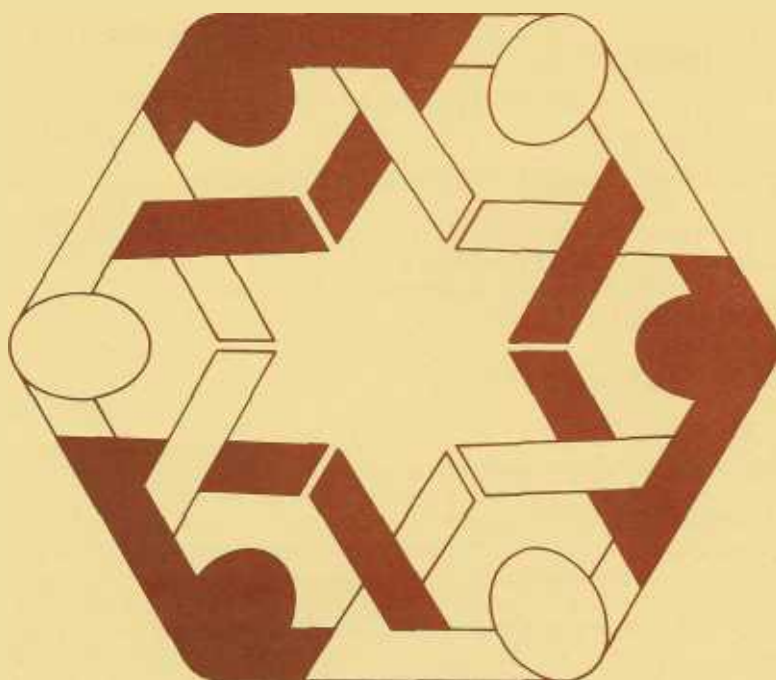


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Employment Equity for Racial Minorities in the Teaching Profession

Paul R. Carr

What constitutes a positive, stimulating, effective educational environment depends on a number of variables. Fundamental pedagogical considerations and the structure of the administrative system, which are necessarily linked, must not be overlooked. Similarly, regarding educational achievement, the perception—and, therefore, to a certain degree, the reality—of the student must weigh heavily in the final analysis. Interest in formal education can be deeply affected by the personalities and cultural determinants that control and dominate the school, at both micro- and macro-levels. Being able to "identify" with the individual teacher, who is responsible for interpreting and implementing the curriculum in addition to acting as the "gatekeeper" to participation in the formal educational setting, is a critical element in the link between student ability and performance, which are both relative and, to a certain degree, socially constructed concepts. The issue of employment equity for racial minorities in the educational domain has become a much discussed and controversial subject of late, with polarized views for and against.

The literature points to numerous advantages to increased racial minority teacher representation, and much of the recent work related to antiracist education has emphasized the importance of racial minority teachers. At the same time, the overall impact of racial minority teachers' participation, status and role in the education system

remains unclear and shrouded in rhetorical policy statements. Few studies have examined the (causal) link between teacher race and student outcomes. The danger and challenge in exploring such a link is that it involves scrutinizing the institutional cultures of organizations, including the structural barriers, which would require uncovering and dealing with attitudes toward race and racism. The issue of "racializing" education has been opposed by many who view this type of legislated reform (employment equity) as an unnecessary intervention in a presumed "nonpoliticized, neutral" sphere under state control. At the same time, an increasing number of racial minorities have called for a more explicit, direct link between education and race issues because of the subtle bias and discrimination throughout the school system and also because of the informal curriculum that often silences or marginalizes racial minority students.

This article examines the problem of employment equity for racial minorities in the teaching profession. Particular reference is made to employment equity and educational activities in Ontario, although the article also touches on some Canadian and American studies. This article consists of three major sections: the first examines the concept and social construction of race and situates the discussion within a rapidly changing demographic context; the second looks at the theoretical and practical considerations of employment equity,

especially in the education system; and the third is a discussion of the representation of racial minority teachers, with particular focus on antiracist education. While being careful to avoid trivializing or oversimplifying complex issues of racial identity, organizational behavior and educational outcomes, the article concludes that employment equity for racial minority teachers is desirable, indeed necessary, but that it should constitute only one integral piece of a larger, more far-reaching education blueprint. Teacher race is a necessary pillar to the broader antiracist education strategies.

The Social Construction of Race

From an immigration policy that traditionally favored those from the Commonwealth, followed by white Europeans, a number of factors converged in the 1960s to alter the place of origin and racial/ethnic background of many immigrants to Canada (Fleras and Elliot 1992, 18–52). As a result, the number of new Canadians who could be considered "racial" minorities increased rapidly. These demographic changes also had a marked effect on the country's religious, ethnic, cultural and linguistic diversity. Ontario receives over half of all immigrants, and over half this number settle in Metropolitan Toronto (Fleras and Elliot 1992, 91). Toronto boasts the largest population concentrations of the following communities: Italian, Portuguese, Greek, Polish, Jewish, South Asian, Filipino, Black and Caribbean. Moreover, "in Toronto, there are 40 different ethnic groups with a population of more than 5,000 each" (Ontario Ministry of Citizenship 1993, 4). While the national percentage for the visible minority population is only 6.3 percent, in Toronto it hovers around 20 percent and is growing quickly (Ontario Ministry of Citizenship 1993, 4).

In a detailed statistical analysis of ethnic groups in Canada, Herberg (1989) has documented how visible minorities have been

subjected to "ethnic separation," as opposed to ethnic "integration" or "assimilation." Li (1988, 22) bases his perspectives on ethnic groups on Weber's theories in defining them as a "subjective reality" in which "members share a sense of peoplehood or identity based in part on descent, language, religion, tradition and other common experiences"; furthermore, they develop "closures" or "boundaries." To define a racial group, physical and skin traits would be added to the definition.

Moodley (1985a, 7–11) has outlined four specific forces that can bond ethnic groups together: culture, which focuses on the primacy of subjective traits; economics, from which the author borrows a Marxist critique; psychological, which has prejudice and socialization as the key components; and politics, from which the author advocates the approach suggested earlier by Glazer and Moynihan (1975). Breton et al.'s definition (1990, 10) of ethnicity includes at least one of the following components:

- (a) distinct overt and covert cultural behavioural patterns;
- (b) personal ties, such as family, community, and friendship networks;
- (c) organizations such as schools, churches, enterprises, media;
- (d) associations such as clubs, "societies," youth organizations;
- (e) functions, sponsored by ethnic organizations, such as picnics, concerts, teas, rallies;
- and (f) identity as a social psychological phenomenon.

Li (1988) has written extensively on ethnic inequality and makes a clear distinction between "equality of distribution" and "equality of opportunities." His critique attacks several myths, including the "mobility dream" in which everyone is the "architect of his or her own fortune"; the "melting pot" myth in which it is postulated that all groups contribute to the reshaping of society; the "status attainment model" in which free-market capitalism is characterized as a progressive, leveling influence; and the "multiculturalism myth" in which the ideals of the policy, under state guidance, do not appropriately relate to the outcomes.

Ethnicity, in addition to other forms of oppression such as religion, language and gender, overlaps, in many instances, with racial origin, forming unique groupings whose needs, interests and access to power may vary greatly. The racial label, however, usually frames the daily existence for many racial minorities. Recently, there has been much debate over the social construction of race (Omi and Winant 1993) and its changing status. Hall (1989) has documented how our collective identity starts early in life.

The Ontario Anti-Racism Secretariat (OARS) defines racism as

a system in which one group of people exercises abusive power over others on the basis of skin colour and racial heritage; a set of implicit or explicit beliefs, erroneous assumptions and actions based upon an ideology of inherent superiority of one racial or ethnocultural group over another. Racism is manifested within organizational and institutional structures and programs as well as within individual thought or behaviour patterns. (Wright and Allingham 1994, 5)

The OARS definition of antiracism, which is increasingly framing the equity agenda and serving as a rationale for the policy of increasing racial minority representation at the teaching level, is termed as

a process which acknowledges the existence of systemic racism and through policies and practices seeks actively to identify, challenge and reduce racism in all its various forms wherever they exist. (Wright and Allingham 1994, 5)

Those involved in antiracist education view it as a "political project" and underscore that racism can be equated to prejudice when it is combined with power. Head (1985, 643) has argued that "race and racism have not been a characteristic of the relationship between different population groups throughout human history" but developed over time and became institutionalized through colonialism. Racism has long been a predominant feature of our society and manifests itself at various levels and in

different spheres (that is, employment, immigration, media, housing, culture, politics, government).

The Royal Commission Report *Equality in Employment* (Abella 1984) was instrumental in bringing to the fore the issue of inequities in the workplace in Canada. It underscored the heterogeneous nature of racial, or visible, minority groups at the community as well as the individual level and also emphasized the common experiences shared by persons of color regarding racial discrimination in immigration, integration into society, their history and existence in Canada, limited access to the levers of power and the lack of role models in the media.

Several subsequent reports have confirmed Abella's findings regarding racial discrimination in the workplace (Lautard and Guppy 1990; Samuel 1989; Henry and Ginzberg 1989; Jain 1988). The Ontario Management Board Secretariat [MBS] (1992, 28) report on employment equity listed the following employment barriers confronting racial minorities: corporate culture, recruitment and selection procedures, tracking and developmental opportunities, management support, and accountability for employment equity. Two other reports (Cumming, Lee and Oreopoulos 1989; Wright and McDade 1992) have also examined the specific barriers to employment, such as credentialism and the non-recognition of foreign degrees and experience.

Ungerleider (1992) has examined Canada's discriminatory immigration history, documenting particular phases in which racial minority groups faced severe sanctions: for example, the Chinese were forced to pay a head tax starting in 1885, and another law barred the entry of all Chinese except students in 1923; an amendment to the Immigration Act in 1908 requiring immigrants to arrive by "continuous journey" effectively stopped East Indian immigration during that period; and during World War II, the federal government enacted far-reaching measures against those of Japanese origin, many

of whom were born in Canada or were naturalized citizens, stripping them of their property and individual rights. Calliste (1994b) has further documented abuses in Canadian immigration policy toward blacks. Similarly, a number of researchers (de Roche 1991; Mukherjee 1985; Danzker 1991; O'Donnell 1991) have highlighted racial discrimination in the media. Others have elucidated the salient issues related to racism in the judicial system (Binavince 1989; Scott 1989).

Theoretical and Practical Considerations of Employment Equity

The theoretical arguments behind legislated employment equity came about because of the view that the "free market" operates in a discriminatory fashion and that corrective measures are required to ensure equity of access. Agocs, Curr and Somerset (1992, 15–16) outline the three goals of employment equity:

1. to *eliminate* current employment barriers caused by discrimination and disadvantage;
2. to *remedy* the effects of past disadvantage and discrimination and *prevent* future disadvantage and discrimination; and
3. to *improve* the representation, access and distribution of designated groups in the workforce and labour market.

One primary rationale for the policy relates to racism as a socially constructed concept and how it has been a key feature of Canada's political economy for over three centuries, most notably in earlier relations to First Nations persons and blacks during slavery (Banton 1977).

Discussion about the definition of "racial minority" (Ontario MBS 1992, 20, 28; Agocs et al. 1992, 10) cannot be separated from the larger and more difficult debate that focuses on race. The federal employment equity legislation does not cover "Respondents with Argentinean and Chilean

ethnic origin" but does cover, in general, Latin Americans based on "ethnic origin in conjunction with mother tongue and/or place of birth" (Ontario Ministry of Citizenship 1993, iii). Questions of social and economic advantage can, therefore, complicate the process of targeting certain people over others, regardless of background. The technical and sometimes arbitrary side of the development and implementation of employment equity should not be used as proof that this policy will only enforce inequity. The intersecting levels of oppression may alter perspectives and present different forms of racism; for example, a French-speaking, non-Christian black woman from Haiti may identify with several groups or ideologies, in particular at the individual level, but ultimately will be deemed by a large percentage of the population in Canadian society as a person of color before the other identifying categories. In sum, the racial typology is contentious and problematic to employment equity but should not overshadow the legitimate concerns of those being most affected by racial discrimination.

Employment equity requires organizations to review their hiring practices to ensure that members of the four "equity" groups (women, persons with disabilities, aboriginals and racial minorities) are allowed to compete fairly for all positions. Concrete plans outlining goals and timetables are to be established to ensure that the "equity groups" are represented in proportion to their representation in their communities, or at the provincial level in some cases, based on a formula that considers their representation in various employment sectors and job categories (Ontario Ministry of Citizenship, 1994). Most important, the legislation is intended to be proactive through special measures and long-range planning; for example, although the racial minority representation in Metro Toronto may hover around 25 percent, the percentage of racial minority librarians as part of the overall group may be only 10 percent, and of this number it is conceivable that

only half are available to compete for new positions, which would alter the capacity of libraries to hire a large number of racial minorities. However, an outreach strategy could deal with hiring over the long term, and work with the Faculties of Library Science could aim to aid the "flow" of racial minorities into the program.

Complying with Ontario's employment equity legislation involves the employer's commitment to work intensively with employees. Great effort must be made to ensure that unions are involved and that collective bargaining agreements are respected. The employer must be prepared to implement a data management system involving sectoral, geographical and occupational group analysis (Harvey 1988). An element of "good faith" is involved in developing employment equity plans because employees are to "self-identify" only. Moreover, employers could easily misrepresent their attempts to recruit equity group members. The teeth of the Act comes not so much in the form of the Employment Equity Tribunal, which could ultimately impose a fine on those unwilling to comply, but in the leverage the Employment Equity Commission may have in publicizing firms' non-compliance.

Accepting the basic premise that embracing diversity will invariably lead to greater economic and consequently social benefits is a primary consideration in ensuring that employment equity succeeds. One could argue that without some form of employment equity, there would be a misallocation and squandering of valuable and finite human and financial resources. The Ontario legislation is flexible, in that it allows for change over time, because it is not considered a one-time adjustment as pay equity was. The key feature of the legislation is that workplaces in the public and private sectors across the province will be required to develop plans that describe "measures for promoting equitable treatment for the designated groups," including positive, accommodating and supportive measures, as well as antiharassment and antidiscrimination

measures (Ontario Ministry of Citizenship 1994, 14-15).

While voicing some technical and policy concerns about employment equity at the federal level, Jain (1989, 175) feels that "on balance, it is better to have the employment equity legislation—despite its crippling weaknesses—than not to have it all." Several of Jain's recommendations for improvement of the federal program, including making public the goals and timetables and increasing the amount of "stock" (snapshot) and "flow" data, have been incorporated into the Ontario provincial legislation (Bill 79). Stasiulis (1989, 238), on the other hand, argues that the federal policy, "even if pursued aggressively and backed with a high degree of political will, and legal provisions for enforcement and resources, is bound to be ineffectual." She contends that employment equity does not deal adequately, or at all, with issues of class as they intersect with race and ethnicity, thus having the effect of assisting those racial minorities who already have high-status backgrounds and employment, and who probably require the least amount of support and accommodation. Without examining "structural changes in the economy," Stasiulus postulates that those most affected by racial discrimination will continue to suffer the most.

Defining Equity Concerns for Racial Minorities in Education

For much of the 1960s through the 1990s, "equity in education" has referred to, and inferred, the advancement of women. Traditionally, women were overrepresented in the elementary panel, particularly in the same core of subject areas (social sciences) but were conspicuously absent from positions of authority, including the department head, vice-principal, principal, superintendent and director levels. Arguably, much has changed in education regarding the status of (white) women: many initiatives have been introduced to make the curriculum more inclusive and less stereotypical;

gender-bias-free language has received wide support; the representation of women in the Ontario Ministry of Education and Training, the Toronto Board of Education (TBE) and in the education system as a whole has increased not only in terms of numbers but also in terms of positioning.

The Ontario Ministry of Education program on employment equity, which started in the mid-1970s, pertained exclusively to women (Ontario Ministry of Education 1993). For the most part, it could be argued, white women have been the primary beneficiary of these various gains. Although provincially the figures do not look impressive, at least within the Toronto Board of Education there has been significant progress regarding the positioning of women in the hierarchy. For example, in 1991, 28 percent of elementary and 18.5 percent of secondary principals were women; more important, in the "feeder" group of vice-principals, the numbers for the two panels were even higher, at 66 percent and 29 percent respectively (Ontario Ministry of Education 1993, 49).

The impetus for the present policy and legislative framework is based on the need to redress historical wrongs, as well as the perceived and real disadvantages currently facing racial minorities. The uneven participation of visible minorities in post-secondary education can be correlated with a number of factors, including discrimination, integration into Canadian society and other forms of oppression (for example, classism). Replicating data from studies conducted by Porter (1965) and Clement (1977), Buckland (1985, 134) argued that the likelihood of participating in postsecondary education

increases sharply if you are male, of Anglo origin, from an upper-middle- to upper-class family with parents who have received higher education and have professional occupations, and if you live in an urban centre in a province and region with a high per capita income.

In subsequent studies on educational achievement by racial/ethnic identity using

census data, Shamaï (1986) and Ahamad (1987) found that those of Jewish and "Asian" or "Chinese" origin (in the latter's study) consistently attained the highest levels, with Natives and blacks at the bottom. Li (1988, 75) has found that, by adding the variable of ethnic background to that of class, several pertinent observations can be made which correlate with students' chances of acquiring university education.

The Toronto Board of Education's 1991 *Every Secondary Student Survey* (Yau, Cheng and Ziegler 1993) found that Asian students achieved the highest educational outcomes and had the lowest dropout rates, followed by white students, with black and Native students having the lowest achievement in all areas. This raw data, however, can be critiqued from several vantage points: many of the Asian students have arrived recently from affluent families in Hong Kong with the purpose of completing their secondary studies; thus they do not have to deal with some socioeconomic issues facing other groups. African-Canadian students may have lower outcomes because of longstanding systemic, structural racism, dating back to the days of slavery, which has been a neglected topic in Canadian history, and also because of the multilayered, heterogeneous nature of the black community.

These varying rates of educational achievement indicate that it is often difficult, and indeed problematic, to generalize about educational outcomes by racial group without providing a detailed, contextual analysis of those groups. Many factors come into play:

- When did the members of the group in question arrive in Canada, and under what conditions?
- How were and are they received by the majority white society in Canada?
- What role do language, religion, culture and ethnicity play in defining the boundaries of the group?

Mata (1989) has examined the problems facing black youth of Toronto and concludes that systemic racial discrimination underpins dismal education and employment

statistics for this group. Henry (1992, 95), in her examination of an "Afrocentric Womanist Standpoint on the Education of Black Children," blames the "tyranny of whiteness in racist schooling practices" for the rejection of formal education by many students of African-Canadian origin.

Educational equity, which should be, out of necessity, closely linked to employment equity, will become an indispensable cornerstone to the policy, aiming in the long term to create the required pool of racial minority candidates in a range of fields able to compete in the labor market. Despite the initial barrier of a lack of data systems able to gather information on visible minorities at the postsecondary level, Harvey and Veugelers (1993) have provided a series of arguments for proceeding quickly toward the goal of educational equity. In sum, they argue that postsecondary education is a public good, subsidized by all taxpayers, which inevitably is a benefit to all citizens in terms of human resources investment. From an economic standpoint, continued underrepresentation would signify an "underutilization of Canada's human capital." And from a sociological perspective, it would help decrease "occupational segregation and exert a pull effect in the labour market."

Conversely, some conservative forces would argue that educational equity, like employment equity, would hamper the free flow of information and people, restrict them, infringe on their rights and set up new barriers in the process. These arguments, however, diminish or negate entirely the role of white persons in maintaining control and power in the private and public sectors. Hooks (1992) and Bannerji (1991) provide forceful and convincing arguments related to white privilege and how it is contextualized in daily interactions through the allocation of voice and space.

Focusing on Employment Equity in Education

Although data collection in the area of race is limited, the TBE has been one of the

few boards to attempt to gauge demographic changes in any substantive way. Gathering voluntary data from students every few years has been one of the board's more closely watched projects. The 1991 *Every Secondary Student Survey Findings* (Brown et al. 1992) indicated that the TBE—once a largely white, Anglo-Saxon-dominated board, then transformed into a white multiethnic European mix—is now rapidly shifting into a board in which an increasing number of students (approximately 45 percent) are not white. This racial diversity also encompasses a wide range of religious, ethnic and linguistic groups. Conversely, the last comprehensive survey of teaching staff, in 1987, indicated that there were only 2 (6 percent) visible minority principals, 6 (11 percent) vice-principals and 214 (9.2 percent) teachers at the secondary level (Cheng 1987, 21, 27). The elementary and secondary levels had registered only minor improvement over the period 1981–87.

Stephen Lewis' *Report on Race Relations* (1992, 20–21), which provided a synthesis of concerns relating to provincial government services and programs for blacks in particular, highlighted the issue of underrepresentation and underscored the importance of the teaching profession being representative of the student makeup in the classroom:

Where are the courses in black history?
Where are the visible minority teachers?
Why are there so few role models? Why do our white guidance counsellors know so little of different cultural backgrounds? Why are racist incidents and epithets tolerated? Why are there double standards of discipline? Why are minority students streamed? Why do they discourage us from university? Where are we going to find jobs? What's the use of having an education if there's no employment? How long does it take to change the curriculum so that we're part of it?

In her doctoral thesis "Barriers Faced by Foreign Trained South Asian Teachers in Accessing Teaching Employment in Metro Toronto," Seevaratnam (1994) documented

a host of barriers facing "visible minority members," including prejudice and discrimination, structural and procedural barriers, lack of Canadian experience and minority group position (that is, "issues such as power, perceptions, attitudes and behaviours"). In particular, she notes problems encountered in interviews, in relation to the management of the school, accent and unfamiliarity with the curriculum used here as issues that require greater sensitivity. Her findings indicate that "individual differences, such as age, sex, level of education, personality factors etc., made a difference on the degree and extent to which each participant faced barriers" but that "prejudice and discrimination are barriers to accessing teaching employment" (p. 151). Her recommendations for policy change focus on the implementation of "employment equity legislation in all boards of education" (p. 157). These findings concur with a 1992 TBE study (Cheng, Brown and Lines 1992, 1), which found that "the overall success rate of white applicants was around twice that of non-white" and that

in both the elementary and secondary panels, whites consistently experienced higher success rates than non-whites, regardless of the type of academic attainment, type of teaching qualifications, length of teaching experience, and country of training and experience.

The teaching corps in Ontario has remained relatively homogeneous, with more than 90 percent of the teacher candidates being white and mainly Anglo-Saxon (Smith 1989, 31). Similarly, the staff complement in the province's 10 faculties of education has not followed societal demographic trends, being composed primarily of white males (Smith 1992, 90). Smith (1992, 23) noted in his study of faculty renewal for the Teacher Education Council, Ontario (TECO) that only 12 of the 513 professors working in faculties of education were racial minorities, not including the six faculty members of aboriginal origin who are not normally included in data related to visible minorities. Arguably, there are some

nondiscriminatory reasons that could be advanced to explain this blatant imbalance, namely the hiring boom that took place in the 1960s when the issue of diversity was not nearly as prevalent, ensuring that a large number of white male professors would be in their jobs, with only limited turnover, for 20 to 30 years.

A number of reasons have been advanced to explain the tendency of faculties of education to graduate a disproportionately low number of racial minorities. The selection and recruitment process has been questioned. The participation and interest levels of the "equity" or "target" groups are also important considerations. Some groups or individuals may have been sufficiently alienated to not be interested, whereas others may view it as having low socioeconomic status. A study of visible minorities in teacher education in B.C. indicates that, although Chinese-Canadians and South-Asian Canadians are well represented in the provincial universities as a whole compared to Anglo-European Canadians, their participation in the faculties of education is comparatively low, in part because of the poor perception many in their ethnic groups, parents and families have of the profession (Beyon, Toohey and Kishor 1992).

The environment, culture, curriculum and teaching staff in the faculties of education can, and must, play an important role as well by restructuring their activities to acknowledge Eurocentric bias, to sensitize all students to race issues, and by ensuring that racial minorities are accepted into their programs in increased numbers. The issue of academic integrity has also been raised concerning who are the "best qualified" students. Similarly, the racial minority teacher issue is highlighted regarding the growing number of foreign-trained teachers who come to Ontario each year seeking to enter the profession (Cumming et al. 1989). Recent initiatives from the Ontario Ministry of Education and Training (1993) confirm the trend toward enhanced measures to ensure greater representation of racial minorities in the teaching profession.

In a recent TBE research report, Cheng and Soudack (1994, 33–34) presented the case for increasing racial minority staff and point to seven tangible benefits of hiring these teachers who

1. can enrich the learning experience of all students by exposing them to a diversity of perspectives, worldviews and teaching styles;
2. can help all students to challenge "stereotypes and prejudices as to who has knowledge and whose knowledge is legitimate";
3. can represent positive role models for both mainstream and minority students;
4. can reinforce the self-esteem and improve the educational outcomes of minority students by providing them with a "more optimistic view of their life chances." When children see people of their own culture as achievers, they are inspired to be achievers as well;
5. can share and understand the cultural background of minority students;
6. tend to be aware of the barriers of discrimination encountered by minority students because of their experiences; and
7. tend to hold higher expectation for minority students than white teachers.

Other benefits, especially in view of policy implementation, might include the following:

- The increased representation of racial minority teachers at the teaching level would provide a "critical mass" from which to choose candidates who could move on to the department head, vice-principal, principal, superintendent and director levels.
- The increase in numbers could make it easier to implement the true intent of the policy because there should, ultimately, be a shift in the corporate culture.
- To empower minority students, the support of the teachers is critical, and this triangular relationship with the community could solidify some real gains at the structural level.

Moodley (1985a, 17) has argued that what parents want is a competent teacher, regardless of heritage. Her arguments (1985b, 116–17) against employment equity, or affirmative action, include the following:

- Employment equity institutionalizes race. ("Visible minority members will perceive a strategic value in classifying themselves as racially distinct as long as a quota favours them in the market over competitors.")
- What about those who succeeded them in the absence of employment equity?
- What about the children of mixed marriages?
- What about skin colour for those who are dark but not minorities, and vice versa?
- How will it affect those struggling on the bottom who already toil in a difficult situation?

The debate over employment equity in education has been shrouded by the myth that through "hard work" anyone can succeed, regardless of race.

Racial Minority Teachers and Antiracist Education

In his writings on antiracist education, Dei (1993a, 1993b, 1994a, 1994b) has argued for a massive reform of our institutional structures, including a redistribution of the current power relationships. To that end, more racial minorities would have to be present in the education system at all levels, and their contribution to the curriculum, school culture and outreach to the community would also have to be significant if antiracist education is to be meaningful in terms of breaking down the disembodied, marginalized position of the many voices that have been silenced. An emphasis would also have to be placed on the intersecting forms of oppression (that is, gender, ethnicity, class, race, sexual orientation, religion, linguistic group) which further complicate and stratify our social and education systems. In support of this

framework, the Doris Marshall Institute for Education and Action (1994, 21) has submitted that antiracist education must create a different vision, including "employment and staffing processes which unapologetically name, target, and insist on producing more equal results." James (1994, 27) has stated that, in addition to the need to recognize race and racism, white teachers must cease to propagate the myth that they are neutral:

If students do not have their individual and group experiences acknowledged and validated in terms of, among other things, their racial identities, then they will feel invisible and insignificant and that their differences are irrelevant. There will be no space for their voices in the classroom discourse. This is likely to silence these students, and as result, they might disengage from the educational process. . . . The teacher's role is crucial, for she or he has power over the students and that is reflected in the choice and use of films, videos, posters, guest speakers, textbooks, and other classroom materials.

Calliste (1994a, 48), in describing the discriminatory situation facing black students in Nova Scotia, points to the "Eurocentric curriculum, negative stereotypes and low expectations for blacks" which resulted in "low self-concept of ability, negative racial identity, and low achievement among the black population." Calliste (p. 48) refers to a 1979 study which confirmed that "less than one percent of African-Nova Scotian students graduated from high school."

Kailin (1994, 182) has examined antiracist staff development for teachers and has based her analysis on the premise that "school integration (in the U.S.) has not resulted in educational equity." The author places her staff development project within the context of rapidly changing demography in the U.S., in which it is projected that one in three Americans will be of color by the year 2000. While the emphasis of minority education there is on blacks and Hispanics, similarities exist with Canada

where racial minority teacher representation remains at roughly the same levels as in the TBE, which is one of the few jurisdictions to have collected data on this issue and which is probably leading the field, given the number of years it has been involved in this area. Among the reasons for the low representation of "minorities" in education in the U.S. are the high costs of education, "other professions more lucrative than teaching have opened up for racial minorities," "a larger percentage of people of color will be entering the military than the University" and "with a decreasing number of teachers of color in the schools as role models, we can expect that fewer children of color will identify with the teaching profession and will not aspire to become teachers" (p. 170). Kailin describes similar problems to those existing in Ontario related to teacher education programs, which are largely white-dominated, and lack of sensitivity toward the concerns of minority students. One issue highlighted by Kailin is the subtle forms of racism perpetrated by white teachers, in the way of "very cognitive orientations, attitudes, beliefs, and opinions" (p. 175), curriculum or, in essence, through an unwillingness to self-critically examine one's own (white) privilege and domination and how this may affect the education system.

The Flemington (elementary) School in the North York Board of Education in Metro Toronto provides an example of how employment equity, combined with an antiracist education framework, can produce encouraging results. With a predominantly black student population (60 to 70 percent), the school was designated an "antiracist school" by the Board and refocused all its activities related to school policies, parent outreach, community involvement, and curriculum development accordingly (Tator and Henry 1991; Simons 1991). The new philosophy of the school was the catalyst for all human, administrative and pedagogical changes:

The current criteria for hiring focus on people who understand the issues of

anti-racism and poverty and who are willing to make a strong commitment to the school's goals. It is absolutely critical that all teaching staff believe that **all children can learn**. A related aim in teacher recruitment is to promote equity on the staff. When a vacancy occurs, the principal uses the board personnel files to find staff who are both qualified and suitable for the position but who also reflect the varied backgrounds of the Remington community. (Simons 1991, 9)

Having positive role models who are responsive to student needs, combined with a change in school philosophy which recognizes the needs of the community it serves, is responsible, in large part, for improved student achievement (Tator and Henry 1991; Simons 1991).

While the above comments pertain primarily to the university milieu, much of this could be transferable to the elementary and secondary setting. Issues related to white privilege and power to determine what is merit and how the institutional environment will be structured and controlled allow for the devaluing of alternative perspectives. This type of analysis also flies in the face of what is now being produced in terms of antiracist education. The Ontario Ministry of Education and Training (1993) has recently put in place a policy requiring all boards of the province to review all their activities in order to implement an antiracist education framework, the first report of which is due in March 1995 and which is to be continually implemented and monitored over the next five years.

The literature has underscored one common element regarding the role of the teacher, pertaining to teacher attitudes and educational outcomes. Where race is concerned, the disregard for a student's culture, and thus his/her potential for achievement, may lead the student to question his/her own ability (Scarborough Board of Education 1991, 1). In an early American study on "Teacher Race and Expectations for Student Achievement," Beady and Hansell (1981, 191) found that "black teachers

expected more of their students to enter and complete college than white teachers," based on a sample of elementary school teachers' expectations for student achievement and perceptions of effort. In a more recent American study, New and Sleeter (1993, 12) found that preservice teachers have clear preferences in how they approach student evaluation and that behavior is often considered more important than academic work:

High value was placed on children, especially white females, who displayed positive "unselfish," accommodating, acquiescent behavior regardless of context for the behavior. Interestingly, this attribute was not identified with males, only with females, intimating that helping others (with a smile) occupies a high priority in the perceptions of preservice teachers in this study. . . . White boys were perceived as most teachable, unless they behaved inappropriately and appeared to be from low-income homes.... Asian American children were also valorized as model children. Latino children tended to be invisible, in that the students who observed them had relatively little to say about them.

In a recent TBE research document, *Antiracist Education: A Literature Review* (Cheng and Soudack 1994), 12 points are highlighted as being particularly relevant to the implementation of antiracist education, including the following: "Teachers must hold **high expectations** and value the **culture and language of minority students** in order to meet their needs and ensure that **both equity and excellence** are achieved," and the "**racial composition of staff**" is critical regarding power relationships and the propagation of the school's hidden curriculum.

A previously untouched notion now being probed in the growing antiracist education literature pertains to the "white race" or "whiteness," which involves acknowledgment of a certain "status," "privilege" and a deep-rooted "location" which may tend to negate race as an important factor

in explaining inequality. Roman (1993) has situated the debate around the urgent need of "speaking with rather than for/instead of others," thus invoking that "whites" must recognize their privileged status in being able to speak out, in being heard, and in being able to appropriate the "space" and "voice" of "others." In a detailed study of a group of mainly white teachers, Sleeter (1992, 28) provides some evidence of how this concept plays out in the classroom:

Regardless of how little experience with racial or cultural diversity teachers have had, they enter the classroom with a considerably rich body of knowledge about social stratification, social mobility, and human differences based on their life experience. The analogies the white teachers in this study drew between racism and what they knew about sexism, class mobility, and the white ethnic experience tended to minimize or neutralize racism and multicultural education's implications for action. However, from the teachers' perspectives, they were accounting for racial discrimination, not ignoring it.... Classroom observations and interviews suggested that they took the staff development sessions information and teaching strategies to add into their thinking and their work, but that few (if any) substantively restructured their perspective about racial inequality or classroom teaching.

Conclusion

With the continuous mixing of races and peoples from different backgrounds, one can foresee a time when a large portion of the Canadian population may claim some share to visible minority status. Employment equity programs designed to assist some groups today may be modified in the near future to accommodate other groups. The key will be to alter the balance of power, to break down systemic and institutional barriers, and to eventually place less importance on quantifiable results and more on qualitative measures that could be gained

from a productive and effective diverse population. There has been a concerted effort to push for legislated reform on employment equity, especially in education, which has been deemed an awkward but necessary means to achieving an end.

The Ontario Ministry of Education and Training is "moving to increase diversity in the teaching profession" through eight initiatives:

Four address the issues of recruitment, admissions, and programming in the faculties of education. Two of the initiatives are aimed at promoting the certification and employment of qualified teachers trained outside of Canada. Two of the initiatives promote the hiring of racial and ethnocultural minority teachers. The province has provided \$1.4 million over two years to fund these initiatives. (Wright and Allingham 1994, 4)

If antiracist education is to be considered the more holistic, long-term objective in terms of access for students and equality in terms of outcomes, employment equity, starting with the faculties of education, will have to become a necessary part of the strategy.

Beyon et al. (1992, 161), in their study of visible minorities and teacher education in B.C., found that "many more students indicate an interest in teacher education than actually apply; more students apply than are actually successful in enrolling." They also argue that, concurring with Seevaratnam (1994) and others,

it is incumbent on faculties of education to take measures to aid in the increased involvement of minority students at all levels . . . acknowledging equity not only numerically but in terms of the educational benefits, for all students, of the increased involvement of minorities. (Beyon et al. 1992, 162)

Gruhn (1993) and Frammartino (1994) also support some concerns raised by Moodley. Gruhn (p. 16) argues that "with the acquiescence to government-imposed programs, universities have now

institutionalized discrimination among individuals on the basis of non-academic criteria." In reference to women as an equity group, she makes the point that women do not "form a homogeneous group," and, consequently, those being assisted by employment equity in academia, for instance, are the middle- and upper-middle-class women who least require such a program, at least in terms of finances, because they made it through several years of graduate studies. Frammartino focuses her critique on the prospect that white males may either be discouraged from applying or will not be hired because of preferential treatment given to underrepresented groups. She fears that the quality of the overall studies will decline and that those hired may suffer from the perception that they were not hired on merit.

Any government policy that concerns itself with the handling of race is bound to be challenged by large segments of the population, who feel that "racializing" society is divisive, unjustified and inequitable. Critics of this viewpoint argue that the power of white privilege cannot be discounted as a force in allowing for the full and effective participation of racial minorities at all levels in all sectors of our society. Given the critical role of public education in providing a knowledge base, shaping attitudes and behavior, and assisting in the development and streaming of youth into various vocations, professions and fields, in addition to the advent of antiracist education, I would argue that employment equity in education is a necessary means to an end, which is the inclusion of and equitable outcomes for all racial groups in society.

For employment equity to be a desirable, realizable objective, school boards and schools, as well as ministries of education, will have to be sensitized through long-term awareness and antiracist education training as to the need for and benefits from such a policy. Emphasis should not be placed solely on the necessary quantitative side of employment equity but also should deal with the qualitative process of addressing

particular needs of heterogeneous racial minority groups. Finally, for the policy to be most effective, it must be implemented across the board, ensuring that racial minorities are visible throughout the education system, including in the faculties of education, which is key to its long-term success.

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