidarity through consciousness-raising, constructing a capacious and political collective identity, and balancing universalistic and particularistic approaches have all been shown to be key to fostering inclusion, participation, and justice for all workers.

Member Training and Education

On the topic of the challenges of union education, Gairey, Ng, Martin, and Jackson note

With employers becoming increasingly confrontational towards bargaining unit members and local unions, the need is increasingly clear to utilize the strengths of the union membership through union education.[159]

Building on the discussion above about workplace training strategies, training and educational opportunities for union members should balance raising awareness of how racial discrimination occurs through individual behaviours with an analysis of the structural dimensions of racialization and racism. As CUPE National's Anti-Racism Strategy notes,

Collective action against systemic racism requires an understanding of our shared history and the ongoing impacts of racism, colonization and white supremacy in our lives today. Anti-racism education uncovers why inequities exist, exploring characteristics of white supremacy culture and its damaging impacts, and how oppression operates in our society.[160]

Put another way, for union membership to take sustained and collective action against racism, there must be a shared understanding of how white supremacy operates, and how best to challenge it. This is "why" unions must be involved in facilitating learning opportunities for their members. Learning opportunities may also offer a helpful avenue for marginalized members to access their unions. Mustchin documents how union involvement in English-language courses and other learning opportunities for racialized and migrant workers had a positive effect on their engagement with their union. He notes:

Learning has to an extent supported organizing, more diverse representative structures, and the strengthening of existing collective agreements. It has also improved access to unions for those in need of representation at work and improved awareness of and capacity to act over abuses of employment rights among migrant workers.[161]

Fortunately, there are numerous publicly available union trainings and educational resources developed to help members develop their knowledge of racial discrimination and their skills to challenge it. They can be grouped into three broad categories: Consciousness Raising, Bargaining, and Organizing trainings.[162]

Consciousness Raising trainings focus on educating members on the basics of white supremacy, settler colonialism, and anti-racism at a broad level. These trainings often include brief historical overviews, glossaries or definitions of key terms, exercises for personal and collective reflection, and case studies or activities to begin putting what they've learned into practice. The case studies or activities are especially useful here, as this encourages critical self-reflection and engagement with the information, rather than just settling for a unidirectional flow of information. Recent examples of consciousness raising trainings are the *Taking Action on Racism* worksop series designed by OPSEU,[163] or the *Unionism on Turtle Island* four-day course conducted by CUPE Saskatchewan, PSAC, the Saskatchewan Federation of Labour, SEIU, and other unions. This course provides an introductory outline of Indigenous histories in Canada, histories of white

supremacy and colonial violence, and emphasizes story-telling, self-reflection, and relationship-building. Gairey et al., however, warn that

> Unions have failed to strategically promote and market their anti-racism and human rights courses and workshops... Aboriginal members and members of colour interpret this situation as yet another sign that unions are not placing a high enough priority on their issues.[164]

Indeed, Mills and McCreary[165] as well as Fernandez and Silver have found that while these courses have been taken by particularly committed union leadership, staff, and activists, "it is not clear to what extent such initiatives have affected non-Indigenous workers, [as] awareness levels appear not to have reached rank and file levels in unions."[166] Therefore, continued promotion and recruitment are important for such initiatives, as well as considerations for how to make such trainings more appealing and accessible to rank-and-file members.

A concept that is typically invoked in consciousness raising trainings is "allyship."[167] Allyship is often used as a way for non-racialized and non-Indigenous people position themselves in these trainings. Learning to be an "ally" can be an entry point for more inexperienced members to progress to more militant forms of anti-racist action. Allies are usually encouraged to educate themselves, amplify the voices of the most marginalized, and use their platforms and resources to support anti-racist movements.[168] But without a critical analysis of the limits of "allyship," we are liable to produce a growing group of people with an overdeveloped language to describe and "call-out" oppression and an underdeveloped understanding about how to organize and struggle collectively for anti-racism. Therefore, consciousness-raising is an important introductory and accessible method to establish a baseline of anti-racism within our unions, but we must remain committed to training members to meaningfully contribute to building multi-racial movements against all forms of oppression. Indeed, "convincing white workers to abandon the delusions of white supremacy in favor of labor solidarity has always been difficult,"[169] but it requires us to work twice as hard to mobilize members to move from allies, to accomplices, to co-resistors.

Bargaining training is designed to help members win equity gains in collective agreement negotiations with the employer. UFCW's Guides to Anti-Racist and Indigenous Rights,[170] USW's Indigenous Rights Bargaining Guide,[171] and CUPE National's collections of collective agreement language and anti-racism and Indigenous rights[172] all represent good examples of these resources. While specific equity proposals are discussed in more detail above, bargaining trainings are especially helpful when they include:

> Background information on racial discrimination in the union and workplace, which situate the work of the bargaining team within a broader commitment to equity and anti-racism. This information is helpful to show less experienced members the importance of advancing anti-racism at the bargaining table, and provides useful analysis about how to do so.

"Checklists" that aid bargaining team members in assessing the state of equity within their collective agreements. CUPE National released a "Bargaining Equality" series that contains accessible and useful information on an array of specific equity areas.[173] Large unions could reproduce this for their own locals and it would be immediately useful.

Sample Collective Agreement language from various locals on specific equity issues. This not only helps bargaining teams understand the kind of language or framing that certain issues require, but substantially helps in the process of crafting local-specific language (or just using the text itself).

In line with the commitment to "open bargaining," it would also be helpful to make bargaining-specific trainings available to rank-and-file members, in order to increase their investment in the collective bargaining process and their capacity to contribute.

Trainings focused on anti-racist **Organizing and Leadership training** constitute a third, broad category of member training. Here Jojo Geronimo's *Moving Beyond Diversity, Toward Inclusion and Equity* stands out as an exemplary resource.[174] In it, Geronimo details a broad equity framework, provides practical and accessible tools for assessing the state of diversity and inclusion in the union, and offers a four step guide to building equity (*assess* inequity in union, define the *aim*, take *action*, and *audit* the results). The value of these trainings is providing union activists and leaders with practical tools to advance equity that are informed by theories and frameworks of justice and social change. Jeffreys argues that

There needs to be systematic training and many more trade union propaganda campaigns arguing and debating societal change to equip the activists who create local trade union cultures with the arguments and tools to deepen or reinforce the hold of this broader reach trade unionism. The unions' national political positions on racism, Islamophobia, immigration, refugees, the Iraq war and so on need to be continuously and interactively asserted, and in particular to build upon the experiences of their black members.[175]

Especially important is the commitment to auditing and assessing the work *after* the trainings are conducted. As Gairey, Ng, Martin, and Jackson in their analysis of equity education in the labour movement, "While claims are made about 'educating for action,' little formal effort is made to track what action does and doesn't happen, to assess how and how much the course participants actually apply what they learn to build organizational capacity." Focusing on the ways in which equity training is put into practice signals an understanding that anti-racism is a *process*, and therefore requires sustained and intentional action over time to build toward.

A final note deserves to be made here concerning sites of formal and informal learning. While building accessible and multiple opportunities for members to engage in formal learning (like the kinds of trainings mentioned above) is important, so too is recognizing that workers learn

in a variety of informal spaces as well. Carter argues that grievances are an important site of "informal learning" that should be understood by union activists:

> Workers experience injustice on the job each day. For workers who belong to unions, some opt to enter into a formal grievance process in an effort to resolve the injustice. What they learn and what the union learns in the process should be of primary interest to trade union activists, leaders and shop stewards, as well as to radical adult educators, including, but not limited to those who teach grievance handling.[176]

Here Carter notes we must take seriously the "deep learning" that occurs through everyday practices with/in the union. By acknowledging this, unions can find ways to capitalize on sites of informal learning—such as grievances, but also bargaining, meetings, committee work, etc.—to continue to build the capacity of its members. I quote Carter at length here to demonstrate the kinds of questions she is asking, which are helpful to better conceptualize this process. She notes that unions should:

> Intervene in informal learning [and] extend the reach of union education beyond the classroom. Ask: what are the support mechanisms in place for members engaged in a particular activity system? We know, for example, that grievances are a tremendous opportunity for unions to connect with their members, but they can also leave members disappointed, frustrated, disengaged, and angry at the union. What resources might be useful for grievors that could support / intervene in their informal learning? For example, does the union webpage offer accessible question and answer pages for workers dealing with a workplace problem that provide historical context as well as specific advice and information about the process, outcomes, etc.? Is there an on-line module or forum for workers to navigate to learn more about the grievance process something that offers both detail and broad context for how and why the system works the way it does, and what variables shape and effect outcomes? Is there a mentorship program / guide in place to support the informal apprenticeship that makes up the bulk of steward "training"?[177]

In summary, a key aspect of advancing anti-racism in the union is building members' capacity to understand, plan, and take action to root out racism at the individual and organizational levels. This means unions must continue to invest time, resources, and personnel to develop formal and informal sites of learning that give members the opportunity to build their skills and put them to use.

Conclusion: The Necessity of Anti-Racism

While this report has highlighted a variety of ways in which unions have begun to take the work of equity and racial just seriously, there is clearly still a long way to go. Unfortunately, commitments to anti-racism from union leadership have often come at the end of protracted campaigns by racialized and Indigenous workers to be heard, understood, and be deemed worthy of action. Though racialized and Indigenous members often light the spark, committed organizational change can only occur when there is a clear agreement on what the problem is, how to sole it, and meaningful interest from union leadership, activists, and rank-and-file. Building anti-racist workplaces requires meaningful change from the individual to the systemic levels. And building anti-racist unions is no longer an option. Union power has waned over the past few decades, and the sustainability, legitimacy, and viability of unions in the future hinges on their ability to become leaders in the fight for racial, gender, and economic justice for all people, regardless of immigration status. As labour markets become more divisive and inequitable, unions must become more inclusive and equitable. Unions must re-commit themselves to not only better serving their members, but *expanding* their membership by organizing non-unionized members—especially in service and retail sectors, which are disproportionately where racialized workers are employed. As historic social movements emerge in response to the climate catastrophe, police violence, Indigenous land defense, housing crises, and widening economic equality, unions must continue to forge relations of solidarity and support these movements with their time, energy, and resources. It is easy to fall into a defensive, scarcity-driven stance of "protecting what we have" in a tumultuous time such as ours; but what is needed now are bold and imaginative strategies for systemic transformation. And at each step, we must remember that none of us are free until we are all free.

Fortunately, when unions commit substantial institutional resources and effort toward supporting racialized and Indigenous communities they can, and do, make a difference.[178] It is necessary for there are to be resonance within our unions about our collective commitment to anti-racism and equity, however. As Upchurch et al. demonstrate, "strategic change is more likely to succeed when political congruence exists between the values, expectations and intended outcomes of the three sub-sets of: leaders, activists and members in a union."[179] This work of building "political congruence" across both the terrain of values and expectations, as well as at each level of union hierarchy, is not an easy task. But the unions surveyed in this review are certainly engaged in this work and it will be up to union activists to continue pushing both union leadership as well as the broader membership toward fighting for equity and racial justice.

While a range of materials were reviewed for this document, discussions with the Global Labour Research Centre and Unifor's Social Justice Fund and time constraints resulted in a focus on national unions, and union and labour organizations focused in Ontario. There would undoubtedly be much to gain from a more thorough accounting of union strategies in contexts less

represented in this review. As well, this review focused only on publicly available sources. There are certainly vastly more resources to be found internally within member-only sites and archives that were not accessible to this review. Altogether, this review humbly offers a non-exhaustive snapshot of how unions are advocating for equity and racial justice in a range of areas. This review is intended to be helpful in providing union members with a range of articles, educational materials, toolkits, and resources that can guide anti-racist work within our workplaces and our unions. It stands as a thematically organized collection of this material, which can be useful for the creation of anti-racism strategies, toolkits, trainings, or educational resources. To this effect, some of the most notable and useful materials are listed below for union members interested in anti-racism.

Equity Toolkits, Resources, and Guides

Canadian Federation of Nurses Unions. 2019. "Equity and Inclusion Toolkit." Ottawa: Canadian Federation of Nurses Unions. https://nursesunions.ca/wp-content/uploads/2019/06/CFNU_EquityToolkit_EN.pdf.

CUPE National. 2019. "Walking the Talk: A Practical Guide to Reconciliation for Unions." https://cupe.ca/walking-talk-practical-guide-reconciliation-cupe-locals.

CUPE National. 2022. "Truth and Reconciliation: CUPE Taking Action Through Collective Bargaining." https://cupe.ca/orders/truth-and-reconciliation-cupe-taking-action-through-collective-bargaining.

CUPE Ontario. 2020. "Recognize and Resist White Supremacy: A Guide for Unions." https://cupe.on.ca/recognizeandresist/.

Dismantling Racism Works. 2019. "White Supremacy Culture in Organizations." Montréal: Centre for Community Organizations. https://coco-net.org/wp-content/uploads/2019/11/Coco-WhiteSupCulture-ENG4.pdf.

Geronimo, Jojo. 2014. "Moving Beyond Diversity, Toward Inclusion and Equity: A Leader's Guide to Strengthening Unions." Toronto, ON: Toronto-York Region Labour Council. https://assets.nationbuilder.com/torontoyorklabour/pages/19/attachments/original/1550087070/equity_handbook.pdf?1550087070

PSAC. 2018. "Employment Equity Toolkit for Members." https://psacunion.ca/sites/psac/files/attachments/pdfs/employment-equity-toolkit-updated-2018-july-en.pdf.

Toronto York Region Labour Council. 2019. "Yes It Matters! Working Together to End Systemic Racism and Create a Just Canada for All." https://d3n8a8pro7vhmx.cloudfront.net/torontoyorklabour/pages/19/attachments/original/1551115765/Yes_It_Matters_Final_for_web_Feb_1__2019.pdf?1551115765.

UFCW. 2020. "How You Can Support BIPOC Union Members at Work." https://www.ufcw.ca/templates/ufcwcanada/images/hred/anti-racism/dec2020-updated/9-How-you-can-support-BIPOC-Union-Members_EN_1UP.pdf.

Unite in Health. 2016. "Race Ahead in Health: Tackling Race Discrimination in the Workplace." https://slidelegend.com/race-ahead-in-health-unite-the-union_59d7ed461723dd17061fbda1.html.

Bargaining and Collective Agreement Resources

Briskin, Linda. 2006. "Equity Bargaining / Bargaining Equity." Restructuring Work and Labour in the New Economy (Initiatives on the New Economy). Centre for Research on Work and Society. https://www.yorku.ca/lbriskin/pdf/bargainingpaperFINAL3secure.pdf.

CUPE National. 2014a. "Bargaining Equality Toolkit." https://cupe.ca/bargaining-equality-kit.

CUPE National. 2014b. "Collective Agreement Language Responding to the Needs of Aboriginal Members." https://cupe.ca/collective-agreement-language-responding-needs-aboriginal-members.

CUPE National. 2015. "Discrimination: A Checklist and Sample Collective Agreement Language." https://cupe.ca/discrimination-checklist-and-sample-collective-agreement-language.

CUPE National. 2022. "Truth and Reconciliation: CUPE Taking Action Through Collective Bargaining." https://cupe.ca/orders/truth-and-reconciliation-cupe-taking-action-through-collective-bargaining.

OPSEU. 2017. "Harassment and Discrimination Prevention Policy Procedures Manual." https://opseu.org/wp-content/uploads/2022/05/HDPP-Procedures.pdf.

UFCW. 2022a. "Anti-Racism Bargaining Guide." https://www.ufcw.ca/templates/ufcwcanada/images/media/posters/Anti-Oppression/UFCW-Anti-Racism-Bargaining-Guide-2022-EN-V7.pdf.

UFCW. 2022b. "Indigenous Rights and the Workplace Bargaining Guide." https://www.ufcw.ca/templates/ufcwcanada/images/media/posters/Indigenous_Downloads/UFCW-Canada-Commitment-to-Reconciliation-2021-V2.pdf.

Unifor. 2021. "Racial Justice Advocate Sample Language." https://www.unifor.org/resources/our-resources/unifor-policy-racial-justice.

USW. 2021. "Advancing Indigenous Rights Bargaining Guide." https://www.usw.ca/act/activism/human-rights/resources/body/USW-Indigenous-Bargaining-Guide-2021-EN_Final.pdf.

Other Helpful Resources

Bhullar, Maya. 2021. "What Role Do Unions Have in Addressing Systemic Racism?" Policy Options. https://policyoptions.irpp.org/magazines/february-2021/what-role-do-unions-have-in-addressing-systemic-racism/.

Briskin, Linda. 2014. "Strategies to Support Equality Bargaining inside Unions: Representational Democracy and Representational Justice." *Journal of Industrial Relations* 56 (2): 208–27. https://doi.org/10.1177/0022185613517472.

Canadian Labour Congress. 2019. "Islamophobia at Work." Toronto: Canadian Labour Congress. https://documents.clcctc.ca/human-rights-and-equality/Islamophobia/IslamophobiaAtWork-Report-2019-03-20-EN.pdf.

CUPE National. 2019. "The Government of Canada's Anti-Racism Engagement: Submission by the Canadian Union of Public Employees." https://cupe.ca/sites/cupe/files/submission_anti-racism_strategy_2019_01_24.pdf.

CUPE National. 2021. "Anti-Racism Strategy 2021-2027." https://cupe.ca/sites/cupe/files/anti-racism_strategy_en.pdf.

Dhamoon, Rita Kaur. 2020. "Racism as a Workload and Bargaining Issue." *Socialist Studies/Études Socialistes* 14 (1). https://doi.org/10.18740/ss27273.

Fernandez, Lynne, and Jim Silver. 2017. "Indigenous People, Wage Labour and Trade Unions." Ottawa: Canadian Centre for Policy Alternatives. http://deslibris.ca/ID/10089543.

Gairey, Jaware, Winnie Ng, D'arcy Martin, and Nancy Jackson. 2006. "The Challenges of Educating Equity." WALL. https://wall.oise.utoronto.ca/resources/Jackson_Ng_Challenges_of_Educating_Equality2006.pdf.

Gupta, Tania das. 2007. "Racism in the Labor Movement." In *Equity, Diversity & Canadian Labour*. Toronto: University of Toronto Press. https://doi.org/10.3138/9781442684300.

Jefferys, Steve. 2007. "Why Do Unions Find Fighting Workplace Racism Difficult?" *Transfer: European Review of Labour and Research* 13 (3): 377–95. https://doi.org/10.1177/102425890701300305.

Maitland, Alison, and Rebekah Steele. 2020. *INdivisible: Radically Rethinking Inclusion for Sustainable Business Results*. Canada: Young & and Joseph Press.

McAlevey, Jane. 2021. "Turning the Tables: Participation and Power in Negotiations." https://laborcenter.berkeley.edu/turning-the-tables-participation-and-power-in-negotiations/.

Rollman, Rhea. 2018. "Should Unions Say No to Closed-Door Negotiations?" *Briarpatch Magazine*, 2018. https://briarpatchmagazine.com/articles/view/should-unions-say-no-to-closed-door-negotiations.

Trades Union Congress. 2017. "Is Racism Real?" https://www.tuc.org.uk/research-analysis/reports/racism-real.

Unifor. 2017. "Building Solidarity in Diversity: A Report on Unifor's Equity Audit." https://unifor.com/sites/default/files/documents/document/equity-audit-report-en-web-final_20170730.pdf.

Unifor. 2020. "Letter to Premier Ford: Addressing and Dismantling Systemic Racism in Ontario." https://www.unifor.org/resources/our-resources/letter-premier-ford-addressing-and-dismantling-systemic-racism-ontario.

Wall, Carol. 2020. "Dear White Sisters and Brothers: A Letter from a Union Educator." *Our Times*. https://ourtimes.ca/article/dear-white-sisters-and-brothers.

Endnotes

[1] Lorne Foster et al., "Black Canadian National Survey Interim Report 2021" (Toronto, ON: Institute for Social Research, 2021), https://blacknessincanada.ca/wp-content/uploads/2021/05/0_Black-Canadian-National-Survey-Interim-Report-2021.2.pdf.

[2] Statistics Canada, "Trade Union Density Rate, 1997 to 2021," 2021, 2, https://www150.statcan.gc.ca/n1/pub/14-28-0001/2020001/article/00016-eng.htm.

[3] Maya Bhullar, "What Role Do Unions Have in Addressing Systemic Racism?," Policy Options, 2021, https://policyoptions.irpp.org/magazines/february-2021/what-role-do-unions-have-in-addressing-systemic-racism/; CUPE National, "NEB Resolution: Racial Profiling," 2015, https://cupe.ca/neb-resolution-racial-profiling.

[4] CUPE Ontario, "Recognize and Resist White Supremacy: A Guide for Unions," 2020, https://cupe.on.ca/recognizeandresist/.

[5] Shauna MacKinnon, *Decolonizing Employment: Aboriginal Inclusion in Canada's Labour Market* (Winnipeg, Manitoba: University of Manitoba Press, 2015).

[6] Lynne Fernandez and Jim Silver, "Indigenous People, Wage Labour and Trade Unions" (Ottawa: Canadian Centre for Policy Alternatives, 2017), 11, http://deslibris.ca/ID/10089543.

[7] Suzanne E. Mills and Louise Clarke, "'We Will Go Side-by-Side with You.' Labour Union Engagement with Aboriginal Peoples in Canada," *Geoforum* 40, no. 6 (2009): 991, https://doi.org/10.1016/j.geoforum.2009.09.005.

[8] A 2017 Statistics Canada report found that hate crimes specifically targeting Muslims rose by 207% in Ontario and by 185% in Quebec; Alberta and British Columbia also saw increases. See: CUPE Ontario, "Recognize and Resist White Supremacy: A Guide for Unions," 2020; Canadian Labour Congress, "Islamophobia at Work" (Toronto: Canadian Labour Congress, 2019), https://documents.clcctc.ca/human-rights-and-equality/Islamophobia/IslamophobiaAtWork-Report-2019-03-20-EN.pdf.

[9] The Asian Canadian Labour Alliance offers the *Anti-Asian Racism & The Pandemic: Solidarity In A Time Of Crisis Reading List* on this topic.

[10] Unifor, "Unifor Submission to Ontario's Anti-Racism Strategic Plan Review," 2022, https://www.unifor.org/resources/our-resources/unifor-submission-ontarios-anti-racism-strategic-plan-review; Bhullar, "What Role Do Unions Have in Addressing Systemic Racism?"; Toronto York Region Labour Council, "Submission to the Hearings on an Anti-Racism Directorate," 2017, https://working.ett.ca/ett_file/tyrlc-equity-committee-submission-to-the-hearings-for-an-anti-racism-directorate/; CUPE National, "NEB Resolution: Racial Profiling."

[11] Tania das Gupta, "Racism in the Labor Movement," in *Equity, Diversity & Canadian Labour* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2007), 182, https://doi.org/10.3138/9781442684300.

[12] Gerald Hunt and David Rayside, "Labor Union Response to Diversity in Canada and the United States," *Industrial Relations* 39, no. 3 (2000): 401–44, https://doi.org/10.1111/0019-8676.00174; Fernandez and Silver, *Indigenous People, Wage Labour and Trade Unions,* 2017.

[13] Jeffery G Reitz and Anil Verma, "Immigration, Race, and Labor: Unionization and Wages in the Canadian Labor Market," *Industrial Relations* 43, no. 4 (2004) https://doi.org/10.1111/j.0019-8676.2004.00364.x; Anil Verma, Jeffrey G. Reitz, and Rupa Banerjee, "Unionization and Income Growth of Racial Minority Immigrants in Canada: A Longitudinal Study," *International Migration Review* 50, no. 3 (2016): 667–98, https://doi.org/10.1111/imre.12172.

[14] Julie Guard et al., "Art as Activism: Empowering Workers and Reviving Unions through Popular Theater," *Labor Studies Journal* 37, no. 2 (June 2012): 163–82, https://doi.org/10.1177/0160449X11431895; David

Camfield, *Canadian Labour in Crisis: Reinventing the Workers' Movement* (Halifax, N.S: Fernwood Pub, 2011).

[15]Linda Briskin, "Cross-Constituency Organizing in Canadian Unions," *British Journal of Industrial Relations* 46, no. 2 (June 2008): 221–47, https://doi.org/10.1111/j.1467-8543.2008.00674.x.

[16] Melisa Serrano, "Between Accommodation and Transformation: The Two Logics of Union Renewal," *European Journal of Industrial Relations* 20, no. 3 (2014): 219–35, https://doi.org/10.1177/0959680114523198.

[17] The Amalgamated Transit Union Local 113; Canadian Federation of Nurses Unions; Canadian Labour Council; Canadian Union of Public Employees (National and Ontario); Canadian Union of Postal Workers; Coalition of Black Trade Unionists; Justice4Workers; Ontario Federation of Labour; Ontario Public Sector Employees Union; Migrant Rights Network; Public Service Alliance of Canada; Society of United Professionals; Teamsters Canada; Toronto York Region Labour Council; Trade Union Congress; United Food and Commercial Workers; UNITE; Unifor; United Steelworkers; Yukon Employees Union.

[18] Sunera Thobani, *Exalted Subjects: Studies in the Making of Race and Nation in Canada* (Toronto ; Buffalo: University of Toronto Press, 2007).

[19] Augie Fleras, *Racisms in a Multicultural Canada: Paradoxes, Politics, and Resistance* (Waterloo: Wilfrid Laurier Univ. Press, 2014), 27.

[20] Linda Briskin, "Equity Bargaining / Bargaining Equity," Restructuring Work and Labour in the New Economy (Initiatives on the New Economy) (Centre for Research on Work and Society, 2006), 13, https://www.yorku.ca/lbriskin/pdf/bargainingpaperFINAL3secure.pdf.

[21] Ruby McGregor-Smith, "Race in the Workplace: The McGregor-Smith Review" (London: Government of England, 2017); Naomi Lightman and Luann Good Gingrich, "Measuring Economic Exclusion for Racialized Minorities, Immigrants and Women in Canada: Results from 2000 and 2010," *Journal of Poverty* 22, no. 5 (2018): 398–420, https://doi.org/10.1080/10875549.2018.1460736; Eddy Ng and Suzanne Gagnon, *Employment Gaps and Underemployment for Racialized Groups and Immigrants in Canada: Current Findings and Future Directions*, 2020, http://www.deslibris.ca/ID/10103325.

[22] CUPE Ontario, "Recognize and Resist White Supremacy: A Guide for Unions"; UFCW, "What Do Microaggressions Look Like at Work," 2020, https://www.ufcw.ca/templates/ufcwcanada/images/hred/anti-racism/dec2020-updated/8-What-do-Racial-Microaggressions_EN_1UP.pdf.

[23] Steve Jefferys, "Why Do Unions Find Fighting Workplace Racism Difficult?," *Transfer: European Review of Labour and Research* 13, no. 3 (August 2007): 377–95, https://doi.org/10.1177/102425890701300305.

[24]CUPE National, "Employment Equity:A Workplace Thast Reflects the Community," 2014, https://cupe.ca/employment-equity-workplace-reflects-community.

[25] "Organizations must then prepare an employment equity plan which addresses both the numbers (the representation rates) and the practices (the barriers identified from the systems review). The employment equity plan will include short term and long term goals (not quotas) for workplace representation from each designated group, measures that will be taken to address barriers, and measures for accommodation." See: PSAC, "Employment Equity Toolkit for Members," 2018, https://psacunion.ca/sites/psac/files/attachments/pdfs/employment-equity-toolkit-updated-2018-july-en.pdf.

[26] Rita Kaur Dhamoon, "Racism as a Workload and Bargaining Issue," *Socialist Studies/Études Socialistes* 14, no. 1 (February 24, 2020), https://doi.org/10.18740/ss27273.

[27] Carl E James, "Strategies of Engagement: How Racialized Faculty Negotiate the University System," *Canadian Ethnic Studies* 44, no. 1 (2012): 133–52, https://doi.org/10.1353/ces.2012.0007.

[28] Dhamoon, "Racism as a Workload and Bargaining Issue."

[29] Ezorsky notes that employment equity initiatives to diversify hiring practices leads, predictably, to a groundswell of new hires who—when the times comes for either a promotion or for layoffs—are systemically

disadvantaged by seniority practices. The principles of "first-hired, last-fired" and promotion guidelines for length-of-service both may work *against* equity initiatives in these contexts. See: Gertrude Ezorsky, *Racism and Justice: The Case for Affirmative Action* (Cornell University Press, 1991), https://doi.org/10.7591/9781501724039.

[30] Jake Alimahomed-Wilson, "Black Longshoremen and the Fight for Equality in an 'anti-Racist' Union," *Race and Class* 53, no. 4 (April 2012): 39–53, https://doi.org/10.1177/0306396811433114.

[31] Alimahomed-Wilson, 44–45.

[32] Alimahomed-Wilson, 51.

[33] Linda Briskin, "Equity Bargaining / Bargaining Equity," Restructuring Work and Labour in the New Economy (Initiatives on the New Economy) (Centre for Research on Work and Society, 2006), 37–38, https://www.yorku.ca/lbriskin/pdf/bargainingpaperFINAL3secure.pdf.

[34] Following a standard clause on seniority, Unifor Local 567's collective agreement dictates: "When a vacancy occurs or a new position is created that is not filled as per Article 9.2.1, hiring notices shall be posted in the CUPE 4600 office, on the CUPE 4600 website, and in any other locations the Employer deems appropriate. In addition, the Employer will take reasonable steps to ensure the posting is available to marginalized communities, including people who identify as women, indigenous, racialized, lesbian, gay, bisexual, queer, transgendered, transsexual, intersexed, single parent, immigrant, and people with disabilities, for no less than fourteen (14) calendar days." (Section 9.2.2).

[35] For example, CUPE 3902's (Unit 1) collective agreement includes this language: "To act on its commitment to employment equity under both the Federal Contractors Program and the University's Employment Equity Policy the University agrees to form a joint Employment Equity Advisory Committee with the Union. The Committee will be composed of four (4) representatives each of the Union and the University. The Committee's mandate shall be to make recommendations to the Vice President Human Resources and Equity regarding the continuing achievement of employment equity within the bargaining unit. The parties may, by mutual agreement, further define their mandate in the first year after the Committee has been established."

[36] M. Harcourt et al., "Discrimination in Hiring against Immigrants and Ethnic Minorities: The Effect of Unionization," *The International Journal of Human Resource Management* 19, no. 1 (January 2008): 98–115, https://doi.org/10.1080/09585190701763958.

[37] Marjorie Cohen and Kate Braid, "Training and Equity Initiatives on the British Columbia Vancouver Island Highway Project: A Model For Large-Scale Construction Projects," *Labor Studies Journal* 25, no. 3 (2000): 70–103, https://doi.org/10.1177/0160449X0002500304.

[38] Marie-Élène Roberge and Rolf van Dick, "Recognizing the Benefits of Diversity: When and How Does Diversity Increase Group Performance?," *Human Resource Management Review* 20, no. 4 (December 2010): 295–308, https://doi.org/10.1016/j.hrmr.2009.09.002.

[39] Michàlle E. Mor Barak et al., "The Promise of Diversity Management for Climate of Inclusion: A State-of-the-Art Review and Meta-Analysis," *Human Service Organizations: Management, Leadership & Governance* 40, no. 4 (August 7, 2016): 305–33, https://doi.org/10.1080/23303131.2016.1138915; Sylvia Ann Hewlett, Melinda Marshall, and Laura Sherbin, "How Diversity Can Drive Innovation," 2014; Catalyst, "The Bottom Line: Connecting Corporate Performance and Gender Diversity" (Catalyst, 2004), https://www.catalyst.org/wp-content/uploads/2019/01/The_Bottom_Line_Connecting_Corporate_Performance_and_Gender_Diversity.pdf.

[40] Vivian Hunt, Dennis Layton, and Sara Prince, "Diversity Matters," 2015, https://arc.accesslex.org/di-legal-profession/2/.

[41] Maitland, Alison, and Rebekah Steele. *INdivisible: Radically Rethinking Inclusion for Sustainable Business Results*. (Canada: Young & and Joseph Press, 2020, 24-25).

[42] Meghna Sabharwal, "Is Diversity Management Sufficient? Organizational Inclusion to Further Performance," *Public Personnel Management* 43, no. 2 (June 2014): 197–217,

https://doi.org/10.1177/0091026014522202; Maitland, Alison, and Rebekah Steele. 2020. *INdivisible: Radically Rethinking Inclusion for Sustainable Business Results*. Canada: Young & and Joseph Press.

[43] See, for example, Alison Maitland and Rebekah Steele, *INdivisible: Radically Rethinking Inclusion for Sustainable Business Results*, 2020.

[44] CUPE National, "Anti-Racism Strategy 2021-2027," 2021, https://cupe.ca/sites/cupe/files/anti-racism_strategy_en.pdf

[45] Briskin, "Equity Bargaining / Bargaining Equity.", 124; Gill Kirton, "Union Framing of Gender Equality and the Elusive Potential of Equality Bargaining in a Difficult Climate," *Journal of Industrial Relations* 63, no. 4 (September 2021): 591–613, https://doi.org/10.1177/00221856211003604.

[46] Peter Berg and Matthew Piszczek, "The Limits of Equality Bargaining in the USA," *Journal of Industrial Relations* 56, no. 2 (2014): 170–89, https://doi.org/10.1177/0022185613517469; Ellen Russell and Mathieu Dufour, "Why the Rising Tide Doesn't Lift All Boats: Wages and Bargaining Power in Neoliberal Canada," *Studies in Political Economy* 97, no. 1 (January 2, 2016): 37–55, https://doi.org/10.1080/07078552.2016.1174462.

[47] In the context of nursing, for example, Choinere et. al. note that "Although professional associations and unions are providing important information for individuals and organizations about the dynamics of violence and promising practices, their ability to influence the work environment is indirect." Jacqueline Choiniere, Judith MacDonnell, and Hope Shamonda, "Walking the Talk: Insights Into Dynamics of Race and Gender for Nurses," *Policy, Politics, & Nursing Practice* 11, no. 4 (2010): 317–25, https://doi.org/10.1177/1527154410396222.

[48] UFCW, "Anti-Racism Bargaining Guide," 2022, https://www.ufcw.ca/templates/ufcwcanada/images/media/posters/Anti-Oppression/UFCW-Anti-Racism-Bargaining-Guide-2022-EN-V7.pdf.

[49] CUPE National, "Bargaining Equality: Introduction," 2014, https://cupe.ca/bargaining-equality-introduction.

[50] Linda Briskin, "Strategies to Support Equality Bargaining inside Unions: Representational Democracy and Representational Justice," *Journal of Industrial Relations* 56, no. 2 (April 2014): 208–27, https://doi.org/10.1177/0022185613517472.

[51] Rhea Rollman, "Should Unions Say No to Closed-Door Negotiations?," *Briarpatch Magazine*, 2018, https://briarpatchmagazine.com/articles/view/should-unions-say-no-to-closed-door-negotiations.

[52] Briskin, "Strategies to Support Equality Bargaining *inside* Unions."

[53] For example, in 2014 CUPE National found "that women and racialized CUPE members are more likely to be precariously employed than other members. It also shows that, relative to the national population, the percentage of racialized or Indigenous CUPE members is less than the national average. Fifteen per cent of our members are racialized, less than the national average of 19 per cent, and 3.4 per cent are Indigenous, less than the national average of 4.3 per cent." See: CUPE National, "CUPE Membership Survey: Results for Equality" (Ottawa: CUPE National, 2015), https://cupe.ca/cupe-membership-survey-results-equality.

[54] UFCW, "Anti-Racism Bargaining Guide."

[55] Jane Parker and Janice Foley, "Progress on Women's Equality within UK and Canadian Trade Unions: Do Women's Structures Make a Difference?," *Relations Industrielles* 65, no. 2 (2010): 281–303, https://doi.org/10.7202/044303ar.

[56] Briskin, "Cross-Constituency Organizing in Canadian Unions"; Briskin, "Strategies to Support Equality Bargaining *inside* Unions."

[57] Niki T. Dickerson, "We Are A Force To Be Reckoned With': Black And Latina Women's Leadership In The Contemporary U.S. Labor Movement," *WorkingUSA* 9, no. 3 (September 2006): 293–313, https://doi.org/10.1111/j.1743-4580.2006.00114.x. ; das Gupta, "Racism in the Labor Movement"; Parker and

Foley, "Progress on Women's Equality within UK and Canadian Trade Unions: Do Women's Structures Make a Difference?"

[58] Janice R. Foley and Patricia Louise Baker, eds., *Unions, Equity, and the Path to Renewal* (Vancouver: UBC Press, 2009).

[59] Linda Briskin, "Union Renewal, Postheroic Leadership, and Women's Organizing: Crossing Discourses, Reframing Debates," *Labor Studies Journal* 36, no. 4 (December 2011): 508–37, https://doi.org/10.1177/0160449X11422608.

[60] Gerald Hunt and David Rayside, "Labor Union Response to Diversity in Canada and the United States," *Industrial Relations* 39, no. 3 (2000): 401–44, https://doi.org/10.1111/0019-8676.00174.

[61] Janice Foley, "Mobilization and Change in a Trade Union Setting: Environment, Structures and Action," *Work, Employment & Society* 17, no. 2 (2003): 247–68, https://doi.org/10.1177/0950017003017002002.

[62] Briskin, "Strategies to Support Equality Bargaining *inside* Unions," 618–22.

[63] Suzanne E. Mills and Louise Clarke, "'We Will Go Side-by-Side with You.' Labour Union Engagement with Aboriginal Peoples in Canada," *Geoforum* 40, no. 6 (2009): 1000, https://doi.org/10.1016/j.geoforum.2009.09.005.

[64] Briskin further argues that, on the one hand, "Autonomy depends upon control over resources (including staff time and a budget); a decision-making rather than advisory function that offers jurisdiction over political and strategic initiatives (rather than having them vetted by a union executive or president) and an organized and politicized constituency to direct and support its work. Sufficient autonomy helps prevent the political marginalization of equity groups and increases pressure for inclusion and democratization. It also provides the context for building alliances between equity-seeking groups inside unions and community-based movements." On the other hand, she notes that "Integration into union structures prevents organizational marginalization, enhances the conditions for resource allocation and encourages the mainstreaming of equity in union policy and strategy. Integration measures, which ensure that women and other equity-seeking groups are strategically placed in union structures, help deter unions from accommodating the conservative values that coexist with and support globalization and restructuring." See: Briskin, "Cross-Constituency Organizing in Canadian Unions," 237.

[65] Mills and Clarke, "'We Will Go Side-by-Side with You.' Labour Union Engagement with Aboriginal Peoples in Canada," 1000.

[66] Rollman, "Should Unions Say No to Closed-Door Negotiations?"

[67] Sheila Block, Grace-Edward Galabuzi, and Ricardo Tranjan, *Canada's Colour Coded Income Inequality*, 2019, 26, http://www.deslibris.ca/ID/10102903.

[68] Which connects to the tension between seniority and equity noted above.

[69] UFCW, "Anti-Racism Bargaining Guide," 3.

[70] CUPE National, "Workplace Harassment and Mental Injuries: Examining Root Causes" (CUPE National, 2014), https://cupe.ca/workplace-harassment-and-mental-injuries-examining-root-causes-1; Virginia Gunn et al., "Initiatives Addressing Precarious Employment and Its Effects on Workers' Health and Well-Being: A Systematic Review," *International Journal of Environmental Research and Public Health* 19, no. 4 (2022), https://doi.org/10.3390/ijerph19042232; Duncan Lewis and Rod Gunn, "Workplace Bullying in the Public Sector: Understadning the Racial Dimension," *Public Administration* 85, no. 3 (September 2007): 641–65, https://doi.org/10.1111/j.1467-9299.2007.00665.x.

[71] Cassandra A. Okechukwu et al., "Discrimination, Harassment, Abuse, and Bullying in the Workplace: Contribution of Workplace Injustice to Occupational Health Disparities: Injustice and Occupational Health Disparities," *American Journal of Industrial Medicine* 57, no. 5 (May 2014): 573–86, https://doi.org/10.1002/ajim.22221; CUPE National, "Workplace Harassment and Mental Injuries: Examining

Root Causes"; CUPE National, "Bargaining Equality: Harassment and Violence," 2014, https://cupe.ca/bargaining-equality-harassment-and-violence.

[72] For example, CUPE National notes: "Harassment involves the use of real or perceived power and it is illegal under human rights legislation. But not all grounds of harassment are covered in each province. One example is personal harassment. Personal harassment is any unwelcome behaviour that is inappropriate, that abuses, devalues or humiliates. This kind of harassment is not one of the "protected grounds" against discrimination contained in human rights laws. Because the law does not cover personal harassment, locals need to bargain protections against it in their collective agreements and ensure that it is covered by workplace harassment policies." See: CUPE National, "Bargaining Equality: Harassment and Violence," 2014, https://cupe.ca/bargaining-equality-harassment-and-violence.

[73] Katherine Lippel, "The Law of Workplace Bullying: An International Overview," *Comparative Labour Law and Policy Journal* 32, no. 1 (August 11, 2011): 14.

[74] CUPE 3903 at York University has a particularly impressive scope, stating: "The Employer and the Union agree that there shall be no discrimination, interference, restriction, harassment or coercion, including no mandatory blood or urine tests, including but not limited to as these relate to Acquired Immune Deficiency Syndrome (AIDS), AIDS-related illness, AIDS-Related-Complex, or positive immune deficiency test, and including no genetic screening for specific medical disabilities or pregnancy, exercised or practised with respect to any member of the bargaining unit in any matter concerning the application of the provisions of this Agreement by reason of race, creed, colour, age, sex, marital status, parental status, number of dependents, nationality, ancestry, place of origin, native language (subject to Article 12.02.1), disability or disabilities (subject to Article 12.02.1), Acquired Immune Deficiency Syndrome (AIDS), or AIDS-related illness, or AIDS-Related-Complex, or positive immune deficiency test (virus HIV) (subject to Article 12.02.1), political or religious affiliations or orientations, academic affiliations or orientations (subject to the exercise of academic freedom as set out in Article 14.01), record of offences (except where such a record is a reasonable and bona fide ground for discrimination because of the nature of the employment), sexual orientation, transsexual transition status, gender expression, and gender identity, nor by reason of her membership or non-membership or lawful activity or lack of activity in the Union, or the exercise of any of the rights under this Agreement. The Employer undertakes that no York University student who is or has been employed in Unit 2 shall be penalized in her student status for the exercise of any of her rights under this Collective Agreement or by reason of her membership or non-membership or lawful activity or lack of activity in the Union." See: CUPE National, "Bargaining Equality: Harassment and Violence"; UFCW, "Anti-Racism Bargaining Guide."

[75] See: UFCW, "Anti-Racism Bargaining Guide"; CUPE National, "Discrimination: A Checklist and Sample Collective Agreement Language," 2015, https://cupe.ca/discrimination-checklist-and-sample-collective-agreement-language; OPSEU, "OPSEU Harassment and Discrimination Prevention Policy," 2015, https://opseu.org/information/opseu-harassment-and-discrimination-prevention-policy-hdpp/; CUPE National, "Bargaining Equality: Harassment and Violence." All provide helpful lists of sample contract language covering leaves related to: bereavement, sickness, band council elections, public duties, cultural events and duties, and maternity.

[76] Truth and Reconciliation Commission of Canada, "Truth and Reconciliation Commission of Canada: Calls to Action" (Winnipeg, Manitoba: Truth and Reconciliation Commission of Canada, 2012), https://www2.gov.bc.ca/assets/gov/british-columbians-our-governments/indigenous-people/aboriginal-peoples-documents/calls_to_action_english2.pdf.

[77] For example, CUPE National provides sample Collective Agreement language for training on anti-Indigenous racism: "The parties agree that, in order to increase cross-cultural understanding and harmonious, cooperative relationships among all workers, supervisory staff and management, that all employees will receive a minimum of one half day of cultural sensitivity training, such training to be taken during the employees paid workday, and provided by the Employer at its expense. The cultural sensitivity training will be provided by an external professional, and the contents of the training will be determined only after the Union has had an opportunity to provide meaningful input into the process." See: CUPE National, "Collective Agreement Language Responding to the Needs of Aboriginal Members," 2014, https://cupe.ca/collective-

agreement-language-responding-needs-aboriginal-members; CUPE National, "Truth and Reconciliation: CUPE Taking Action Through Collective Bargaining," 2022, https://cupe.ca/orders/truth-and-reconciliation-cupe-taking-action-through-collective-bargaining.

[78] PSAC is currently advocating to the Federal Government to "provide mandatory training to all managers, supervisors, and anyone who sits on a hiring board on systemic racism, implicit bias, and anti-oppression." See: PSAC, "PSAC A Fighting Union Standing up to Racism," 2020, https://psacunion.ca/psac-fighting-union-standing-racism-OUV-fall2020; PSAC, "PSAC Written Submission on Staffing in the Federal Public Service," 2021, https://psacunion.ca/sites/psac/files/attachments/pdfs/21-0356_psac_written_submission_-_session_on_staffing_3-9-21_rev_en.pdf.

[79] PSAC, "How Can We Tackle Systemic Racism and Build Equity in the Workplace?," 2022, https://psacunion.ca/conversation-starter-how-can-we-tackle-systemic.

[80] Alison Maitland and Rebekah Steele, *INdivisible: Radically Rethinking Inclusion for Sustainable Business Results*, 2020.

[81] Dismantling Racism Works, "White Supremacy Culture in Organizations" (Montréal: Centre for Community Organizations, 2019), https://coco-net.org/wp-content/uploads/2019/11/Coco-WhiteSupCulture-ENG4.pdf.

[82] Dismantling Racism Works, 42.

[83] UFCW, "Indigenous Rights and the Workplace Bargaining Guide," 2022, https://www.ufcw.ca/templates/ufcwcanada/images/media/posters/Indigenous_Downloads/UFCW-Canada-Commitment-to-Reconciliation-2021-V2.pdf.

[84] UFCW, 19; CUPE National, "Truth and Reconciliation: CUPE Taking Action Through Collective Bargaining."

[85] Unifor, "Racial Justice Advocate Sample Language," 2021, https://www.unifor.org/resources/our-resources/unifor-policy-racial-justice; Unifor, "Racial Justice Advocate," 2021, https://www.unifor.org/resources/human-rights/racial-justice-advocate.

[86] For example, Gabresellassi's presentation to Ontario's Anti-Racism Directorate revealed that: a" 2005 survey conducted within the OPS (and after the McKinnon decision) indicates that 70 percent of Black workers who reported their experience of discrimination in the OPS indicated no satisfaction with the outcome (only 13 percent reported a satisfactory outcome)." See: Saron Gebresellassi, "Black Workers Matter - Presentation to Anti-Racism Directorate," 2017.

[87] CUPE National, "Anti-Racism Strategy 2021-2027," 9.

[88] Maite Tapia, "Marching to Different Tunes: Commitment and Culture as Mobilizing Mechanisms of Trade Unions and Community Organizations: Marching to Different Tunes," *British Journal of Industrial Relations* 51, no. 4 (December 2013): 666–88, https://doi.org/10.1111/j.1467-8543.2012.00893.x.

[89] See for example PSAC's support and integration of class-action suits on behalf of Black and Indigenous workers within the public service.

[90] Jacqueline Choiniere, Judith MacDonnell, and Hope Shamonda, "Walking the Talk: Insights Into Dynamics of Race and Gender for Nurses," *Policy, Politics, & Nursing Practice* 11, no. 4 (2010): 322, https://doi.org/10.1177/1527154410396222.

[91] But see: Jaware Gairey et al., "The Challenges of Educating Equity" (WALL, 2006), https://wall.oise.utoronto.ca/resources/Jackson_Ng_Challenges_of_Educating_Equality2006.pdf; Emma Kowal, Hayley Franklin, and Yin Paradies, "Reflexive Antiracism: A Novel Approach to Diversity Training," *Ethnicities* 13, no. 3 (June 2013): 316–37, https://doi.org/10.1177/1468796812472885; Alexandra Kalev, Frank Dobbin, and Erin Kelly, "Best Practices or Best Guesses? Assessing the Efficacy of Corporate Affirmative Action and Diversity Policies," *American Sociological Review* 71, no. 4 (August 2006): 589–617, https://doi.org/10.1177/000312240607100404.

[92] Mike Noon, "Pointless Diversity Training: Unconscious Bias, New Racism and Agency," *Work, Employment and Society* 32, no. 1 (February 2018): 198, https://doi.org/10.1177/0950017017719841.

[93] And argues further that: "structures are hugely important in embedding racial disadvantage, sometimes labelled institutional racism, and making organisations resistant to agendas for change." See: Noon, 201.

[94] Noon, 204.

[95] Noon, 206.

[96] Emma Kowal, Hayley Franklin, and Yin Paradies, "Reflexive Antiracism: A Novel Approach to Diversity Training," *Ethnicities* 13, no. 3 (June 2013): 316–37, https://doi.org/10.1177/1468796812472885.

[97] Kalev, Dobbin, and Kelly, "Best Practices or Best Guesses?," 589.

[98] Jojo Geronimo, "Moving Beyond Diversity, Toward Inclusion and Equity: A Leader's Guide to Strengthening Unions" (Toronto, ON: Toronto-York Region Labour Council, 2014), 2, https://assets.nationbuilder.com/torontoyorklabour/pages/19/attachments/original/1550087070/equity_handbook.pdf?1550087070.

[99] Briskin, "Equity Bargaining / Bargaining Equity," 52.

[100] CUPE National, "The Government of Canada's Anti-Racism Engagement: Submission by the Canadian Union of Public Employees," 2019, https://cupe.ca/sites/cupe/files/submission_anti-racism_strategy_2019_01_24.pdf.

[101] Karl Gardner, Dani Magsumbol, and Ethel Tungohan. "The Politics of Migrant Worker Organizing in Canada," in *Rethinking the Politics of Labour,* eds. Stephanie Ross and Larry Savage. (Winnipeg: Fernwood Press, 2021).

[102] Jason Foster, "From 'Canadians First' to 'Workers Unite': Evolving Union Narratives of Migrant Workers," *Relations Industrielles* 69, no. 2 (2014): 241–65, https://doi.org/10.7202/1025028ar; Gillian Creese, "Exclusion or Solidarity? Vancouver Workers Confront the 'Oriental Problem,'" *BC Studies: The British Columbian Quarterly*, 1989, 24-51 Pages, https://doi.org/10.14288/BCS.V0I80.1295.

[103] Gardner, Magsumbol, and Tungohan, "The Politics of Migrant Worker Organizing in Canada."

[104] Unifor foregrounds the importance of a migrant justice analysis in union campaigns for racial justice: "Racial justice means more than simple notions of equality and changing an individual's actions. Racial justice means acknowledging, identifying and dismantling systemic barriers, institutionalized and cultural practices and organizational policies that continue to oppress and deny Indigenous and people of colour from the same rights, privileges and opportunities available to the dominant white class."See: Unifor, "Unifor Policy on Racial Justice Unifor National," 2020..

[105] However, Quebec has legislation that encourages the hiring of people with disabilities and the Nunavut Agreement has provision for the adequate representation of Inuit peoples in government sector employment.

[106] CUPE National, "The Government of Canada's Anti-Racism Engagement: Submission by the Canadian Union of Public Employees."

[107] CUPE National, "Creating a Representative Workforce An Overview of Partnership Agreements and Equity Plans in CUPE Workplaces in Saskatchewan," 2011, https://sk.cupe.ca/files/2017/12/Creating-Representative-Workplaces-Brief-Updated-April-13-2011.pdf.

[108] Marjorie Cohen and Kate Braid, "Training and Equity Initiatives on the British Columbia Vancouver Island Highway Project: A Model For Large-Scale Construction Projects," *Labor Studies Journal* 25, no. 3 (2000): 70–103, https://doi.org/10.1177/0160449X0002500304.

[109] Anti-Racism Directorate, "Anti-Racism Directorate: What We Do," 2022, https://www.ontario.ca/page/anti-racism-directorate.

[110] Toronto York Region Labour Council, "Submission to the Hearings on an Anti-Racism Directorate."

[111] Justice for Workers, "Justice for Workers Means Racial Justice," 2022, https://assets.nationbuilder.com/decentworknow/pages/2483/attachments/original/1647549992/J4W_Racial_Justice_Report.pdf?1647549992.

[112] Verma, Reitz, and Banerjee, "Unionization and Income Growth of Racial Minority Immigrants in Canada"; Rupa Banerjee, "Income Growth of New Immigrants in Canada : Evidence from the Survey of Labour and Income Dynamics," *Relations Industrielles* 64, no. 3 (2009): 466–88, https://doi.org/10.7202/038552ar.

[113] Tania das Gupta, "Racism in the Labor Movement," in *Equity, Diversity & Canadian Labour* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2007), https://doi.org/10.3138/9781442684300; Jason Foster, "From 'Canadians First' to 'Workers Unite': Evolving Union Narratives of Migrant Workers," *Relations Industrielles* 69, no. 2 (2014): 241–65, https://doi.org/10.7202/1025028ar; Steve Jefferys, "Why Do Unions Find Fighting Workplace Racism Difficult?," *Transfer: European Review of Labour and Research* 13, no. 3 (August 2007): 377–95, https://doi.org/10.1177/102425890701300305.

[114] Gerald Hunt and David Rayside, "Labor Union Response to Diversity in Canada and the United States," *Industrial Relations* 39, no. 3 (2000): 401–44, https://doi.org/10.1111/0019-8676.00174.

[115] Foster, "From 'Canadians First' to 'Workers Unite'" 244.

[116] das Gupta, "Racism in the Labor Movement."

[117] Geronimo, "Moving Beyond Diversity, Toward Inclusion and Equity: A Leader's Guide to Strengthening Unions"; CUPE Ontario, "Recognize and Resist White Supremacy: A Guide for Unions"; Dismantling Racism Works, "White Supremacy Culture in Organizations."

[118] OPSEU, "OPSEU Social Mapping Project 2020 Highlights," 2020, https://opseu.org/news/opseu-sefpo-social-mapping-project-2020-report/111958/; Unifor, "Building Solidarity in Diversity: A Report on Unifor's Equity Audit," 2017, https://unifor.com/sites/default/files/documents/document/equity-audit-report-en-web-final_20170730.pdf; CUPE National, "CUPE Membership Survey: Results for Equality."

[119] OPSEU, "OPSEU Social Mapping Project 2020 Highlights."

[120] Briskin, "Cross-Constituency Organizing in Canadian Unions."; Personal communication.

[121] Geronimo, "Moving Beyond Diversity, Toward Inclusion and Equity: A Leader's Guide to Strengthening Unions," 10–11.

[122] Maitland and Steele, *INdivisible*.; OPSEU, "Taking Action on Racism: Building Inclusive Locals," https://opseu.org/wp-content/uploads/2020/09/TAOR_Building-Inclusive-Locals.pdf?utm_source=post.

[123] CUPE Ontario, "Anti-Racism Organizational Action Plan," 2019, https://cupe.on.ca/aroap/.

[124] OPSEU, "Taking Action on Racism: Local Leadership Elections," https://opseu.org/wp-content/uploads/2020/09/TAOR_Local-Leadership-Elections.pdf?utm_source=post.

[125] Parker and Foley, "Progress on Women's Equality within UK and Canadian Trade Unions: Do Women's Structures Make a Difference?"; Briskin, "Strategies to Support Equality Bargaining *inside* Unions."

[126] Personal communication

[127] OPSEU, "Taking Action on Racism: Running Inclusive Meetings," https://opseu.org/wp-content/uploads/2020/09/TAOR_Running-Inclusive-meetings.pdf?utm_source=post.

[128] Canadian Federation of Nurses Unions, "Nursing Declaration Against Anti-Black Racism in Nursing and Health Care" (Ottawa: Canadian Federation fo Nurses Unions, 2021), https://www.nnpbc.com/pdfs/media/news/2021/Nursing-Declaration-Against-Anti-Black-Racism-in-Nursing-Health-Care.pdf; Canadian Federation of Nurses Unions, "Nursing Declaration Against Anti-Indigenous Racism in Nursing and Health Care" (Ottawa: Canadian Federation of Nurses Unions, 2021), https://hl-prod-ca-oc-download.s3-ca-central-1.amazonaws.com/CNA/2f975e7e-4a40-45ca-863c-5ebf0a138d5e/UploadedImages/documents/Nursing_Declaration_Anti-Indigenous_Racism_November_8_2021_ENG_Copy.pdf.

[129] Toronto York Region Labour Council, "Yes It Matters! Working Together to End Systemic Racism and Create a Just Canada for All," 2019, https://d3n8a8pro7vhmx.cloudfront.net/torontoyorklabour/pages/19/attachments/original/1551115765/Yes_It_Matters_Final_for_web_Feb_1__2019.pdf?1551115765.

[130] Mills and Clarke, "'We Will Go Side-by-Side with You.' Labour Union Engagement with Aboriginal Peoples in Canada," 1000.

[131] Geronimo, "Moving Beyond Diversity, Toward Inclusion and Equity: A Leader's Guide to Strengthening Unions," 4.

[132] A good example here is: CUPE National, "Anti-Racism Strategy 2021-2027," 2021, https://cupe.ca/sites/cupe/files/anti-racism_strategy_en.pdf.

[133] Geronimo, "Moving Beyond Diversity, Toward Inclusion and Equity: A Leader's Guide to Strengthening Unions."

[134] CUPE Ontario, "Anti-Racism Organizational Action Plan."

[135] Nouria Ouali and Steve Jefferys, "Hard Times for Trade Union Anti-Racism Workplace Strategies," *Transfer: European Review of Labour and Research* 21, no. 1 (February 2015): 418, https://doi.org/10.1177/1024258914561419.

[136] Toronto York Region Labour Council, "Charter of Inclusive Workplaces," 2021, https://d3n8a8pro7vhmx.cloudfront.net/torontoyorklabour/pages/80/attachments/original/1604436205/Charter_-_Inside_Back_Cover.pdf?1604436205.

[137] Pradeep Kumar and Christopher Schenk, eds., *Paths to Union Renewal* (University of Toronto Press, 2006), http://www.jstor.org/stable/10.3138/j.ctt2tv439.

[138] Bill Fletcher and Fernando Gapasin, *Solidarity Divided_ The Crisis in Organized Labor and a New Path toward Social Justice (2009).Pdf* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2008).

[139] Kendra Coulter, "Raising Retail: Organizing Retail Workers in Canada and the United States," *Labor Studies Journal* 38, no. 1 (2013): 47–65, https://doi.org/10.1177/0160449X13486700.

[140] David Camfield, "Renewal in Canadian Public Sector Unions: Neoliberalism and Union Praxis," *Relations Industrielles / Industrial Relations* 62, no. 2 (2007): 282–304.; Belinda Leach and Charlotte A.B. Yates, "Workers on the Move: Can Unions Keep up to Changes in Community?," *Labour & Industry: A Journal of the Social and Economic Relations of Work* 25, no. 1 (2015): 38–51, https://doi.org/10.1080/10301763.2015.1045706; Steven Tufts, "'We Make It Work': The Cultural Transformation of Hotel Workers in the City," *Antipode* 38, no. 2 (2006): 350–73, https://doi.org/10.1111/j.1467-8330.2006.00583.x.

[141] Janice R. Foley and Patricia Louise Baker, eds., *Unions, Equity, and the Path to Renewal* (Vancouver: UBC Press, 2009).

[142] Stephen Mustchin, "Unions, Learning, Migrant Workers and Union Revitalization in Britain," *Work, Employment & Society* 26, no. 6 (2012): 951–67, https://doi.org/10.1177/0950017012458022.

[143] Jennifer Jihye Chun, "Organizing across Divides: Union Challenges to Precarious Work in Vancouver's Privatized Health Care Sector," *Progress in Development Studies* 16, no. 2 (2016): 174, https://doi.org/10.1177/1464993415623132.

[144] Chun, 173.

[145] Chun, 174.; Importantly, Chun also notes that this approach is most often taken in retail, hospitality, building services and manufacturing industries

[146] Mustchin, "Unions, Learning, Migrant Workers and Union Revitalization in Britain," 963.

[147] Alison Noel, "Minneapolis Transit Union Refuses to Transport Arrested BLM Protesters," *Left Voice*, April 14, 2021, https://www.leftvoice.org/minneapolis-transit-union-refuses-to-transport-arrested-blm-protesters/.

[148] Peter Cole, "The Most Radical Union in the U.S. Is Shutting Down the Ports on Juneteenth," *In Our Times*, June 16, 2020, sec. Labor, https://inthesetimes.com/article/juneteenth-ilwu-dockworkers-strike-ports-black-lives-matter-george-floyd.

[149] Mustchin, 964. He notes further: "tensions within union memberships over the allocation of resources towards organizing migrant workers. Numerous interviewees indicated that some union members had expressed resentment that resources were being, in their view, directed towards newly recruited migrant workers as opposed to the more established membership."

[150] See also: Francesca Polletta, *It Was like a Fever: Storytelling in Protest and Politics* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2006).

[151] Chandra Russo, *Solidarity in Practice: Moral Protest and the US Security State*, First edition, Cambridge Studies in Contentious Politics (Cambridge, United Kingdom ; New York, NY: Cambridge University Press, 2018).

[152] Francesca Polletta and James M. Jasper, "Collective Identity and Social Movements," *Annual Review of Sociology* 27, no. 1 (August 2001): 283–305, https://doi.org/10.1146/annurev.soc.27.1.283; Amy Foerster, "Race, Identity, and Belonging: 'Blackness' and the Struggle for Solidarity in a Multiethnic Labor Union," *Social Problems* 51, no. 3 (August 2004): 386–409, https://doi.org/10.1525/sp.2004.51.3.386.

[153] See William A. Gamson, "The Social Psychology of Collective Action.," in *Frontiers in Social Movement Theory.* (New Haven, CT, US: Yale University Press, 1992), 53–76.

[154] David A. Snow, "Framing and Social Movements," in *The Wiley-Blackwell Encyclopedia of Social and Political Movements*, ed. David A. Snow et al. (Oxford, UK: Blackwell Publishing Ltd, 2013), wbespm434, https://doi.org/10.1002/9780470674871.wbespm434; Annette Cox et al., "Applying Union Mobilization Theory to Explain Gendered Collective Grievances: Two UK Case Studies," *Journal of Industrial Relations* 49, no. 5 (November 2007): 717–39, https://doi.org/10.1177/0022185607084391.

[155] Heather Connolly, Stefania Marino, and Miguel Lucio, "Trade Union Renewal and the Challenges of Representation: Strategies towards Migrant and Ethnic Minority Workers in the Netherlands, Spain and the United Kingdom," *European Journal of Industrial Relations* 20, no. 1 (2014): 7, https://doi.org/10.1177/0959680113516848.

[156] Gabriella Alberti, Jane Holgate, and Maite Tapia, "Organising Migrants as Workers or as Migrant Workers? Intersectionality, Trade Unions and Precarious Work," *The International Journal of Human Resource Management* 24, no. 22 (December 2013): 4132–48, https://doi.org/10.1080/09585192.2013.845429.

[157] Andrew Stevens, "Trajectories of Union Renewal : Migrant Workers and the Revitalization of Union Solidarity in Saskatchewan," *Labour* 85 (2020): 235–59, https://doi.org/10.1353/llt.2020.0008. Though also see: Nombuso Dlamini, Uzo Anucha, and Barat Wolfe, "Negotiated Positions: Immigrant Women's Views and Experiences of Employment in Canada," *Affilia* 27, no. 4 (2012): 420–34, https://doi.org/10.1177/0886109912464479.

[158] Suzanne E. Mills and Louise Clarke, "'We Will Go Side-by-Side with You.' Labour Union Engagement with Aboriginal Peoples in Canada," *Geoforum* 40, no. 6 (2009): 1000, https://doi.org/10.1016/j.geoforum.2009.09.005.

[159] Jaware Gairey et al., "The Challenges of Educating Equity" (WALL, 2006).

[160] CUPE National, "Anti-Racism Strategy 2021-2027," 2021, 5.

[161] Stephen Mustchin, "Unions, Learning, Migrant Workers and Union Revitalization in Britain," *Work, Employment & Society* 26, no. 6 (2012): 965, https://doi.org/10.1177/0950017012458022.

[162] Gairey et al. "Educating Equity," offer a similar differentiation, noting the difference between "issue courses" and "tool courses." They note that "The former have titles that address issues of marginalized groups

in the movement (anti-racist, anti-homophobic, GLBT, gender, persons with disabilities). These courses take these issues as a central theme. Equality and diversity issues are the basis of the curriculum. On the other hand, the 'tool courses,' such as stewards training, labour law, collective bargaining, workplace safety and insurance board training (WSIB) address equality as a component within course material and discussion." In this case, issue courses are similar to consciousness raising training, and tool courses are similar to organizing and leadership training.

163 OPSEU, "Taking Action on Racism: Anti-Black Racism," https://opseu.org/wp-content/uploads/2020/09/TAOR-Anti-Black-Racism.pdf?utm_source=post; OPSEU, "Takaing Action on Racism: The Indigenous Journey," https://opseu.org/wp-content/uploads/2020/09/TAOR-Indigenous-Journey.pdf?utm_source=post.

164 Gairey et al., "The Challenges of Educating Equity," 1., quoting the Canadian Labour Congress.

165 Suzanne E. Mills and Tyler McCreary, "Social Unionism, Partnership and Conflict: Union Engagement with Aboriginal Peoples in Canada," in *Rethinking the Politics of Labour in Canada*, ed. Stephanie Ross and Larry Savage, Labour in Canada (Halifax: Fernwood Pub, 2012).

166 Fernandez and Silver, "Indigenous People, Wage Labour and Trade Unions."

167 OPSEU, "Taking Action on Racism," https://opseu.org/wp-content/uploads/2020/09/TAOR_Taking-Action-on-Racism.pdf?utm_source=post.

168 Carol Wall, "Dear White Sisters and Brothers: A Letter from a Union Educator," *Our Times*, 2020, https://ourtimes.ca/article/dear-white-sisters-and-brothers.

169 Michael Honey, "Anti-Racism, Black Workers, and Southern Labor Organizing: Historical Notes on a Continuing Struggle," *Labor Studies Journal* 25, no. 1 (2000): 10–26, https://doi.org/10.1177/0160449X0002500103.

170 UFCW, "Anti-Racism Bargaining Guide"; UFCW, "Indigenous Rights and the Workplace Bargaining Guide."

171 USW, "Advancing Indigenous Rights Bargaining Guide," 2021, https://www.usw.ca/act/activism/human-rights/resources/body/USW-Indigenous-Bargaining-Guide-2021-EN_Final.pdf.

172 CUPE National, "Truth and Reconciliation: CUPE Taking Action Through Collective Bargaining"; CUPE National, "Discrimination: A Checklist and Sample Collective Agreement Language."CUPE National, "Collective Agreement Language Responding to the Needs of Aboriginal Members."

173 CUPE National, "Bargaining Equality: Introduction," 2014, https://cupe.ca/bargaining-equality-introduction.

174 Geronimo, "Moving Beyond Diversity, Toward Inclusion and Equity: A Leader's Guide to Strengthening Unions."

175 Jefferys, "Why Do Unions Find Fighting Workplace Racism Difficult?," 18.

176 Susan L. Carter, "Intervening in Informal Learning: Activity Theory as Teaching Tool," *McGill Journal of Education* 48, no. 3 (January 29, 2014): 496, https://doi.org/10.7202/1021916ar.

177 Carter, 506.

178 "Perhaps the most generalizable conclusion from this research is that if trade unions provide or draw upon institutional support and re-prioritize their campaigns against racism at work, they can make a difference." Nouria Ouali and Steve Jefferys, "Hard Times for Trade Union Anti-Racism Workplace Strategies," *Transfer: European Review of Labour and Research* 21, no. 1 (February 2015): 99–113, https://doi.org/10.1177/1024258914561419.

179 Martin Upchurch, Richard Croucher, and Matt Flynn, "Political Congruence and Trade Union Renewal," *Work, Employment & Society* 26, no. 5 (2012): 857, https://doi.org/10.1177/0950017012451643.