A CRITICAL, REFORMIST PERSPECTIVE
OF THE RATIONALE FOR A SCHOOL DISTRICT
RACE RELATIONS POLICY IN BRITISH COLUMBIA

By

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A THESIS SUBMITTED IN PARTIAL FULLFILMENT OF
THE REQUIREMENTS FOR THE DEGREE OF

MASTER OF ARTS

in

THE FACULTY OF GRADUATE STUDIES

(Department of Educational Studies)

We accept this thesis as conforming
to the required standard

THE UNIVERSITY OF BRITISH COLUMBIA
April 1998
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The University of British Columbia
Vancouver, Canada

Date **April 30, 1998**
ABSTRACT

This research project seeks to provide a critical and reformist perspective of the rationale for a school district race relations policy. By conducting a comprehensive critique of established assumptions behind traditional race relations models, and by bringing to light the motivations and understandings of committee members who established a school district race relations policy, the researcher hopes to make clear that stated purpose for the policy can be interpreted from variety of perspectives.

The policy aims to foster a learning environment in which racial, ethnic, cultural and religious differences are recognized and valued. These differences must not be the basis of discrimination (Taylor School District, 1992)

It is not clear what ethnic, cultural, and religious differences are to be recognized and valued. A reformist perspective would promote social structural equality and prepare young, developing citizens to work towards what Freire called “conscientization” (Freire, 1985: 103), to have the desire and skills to question society, see through versions of ‘truth’ that allow unfairness to be masked, and then to be empowered to “envision, define, and work towards a more humane society” (Sleeter, 1994: 212). This project will contribute to the body of knowledge on the underlying assumptions, factors, and motivations that impact race relations work as well as make recommendations for the implementation of effective race relations strategies.

Race relations work that is “Multicultural and Social Reconstructionalist” (Sleeter, 1994: 209) is designed to reflect the concerns and aspirations of diverse groups of people. In education, rather than being limited to additional curricula or increased
minority hiring, it is a "different orientation and expectation of the whole educational process" (Sleeter, 1994: 209). It also contends that major institutions such as schools are incapable of being vehicles in the elimination of racism until their institutional reason for being, their purpose, or guiding mission undergoes significant change. Proposing idealistic rationale statements is a fabulous start if the statements mirror, or initiate more subsequential changes within the foundations of educational institutions. Unless there are fundamental changes in the motivations and goals of the ministry, school boards, administrators, teachers, parents, students - all shareholders, we cannot expect to obtain different results when traditional beliefs, motivations, and practices are retained.

In order to effectively understand and then employ critical and reformist approaches to race and race relations education, I begin with theorists who are making "strategic interventions" (Apple, 1993: viii) into the debates on race, racial differences, and race relations education.

To define culture, I begin with the work of Bullivant (1981) to ascertain whether traditional race relations approaches reflect the following components of his definition of culture: culture is holistic, culture is transmitted, culture evolves, and culture is made up of problem solving approaches to life. To understand the progress being made in the theorization of race, I begin with the traditional biological definitions that still exist. I then look to Omi and Winant (1993) to provide an excellent alternative perspective based on a "racial formation process" (Omi and Winant, 1993: 3) in which race is understood as a social construct. I then use their work to understand the foundations upon which a critical, process orientated, socially comprehensive theory of race must stand, specifically; race must be interpreted in the here and now, race must be seen in its global
context, and race must be recognized as a legacy of the modern era. McCarthy (1993) provides a critique of contemporary approaches to multicultural education and also outlines an alternative approach that is critical, reformist and takes into consideration factors that go beyond psychology as well as incorporating the evolving conceptualization of race. Finally, West (1993, 1993) provides a call for a “new cultural politics of difference” (West, 1993: 11) in which cultural critics are to attempt creative responses to the particular local and global circumstances we are in regarding matters of race. By also employing the ideas of Sleeter (1993), Calliou (1995), and McCarthy (1993) I can understand why a critical and reformist approach to race relations education is necessary, what it entails, and how it might apply to specific work being done in race relations such as a newly created school district policy.

To provide insight into how a critical, reformist approach might apply in the real world, the study also offers a snapshot of how nation-wide cultural and demographic changes are represented in one suburban West Coast school district in British Columbia, Canada. The study provides an in depth look into how the committee members perceived race relations; why they were involved in the formulation of the policy, what their individual motivations were and what they viewed as the purpose of the policy. The research was undertaken during the 1996 - 1997 school year, three years after the committee was first formed. I use an ethnographic sensibility to questioning the committee members to obtain rich, in-depth insights. This is seen as the most effective way in which to ascertain the often hidden, subconscious cognitive and social frameworks, which inform and determine the perspectives of individuals within our contemporary society. By asking open-ended questions, I encourage the respondents to
elaborate upon their own ideas by active listening and co-participating in the dialogue (Spradley, 1979). By reviewing my notes after each interview I created a verbal understanding of the ‘reflective thinking’ (Hampton, 1995) that took place in each of the interviews. I have been all too aware that it can be extremely difficult to articulate a clear perspective within an area in which viewpoints are often subconsciously framed by a myriad of socially and personally developed cognitive articulations. Theorists such as Bullivant and Peter believe we must go through a process of critical inquiry into the basic assumptions of established theories and models in order to address the perspectives that we claim to maintain (Bullivant, 1986: 35).
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ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

I wish to extend my appreciation and thanks to each member of my Thesis committee. To Dr. L. Andres, thank you for joining my committee at such a late notice and thank you for your critical analysis of my work. To Dr. K. Adam-Moodley, I thank you for believing in me and encouraging me to write this Thesis. I also thank you for continuously asking new questions in order to help me get closer to the truth. To Dr. J. Barman, I thank you for your terrific spirit, your love of learning, and the awesome encouragement that you always provided. I thank the preceding generations of my family who have struggled to survive and attain success regardless of the obstacles that were placed in front of them. It is because of them that I have parents who have always taught me that I can achieve.

Most importantly, I thank my wife Lois for all of her love and support,

you are the best.
CHAPTER 1 - OVERVIEW

Introduction

School districts are increasingly working with extremely diverse student populations because of increasing variance within the Canadian population as a whole. According to a projection done by Samuels (1992), the Canadian population is changing color. In 1986, racial minorities made up 6.3%, or 1.6 million, of Canada’s population. In 1991, the percentage was up to 9.6%, or 2.6 million. The study projects that by the year 2001 the population will be 17.7%, or 5.7 million people. This population will consist of 19% Black, 23% Chinese, 5% South-East Asian, 8% Filipino, 13% West Asian/Arab, 19% South Asian, and 6% Latin American originated people. In British Columbia, the number of racial minorities will rise from 483,000 in 1991 to 1,062,500 by 2001. Two-fifths of the population of Vancouver is expected to be racial minorities, up from approximately one quarter in 1991. British Columbia has the highest percentage of people of color of any province when measured against its total population.

It is of interest to locate recent trends in the area served by what I call the ‘Taylor School District’. The district encompasses approximately 80 square miles in the Lower Mainland of British Columbia. With a school population of 30,000 students, Taylor is currently experiencing tremendous growth. A large percentage of this growth consists of

* For reasons of confidentiality, the names of the locations, the school district, and all members of the Race Relations Committee are synonyms.
members of racial minority groups. As of 1991, approximately 21% [30,360] of the municipal population served by the school district are foreign born. Of these, 21% [6,515] have arrived between 1986 and 1991. The top three sources of immigrants are Hong Kong, Taiwan, and the Philippines (Urdahl, 1994). As of 1993, the District enrolled approximately 1800 ESL students [7% of the school population] who receive the services of ESL teachers. A total of 14% of the student population has a home language other than English, 46% of which is Cantonese (Will, 1993). In addition, the population of ESL students grew 38% in 1991 alone (Will, 1993). Much of this explosive growth is occurring in upper middle class housing sub-divisions such as Silverwood Valley and Cypress Bluffs. Much of the area covered by the school district is the traditional home of the Sto-lo people. In spite of this history, very few First Nations people indigenous to the area are students in the school district. During the time between 1990 and 1995 however, the First Nations population of the school district has increased from 90 students to 695 students. Many of these new students have arrived with their families from other parts of Canada, primarily the provinces of Manitoba, Saskatchewan, and Alberta (Kearns, 1995). The intersection of non White population growth, a history of Anti Orientalism and discrimination against First Nations people, xenophobic attitudes regarding immigration, and class issues make it worthwhile to explore the specific nature of contemporary racism within this environment. Increased, or the perception of increased, ‘racial’ diversity in Canada has often historically led to magnified tension and uneasiness within Canadian society According to Gould (1900),
one can trace it [racism] from the brutal dispossession of native peoples of the land in the 19th century through the 20th century with the anti-oriental riots; restrictive immigration policies against Orientals, Sikhs and Jews; Asian head taxes; exclusionary deed covenants in WASP only areas; de facto quota systems at many universities; pre and post World War II voting restrictions against Orientals and East Indians (p.103).

British Columbia has a history of pervasive racism aimed at people of Asian and Indian background. British Columbian society from the 1850s to the 1940s became increasingly heterogeneous. This resulted in a pervasive psychological tension within the White population (Ward 1990). This tension produced a ubiquitous, society-wide racism. Roy (1984, 1989) also concludes that anti Orientalism was a widespread social phenomenon. However, she argues that economic and political circumstances were essential factors in the development of racist attitudes. Both arguments point out the historical nature of racism within British Columbia. They also indicate that racism often lies within the social fabric of a society and can rise and recede in conjunction with a variety of factors such as economics, class, and politics.

Currently, anxieties related to racial diversity have risen in Canada. Henry (1978) conducted one of the first surveys of racist attitudes in Canada and found that 18% of the White mainstream population was extremely liberal, 35% somewhat liberal, 35% somewhat racist, and 16% racist. Since this study was done, subsequent surveys have consistently supported these findings. A 1989 BC poll concluded that many residents do not believe that immigration helps the economy in spite of a highly publicized report by Employment and Immigration Canada claiming the opposite. The Employment and Immigration Canada report demonstrated that Asian immigrants contributed 122.9
million to the provincial economy in 1988 (Henry, Tator, Mattis, Rees; 1995). In 1992 the Federal Immigration Department surveyed 1800 adults and conducted 14 focus groups. They reported that there was a spreading attitude of dislike for ‘foreigners’. One third of the respondents agreed that the country should “keep out people who are different from most Canadians” (Globe and Mail, 1992). Almost half the respondents believed that too many immigrants were coming to Canada. Decima conducted a national survey in 1993 for the Canadian Council of Christians and Jews, which revealed that of 1200 respondents, three quarters of those, surveyed, rejected the idea of Canada as a mosaic. Seventy two percent stated that ‘others’ should adapt to Canadian culture, 41% stated that Canada is bringing in too many people of different cultures and races, 53% agreed that ‘they’ do not try hard enough to fit in and half agreed with the statement “I am sick and tired of some groups complaining about racism being directed at them” (Canadian Council of Christians and Jews, 1993). Sam Kosky, Executive Secretary of the Manitoba Inter-Cultural Council, stated that while these sentiments indicate racism, many of these people do not identify themselves as ‘racist.’ These individuals believe that traditional ‘culture’ is under siege. Therefore, “they desire a Canada where minorities are not really heard from, as if they did not exist” (Gould, 1990: 103). These survey results are reinforced by statements by Canadians such as Mary Carter, a store owner in Steveston, BC, who perceives non-White immigration as simply “letting in the riffraff of the world” (Gould, 1990: 99). It is clear that many Canadians want to maintain the traditions of Anglo - Canadian culture. It is also clear to the researcher that one can expect that these attitudes will permeate all institutions in our society, schools included, as well as become part of a nation - wide ideology.
Canadians want an immigration program that reflects the views of the majority, contributes to Canadian economic interests, and increases productivity without altering the cultural and ethnic balance (Fleras, 1992: 113).

It can be argued that such comments and poll results are harbingers of a growing racism that has surged along with increasing percentages of non-White immigrants and ‘visible’ minorities within the Canadian population. Such sentiments do indicate the existence of an institutionalized racism that does infringe upon the life chances of other individuals in society. Whether it is in opposition to a Sikh wearing a turban as an R.C.M.P. Officer (Gould, 1990: 103), a belief that Indian people are inherently lazy, stereotyping of Hong Kong immigrants as wealthy materialists, or a belief in the perceived innate criminality of Jamaican immigrants, racist attitudes do flow through Canadian attitudes in such a way that we often cannot consciously recognize. As the 1960s Black Power advocate Eldridge Cleaver put it, “like a fish born in the ocean, they’ve no reason to suspect they are all wet” (Cleaver, 68 : 19). The commissioner of the RCMP warned that this reality could potentially cause grave difficulties in Canada.

racial violence will cut at the heart of the Canadian soul unless something is done quickly to stop intolerance .... a significant population of well - meaning, intelligent, and educated people are among the opponents of the changes that a multi - racial society inevitably brings (Watson, 1990).

This begs the question, especially of someone like me who has lived in Canada as a visible minority, has achieved success, and does not seem to have been victimized by
racism. The often-posed question is, ‘*does racism exist?’* Another question is ‘*can racism exist in a democratic country?’* Canada is a nation that officially champions fairness, equality, tolerance, respect for individual rights, and social harmony. Part of our national ethos is a belief that individuals are rewarded based on their own efforts - we all play on a ‘level playing field’. Consequently, it can often be difficult to assume that skin color and national origins can lead to discrimination as these assumptions do not fit with the mainstream conception of what Canada is all about. Dissonance exists as a result of a conflicting official view of Canada as an egalitarian state and the existence of evidence of a thriving racism within the nation - state. In addition, given the preponderance of American influence in our media, one might wonder whether we are overly influenced by the existence of virulent racism that exists in the USA. In that country, we can quite obviously see increased racial antagonism and increasing minority disadvantage.

McCarthy (1993), points to the wide range of studies that support this unnerving reality in the USA (Critchlow, 1990; Education Week, May 14, 1986; Marable, 1985; Omi and Winant, 1986; Viadero, 1989).

In order to establish common reference points, it is important to arrive at several key-working definitions that will be used throughout this study.

- **Race:** A category of human classification based on physical characteristics such as skin color, hair texture, and facial characteristics.
- Racism: A system in which power is exercised by one group over another based on racial category. It is founded on a socially constructed ideology of the superiority of one group of people over an inferior ‘other’.

- Individual racism: Discrimination against members of an out-group stemming from personal prejudice.

- Institutional racism: Rules and practices of institutions, which permit individuals to perpetuate racial discrimination.

- Structural racism: Racial discrimination as a result of the system-wide operations of society resulting in significant numbers of certain groups being excluded from power and participation in major social institutions.

- Cultural racism: A tacit set of beliefs and values that encourage and justify discriminatory attitudes and actions in ways that are not always obvious.

- Democratic racism: A ideology which permits the ability to champion democratic ideals as well as hold negative feelings towards racial minorities (Henry, Tator, Mattis, Rees; 1995).

I believe that that in order to understand racism clearly, this range of definitions is needed as racism has so many different forms, shapes, and manifestations depending on a wide range of historic, geographic, economic, and other factors.
It has no natural and universal law of development. It does not always assume the same shape. There have been many significantly different racisms - each historically specific and articulated in a different way .... Racism is always historically specific in this way, whatever common features it may appear to share with other similar social phenomena .... It always assumes specific forms which arise out of the present - not the past - conditions and organization of society (Hall, 1978:26).

Using these definitions, we can recognize the existence of racism in the surveys discussed previously. We can also recognize it through historical and contemporary social analysis.

The most clear-cut example of systemic racism in Canada is the treatment of the Aboriginal population. It is undeniable that this country’s Aboriginal population continues to occupy the lower echelons of Canadian society in numbers disproportionate to their population. Today, Aboriginal children are eight times more likely to be apprehended by the Child Welfare system than non-Aboriginal children. Aboriginal women are the most victimized group of people in Canada according to the Elizabeth Fry Society (1992) and the Canadian Panel of Violence against Women (1993). The jobless rate of Aboriginal people averages 70%, and 62% of reserve residents require social assistance. Infant mortality rates are double the Canadian rate and functional illiteracy is 45% compared to 17% for the rest of the Canadian population. The suicide rate for Aboriginal youth is seven times higher than non-Aboriginal youth (Canadian Labor Congress, 1992). Whereas the Aboriginal experience represents the extreme in Canadian racism, a legacy of racism holds true for Blacks, Chinese, Japanese, and South Asians as
well. The specific, historical course of the racism experienced by each group has differed, however, certain themes emerge as common ones:

- Racism is related to a dominant group’s need for cheap labor.
- Racism is a function of social organization and power differences between groups.
- Racism is rooted in the modern era ideology of White superiority (Creese, 1993).

These themes however, do not take into account newer variations of racism. In British Columbia for example, racism towards Asian minorities is not based on the need for cheap labor. There may be other sources of resentment that underlie this manifestation of contemporary racism.

Researchers have also been surveying members of racial minority groups to obtain their observations of racism. Respondents to a study by Head (1981) found that 90% of Blacks and 72% of South Asians felt ‘some’ or ‘a great deal’ of racism in metropolitan Toronto. In contrast, only 35% of Whites stated that they felt any racism. In 1985, Robson and Breems reported the results of their survey in Vancouver documenting racial incidents involving South Asian Canadians. They found that over half of the respondents had experienced at least one hostile incident during the two-year duration of the study. The incidents included name calling, verbal threats, and physical gestures. They also heard of frequent attacks on personal property; graffiti, and damage to cars and homes. The Equality Now report (1984) of the federal government provided a plethora of evidence of racial discrimination in Canada. The report identified personal racism, institutional racism, as well as systemic barriers operating in Canada. Of the various themes that emerged from the report several stand out; racial minorities are excluded from participation in major social institutions in numbers and power.
commensurate with their percentage of the population; they are invisible in the official history of Canada; the definition of 'Canadian' excludes racial minorities; and racist ideology is woven into the fabric of Canadian life (Equality Now, 1994).

Manifestations of racism are said to permeate the educational system. Many research studies document the existence of racism in education (Ramcharan, 1987; Mendoza, 1987; Solomon, 1992; Sumuda and Kong, 1986). Studies by the Nova Scotia Advisory Group (1992) and Steven Lewis's work in Ontario (1992) support the conclusions reached by Thomas:

In the school, racism says .... that black students create trouble by hanging around together and playing loud music; that immigrant parents are either uninformed or expect too much from the school system; that Chinese children are better at and should be encouraged to excel in sciences and math's; that in schools where all children are white, Anglo - Saxon there is no problem with racism because there are no 'visible minorities' -- suggesting that it is the presence of minority children which creates racism (Thomas, 1984: 21).

Ijaz (1986) and Rizvi (1993) have found that children are influenced by cultural racism from an early age. Curriculum, formal and informal, has been found to be seriously flawed (Henry, Tator, Mattis, Rees, 1995). These studies indicate that there is a need to re - evaluate what is taught, why it is taught, from whose perspective it is being taught, and what is not being taught in the formal curriculum. I would suggest that we also need to question what festivals are celebrated, and which sports, clubs, and behaviors are being promoted in the culture of the school. Teacher pedagogy is another area that needs to be examined as racist ideals held by teachers are certain to translate into the learning environment (Mullard, 1984; Verma and Bagley, 1979; Kehoe, 1984). School -
community relations, how the system handles racial incidents, and the hiring practices of the system are all areas that are impacted by the existence of racism in Canada.

The most horrific examples of racism in the education system were again perpetrated against Canada's aboriginal population. The residential schools system was instrumental in the attempted cultural genocide of Aboriginal people.

This practice lasted from the late nineteenth century to the 1960s, when the federal government assumed control of Aboriginal education. In both the church and governmental education systems, Native children were subjected to systemic oppression and brutality. Many were sexually, physically, and emotionally abused. They were not allowed to speak their language or engage in any of their traditional practices. The coercive and oppressive nature of their education experience is one of the most blatant examples of systemic racism. (Henry, Tator, Mattis, Rees; 1995)

The legacy of racial discrimination is reflected by only 20% of Indian children finishing secondary school and the fact that very few going on to university (Fleras and Elliot, 1992).
Purpose

I recognize that Canada is multicultural, and will increasingly become multicultural. I believe that racism is alive and well in Canada and yet, how it is created, fostered and how it manifests is highly variable and localized. Due to my own history as well as my exploration of grounded theory in the area of race relations, I believe that understandings of race and race relations are products of a cultural legacy which is evolutionary and impacted by personal agency, class relations, and economic realities. To gain a more thorough understanding in this area has been problematic for me: Which of the wide range of paradigms comprehensively covers the terrain? What is culture? Is race a biological or social construct? What are the different strategies that fall under the umbrella of multicultural education? I realize that due to my own unique experiences, I have a lens on the terrain that is not necessarily shared by others who are defined as members of my ‘group’, African-Canadians, or the Euro - Canadians with whom I have grown up. For these reasons, I believe that the understandings and constructions of others in the areas of race and race relations are most likely to also be problematic, veiled, and under the surface as well.

Further evidence that clear understandings of race and race relations are not widespread can be gained by scrutinizing the widespread implementation of race relations policies throughout Canada. Many school districts have instituted multicultural or race relations policies. The British Columbian Ministry of Education has set out guidelines for Multicultural and Race Relations Education (Multicultural and Race Relations Education Guidelines For School Districts, 1994) and also lists 21 school districts as having district policies (School District Multiculturalism Policies, 1994). In particular, the Taylor School District created a committee to forge their own district race
relations policy in 1992 in order to respond to inherent racism that was perceived to exist within the districts' boundaries. As a result of the committee's work a new policy was developed and accepted by the Taylor School District. The policy's first paragraph states:

The district is committed to provide and maintain a learning and working environment in which racial, ethnic, cultural and religious differences are recognized and valued. These differences must not be the basis of discrimination. (Taylor Race Relations Policy, Taylor School District).

As idealistic as this first paragraph reads, it is of interest to determine how the individuals who developed and those who will implement the policy interpret these words. Echols and Fisher (1992) have found there is almost no research that documents the implementation process and the effects of these policies. Of particular interest to the researcher are the committee members who developed the policy. Each of these individuals is a member of a society in which racism, in its personal, institutional, and structural manifestations, exists. What are the understandings and motivations that these individuals bring to the table? Further, perspectives of the principal actors in the maintenance of the school learning and working environment, the administrators and teachers at the individual school level are also potentially problematic. North American research data on teacher attitudes towards racial minority students reveals three common themes; Firstly, many teachers do not believe that there are race-related problems. Secondly, many teachers believe that students who are 'different' should integrate into the dominant culture. Thirdly, many teachers who do recognize problems existing as a
result of racially diverse student populations believe that the problems are largely brought on by the minority individuals/groups themselves (Banks, 1986; Echols and Fisher, 1992; Sleeter, 1992). Just as there has been a high degree of ambiguity and variability for me, it is clear that the same exists for other educational workers. In order to progress towards a more comprehensive understanding of the nature of racism and the various factors that will impact the development of effective race relations education, theorists such as Bullivant (1981) and Peter (1981) believe that we must go through a process of critical inquiry into the basic assumptions behind established theories and models. I believe this to be true, however, I would also add that much is also to be gained by going through a process of critical inquiry into the basic assumptions and motivations that individuals make and have, especially those who make decisions and those who implement race relations policies and programs. These processes can assist us in developing a much clearer understanding of the following: the role of culture in race and racial relations, the legitimacy of the race concept, and effective strategies to combat racism. These processes are a necessary part of an ongoing evolution towards a critical, reconstructionist multiculturalism that I believe is necessary to negate racism in a postmodern world impacted by a plethora of diverse historical catalysts and a myriad of contemporary, localized factors.

Race relations work that is “Multicultural and Social Reconstructionalist” (Sleeter, 1994: 209) is designed to reflect the concerns and aspirations of diverse groups of people. In education, rather than being additional curricula or increased minority hiring, it is a “different orientation and expectation of the whole educational process”
(Sleeter, 1994: 209). It also contends that major institutions such as schools are incapable of being vehicles in the elimination of racism until their culture, purpose, and guiding mission changes. Unless there are fundamental changes in the motivations and goals of the ministry, school boards, administrators, teachers, parents, students - all shareholders, we cannot expect to obtain different results while retaining traditional beliefs and practices. This research project seeks to provide a critical and reconstructionist perspective of the rationale for a school district race relations policy. By conducting a comprehensive critique of established assumptions behind traditional race relations models, and by bringing to light the motivations and understandings of committee members who established a school district race relations policy, the researcher hopes to make clear that the policy proclamations do not necessarily announce the intention of knowledge managers and policy makers to work towards educational programs that promote social structural equality and prepare young, developing citizens to work towards what Freire called “conscientization” (Freire, 1985: 103), to have the desire and skills to question society, see through versions of ‘truth’ that allow unfairness to be masked, and then to be empowered to “envision, define, and work towards a more humane society (Sleeter, 1994: 212). This project will contribute to the body of knowledge on the underlying assumptions, factors, and motivations that impact race relations work as well as make recommendations for the implementation of effective race relations strategies.
Kogila Adam-Moodley (1981) identified three problem situations as origins for the various streams of ethno-racial research in the twentieth century. They are; the study of the development of European nationalism, the study of the Negro / immigrant experience in America, and finally the study of tribalism in the developing world. These studies have culminated in specific theories for racist thinking and action.

In their studies of the development of European nationalism, the work of Rokeach (1960) and Bettelheim (1964) focused on the psychological development of authoritarian personalities in which an ‘in-group’ is glorified. They found that people with these personalities could become increasingly ethnocentric, especially during economic hard times. These theorists found that during such times an intense hostility towards an identified out-group often develops. Examples would be the treatment of the Jews throughout European history (Gilbert, 1986) and the treatment of the Japanese and Chinese in earlier British Columbian history. Louis Wirth and Robert Park of the Chicago School of Race Relations carried on this tradition of a psychological focus on racism (Moodley, 1981). They concluded that bringing different peoples into direct contact with one another would eventually result in minorities being absorbed into the dominant culture. As a result, they argued that racism is a psychological development that can be negated by inter-cultural contact. Much of the research that has followed has shown that this assumption is for the most part incorrect. Cultural contact did not break down barriers between Blacks and Whites during the busing experiments that began after the American Civil Rights movement. It did not break down the structure of British
dominance in colonial India, and as Ward (1990) and Roy (1989) have shown in their studies of West Coast Anti-Orientalism, racism actually grew and intensified in historical BC even though Whites and Orientals did work together as miners and fishers, and Oriental domestics often lived under the same roof as their White employers.

Studies into the Negro and immigrant experience in America were carried on in the 1960s-70s by theorists Glazer and Moynihan (1970) and others. In response to the psychological work done earlier, they argued that racism often emerges as groups utilize ethnicity as a vehicle to protect or advance their collective positions in society. It can be argued that the Chinese head tax, the Japanese internment during World War Two in Canada, as well as development of Jim Crow laws during the 1890s in the USA occurred as a need to protect White jobs, and housing and territorial prerogatives rather than an expression of abject hatred of South Asians, East Asians and Blacks. In the same way, whereas White and Black slaves worked side by side in 1600s Virginia, a racial justification for chattel slavery only gained prominence as it became morally questionable as well as economically unfeasible to depend on indentured White laborers in the rapidly expanding plantation economy of the American south (Mannix, 1962). It is noteworthy that this ethnicity vehicle often seems to encompass all aspects of culture, thus its institutional nature. Pronouncements by people such as Rev. A.N. Macleod of Nanaimo who stated, “God intended the Anglo-Saxons to have possession of Canada and the United States” (Roy, 1989: 231) mirror earlier assertions that a justification for Black slavery is to be found in the Bible. This is an illustration of how the argument can come to permeate all aspects of society.

Peter (1981), Porter (1965), and Bagley (1984) have all noted the tendency of class interests and ethnic consciousness to combine when both exist. In the struggle for power, ethnicity can become a tool. This argument can explain much about the barriers established to prevent the acceptance of Japanese into the unionization of the Fraser
River fishery. It also explains the growth of race related discord in the mining industry during the 1890s that led to a concerted cry for Oriental exclusion from the industry. By the establishment of job protection along ethnic lines, early British Columbian society was developing into a virtual caste society. At the same time, ethnicity allowed for a certain “Psychic shelter” (Porter, 1965), a sense of belonging for the insecure White population in the uncertain times in which they lived. Acceptance of these sociological arguments, based upon competing class and ethnic interests, for the development of racism provide much insight into historical BC nativism and anti-Orientalism. Is it to say that a ‘master plan’ to collectively ostracize the Orientals was developed? Not necessarily. As both Ward and Roy have indicated, it could have emerged from within society in general, a social construct. Government leaders and officials were sometimes leaders of the process, sometimes opponents, and other times observers of the process. It is also noted that economic tensions were in existence at the times of the greatest racial agitation. If these theorists and others are correct, then it was natural for these forms of consciousness to combine at various levels of society; in the coal mines, in the minds of government officials and perhaps also in the minds of educators. Again, as Peter stated, “Class consciousness and ethnic consciousness are not mutually exclusive but when both exist, their destiny is to combine” (1981: 78).

Finally, twentieth century anthropological study into developing countries is of interest because it has often been used to explore racism in countries that have recently evolving heterogeneous populations, much like the situation on Canada’s west coast. The work done by Hoetink, Smith, Markus, Huttenback, and Price referred to by Ward (1990) and Roy (1989) centered on developing countries with this very characteristic. Much of this work has focused on the continued maintenance of cultural identity. Whether it be Hoetink’s “somatic norm images” (Hoetink, 1967), or Issacs’ conclusion that ethnicity is a natural creation (Isaac, 1975), this research supports the notion that much tension will
naturally emerge within heterogeneous societies. From this perspective, Ward argues that psychological tensions normally emerged as the races occupied similar space in British Columbia. As a result, racial differences are the causes and then the problems in themselves. This is a reductionalist view in much the same way that Marxists often see material interests as the sole rationale for the creation of racism. Concerning historic West Coast racism, it did seem to have strong roots in the socioeconomic dynamics that prevailed. From those roots, an ethno-racial awareness has become institutionalized into the very fabric of society.

During the past decade, a great deal of new research into the reality of race and its meanings has emerged (Omi and Winant, 1993; West, 1993; Roman, 1993; Hatcher and Troyna, 1993; McCarthy, 1993; McCarthy and Critchlow, 1993). Rather than trying to confine the analysis of manifestations of racism into either of the three previous paradigms, it has been argued that the study of racism and intolerance in contemporary society must engage the wide range of such variables as class, gender, ethnicity, and religion that currently intersect and create new realities of racism (McCarthy and Critchlow, 1993; Hall, 1981). Many of the causes identified earlier are not to be discarded, we must simply acknowledge that in a world of ever-evolving social constructions, they do not and cannot provide all of the answers on their own. Just as different 'groups' were and continue to have ever mutating characteristics, the loci of the origins of racism continue to be multi-faceted social constructions emerging from a cross-pollination of economics, personal relations, class, and personal agency. We cannot assume that education, a front-line institution, is immune to these social constructions of racism. Racism and intolerance do seem to still exist in Canadian society (Bagley, 1989; Moodley, 1981, Fleras, 1992). For us to assume that 'racism is dead,' or that Canada is immune to an 'American' problem is to take on "an ostrich -like denial that a significant problem of racial hostility exists at all" (Moodley, 1981). In our contemporary reality,
racism is often more covert and coded (McCarthy, 1993; Rizvi, 1993; Hatcher and Troyna, 1993), thus it may exist within the ranks of educators as it does anywhere else.

It is from within this environment that school districts, as institutions within a larger society, are impacted by individuals as well as by societal influences. Indeed, many Marxists question whether school districts and individual educators, as members of the hegemony, can have the desire or the ability to effect any changes to the "effectivity of social and economic structures in the determination of racial inequality" (McCarthy, 1993: 72). Again, it seems that many theorists are coming to accept the wisdom that is to be gleaned independently from the psychological, sociological, and anthropological approaches whether they come from liberal, conservative, or Marxist perspectives. A recognition of the multiplicity of the origins of racism; from the macroeconomic evolution of capitalist systems to the personal development of values, can in a more realistic way begin to seek out the existence and the roots of racism and then allow us to develop strategies to combat it.

In response to the 'race question,' Canada has created an evolving, official policy of Multiculturalism. In briefly summarizing the progression of official multiculturalism, Augie Fleras traces three stages: an Incipient stage [pre-1971], a Formative Period [1971 - 1985] and finally an Expansionist Phase [1985 - present] (Fleras, 1992:69). In the era preceding 1971, Canada had a definite commitment towards assimilation and Anglo-conformity. These themes are clearly witnessed both by the treatment of racial minorities as expressed by the Indian Commissioner for Regina in 1889,
If the Indian is to become a source of profit to the country it is clear that he must be amalgamated with the populace. Before this happens he must not only be trained to some occupation, ... but he must also be imbued with the White man's spirit and integrated with his ideals (Milburn, 1881:165).

as well as by the high selectiveness of immigration policy. Indeed, Robin Winks argues that the assimilative policies of the Canadian government only applied to those who where already in Canada or to those who the country believed could be assimilated. Thus, there was opposition to the immigration of American Negroes to Alberta in the early 1900s.

The Dominion government retained the power to prohibit entry to any nationality or race if such immigrants are deemed unsuitable having regard to the climatic, industrial, social, educational, labor, or other conditions of Canada, or because of their probable inability to become readily assimilated (Winks, 1971:313).

While one can easily make an argument for a historical legacy of tolerance for diversity, as exemplified by the special status of native peoples in the Proclamation Act of 1763 and the acknowledgment of the French as a charter group in the British North America Act of 1867 (Fleras, 1992: 71), the lip service of such acts is clearly evidenced by the abysmal treatment Aboriginal people have since received and the apparent need of the Quebeçois to have a 'quiet' and then increasingly loud revolution to slowly obtain their rights within [or perhaps out of] Canada. It was exactly this last point, Quebeçois resentment of exclusion from the central political institutions and symbolic order of Canadian society, that brought about the first step in Canada’s evolving Multicultural Policy, “that being the reaffirming of the priority status of Canada’s bilingual and
bicicultural framework” (Fleras, 1992: 72), as was done by the Royal Commission on Bilingualism and Biculturalism in 1963.

‘The genie was out of the bottle’ so to speak, as Canada’s increasingly diverse population outside of the two [English and French] charter groups strongly desired the recognition of the contributions of non-White charter groups to the Canadian reality. The agitation of this ‘third force’ of primarily European immigrants, helped along with a variety of concurrent political motivations, prompted the development of the Official Policy of Multiculturalism within a Bilingual Framework announced by Pierre Trudeau in 1971. During this formative period, Canada longed to “integrate diverse cultures in a spirit of tolerance and accommodation” (Fleras, 1992: 43). In essence, the policy aimed for cultural pluralism, the full involvement and participation of ethnic minorities while at the same time promoting the retention of cultural diversity (Fleras, 1992; Sleeter, 1994). This policy was clearly aimed at European immigrants and their desire for cultural preservation and sharing as reflected in “celebrating diversity” (Fleras, 1992: 94). Perceived barriers to full participation were seen in linguistic and cultural terms (Fleras, 1992: 94).

During the years that Canadian immigration was becoming increasingly non-White, many viewed the 1971 policy as unable to deal with the increasingly multi-racial reality of Canada. As was happening also in U.S. relations between “contending racial minority and majority groups” (McCarthy, 1990:289), relations were becoming increasingly racialized within Canada. A new focus emerged during this expansionist phase in which, “the eradication of racism and the removal of discriminatory barriers” (Fleras, 1992:76) was sought in order to obtain equal access for all Canadians into all spheres of public life. By creating the world’s first national ‘multicultural law’ in 1988, Canada acknowledged that the concerns of racial minorities went way beyond language and culture retention. Racial minority groups were more concerned with employment,
housing, education and discrimination (Fleras, 1992: 74). Indeed, Moodley found that visible minority parents desired the ability to access skills as opposed to support for the maintenance of their heritage: "my research among minority parents in BC has clearly shown, there is a preference for competence which overrides a concern for heritage" (Moodley, 1988: 7).

Multicultural approaches which focused on language and expressions of superficial expressions of culture [food, dance and clothing] have been challenged as inadequate in their attempts to promote opportunities for all people as they do not address many of the inherent and institutionalized barriers that were spoken of in such documents as Equality Now! (1984). During its expansionist period in Canada beginning in the 1980s, multiculturalism has increasingly been identified with the following characteristics:

- Racial and Cultural Equality is supported by law.
- Multiculturalism is aimed at institutional discrimination.
- Multiculturalism seeks to bring diversity into institutions.
- Multiculturalism sets the obligation to combat racism proactively.
- Multiculturalism is now increasingly seen in terms of citizenship.

(Fleras, 1992: 79)

The major impact of this expansionist phase of multiculturalism is one of movement away from the heritage based focus of the 1970s to one that is primarily concerned with social justice: "this [Multiculturalism Act] reflects a change in government policy from the folkloric focus of the 1970s to the emphasis on justice and social equality in the late 1980s" (Berdichewsky, 1990).
CHAPTER 2 - RESEARCH DESIGN

Research Design

This study offers insight into the basic assumptions behind race relations work from a critical and reformist perspective. Specifically, the study scrutinizes established theories and models related to race relations as well as investigates the assumptions and motivations of a group of individuals who constructed a school district race relations policy. The investigation took place during the 1996-1997 school year, three years after the policy was established.

This research project seeks to provide a critical and reconstructionist perspective of the rationale for the development of a school district race relations policy. This is to be accomplished by addressing the underlying assumptions that form the foundations of traditional approaches to race relations work in general and the understandings and motivations of individuals who developed a school district race relations policy in particular.

The field of education is known for producing countless mission statements, strategies, statements of belief, curricula, growth plans, and policies. These documents often reflect the thoughts and desires of the people who produce them. However, judging the true intentions behind these documents and their impact can be problematic; they can mean different things to different people, they can put words to visionary ideals that people do not believe can actually take place, or worse, they can fail to reflect the ideas and perspectives of those who will do the implementing of the recommendations and policies.
This study does not attempt to specifically articulate a new theory on race related ideology, however, it does seek to identify several important themes that represent more reform minded approaches that take into consideration the highly variable, often contradictory factors that impact race and race relations. In order to gain access to these themes, I believe that a two pronged approach of grounded theory (Glaser and Strauss, 1967) and qualitative analysis (Miles and Huberman, 1984) can be effectively utilized.

In order to complete a comprehensive analysis of race relations theory, I identified three areas of inquiry that I believe would allow me to converge progressively upon the essential components of effective race relations work.

Because we are dealing with matters that occur between people and groups of people, it is critical to scrutinize the concept of culture. It would seem that culture is often held to be “an already existing and unitary thing” (Apple, 1993: viii). However, is it? West defines it as “creative responses to the precise circumstances of our present moment” (West, 1993: 11). Either way, since race relations education often concerns itself with the question ‘what knowledge is to be valued?’ and resultantly preserved or added into the central canon, how culture is defined is a prerequisite to determining ‘what knowledge’ and ‘who’s knowledge’ is to be promoted in the interest of progressive race relations work.

Secondly, the concept of ‘race’ itself means different things to different people. What it means, how it is used or ignored as a social concept, and how it is used in education is “contingent and historical” (Apple, 1993: vii). To some it refers to a biological characterization of groups of people, to others, it no longer has any
significance as a social concept. Omi and Winant (1993) argue that race does have a continued significance as a social concept and go on to provide a critical theory on the concept of race.

Thirdly, according to Apple (1993: viii) there are several dominating approaches to race and culture in education. One approach is simply to add units on visible minorities to the existing curriculum, a special unit on the Japanese or acknowledgment of Hindi religious holidays for example. Another approach is the promotion of cultural pluralism. Pluralism promotes the relative equality of all cultures and supports a ‘we are all the same’ sensibility. It does not however, take into consideration the historical struggles between groups of people or some of the institutional structures that maintain relative power differences between groups of people and allows racism to continue to be a factor in the life chances of individuals.

As a result, by looking at culture and race theoretically as a “social and cultural production” (Apple, 1993: viii), we can then recognize that the role that these terms play in schooling is crucial. A critical and reformist approach to race and race relations rejects contemporary approaches of cultural pluralism and instead draws upon the insights provided by research in curriculum development, anti-racist and post-modern literatures (Giroux, 1985, 1992; Hall, 1988, 1992; JanMohamed and Lloyd, 1987; Said, 1992). As a result, this approach includes an intellectual challenge of identifying the “insights and blindness” (West, 1993: 12) of contemporary approaches to race relations, and the political challenge to continually critique the traditional mindsets and methods that we use, while ourselves being part of the very system that we are criticizing. Prophetic criticism champions the principles of equality, fairness, and opportunity that I believe
most educators believe are correct. As a paradigm, it includes a multifaceted, imaginative deconstruction of dominating perspectives on culture, race, and the resultant multicultural approaches to race relations while also promoting a prophetic vision of the possible.

Understanding culture and race is important in and of itself, however, I am also interested in how these understandings play out in the real world of education. Grounded theory is important, however, it is often individuals, and groups of individuals such as a school district race relations committee who created and developed a policy that will have a more immediate impact on schooling. Prophetic criticism also seeks to draw upon the ‘practical consciousness’ of individuals in order to find what they know, believe, and desire. The best way to draw on this practical consciousness is to actively engage in reflective conversations with each of these individuals. An ethnographic sensibility to questioning is helpful to explore the motivations and understandings of the members of the committee because it can obtain rich, descriptive data concerning the thoughts of committee members on race and race relations. As previously stated, ideas concerning race and cultural differences are constantly intersecting with a wide range of other dynamic factors including language and class. I wish to obtain an understanding of member motivations that go beyond ‘an appearance of cooperation and compliance.’ There exists a great deal of sensitivity around matters of race and race relations. Consequently, fundamental insights into understandings of race might be missed if strictly quantitative methods of data collection are utilized. By employing an ethnographic sensibility to questioning, Malinowski attempted to “grasp the native’s point of view, to realize his version of his [sic] world” (Burgess, 1984: 13). In this case, I
want to understand how the committee members make sense of race relations in their own words.

During the late 1980's and especially during the early 1990's, the area of Taylor was going through tremendous changes. The area was experiencing rapid population growth and a commensurate construction boom. These factors led to rises in housing prices and space shortages in schools. It is within this environment that the added factor of race and cultural differences was added as a large percentage of the people new to the community were from racial minority groups. The wide range of factors was likely to add to the paradoxes and contradictions that exist in the individual committee members' constructions of race and race relations. As a result, while qualitative research is concerned with a commitment to clearly defined research problems, it has been suggested that researchers allow for a great deal of flexibility in their attempts to gather data (Burgess, 1984; Erikson, 1986; Hammersley and Atkinson, 1983). When I first discussed with the members of my Thesis committee potential questions that I would ask the members of the committee, my suggestions were highly specific: "How would you differentiate between race and ethnicity?" My advisors immediately encouraged me to keep it much more simple and open as a series of specific questions was likely to place members on the defensive. Although they had worked on the policy, most of the members did not have strong understandings of the issues in the race debate. I found that many members inferred a fear that they were expected to be experts. "I thought that you would expect me to have a thorough understanding of this stuff and I don't" (C2). Also, members were often concerned to provide the 'right answer' and care was needed to ensure that questions did not facilitate the delivery of 'politically correct' answers. As a
result, I asked three very open questions in the interview schedule and then encouraged participants to elaborate on their answers by actively listening to them and engaging in 'co-participation' (Spradley, 1979). The three questions were as follows:

1. Why did you become involved in the development of a race relations policy?
2. How do you think the members of different racial groups get along these days?
3. If the policy is to have a positive effect on race relations, how will we know when it does?

These questions allowed me to gain insight into the thoughts and motivations of the committee members. From there, I was able to categorize the data into the three areas of inquiry discussed in the literature review: the concept of culture, the concept of race, and models of race relations education.

**Design**

The primary tools for data collection were a comprehensive literature review, an analysis of the committee meetings minutes, and interviews with committee members.

In order to effectively understand and then employ critical and reformist approaches to race and race relations education, I have sought out theorists in the field who are making "strategic interventions" (Apple, 1993: viii) into the debates on race, racial difference, and race relations education.
To define culture, I began with Bullivant's definition,

Culture is a patterned system of knowledge and conception, embodied in symbolic and non-symbolic communication modes, which a society has evolved from the past, and progressively modifies and augments to give meaning to and cope with the present and anticipated future problems of its existence (Bullivant, 1981:3).

To understand how traditional race relations approaches reflect this definition I explored whether they take into account the realities that are inherent in Bullivant’s definition; culture is holistic, culture is transmitted, culture evolves, and culture is made up of problem solving approaches to life.

To clarify progress in the theorization of race, I began with the traditional biological definitions that still exist. Omi and Winant (1993) provide an excellent alternative perspective based on a “racial formation process” (Omi and Winant, 1993: 3) in which race understood as a social construct. I use this alternative perspective as a starting point to understand how the concept of race is often construed as a concrete entity, or alternatively as an illusion. I then used their work to understand the foundations upon which a critical, process orientated, socially comprehensive theory of race must stand, specifically; race must be interpreted in the here and now, race must be seen in its global context, and race must be recognized as a legacy of the modern era.

Visible minority cultural critics and progressive individuals of European descent have begun to challenge traditional approaches to race relations education and to propose reformist practices. McCarthy (1993) provides a critique of contemporary approaches to multicultural education and also outlines an alternative approach that is critical, reformist
and takes into consideration factors that go beyond psychology as well as incorporating the evolving conceptualization of race.

Finally, Cornel West (1993, 1993) provides a call for a “new cultural politics of difference” (West, 1993: 11) in which cultural critics are to attempt creative responses to the particular local and global circumstances we have regarding matters of race. By also employing the ideas of Sleeter (1993), Calliou (1995), and McCarthy (1993) I can understand why a critical and reformist approach to race relations education is necessary, what it entails, and how it might apply to specific work being done in race relations such as a newly created school district policy.

To gain insight into the social construction of individual understandings demands a sensitive interaction with the participants to obtain access to their motivations and understandings of these issues. I also believe that given the politically charged nature of the problem, authentic insights into member motivations might be missed if strictly quantitative methods of data collection are utilized. Therefore, I gave an ethnographic sensitivity to my questioning to obtain in-depth, rich insights into particular cases such as Taylor. Further, the fact that the Taylor school district is Canadian, with economic and demographic factors distinct from the district that Sleeter (1993) used in her study of American teachers and their attitudes towards racial diversity for example, begs for documentation and analysis of its unique situation. Finally, neither the Sleeter study (1994), nor the Echols and Fisher study (1989) was specifically concerned with the motivations and / or thoughts of individuals charged with establishing a race relations policy. The three questions that I asked members of the committee: ‘Why did you
become involved in the development of a race relations policy? 'How do you think the members of different racial groups get along these days?' and, 'If the policy is to have a positive effect on race relations, how will we know when it does?' were piloted with a school trustee and a teacher to ascertain whether they would generate thought, reflection, and conversation. I also wanted to know that the questions would be non-threatening. I wanted the participants to begin conversations on safe territory - what they knew - rather than have them attempt to answer questions that would seem to be testing their knowledge. The responses that I received were that the questions were non-threatening and good catalysts for discussion. The teacher wondered if the questions could be more specific, however, when we actually went through the process he found that specifics emerged from the three questions.

The committee included representation from the general community, students, C.U.P.E. (Canadian Union of Public Employees), the Principals and Vice Principals Association, D.P.A.C. (District Parents Advisory Committee), T.T.A. (Taylor Teachers Association), school trustees, and school board administration. In its entirety, eighteen individuals served on the committee. However, a majority of the representatives served only for several meetings before bowing out due to other responsibilities. The nucleus of the committee, those who regularly attended meetings and actually developed the policy consisted of a group of ten people. Of those, I was able to contact and meet with eight. The other two, a school board administrator who had since left the district, and a student representative, I was not able to contact after numerous attempts. To gain an additional perspective, I also talked to a multicultural education person working for the district. The interviews that I had with these individuals took place between April and June 1997.
Some biographical information about the committee members who were interviewed is as follows (the names are all pseudonyms):

Members of the Taylor Race Relations Committee

A1.
Mrs. April Helen - Taylor School Board Trustee
• Former school teacher.
• Former member of the Taylor District Parents Advisory Committee.
• Member of the Taylor School District.
Mrs. Helen is White.

C2.
Mrs. Evelyn Wood - Canadian Union of Public Employees
• School Secretary.
• Mrs. Wood is White.

D1.
Mr. John Maxwell - Taylor Teachers Association (TTA)
• Representative of the Taylor Teachers Association.
• Ms. Maxwell is White and identifies himself as Gay. He believes that his sexual orientation has been a factor in his ability to comprehend the reality of racial discrimination.

E1.
Mr. Bill Brown - Taylor School Administrators Association (TSAA)
• Has developed Multicultural Resources for the Taylor School District.
• School Principal.
Mr. Brown is White.

E2.
Ms. Brenda Ash - Taylor School Administrators Association (TSAA)
• Has provided long term service to the District related to multicultural issues.
Ms. Ash is White.
F3. Mr. Frank Au - Director of a community outreach and assistance organization catering to new Canadians
   • Social Worker
   • Mr. Au is Chinese. He is a recent immigrant from Taiwan.

G1. Mr. Derek Dallas - District level employee in the Student Services Department, Taylor School
   • Chairperson of the Taylor Race Relations Committee.
   • Mr. Dallas is White.

   • Former school teacher.
   • Currently a member of the Taylor School District Implementation Committee of the Race Relations Policy.
   • Mrs. Jones is a Japanese-Canadian.

A2. Mrs. Sharon Hobbis - Taylor School Board Trustee
   • Mrs. Hobbis is White.

To set up the initial conversations I reached each of the participants by telephone and provided a brief outline of my work. I let them know that I was interested in their motivations for getting involved in the construction of a race relations policy. I let them know that pseudonyms would be used for the school district as well as all participants in order to ensure anonymity. Invariably many subjects responded with comments like, ‘I’d like to participate but I haven’t kept any notes!’ or ‘can I have a list of the questions so I can prepare?’ I had the sense that many were anxious that their knowledge of race relations issues would be tested. I allowed the respondents the opportunity to determine our meeting place so that they could, ‘be on their own turf.’ The majority of the meetings
took place in the participant's place of work -- often in a private office. Most of the meetings lasted approximately one hour and a half. In the meetings, I provided the participants with written copies of the questions together with a list of six further questions that could be used to germinate further discussion. I let the subjects know that I would not be recording the meetings electronically. This decision was made to facilitate reflective conversation as opposed to an interview. I did let them know that I would be taking some notes during the discussion and that I would write notes that are more extensive after the meeting had concluded. During the sessions, I again made it clear that I wished for a conversation as opposed to an interview. To support this goal, I consciously placed my pencil and paper instruments to a side, often mirrored the body language of the participant, and practiced active listening skills.

**Trustworthiness**

All research must be able to stand up to criteria against which its trustworthiness can be evaluated (Marshall and Rossman, 1995). Accordingly, this project must be able to stand up to the following questions: How credible are the findings? How transferable are the findings to another setting or another group? How can it be ensured that the findings would be replicated if the study were held with the same people in the same context? Finally, are the findings reflective of the inquiry itself and not the creation of the researcher's prejudices?
Credibility

While the study does use pseudonyms to provide anonymity for the subjects, it also includes background information on the subjects in order to identify and account for the variables and perspectives from which the members arrived at their understandings. As previously stated, the interviews were conversational in nature which allowed the researcher to ‘get under the surface’ of the subjects initial responses and extensive quotations are included to allow the informants to speak in their own voice. When the subjects had the opportunity to review the researcher’s findings, they easily identified the individual members by the quotations.

In the interviews, I asked each of the subjects the same three questions that specifically addressed the essence of what I wanted to find out; their motivations for getting involved in the development of the policy, and their understandings of race relations. These focus questions were pre-tested by district employees to ensure that they were clear and non-threatening. The subjects were given flexibility in responding to the questions to increase the authenticity of their responses and reflections. All of the notes taken during the interviews were taken by the researcher himself. It is important that my recollections and recordings of the conversations were accurate and corresponded to what the subjects believe that they said. To ensure credibility, each of the subjects reviewed a draft of the chapter containing my reporting of our conversations. As a result of this process, subsequent conversations took place to achieve further clarification and agreement. Accordingly, a number of changes were made to assure that the reported statements were accurate and anonymous.
Studies and surveys are referred to that indicate a high level of racial tension in Canada and a history of racism in British Columbia in particular. It is in this environment that each of the participants resided. Each of them worked in the Taylor community and all were involved in education. Finally, all of the information that they provided was coded into specific categories that emerged from the theoretical foundations of race relations work.

Transferability

This study refers to numerous studies that indicate that racism does exist in Canada in general and in education in particular. The researcher identifies ten surveys that recognize high levels of racism in Canada, six studies that identify historic and contemporary racism in Canada, and eleven studies that address the reality of racism in schooling. The Sleeter study (1993) indicates that the manner in which educators think about race and race relations is difficult to change through professional development. The Echols and Fisher (1992) Report on the Vancouver School District Race Relations Policy indicates that many educators in that British Columbian school district did not support race relations initiatives. Given the reality that the members of the Taylor Race Relations Committee are members of Canadian society, and are involved in the field of education, these findings are applicable to the Taylor setting. Further, I realize that the generalizability of qualitative work to other settings is seen "by traditional canons as a weakness in this approach" (Marshall and Rossman, 1995: 144). However, I ensured that the data collection and analysis was guided by specific models that make the findings
from this study applicable to other settings. After each interview I reviewed my notes and then placed the information into folders. I purposely did not review my analysis of the literature at this time. After I had completed the interviews, I concluded that they were conversational in nature and I was able to 'get underneath the surface' and gain the perspectives of individual committee members. As I was interested in applying a critical and reformist sensibility to the perspectives of the committee members as well as the foundations of the policy, it made sense for me to understand the perspectives of the committee members in light of the 'strategic interventions' being made by critics of traditional approaches to race and race relations. Consequently, I coded the interview data according to the same categories of culture, race, and race relations education used in the literature review. This allowed me to extract and then cluster all of the information related to the particular questions, hypotheses, concepts, or themes (Miles and Huberman, 1984) that I had interest. I found that many of the ideas and perspectives shared by committee members applied to several of the categories. Consequently, I deleted some of the categories that were used in the literature review. During this process, I determined strong consistencies as well as contradictions. The data were also analyzed to generate recommendations and hypotheses for future study.

By also utilizing multiple informants, the minutes of the committee meetings, and also by checking the data for similarities and differences to the findings in the literature, the study is strengthen in its usefulness to other settings.
Dependability

It is important that the researcher account for any changes that might have occurred in how the committee members thought about matters of race. Whereas it was clear that some members believed that they had learned much about race relations as a result of their committee work, they also stated that their understandings and motivations have not changed in the time between their work on the committee and the time of the interviews. This observation is mirrored by the findings of Sleeter (1993) and Echols and Fisher (1992) that people do not change their ways of thinking about race very easily. To attempt to ensure that committee members referred to the particular understandings of race and race relations that they had during their committee work and not those they had during the time of this study, the questions were specific to the time of the committee’s work and purposefully non-threatening.

The researcher did develop an increasingly refined understanding of the social dynamics within the committee. Consequently, it was important to take into account the sometimes acrimonious relations that developed during the committee’s time together. It was important to allow the subjects to speak in their own voice and not to depend on second party quotations as they often did not capture the real meaning of the individuals. For example, one subject stated that another member expressed disbelief in the reality of institutional racism. Upon further investigation, it became clear that the subject did believe that institutional racism did exist. In his opinion, the reason that he seemed to convey disbelief was because he thought that several of the other committee members
were attaching the institutional racism label only to the ranks of senior administration of which he was a member. It was important for the researcher to focus on the individual understandings of the members and not focus on the internal politics of the committee. At the same time, the researcher had to consider these politics in attempting to identify the motivations and understandings of the members.

Bias and Subjectivity

In any study, it is important to identify any biases the researcher will have and then consider them. I believe that racism does exist. I also believe that there is a need for a progressive, reformist model for the betterment of race relations in education.

I am a Canadian born male who has been well aware of race related problems all of my life. I am the biological and social product of generations of miscegenation, however, I am identifiable to many and I identify myself as African-Canadian. From an early age, I grew up hearing stories from my parents and relatives of incidents of personal and institutional racism. I heard the story of my parents going in person to look at an apartment for rent and being told that the particular suite was no longer available. A half hour later my father called this same person on the telephone and was informed that ‘yes, the suite is available!’ I also heard of my grandfather going to an Army recruiting station in Edmonton, Alberta during the Second World War and being told that because it was a ‘White man’s war’, his services were not needed. I myself had numerous encounters with racism during my life; from being told to ‘remove those nigger hands’ from a bunch
of grapes in a grocery store when I was seven years old, to in 1993 experiencing an apartment rental story similar to that of my parents. At the same time, while growing up in an almost exclusively White environment, I have for the most part been treated with equity and fairness. Experiences such as being chosen ‘Valentine’s King’ in a overwhelmingly White junior high, and working bridal fashion shows as a groom with a White bride contradict many expectations of racism in our society. I have also been aware however, that other so-called ‘people of color’ have not always been accorded that same level of acceptance. This has led me to believe that my own unique experiences and characteristics; light skin coloring, ‘Canadian accent’, middle class upbringing, light colored eyes, have made my experiences within contemporary society unique. I have been integrated within the Canadian mainstream; I speak its language, I know its codes, and yet I am recognizably ‘different’. Because of my own experiences, I believe that racism does exist. However, as stated by McCarthy (1993), it is “non-essentialist and non-synchronous.” I was educated in Canadian universities were I studied Political Studies, History, and Education. My interests in social justice and race relations led me to delve into leftist constructions of political ideology. At the same time, I was having considerable success in mainstream society; I did well in school, played university level basketball and had a successful career in modeling. I had a set of contradictory beliefs; I believed that we could excel if we work hard, my own life seemed to indicate this point. At the same time, I witnessed that societal constraints affected the life chances of individuals and groups of people. My career in education spans thirteen years; the first seven were spent teaching high school History at an inner city school in Winnipeg, Manitoba. There I witnessed more contradictions as I continued to have
personal success and yet saw the severe limitations being placed on students who were First Nations or recent immigrants from Vietnam or the Philippines. My next four years were then spent teaching elementary school in the Taylor School District, in British Columbia. The school population was overwhelmingly White and middle class, yet a major infusion of Taiwanese and Korean families was beginning to occur during my last two years at the school. The circumstances in which these people lived were vastly different from those of my students in Winnipeg. At the present time, I am serving as a vice - principal in the Taylor School District, the first administrator in the district who is non - White. In all of these varied situations, issues of class, language, and demographics influenced the state of race relations.

In order to draw out the ideas of committee members, it is important that I come across as a supportive colleague, not a critical professional. Hammersley and Atkinson (1983) and Burgess (1998) advocate the importance of rapport and trust in working with respondents in the field. Because I have sought to understand my own perspectives that have been influenced by a wide range of often contradictory ideas, I could relate to the difficulty that respondents have in articulating their ideas. During the interviews, the initial questions got the subjects thinking and speaking, they got into a ‘reflective thinking’ mode (Hampton, 1995:13) in which we delved into the underlying meanings and motivations of our thoughts. It is important that a researcher reflect upon their own feelings and experiences to prepare to be emphatic with the participants. Lightfoot (1983) believes that a key to qualitative research is for the researcher to be subjective. Because of heeding this advice, reflective discussions occurred that allowed us to peel layers away from our mindsets in order to articulate what we really thought. The best
part of each discussion invariably came when the subject or I said something like, ‘yeah - I guess that’s it isn’t it.’ It was not that they necessarily reached new conclusions rather than that they distilled the essentials of what it was that they believed.

Given the fact that I am Black, I needed to be conscious of the ways that I would be perceived by members of the committee that might skew the data. They might see me as the ‘angry Black man’, looking to uncover racism wherever I can. I was also conscious of the fact that since I was an employee of the district, members could view me suspiciously. Committee members who also served as school board members or board personnel may have been leery of me bringing potential criticism to their work. Others might be conscious of providing ‘safe’ answers to me because I could in future be in a supervisory capacity over them. Again, this meant that I had to be very conscious of setting an atmosphere in which people could relax and engage in open, reflective conversation.
CHAPTER 3 - LITERATURE REVIEW

Defining Culture

How we define and understand culture has strong implications for our understanding of race, racism, and multicultural education. Nineteenth century cultural critic Matthew Arnold defined culture as "the best of what has been thought and said" (Arnold, 1869:viii). For him, the best was modeled on a "melange of Periclean Athens, late Republican / early imperial Rome, and Elizabethan England" (West, 1993:13), which leaves out most of the histories and contemporary realities of the overwhelming majority of humanity. Twentieth century developments in social scientific inquiry have led to more comprehensively inclusive definitions. As a result, the British Columbian Ministry of Education defines culture as, "The ideas, symbols, behaviors, values and beliefs that are shared by a human group" (Glossary, BC Ministry of Education Multicultural and Race Relations Education Guidelines for School Districts, 1994). This definition is representative of a common anthropological perspective of culture that has formed the foundation of much multicultural education over the past century (Burtonwood, 1986). It identifies culture as a holistic construction, referring to the totality of experiences and practices of a group of people. In addition, by the sharing of ideas and values, this definition of culture implies the wholesale transmission of common ideas and values from generation to generation. Such a definition establishes culture as an entity that is static and never changing. In response to this notion of culture as a concrete social construction, Bullivant (1981) suggests that an element of personal agency or dynamism is inherently part of what we refer to as culture. He argues that cultures are ever
changing social constructs; ideas, values, and languages are always in the process of evolution. This reveals a problem solving function of culture as people find ways to make sense of and adapt to the environments that they find themselves in.

Culture is a patterned system of knowledge and conception, embodied in symbolic and non-symbolic communication modes, which a society has evolved from the past, and progressively modifies and augments to give meaning to and cope with the present and anticipated future problems of its existence (Bullivant, 1981:3).

I believe that Bullivant’s definition of culture is significantly more progressive and truthful than both the Arnoldian elitist notion of culture, and any definition that would attempt to label culture as a rigid, predetermined structure. The definition provided by the Ministry of Education overemphasizes the transmissive nature of cultural development by overlooking the reality of personal choice, personal decision making ability or personal agency in the evolution of cultural responses. Popper argues that a ‘collective tribalism’ of cultural paradigms is a myth. As such, transmissive culture might inform, influence, and even constrain, but not inevitably so (Burtonwood, 1986:13). Secondly, when the definition of culture refers to a ‘group’ or ‘society’ as the first two definitions do, it is easy to place individuals into separately demarcated cultures whether based on color, ethnicity, or geography. The placement of people into ready made cultural ‘boxes’ ignores the cultural viscosity spoken of by Willis and others (1990). People will adapt and formulate new cultural responses to their environment, which may be very different from the cultural responses of others in the group that they are identified with. People will also formulate cultural responses similar to those of people within other ‘groups.’ People and cultures are not islands unto themselves.
Indeed, every individual has certain shared possibilities and restrictions established by their very common humanity. In response to conjunct life problems, humans can and do reach similar solutions and also share, borrow, and steal uncommon solutions. Behind culture lies what Phillips refers to as a “general language game of everyday life which is ultimately constrained by what it is to be human” (Burtonwood, 1986:15).

A potential problem with the Bullivant definition lies with its emphasis on problem solving. It can be argued that the response of any group of people to unique environments can only be truly judged from the particular perspective of those people, this is cultural relativism. Accordingly, the cultural responses of a group can only be understood from the conceptual framework of that culture, thus cultural responses of any group cannot be objectively criticized. Therefore, multiculturalism would be understood as the tolerance of the particular cultural reality of groups of people wherever and however they happen to be doing compared to other groups of individuals. Cultural relativism can condemn us to ethnocentrism (Burtonwood, 1986), and Popper argues that relativity would support the decisions taken by National Socialists in Germany and I would add, support the development of Apartheid in South Africa. In contrast, by opening any cultural response up to discussion and criticism is to allow for the possibility of objectivity. As Popper states,
People with different backgrounds can enter into fruitful discussion, provided it is a fact that people with the most divergent cultural backgrounds are interested in getting nearer to the truth, and they are ready to listen to each other, and to learn from each other (Burtonwood, 1986:21).

These observations identify serious shortcomings in the traditional definitions of culture. A truthful definition must take into consideration personal agency, the ongoing viscosity of culture, as well as the common denominator that all cultural developments are responsive to mutual human problems answered by commonly shared human abilities and shortcomings. Such a definition needs to recognize the following realities; culture is holistic, transmitted, evolutionary, and a problem solving approach to life.

**Culture is Holistic**

"Culture is a patterned system of knowledge and conception" (Bullivant, 1981:3).

Traditional theories of racism fall into two culturally determined perspectives: those that account for racism as the expression of individual, psychologically founded attitudes; and those that posit racism as a structural relationship between people of different ethno-racial heritage in which sociopolitical power is distributed (Rizvi, 1993:128). Rizvi (1993) argues that the singular acceptance of either approach ignores the reality of racism that is inherent in the other. It is impossible to have institutions that have not been influenced and constructed by the practices of individuals as it is impossible for individuals to operate in any significant manner outside of the institutional
locations. West (1993) condemns the traditional liberal [structuralist] and conservative [behavioralist] perspectives on racial inequality in the USA for the same reason. He argues that institutions, and the attitudes and behaviors of individuals, are inseparably part of the same cultural framework. Any serious analysis of racism must divorce itself from viewing institutions as monolithic, self-actualizing entities. They must also accept culture as much more than an ephemeral set of expressive behaviors and values. Culture is deeply rooted in institutions such as the family, places of worship, schools, the media, and others. Conversely, institutions are deeply influenced by the values and beliefs of cultural individuals and groups, particularly those with the power to promote their particular values and beliefs in the institutions within which they operate. Finally, West states that any true account of culture must extend beyond a simplistic view of people as a collective of individual, rational, economic beings. Rather, people are cultural beings who desire meaning, identity and, self worth. Consequently, cultural responses are much more than simply strategies to address economic needs. They are responses which meet the needs of people as whole human beings. For example, in order to address the needs of Indian youth, Indian theorists claim the necessity of holistic approaches to Indian schooling which would include the consideration of the spiritual nature of individuals (Black Elk, 1982; Calliou 1995; Hampton, 1995).
Culture is Transmitted

“Culture...evolved from the past, to give meaning to the future...” (Bullivant, 1981:3)

Although individual and institutional views of racism are similarly predicated upon functionalist assumptions, Rizvi (1993) argues that they occupy opposite ends of the same dualism, a dualism that should be rejected. Individuals do not receive an entire package of racist ideas in a neat parcel of cultural transmission. Neither does racism have a character independent of the actual practices of individual people. Racism cannot and does not have an essential form. To explain the perpetuation of racism that seems to exist through time and location, Hall (1986) argues that cultural ideas are constructed largely through ideology. To him, ideology “organizes the everyday practical activities in which humans engage, think about their options, explain their predicaments, and formulate a sense of their struggle” (Rizvi, 1993:129). Ideology also provides a “framework for maintaining and transforming relations of power and dominance in a society” (Fleras and Elliot, 1992:54). People are often unaware of the ideological foundations of their ideas and resultant actions,

It is indeed a peculiarity of ideology that it imposes [without appearing to do so] obviousness as obviousness which we cannot fail to recognize and before which we have the inevitable and natural reaction of crying out [aloud or in a small voice of conscience]: “That’s obvious! That’s right! That’s true” (Althusser, 1971:127)!
Individuals do not inherit a unified, coherent set of ideas on racism. Rather, as participatory members of a society interacting with family, peers, schools, and other institutions, they become part of a collective relational consciousness that is rooted in practices. As a result, while racism does not have an essential form, at any given historical juncture it [racism] has an ideological form (Rizvi, 1993:130) which informs individuals how to think in distinctive, describable ways, and to act according to certain ideas, concepts, and generalizations that are historically based and define a distinctive outlook on the environment in which we reside (Rizvi, 1993:130). Drawing on the teachings of Gramsci (1971), Hall (1993) explains that a racist ideology is organic, as opposed to static, because it is linked to ‘common sense’ in ways that are episodic and often contradictory. Racist ideas, whether explicit or coded, inform the construction of an individual cognitive framework that allows us to make sense of the way things are without questioning their reality. Racist ideology, communicated and reproduced with the assistance of mass media, schools, and other institutions, manifests in what we read, hear, and see. Therefore, dominance based on race is not only preserved but also recreated by agencies of socialization and cultural transmission.

**Culture Evolves**

“Culture ... progressively modifies and augments to give meaning ....” (Bullivant, 1981:3)

While we can recognize standard features of racism, what is more significant is how those features evolve, mutate, and become transformed by the historical and contemporary specificity in which they exist (Hall, 1986). There are many ‘racisms’ just
as there are specific variations of a common culture. As individuals constantly interact with their environment, their ideology is constantly changing and being augmented as they encounter new stimuli, information, and encounters which may or may not match the ideological standards they have prior to that particular moment. Rizvi stresses that our social construction of race “articulates” (Rizvi, 1993:126) with the broader culture rather than is determined by the broader culture. Gramsci observed that our personality is a synthesis of past cultural inheritances mixed together with what we gain out of our own interactions with life,

The personality is strangely composite; it contains Stone Age elements and principles of a modern science, prejudices from all past phases of history...and institutions of a future philosophy (Gramsci, 1971:324).

Studies by Back (1991), Hewitt (1986), and Jones (1988) identify the interplay of contemporary life experiences and cultural ideology. Their studies of emergent multicultural youth cultures have identified micro-cultures of kids who share and experience “closely meshed life-worlds” (Hatcher and Troyna, 1993:121). They found that these ‘closely meshed life-worlds’, common life orientations, and cross-cultural friendships did not necessarily lead to anti-racist ideologies. Similarly, in spite of the pervasive institutional messages reinforcing multiculturalism as well as the existence of many cross cultural, cross racial friendship groups, Hatcher and Troyna (1993) witnessed deep contradictions in White responses about race. Students struggled to make sense of their friendship experiences with members of other racial groups which often were at odds with the Gramscian ‘common sense consciousness’ that presumes that people should ‘stick to their own’ and that it is common sense for people to be hostile to ‘aliens’.
Rizvi (1993), studied Australian youth brought up to celebrate a multicultural society, one that values cultural tolerance and intercultural harmony. At the same time, Australian youth shared an ideological consciousness that retains images of Aboriginal Australians and minority groups as objects of “paternalistic concern, or as aliens whose presence threatens the cultural identity of the majority community” (Rizvi, 1993:126).

From his work, Rizvi found that young people used their ideological framework as a ‘scaffold’ within which they established their ideas of racialized differences. The children continually change, challenge, interrupt, and reconstruct expressions of racism in often contradictory ways (Rizvi, 1993). Sleeter and Grant (1993), drawing on the work of Piaget, Vygotsky, and Dewey, used cognitive development theory as a foundation for a new understanding of racism. Consequently, we can observe that young people are actively engaged in the construction of their own knowledge because of the interaction of their ideological consciousness and their own experiences (Sleeter and Grant, 1994).

Further, Sleeter (1993) conducted a two year multicultural staff development program which addressed demographic change, cultural learning styles, and multicultural curriculum implementation. She too found that individuals had essentialist views of existent human social relations which naturalized for them the social order of their mid American city. As a result of a two-year program of anti-racism training, these teachers studied, learned, and spoke new understandings of racism. However, they did so in ways that were highly selective, and did not upset their previously established understandings of racism. Accordingly, we can see that the articulation between functionalist reproductive views of race and racism, and how individuals weave this information into their own cognitive framework, is extremely complex and multifaceted. Many people,
whether they reside in Australia, USA, Great Britain, or Canada, may not espouse the old racism of physical violence, political oppression, and legalized powerlessness. They do however take on new manifestations of racism which demand a ‘common language’, ‘traditional values’, and a ‘national culture’. In such a climate, “Gramscian ‘common sense’ does not appear in a coherent and logical form” (Rizvi, 1993:130) for, as Gilroy (1987) claimed, “popular racism is subject to change and rearticulation” (Rizvi, 1993:130). Within such a society, we have citizens who claim and support multicultural initiatives while on the other hand share and maintain practices that support marginalization and exclusion.

Cultural Responses are Problem Solving Approaches to Life Circumstances

“to give meaning to and cope with the present and anticipated future problems of its existence” (Bullivant, 1981:3).

By its very nature, the socially constructed concept of race within Canadian mainstream culture allows individuals to explain away apparent inequalities and contradictions that do exist. At the same time, it often prevents individuals from uncovering the roots to these very same contradictions that are evident within Canadian society. Because it expresses itself as an authoritative discourse, contemporary, coded racism does not invite criticism. Because it often represents a normalcy and naturalness due to its imbeddedness in the very fabric of institutions, our participation in those institutions demands that we accept the authority that it represents. For example, it is ‘common sense’ that once all people learn ‘Canadian English’ and shake off the vestiges of ‘otherness’, they will find
themselves upon the same level playing field that is available to all Canadians. Thus, a common component of common sense ideology is that visible minorities are simply the latest in a long line of ethnic migrations. Common sense allows for a multicultural, liberal, accepting mindset which champions ethnic diversity, while downplaying any awareness of the historical effects of racism, or the vestiges of color discrimination that may still exist. Common sense ideological paradigms allow for the celebration of superficial cultural practices in schools but preclude the inclusion of minority histories into the central canon of the curriculum as this does not foster the teaching of a common ‘Canadian’ culture. The fact is that our societal realities are very much different from the racial stratified society of turn of the century BC (Roy, 1989; Ward, 1990). As a result, when old style racist assertions emerge, children and adults alike often object, even when they seem to be common sense. The objection comes because these assertions clash with other common sense notions of ‘equity’, and ‘fairness’ - not because these people have developed an understanding of popular racism. 

By understanding culture as a problem-solving framework from which to approach life, it is possible to see opportunities for positive changes in popular understandings of race and racism. First is a renewed focus on culture in its working reality. Rather than just studying culture to appreciate the expressive aspects of peoples lives, we should study culture in order to understand the “sociopolitical circumstances that helped give rise to it” (Sleeter and Grant, 1994: 220). Teachers, administrators, trustees, and other educational workers are all members of the broader society and have had their own individual cognitive frameworks influenced by ‘common sense’ understandings of institutions in their lives, personal contact with others, as well as
challenges to, and reconstructions of, their own understandings of differences in our common society.

To become aware of these influences is to make explicit that which is often beneath the surface. Hills (1991) developed an “Extended Model for Technically Rational Problem Solving” which emphasized the analysis of perceptions and values that inform how a problem is addressed. By uncovering the “racial formation process” (Omi and Winant, 1993:3), the socially constructed conceptualizations of race that inform our perspectives on racial matters, we can see the meanings that we give to phenomena through their assignment to mental categories or concepts and acknowledge the practical consciousness that we all have but may not be able to explain. In so doing, we can begin to deconstruct what we have previously seen as obvious. We can get closer to truth and meaning as we cut through the ‘naturalizement’ of our social reality and, as Hall states, “show people that the things they immediately feel to be ‘just like that’ aren’t quite ‘just like that’” (Hall, 1980: 6). Then and only then can adults and students begin to articulate their lived cultures to new practices of representation without recourse to racist constructions (Cohen, 1987).

**Progress in the Theorization of Race**

For much of the modern era, a time that classical social theory understands as beginning with the rise of European capitalism (Omi and Winant, 1993), race has traditionally been interpreted as a naturally occurring phenomenon. As the modern era began its death
throes with the two world wars of this century and the resultant emergence of the post
colonial, post modern world, a biological understanding of race has been significantly
challenged as sociologists, anthropologists, and avant garde theorists have come to view
race as a social construct. Omi and Winant (1993:3) refer this latter construction as the
"racial formation process," and it has become widely accepted as a mainstream
understanding of race. Unfortunately, both naturalist and social perspectives of race can
be considerably manipulated to fit the pre-established perspectives of people.

Problematic Theorizations of Race

* Race is Concrete

Many of the biological racial theories of the past developed by Chamberlain,
Gobineau, and eugenicists such as Stoddard (Kevles, 1985; Chase, 1977) have been for
the most part completely discredited as have their practical manifestations: Nazism, the
eugenics movement, and scientific racism. Yet, when books like The Bell Curve,
(Herrnstein and Murray, 1994) sustain racist assumptions and continue to find an
audience, and a plethora of Neo- Nazi organizations are sprouting throughout the West,
determinist theories have not been extinguished. To the contrary, Omi and Winant
(1993) argue that even progressives who accept the notion of race as a social construct
have slipped into increasingly determinist understandings of racial identity. They point
out that much liberal social theory maintains that racial identity is socially constructed,
thus the creation of the ‘Indian’ in North America, and yet, as sociopolitical changes occur over time and people identified as ‘Indians’ interact with those changes - some assimilating, some integrating, some attaining success in mainstream culture, some mired in poverty - they are still identified as a ‘group’ according to previous definitions. Regardless of inter-group differences, personal agency, changing relationalities - ‘an Indian is an Indian’ to many. As miscegenation, cross cultural stylations, and changing definitions occur, it becomes harder to continue to categorize individuals by concrete racial groupings. In essence, the concretization of racial identity does not account for the non-essential nature of racial groupings (McCarthy, 1993). It does not account for the evolving social relationality, the nonsynchronos relationships that occur between members of a group and between a myriad of other groups and individuals. Race continues to have significance in contemporary society and yet concrete definitions of racial identity cannot assist people in managing contradictory realities that they face regarding racial meaning.

* Race is an Illusion

As the racial identity of some individuals becomes obscure, as individuals of previously ‘caste’ groups attain economic and political heights, and also to perhaps downplay the historical potency of race and relegate it to the category of ethnicity, many theorists and lay people are claiming that race is an outdated, non useful category (Omi and Winant, 1993; Sleeter, 1993). Fields (1990) argues that race was a socially constructed concept that allowed the ideological reconciliation of slavery in societies founded upon the notion of freedom and equality, “the means of explaining slavery to
people whose terrain was a republic founded on radical doctrines of liberty and natural rights” (Fields, 1990:114). Thus, she believes that the sooner we jettison ‘race’ as an organizing concept the sooner we can make improvements in race relations today. The assumption has also become part of the common perception of our contemporary society in the Gramscian sense, casual statements from teachers of ‘I don’t see color’ fit together with the pervasive ideology which sees Canada as a meritocracy in which we can be fairly judged by our efforts and our character. Omi and Winant (1993) provide a major criticism of this approach. They argue that five to six hundred years of implicit and explicit enforcement of race as a social construct has had an enormous impact upon our world and insures that race continues to be a continuing principle of social organization and identity formation across the globe generally and in territories with a colonial legacy in particular.

* Democratic Racism

In their book The Colour of Democracy, Henry, Tator, Mattis, and Rees (1995) support a new model for understanding racism in contemporary Canada, ‘Democratic Racism’. The primary characteristic of this model is a recognition that many Canadians seem to be able to retain support for egalitarian ideals while at the same time maintaining racist ideologies.
The statistics indicate that a large percentage of Canadians share racist attitudes while also recognizing that these attitudes are not acceptable, they are not 'politically correct'. To maintain this contradiction, sets of justifications are needed to permit the conflicting ideologies to co-exist. A similar pattern can be seen in both the British and American context.

* New Racism

In Great Britain, 'new racists' have divorced themselves from the biological foundations of earlier forms of racism. At the same time, they continue to limit the life opportunities of racial minorities. New racism focuses on the 'negatives' of minority cultures and elevates the naturalness of traditional Anglo-Saxon culture. Rather than identifying 'race' specifically, code phrases such as 'cultural identity', 'nationalism', and 'unity' are used to draw the lines between those who belong and those who do not. "'They' despite the good qualities of some of 'them', are held to be different from 'us' and would on the whole, be better off back in 'their' countries" (Billig, et al, 1988: 107).
* Aversion Racism

In the USA, Kovel (1970) identified 'aversion' racists as apparently good intentioned citizens who certainly do not identify with ultra-right racist organizations; however, they are racist and simply avoid having any contact with those whom they do not like. Many of them consider themselves to be liberals; they believe in equality, fairness, and act in 'politically correct' ways. However, they choose certain neighborhoods, clubs, and schools to avoid minorities. Many of their actions to assist racial minorities amount to tokenism. This particular form of racism does not include hatred, rather, it involves disgust, discomfort, uneasiness, and sometimes fear (Gaertner and Davidio, 1986:63).

**A Theory of Race**

In order to illuminate the “continuing significance and changing meaning of race” (Omi and Winant, 1993:3), and to argue against any replacement of race by categories such as ethnicity, nationality or class, Omi and Winant outline several foundations upon which a “critical, process-orientated” (Omi and Winant, 1993:6) theory of race must stand. One must recognize its reality as a social construct while at the same time being cognizant of its highly variable nature. Omi and Winant provide three conditions that
racial theory must address: contemporary political relationships, a global context, and an applicability across chronological time.

* Race in the Here and Now

The social realities of race and racism go through constant evolution and change, and, yet, retain an ongoing usefulness as an organizing concept. Contradictory perspectives on their potential impact greeted the arrival of Chinese gold miners to the British Columbian coast in the 1860s. Colonial, Governor James Douglas noted,

They are certainly not a desirable class of people, as a permanent population, .... but are for the present useful as laborers, and, as consumers, of a revenue paying character (Ward, 1990: 25).

By the 1880s, Roy argues that fear of Chinese competition had refocused and reconstituted the racist attitudes of White British Columbians. Commenting on Chinese competition in the cordwood industry, nineteenth century Immigration Officer John Jessop reported, “many [Whites] are very angry and suggested the province be renamed ‘Chinese Columbia’” (Roy, 1989:52). During the same decade however, the New Westminster British Columbian reversed its previous call for a “No Chinese Clause” in immigration policy when it realized that such a clause might limit access to cheap labor for the CPR spur line into New Westminster (Roy, 1989:72). Historically, racism has been constant, and yet highly alterable in relation to a myriad of external and internal
factors. Today, terms such as ‘Hong Couver!’ and UBC [University of a Billion Chinese] identify the alarm that some Euro Canadians have due to the influx of wealthy immigrants from Hong Kong and Taiwan. At the same time, many multi-generational Canadians of Chinese heritage see themselves as Canadian. As another example, it has only been through historically developed, socio-political practices in Canada that an ideological concept of ‘Indianness’ has been developed in order to categorize all pre-European peoples in Canada. We can witness the contemporary efforts of these people to rename themselves and reclaim their identities; the Shuswap have become the Sequeamuc once again in Canada and the Sioux have become the Lakota once again in America. The dizzying debate around naming: ‘people of color,’ ‘Black,’ ‘bi-racial,’ ‘aboriginal,’ ‘First Nations,’ ‘Asian-Canadian,’ all testify to the ongoing negotiation of the political concept of race.

* Race in the Global Village

Formerly a social concept important in colonialized territories, race is now globalized and an important social descriptor in former colonies and mother countries alike. The grandsons and granddaughters of former colonial subjects: ‘immigrants’ from Iran, Hong Kong, the Philippines and other countries, are now citizens of Canada. They are often challenging the majority status of White Europeans, White Americans, White Australians, and also White Canadians on their own turf in neighborhoods from London, to New York, to Melbourne, and Vancouver. We have reached the point of ‘the empire
strikes back!” (Center for Contemporary Cultural Studies, 1982). When an all Black 100 meter final in the 1996 Olympics has representatives from Canada, USA, England, and France, we bear witness to the growing racialization of nations. We can observe strong similarities in racial tensions in countries as geographically diverse as New Zealand, South Africa, Germany, Sweden, England, and Canada, “we can now make a global comparison of hegemonic socio-political orders based on race” (Omi and Winant, 1993:8). Again, individuals from whatever racial background are in an ongoing process of cultural modification and adaptation. Amongst others, people who have Hausa heritage have helped create Jamaican cultures. Some of the inheritors of Jamaican culture have since become Canadians. These people are not simply the sum of the additions from their past. They are new creations here in the New World in which new modes of ‘Asianness’ ‘Blackness’, and new pan-ethnic communities [such as Commercial drive in Vancouver] are emerging as identities and cultures. These cultures are localized and global. These new ‘postmodern’ identities can no longer be simply placed into old stereotypes of ‘ethnic minority’ ‘ethnic poverty’ or ‘under development,’ in fact, they are beginning to eke out their own racialized space (see Mudimbe, 1988; Rabinow, 1986; Harding, 1986). Racial categorization, re-categorization and organization can now be globally framed and understood while at the same time the high variability of its local manifestations can be recognized. This has also led to a weakening of the equivocation of ‘normalness’ with ‘whiteness’. White is becoming a color (Roman, 1993) as the automatic assumptions of racial domination are becoming increasingly challenged. In such an environment, it is harder to categorize ‘Asianness’, ‘Blackness’, and ‘Indianness’ as ‘other’ - while retaining Whiteness as a neutral ‘us’.
Macintosh (1989) speaks of the ways in which Whites are taught to think of their lives as morally natural, normative, average, and ideal so that when they work in the area of race relations, they often see it as work to help others to be more like them. As the Western industrial states are ‘browning’, it is becoming harder for people of European background to remain invisible.

* Race: A Legacy of Modernity

Any understanding of racial theory must place its development into historical context. The race concept has emerged with the development of modernity: from the rise of capitalism; through the colonial rise of European Nation states; the enslavement of 12 million Africans in the “New World”; genocide of aboriginal people; and subjection of much of Asia. It was during this time in which “phenotypical signification” (Omi and Winant, 1993:8) took place through physical and expressive action. The concept of race is still very much affected by this legacy.

Progress in Race Relations Education

During the past 30 years many people of African, Asian, and Aboriginal descent together with progressive individuals of European descent began to challenge hegemonic power in countries like Australia, Canada, and the USA. They have pushed for
fundamental race relations reforms in society in general and the field of education in particular. Accordingly, multicultural education has increasingly sought to challenge the Eurocentric foundations of Western pedagogy (Bullivant, 1981; Fleras, 1992; McCarthy, 1991; Rex, 1989). Much of the criticism has been leveled at the embedded nature of specific “canonical school knowledge” (McCarthy, 1993: 289) in the legitimization of the status quo. Anti racism approaches have looked into the distribution of power in schools and the status of minority identity in curriculum. Unfortunately, these analytical, deconstructionist approaches have generally been sidestepped in favor of traditionalist theories. They have also been increasingly appropriated and ideologically encircled by the mainstream educational institutions: schools, universities, and school boards. This ideological encirclement currently serves to mute more fundamental challenges to the symbolic mechanisms and scholarly operations in which dominant knowledge is historically legitimated and subordinate traditions are repressed (Critchlow, 1991:1).

Traditional forms of multicultural education, what Lee refers to as the surface and transitional stages of multiculturalism (Lee, 1995), have been promoted by knowledge managers while the “actual implementation of a critical emancipatory multiculturalism in the school curriculum has been effectively deferred” (McCarthy, 1993:290). These traditional approaches characterize what generally passes for multicultural education in western schools.
Current Multicultural Education

The first type of multicultural education that McCarthy (1993) identifies promotes 'cultural understanding' as a goal. These approaches attempt to improve communications between members of different ethno-racial groups with the notion that the increased awareness of the differences of others will facilitate an acceptance of those differences. This approach necessarily champions the idea of cultural relativism, each culture has its own merit and can only be judged from within. The following rationale statement from the Taylor policy derives from this approach,

[Taylor] encourages interpersonal relations that aspire to the rationalization of harmony, mutual respect and understanding (Race Relations Policy, Taylor School District: 1992).

The second emphasis within contemporary multicultural education, that of cultural competence, is an approach which supports the doctrine of cultural pluralism. The argument is that students should receive an education which will develop their 'cross-cultural competencies' (Banks, 1988). Therefore, bilingual and ethnic studies programs will help students preserve their ethnicity, increase their self-esteem, and develop increased awareness of other groups. Two of the five rationale statements of the Taylor policy fall under this emphasis,
[Taylor] acknowledges the challenge of becoming responsive to the needs of a pluralistic society.

[Taylor] affirms that the racial, ethno-cultural, linguistic, and religious diversity of its students, staff, and community is a source of enrichment and strength in Canada. It is through the celebration of diversity and the recognition of similarities that understanding and meaning are built. (Race Relations Policy, 1992).

A third component of contemporary multicultural education seeks the cultural emancipation of underclass minority youth. By teaching a reform orientated curriculum which focuses on minority history and cultural achievements, minority youth will have increased self esteem, decreased alienation in school, and as a result, attain life long success. The final rationale statement of the Taylor policy identifies barriers that minority may face and need be removed.

[Taylor] acknowledges that racial, ethno cultural, linguistic, and religious groups may encounter barriers to full participation in education and employment opportunities. The district is committed to eliminate these barriers (Race Relations Policy, 1992).

A Critique of Current Models of Multicultural Education

Within these three approaches: cultural understanding, cultural competence, and cultural emancipation, we find the vast majority of work done in multicultural education in Canada. I would also agree with McCarthy (1993), West (1993, 1995) and others that
these approaches contain fundamental flaws that prevent them from addressing racism in a comprehensive manner. The first flaw of these approaches is their almost exclusive dependence on "the reversal of values, attitudes, and the human nature of social actors understood as individuals" (McCarthy, 1993: 292). They aim for a "prejudice less goal" (Banks, 1988) which targets White students and knowledge managers as flawed protagonists in racial relations or seek to "improve" minority students so they can "fit in" better into the so-called mainstream. By not recognizing the social and anthropological factors in the creation of racial inequity, these approaches do not see schools as sites of power in which competing racialized groups with differing resources and capacities maneuver and impact the status quo as well as the possibility, direction, and pace of potential change. Schools, as institutions, are sites in which 'common sense' practices of popular racism are embedded (Chesler, 1976) into the fabric of school political curriculum, culture and organization. We continue to witness the 'common sense' articulation of Asian students towards the sciences for example. In the British and American context, studies have also challenged the myth that higher academic achievement for minority students resulting from sensitized curriculum is directly linked to improved job opportunities in the workplace. Carmichael and Hamilton (1967), Sullivan (1990), and Troyna (1984) have each found that racial and social connections rather than educational qualifications fostered comparatively superior job opportunities for White students.

A second concern is the apparent lack of effectiveness of strategies aimed at reducing prejudice in White knowledge managers and students. A wide range of studies (Buckingham, 1984; Fish, 1981; Sleeter, 1993) have reported that individuals take from
the race awareness training that which fits into their ‘common sense’ essentialist views of human relations.

A third concern with a psychological focus centers on the definitions of culture utilized by schools. As teachers lead their students to study ‘other cultures,’ assist their students to develop cross-cultural competencies, and teach minority students about their own histories, a question which emerges is how are the culture[s] of study selected? A tendency exists to ignore the dynamic nature of late twentieth century cultures, especially in multi-ethnic societies like Canada. Consequently, in our classrooms what is often taught is cultural heritage rather the vibrant, contemporary cultures that people actually live in the here and now.

A final flaw identified by McCarthy is that proponents of traditional multiculturalism do not address the very target that is at the heart of transformative themes in multicultural education, a questioning of the embedded nature of the Eurocentric basis of school curriculum and social organization. The western perspective is so embedded that it is recognized as just ‘normal’ in contemporary Western society. Conservative theorists such as Bloom (1987), Hirsch, Jr. (1987), and D’Sousa (1991) have recently reinvigorated acceptance of Euro-Westerness as being the sole foundation of the central canon of knowledge. Contemporary multicultural education approaches have tended to add units or courses of ‘otherness’ as an appendage on the periphery of school knowledge rather than challenging what should be in the central canon of knowledge itself. Subsequently, for many the term ‘Canadian’ still means Euro Canadian and ‘multicultural’ means ‘others’ in education today.
Towards a Reformist Multiculturalism

To address these concerns, McCarthy argues for an evolution of a critical multiculturalism that draws upon insights provided by research in curriculum development, anti-racist education and post-modern literatures (Giroux, 1985, 1992; Hall, 1988, 1992; JanMohamed and Lloyd, 1987; Said 1992). By “rethinking multiculturalism” (McCarthy, 1993: 294) McCarthy joins other cultural critics in attempting to address issues of representation as well as issues concerning the distribution of power in and outside of schools. Two major components must be included in a critical approach to multiculturalism. These are: a need to move beyond psychology, and an analysis of the changing meaning of race.

* Factors Beyond Psychology

An established social psychological literature points out that there is a high correlation between people identified as having authoritarian personality traits and their propensity for exhibiting racist attitudes (Bettelheim 1964; Rokeach 1966; Altemeyer 1950; Adorno 1950; Doob and Sears 1939; Berkowitz 1962). Another research tradition
started with the Chicago School of Race Relations, also exists that points out that the
development of psychological barriers are fundamental in the development of racist
thoughts and actions (Moodley, 1981). Headed by theorists such as Robert Park and
Louis Wirth, this tradition argued that only psychological barriers stood in the way of
integration in 20th century America. They believed that a “cycle theory of contact,
conflict, accommodation, and assimilation” would result in minority groups being
absorbed into the dominant culture (Moodley, 1981). Following these psychologically
based foundations for racist thought, racism is seen as a problem of wrongful thinking by
individuals. Therefore, racism can be remedied by educational initiatives aimed at
individuals (Chesler, 1976) as education is utilized to develop positive attitudes in
individuals by increased their cultural understanding. Unfortunately, these approaches do
not progress beyond helping some people to recognize and celebrate the differences
between people. This does not address the fact that in spite of people enjoying the
exploits of Michael Jordan, taking in a pow wow, or even having ‘good friends who are
Chinese,’ many people still do express overtly racist opinions. More dangerous, these
same people will consciously or unconsciously act in ways that lessen the life
opportunities of other people. In order to move beyond simplistic understandings of
racism, which do not account for these realities, we must take a deconstructionist
approach to the contemporary reality around us. This will assist us to recognize the
contradictions between the “shared experience, common cultural orientations, and cross-
racial friendships” (Hatcher and Troyna, 1993:121) that are in evidence in Canadian
society and the continuation of the struggles that people have in reconciling their personal
cross-racial friendships with wider, perhaps negative influences (Hatcher and Troyna,
1993: 121). Perhaps an obvious manifestation of this schizophrenia is observed in the research of Jones (1988), Hewitt (1986), and Back (1991) who found that while many young Whites assume the adoption of Black influenced language and dressing styles, may increasingly be a part of multi-racial friendship groupings as well as have quite common neighborhood experiences with their Black peers, they still can be under the influence of a myriad of contradictory influences from others sources that contradict their positive interactions with people of color (Hatcher and Troyna, 1993:121). Racism is alive and well in spite of cultural contact and resultant proclamations such as ‘I don’t even see color.’ What is seen as correct in the home, what is seen on the television [images of Blacks as macho, anger rappers or Indians as militant rebels dominate] and what is perceived in the general culture [Chinese are all rich] can and do continue to battle with what individuals may experience individually in their own social lives. Consequently, one can conclude that ideas can be gained from a variety of sources and that they do interplay with each other. Indeed, while increased cultural contact may not necessarily lead to a decrease in racism, it has been noted that anti-racist stances are often established “in the absence of school policies or largely independent of them” (Hatcher and Troyna, 1993:121). These might originate from the same sources, parents, general community and the like that in other situations may in fact increase racism. Quite clearly, programs must, in taking into account the sum of people’s experiences and understand that these experiences fall under a very wide range of influences beyond the individual. The historic relationship between ethnicity and power, a relationship that Moodley states is “a weapon to gain or defend shared interests” (Moodley, 1981: 9), is formative in establishing the historically subservient position of African-Americans in
America for example (Mannix, 1962). This relationship has been further explored in various populations by others (Porter 1965; Moodley 1981; Peter 1981; Bagley 1984). These findings support the argument that students must not learn only about their cultural heritage, they need to go beyond, to critically analyze the structural class and economic and political factors that influence their life chances (Bullivant 1981). This is to proceed from soft multiculturalism to what Echols and Fisher call “hard multiculturalism” (Echols and Fisher 1992). Anti-racist education that is geared towards rebuilding damaged minority individuals and communities must go beyond a celebration of heritage. A fresh exposure to a heritage that may have been overshadowed, downplayed, ignored or perhaps misrepresented can be an extremely empowering experience. Whether a celebration of this historical information will in fact facilitate cultural understanding is highly dubious. Education must also show the linkages to power and class. Whether by way of an overt controlling of social institutions, Gramsci’s ‘hegemony,’ or by way of the subtle ‘cultural production’ spoken of by Paul Willis (1990), the results are evident that a truthful study of culture and heritage reveal powerful linkages to the maintenance of power by certain groups in society. This notion is well supported by Porter in his 1965 Canadian classic The Vertical Mosaic, and others (Dahlie and Fernando 1981; Peter 1981; Moodley 1981). To go beyond purely psychological foundations is to see diversity as a starting point in the analysis of the varying ways that individuals and groups have and are currently facing discrimination. Stuart Hall makes this point strongly,

...If you present an idealized picture of a ‘multicultural’ or ‘ethnically varied’ society which doesn’t look at the way in which racism has combined with, for example, sexism is working back within the Black population itself, ... you will have done absolutely nothing whatsoever for the political understanding of your students (Hall, 1993:120).
Empowering education, whether geared towards Blacks, Indians, Whites, Asians, or preferably all of them, means a full recognition and coming to terms with the fact that in spite of any progress at the individual psychological level, racism is still a factor in the lives of all of us. It is this recognition that necessitates a progression towards anti-racist, social reconstructionist policies (Fleras 1993; Sleeter and Grant, 1994; Moodley 1992; Troyna 1989). Educational progress must include an analysis of how educational institutions do business and not just a concern with the groups subjected to racism. It must concern itself with an analysis of the totality of the business of education.

From this perspective, we find less emphasis on the lifestyles and cultures of ethnic minority groups and greater attention to the structures that produce, sustain and legitimate values and practices that help maintain racial inequality. Furthermore, this conception eschews the conservative model of schooling, and demands a radical and comprehensive reappraisal of the nature and functions of formal education (Troyna, 1993: 178).

Beyond curriculum reform, beyond cross-cultural understanding, transformational education needs to examine other areas of education that perpetuate racism. How do individuals in power positions hire and promote teachers and administrators? Is it always because of what is in the resume? Buchignani (1984) argues that a vigorous teacher education along with in servicing programs are needed so that higher percentages of leaders in the classrooms and the schools can model as well as teach the before mentioned ideals. Along with John Rex (1989), he also asserts that a policy of direct behavior modification and zero tolerance discrimination policies need to be implemented. In essence, anti-racial educational initiatives must be multi-pronged attacks that do not
overestimate the power of interpersonal relations or the development of survival capital in minority individuals. There exist in modern culture powerful currents for the development of group identities, some of which can be ethno-racial. The "embeddedness" (Chesler 1976) of some of the foundations of racism can not be extracted by improving interpersonal relations no matter how respectful or understanding. 

A clear example of the shortcomings of traditional approaches to race relations education can be found in the continuance of racist attitudes towards Indian people in Canada. Comments like ‘they get free education out of our pay cheques,’ or ‘they would be nothing without the White man!’ are often spewed out by ‘educated’ people who view themselves as enlightened. There exists within Canada a widespread denial of the existence of a generalized racism. Strategies limited to the psychological realm, increased cross cultural contact, the teaching of native culture, and the promotion of ‘tolerance’ are not all that is necessary to dynamite such racism. As Calliou puts it, the Socratic maxim to “know thyself” (1995: 57) needs to extend beyond an awareness of ones own feelings and actions. It also means one needs to become aware of the systemic privileges and powers that do or do not exist because of ones racial identity. She argues that education around Indian issues needs to explore the historical and current dynamics of institutional racism as well as the ‘why’ and ‘how’ of personal intolerance. Furniss (1992) and Haig-Brown (1991) have written about the experiences of Indian people who attended residential schools. Both writers found that the racism experienced by the students was not perpetrated by any one individual, rather, the abuses were a part of an institutional pattern. This form of racism fits Williams’ definition of institutional racism,
Institutional racism can be defined as those established laws, customs and practices which systematically reflect and produce racial inequalities in American society. If racist consequences accrue to institutional laws, customs, or practices the institution is racist whether or not the individuals maintaining those practices have racist intentions (Williams, 1985: 131).

Many of the stories of abuse were very slow to leak out of the two residential schools that the students attended. The responses of the religious organizations and government, which ran the schools, to any inquiries were consistent; the students did not engage in sufficient dialogue from which any problems or abuses could be identified and then dealt with. Another conclusion was that the resistant behaviors of the students, a response to assimilative and often abusive practices, was evidence of their ‘wildness’ because of grossly inadequate child rearing in their home communities. In the lives of students, relationships with family and community in many cases were effectively destroyed as students could no longer communicate in traditional languages. In addition, many grew to internalize a self-hatred of their home communities. Haig-Brown found that students learned to wax floors, an unnecessary skill for people with earthen floors, however, the fact that the Indians did not have floors to be waxed spoke loudly to many students of the inferiority of their cultural heritage. As a result of their schooling many students were trained for positions in White society which filled only the lower echelons of the socioeconomic scale, often for the profit of the school itself or area White farmers and businessmen. This is similar to the manner in which ‘outed’ Indian students from Carlisle, an early American model of Indian residential schooling, were unpaid labor for White households. The absence of parents and the total lack of any true-life education
allowed generations of people to enter adult life with no parenting skills and clearly
devastated psyches. Clearly, racism and its devastating effects were not the singular
results of psychological foundations for racist action. Rather, they were perpetrated by
individuals, working on the behalf of organizations imbued with racist ideologies.
Further, the racism faced by Aboriginal people went beyond the grounds of the schools
and determined to a great extent the socioeconomic positions that they would hold in the
social hierarchy. Systemic racism was also at work.

Systemic racism .... the laws, rules, and norms woven into the social
system that result in an unequal distribution of economic, political, and
social resources and rewards among various racial groups (Henry,

As a result education concerning Indian students needs to go beyond a goal of ‘tolerance
for others’ or a ‘celebration of native culture’ to provide a clear understanding of why
many Indian people are in unfortunate positions and the role that mainstream society has
played in creating these positions. It also needs to lead to an empowering of Indian youth
to be who they are and for mainstream society to accept and welcome them for who they
are: to create what Calliou refers to as “right relations” (Calliou, 1995: 50) between
people who are a part of the same whole.
The Changing Meaning of Race

In the Taylor School District Race Relations Policy, one of the rationale statements declares, "[We] acknowledge the challenge of becoming responsive to the needs of a pluralistic society" (1992). As previously stated, this can mean being responsive to what are believed to be uniform, static cultures within our society. However, individuals within identified ethno-racial groups exhibit wide ranging opinions, experiences, desires and needs. Paul Willis speaks of the ongoing viscosity of culture or "cultural production" (Willis, 128), whereas Cameron McCarthy and Warren Critchlow argue the elusiveness of racial identity, the evolving contradictions that can evolve within a group, as class, geographic, gender, and ideological interests intersect with racial interests - what McCarthy calls "nonsynchrony" (McCarthy and Critchlow, 1993: xix). Because of these intersecting interests, multi-generational Chinese-Canadians can be against increased immigration from Hong Kong because they have the same fears of increased housing costs that many of their White neighbors have. In a related sense, while many Indian groups do share much in common with each other, including a history of often harmful relations with White people, to reduce their varied experiences, perspectives and attitudes to a stereotyped Indian culture, a "pervasive Pan-Indianism" (Calliou, 1995: 52) is incorrect and incredibly simplistic. "I am Lakota..., I am Creek..., I am Ojibway... I am Chickasaw..." (Hampton, 1995: 23) reflects the increasing heard cry of First Nations people to reclaim and redefine in their own terms their own racial space. This need to move away from an "essentialist" analysis of pluralism (McCarthy and Critchlow, 1993: xviii) is well supported by recent studies in the field (McCarthy and
Critchlow 1993; Hall 1989; Wright 1978; Moodley 1985, 1992). If the specific nature of a community’s localized character is not recognized and then taken into consideration, any educational policy attempting to become increasingly relevant to them is doomed to failure.

**Prophetic Criticism**

Concepts such as multicultural education, multiculturalism, multi-ethnic education, ethnic education, ethnic studies, cultural pluralism and ethnic pluralism are often used interchangeably or to convey different but highly ambiguous meanings (Bullivant, 1986:34).

Ambiguity surrounding multiculturalism, race, race relations, etc., can be placed under one all encompassing question -- ‘The Race Question’ (Apple, 1993). Again, this concept of race is a social construct that is utilized in different ways by different actors. For those on the right, fearful of rapid political and social changes, it is expressed in terms of ‘others.’ Categorization of other racial groups as ‘others’ represents a desire to retain the historical, cultural status quo. For many socially mobile members of identified racial minority groups, racial classification for purposes of affirmative action programs is something to escape from in order to vanquish any lingering questions as to their worthiness in their positions. For proponents of Afrocentrism or ‘Red Power,’ to actively promote racialized exclusivity is an attempt to survive and to acknowledge loudly ‘here I am.’ For others, categories of White, Asian, Black, and Red, are illusionary categories - something we can shake off and then allow ourselves to believe that we truly have
escaped for a harmful history. Regardless of these and other perspectives, postmodern societies globally and in Canada specifically are market driven societies in which pleasure is often the objective and fear of crime and violence is real. There is also a widening gap between the rich and poor. In spite of this, a global economy is linking people in ways unimagined, while nation states themselves face increased fragmentation. Within this milieu are competing cries for difference / diversity, individuality vs. demands for commonalties, unity and the volk. In trying to equate these realities together with commonsense understandings of ‘who I am’ and ‘who we are,’ many are stuck within camps of understanding that do not encourage discussion or analysis. Mainstream institutions, such as school systems, have in large part absorbed critical approaches to diversity into traditional conservative paradigms. As a result, they have effectively neutered any truly reconstructionist discussions within the system and have instead established high sounding visionary policies that do not and cannot have any truly revisionist ability on their own.

We need to approach race and race relations generally, and policy specifically with new frameworks of analysis that provide a more truthful lens upon social dynamics. This calls for a reconstructionist multicultural framework which seeks to promote a prophetic vision, a “far reaching idealization of human, especially cultural potentialities” (Sleeter, 1993: 210) which is built upon flexibility and improvisation in its combat of racial discrimination and absence of equality in society. These potentialities are not ‘pie in the sky.’ By not being stuck within narrow paradigms such as ‘cultural pluralism’ with which to address issues of race and racism they are more attuned to contemporary reality. A new framework would take advantage of bold, imaginative understandings emerging
from the fields of sociology, women's studies, anthropology, history, and economics. These approaches undermine traditional divisions of study in favor of an imaginative deconstruction of postmodern culture with attention to the particular "circumstances of our present moment" (West, 1993:11). West identifies the emergence of a new kind of cultural worker associated with the politics of difference; teachers, leaders, media people, artists, managers, union members, and others who,

trash the monolithic and homogenous in the name of diversity, multiplicity, and heterogeneity; to reject the abstract, general and universal in light of the concrete, specific, and particular; and to historicize, contextualize, and pluralize by highlighting the contingent, provisional, variable, tentative, shifting, and changing (West, 1993:11).

In light of reexaminations of history and continual critique of what is 'common sense', this approach responds creatively to contemporary society. The "new cultural politics of difference" (West, 1993) is practiced by agents who work for social action, for an expansion of freedom, democracy, and individuality (West, 1993), through an enlarged political literacy. These goals dovetail nicely with the written intentions of the Taylor School District Race Relations Policy. To accomplish these goals, cultural workers need to address the very operations of power that exist in their work contexts. This can be a matter of great difficulty as they work for systemic change from within the system they would like to reform.

A 'new cultural politics of difference' as proposed by West recognizes the contemporary world as a postmodern world, however, he argues against the adoption of 'postmodernism' as an organizing epistemology. While postmodernism effectively "deconstructs stable conceptions of subjectivity, and meaning" (Pile and Rose, 1992) and
criticizes the totalizing meta-narratives of most modern discourse (Flax, 1987; Jamison, 1984; Lyotard, 1984), postmodernistic relativism presents the dangerous implications of treating all reality claims as equally valid (Roman, 1993: 81) rather than exposing the narratives to critique in search of truth. West places a new cultural politics of difference within a moral universalist worldview that sidesteps problematic relativism and yet retains and encourages an openness to ongoing discussion and critique. In so doing, critical multiculturalism may borrow insight from Christianity, or from holistic paradigms of Indian education as presented by Black Elk (1995), Calliou (1995) and Hampton (1995). They approach reconstruction’s of Indian education through models’ that do not exclude the spiritual, material or relational. “Everything in the universe is related within the tradition of Lakota spirituality; everything is relational and can only be understood that way (Black Elk :148). The holistic paradigm spoken of by Black Elk does not allow the spirit world, theology, or holiness to be marginalized as they often are in the secular world. In fact, such a paradigm maintains that we cannot address racism and the necessary healing from its harmful effects without a holistic approach. Calliou (1995) weds such an approach to the pervasive Canadian self-image of being ‘peacekeepers’. She explores the interconnectedness of racism, anti racism, multiculturalism, and peacekeeping. In so doing, she proposes an integration of approaches which take into account the psychological and emotional roots or racism, the physical actions which must celebrate humanity in its many variations as well as the cognitive realm which deconstructs the compartmentalization which often occurs with racist thought. Importantly, she also contends that because conflict, hierarchy, and power relations are endemic to the human condition, an active peacemaking that does not foolishly believe
racism will just ‘go away’ is needed. Such an approach demands a new culture of unconditional respect and compassion. From within such a worldview, wisdom would be gained which would recognize that any violation of the value of another is to harm ourselves. To ‘break the circle,’ is to foster a situation that is unnatural to us and leads to conflict. This is not to say that peacemaking is utopian. It is to say that peacemaking is just a recognition that guiding principles of respect and compassion can facilitate harmony instead of our all too common capacity for conflict (Calliou, 1995: 69).

The recognition of the interconnectedness of all life helps to ensure that in spite of any relational inequalities, all people are constitutive elements of that life rather than additions or defections from that life. In addition, work for change can occur within institutions that may on many levels be hostile to change. When the landscape is viewed holistically, it is then possible to see that change is in the self-interest of every individual.

An argument can also be made that schools, as established institutions, are concerned with the maintenance of the status quo -- not the evolution of it. Banks points out that schools can indeed be agents to change.

The school, both explicitly and implicitly, teaches both democratic and anti-equalization values, just as wider society does ... this moral dilemma made social change possible because most Americans felt a need to make democratic ideals they inculcated and societal practices more consistent (Banks, 1986: 227).

West argues that we need to develop new cultural politics of difference, an endeavor that he claims faces three significant challenges; an intellectual challenge, an existential challenge, and a political challenge.
The Intellectual Challenge

The intellectual challenge today is to wrestle over appropriate methodologies with which to approach race relations given the dominance of the academy in intellectual life. How do we think of representational practices within the history, culture, and societies in which they are framed: ethnicity models? anti-racism? structuralist multiculturalism? West contends that we can only grapple with this dilemma when we address the insights and blindness' of earlier attempts with consideration to “different histories, cultures, and societies,” that are evolving in our contemporary world (West, 1993:12).

Again, the key starting point in any historical timeline of race and racism is the development of the Age of Europe. Breakthroughs in oceanic transportation, urbanization, industrialization, and colonization between 1492 and 1945 shaped and defined the modern era (West, 1993:12). Ideas such as individuality and democracy, emerging as critiques against European societal hegemony, resulted in the Protestant Reformation, the Enlightenment, the development of Marxist ideology, labor movements, and the Civil Rights movement. These ideals still inform the commonsense understanding of what First World modern societies stand for, thus Canadian character is the one of ‘peacekeeping and orderliness,’ and American character is one of ‘justice and equality.’ Yet, tremendous contradictions between imagined ideals and the everyday realities of peoples’ lives have been glaring. West identifies nineteenth century English cultural critic Matthew Arnold as the creator of a critical discourse which sought the
codification of secular culture. This culture contained and incorporated contending class interests emerging within Europe at a time in which religion failed to remain the glue with which to hold together contending interests. Arnold observed in his Stanzas from the Grand Chartreuse (1969) that he felt a sense of a “widening between two worlds, one dead/ the other powerless to be born.” (Arnold, 1969: 302). For him, the best of this age was “a melange of Periclean Athens, late Republican / early Imperial Rome, and Elizabethan England” (West, 1993 :13), a new conception-theorization of culture which could only be promoted, maintained and protected by a homogenizing of cultural discourse in the academy. This idealization of modern society, which in many ways is still with us, was dramatically rocked by the collapse of the Age of Europe by the twin conflagrations, World Wars I and II. Following the sensibility seen in Arnold’s The Grand Chartreuse, Valery’s question briefly exposed the shallowness of the dominating idealization of European culture,

Will Europe become what it is in reality - that is - a little promontory on the continent of Asia? or will it remain what it seems- that is, the elect portion of the terrestrial globe, the ‘pearl of the sphere, the brain of the vast body?’ (Valéry, 1962: 31)

In response, T.S. Eliot emerged to continue the Arnoldian tradition as a way to regain European cultural order and stability. In many ways, his writings reflect the angst that continues to flow beneath the surface of First World sensibilities; a harkening to the ‘good old days’ of White cultural domination. Again, this is reflected in opposition to multicultural initiatives in the USA by contemporary conservative educators like Bloom
(1987), D’Sousa (1991), Hirsch (1987), and Ravitch (1990) in their attempts to “reinvigorate the myth of Westernness and the role of Europe” (West, 1993) into the academy and mainstream culture. Conservative American commentator George Will puts it directly,

Our country is a branch of European civilization... 'Eurocentricity' is right in American curricula and consciousness, because it accords with the facts of our history, and we - and Europe - , are fortunate for that (Will, 1989: 3).

Following the Age of Europe as the second of West’s historical co-ordinates is the American Era of the second half of the twentieth century. As represented by George Will, critical discourse in the academy has been traditionally dominated by a male WASP elite loyal to an Eurocentrist cultural criticism. However, along with incredible economic expansion, the American century also has contained active cultural ferment in which waves of non-WASP intellectuals [New York intellectuals in criticism, Jewish entrance into mass media, etc.] have initiated the undoing of Arnoldian hegemony in the academy. In addition, West identifies the professionalization and specialization of higher education as a means by which radical, transformative ideas are quieted, contained, and integrated, what Trilling call the “socialization of the anti-social, or the acculturation of the anti-cultural, or the legitimization of the subversive” (Trilling, 1965: 26). Again, transformative ideas are emerging from newly created individuals and communities that provide a new lens upon what we often see as ‘normal’ and ‘neutral.’

The third and final of West’s historical co-ordinates is the decolonization of the Third World. This co-ordinate is key to grasping the significance of the transition from the modern era to a postmodern era. The actuality of a decolonized world has been
steadily evident since the first modern defeat of a western nation by a non-western one; Japan’s 1905 victory over Russia and subsequent revolutions throughout Africa, Asia and the rest of the entire colonized world. As a result of the construction and intersection of new identities, new perspectives on colonization, the codification of ‘North’ and ‘South,’ and the relationality of global capital, fresh insight into the ‘costs’ of European and the American hegemony are emerging. Decolonized sensibilities and the growing number and power of ‘others’ in critical discourse has encouraged increased attention to the “exclusions, silences, and blindness of male WASP cultural homogeneity, and its concomitant Arnoldian notions of the canon” (West, 1993:16). At the same time ‘others’ are having a dramatic impact on forms of popular culture [music, sports, art] and non-White people are living everywhere and in ways that do not fit their previous locations in the previous, modern socio-economic milieu.

As highlighted by the writings of Omi and Winant (1993) spoken of earlier, these histories, the European Age, the American Century and decolonization continue to have a tremendous impact upon the understandings and construction of race and race relations today. The major contribution that a new cultural politics can offer is the illumination of other ways of addressing these histories rather than the Arnoldian ideological frameworks that are currently dominant. Theoretical inquiry, what West call ‘demystification” (West, 1993:19), seeks to track the complex dynamics of institutional power structures and to grasp the way in which the representational ideologies of knowledge managers are creative responses to specific circumstances and situations within the postmodern world and yet avoid the reductionisms that are so easy to fall into.
The Existential and Political Challenge

West argues that it is difficult for individuals to be critics while being dependent on institutions that provide the paycheques, approval, and acceptance that many of us desire. He states that a characteristic of any prophetic criticism needs to be a “capacity for and promotion of relentless criticism and self-criticism” (West, 1993:21) of traditional paradigms of multiculturalism which ignore history and race as well as essentialist categorizations of groups by Whites and people of color alike. A reformist cultural critic needs to avoid the following pitfalls; a need for acceptance within the mainstream, a narrow focus on single dimension [ie. Afrocentric] approaches, and a tendency to become an ‘on my own’ critic and thus avoid criticism. West identifies the most desirous option as the “critical organic catalyst” (West, 1993:22). Such a person is well versed and attuned to mainstream culture and seeks to gain the best from it, yet also maintains grounding in subcultures of criticism. Such an individual assertively addresses the weaknesses and blindness’ within the institutions and continually seeks alliances and coalitions with other critics.

This leads to the political challenge of promoting this prophetic vision of the possible while avoiding “ethnic chauvinism and faceless universalism” in the quest to challenge the retrospective notions of “modernity, mainstream, difference, otherness” (West, 1993:22-23).

Prophetic criticism seeks to identify Arnoldian constructions in Canadian high culture which have helped us to retain a self image as ‘race accommodating’
peacekeepers in comparison to the perceived intolerance of our American neighbors and in so doing totally ignoring situations like Oka and Kahnesatake.

Prophetic criticism leads to discussions about who has social power within schools and neighborhoods. Who determines the cultural communication and pedagogical styles in schools? How is culture, knowledge and power linked in ways that determine what multiculturalism will look like in schools? What and whose knowledge is needed in schools that are under the direction of a race relations policy?

Prophetic criticism seeks to draw upon the ‘practical consciousness’ of knowledge managers to seek out what they know, believe and desire. The best way in which to draw on this practical consciousness is to engage actively in reflective conversation with knowledge managers. This can assist in the exposing of the practical ideological forms - the epistemic authority that sustains the attitudes and practices of current local thought on race and race relations.

As previously stated, it is only by locating common ground in broad concepts such as equality, fairness, etc. that such a dialogue begins without touching off heightened wariness, defensiveness, and guardedness. A ‘Jazz’ approach that seeks a multifaceted, imaginative deconstruction of ideas and feelings under an umbrella of a race transcending - moral agenda for improvement of the human condition is the desire.

I would argue that most individuals in the field of education are there to do what they believe is right. Many teachers, administrators and board members have a mindset of equity, fairness and opportunity. Therefore, we must approach such individuals from such an enlightened perspective. This is Michael Apple’s call for a new politics, a politics of ‘non-reformist reforms’ that attempts to build,
‘integrated’ political projects and alliances from within the already hegemonic struggles and everyday practices of teachers, students, parents, administrators, and minority and working class youth (McCarthy, 1993: 120).

I might expand the list to further include all youth, for they are all factors within the equation of race relations. This can truly occur only in an educational system that is social reconstructionist. Fortunately, there is a philosophical legacy within Canada that idealizes peacemaking, democracy, and harmony. Within schools, a dusting off the charters and mission statements that are on the walls or in the books will allow one to see that the idealized notions exist at least in spirit if not in action. These ideals are usually very democratic in their tone. This is the same language as reconstructionist education, the Great Law of Peace of the Iroquois Confederacy, and of Martin Luther King’s ‘I Have a Dream’ speech. It is time for us to start talking this language to each other.

**Educator Attitudes Towards Racial, Ethnic, and Cultural Differences**

North American research that has collected data on educator attitudes towards students with ethno-racial differences clearly reveals three common themes. Firstly, many educators do not believe that race related problems exist. Secondly, many educators believe that students who are ‘different’ should integrate into the dominant culture, lessen the ‘differences’ to a considerable extent. Thirdly, many educators believe that the problems are largely brought on by the minority individuals/groups themselves.
In their study of the Vancouver School Board’s Race Relations Policy, Frank Echols and Donald Fisher noted that only 7.7% of the teaching population was non-White. Throughout the elementary teaching staffs in particular and the entire teaching population in general, they reported a general attitude of ‘no problems here’ concerning relations between different groups (Echols and Fisher, 1992). They also reported that staffs at schools with large ESL populations did experience frustration and stress in trying to teach these students because they had to make their materials less rigorous. If the students did learn English and did adapt to the school culture, educators perceived that no problems existed. However, if these students did not integrate, educators tended to see them as linguistically, academically and culturally deficient (Fisher and Echols, 1989). Rather than viewing different languages and cultures as potential assets, many educators treated these differences as obstacles to the progress of the students. The study also reported that under the ‘no problems here’ attitude existed a “.... subtle and ingrained kind of racism [that] shows up in the way that students are thought of” (Fisher and Echols, 1989: 123). The researchers commented that the educators seemed to be unaware of their own racial biases as seen in their gestures, expressions, etc. in dealing with minority students or in their staff room recess and lunch hour banter.

Christine Sleeter conducted a two-year ethnographic study of a staff development program in multicultural education. Again, the teaching population in the school district in which she did her study was overwhelmingly White. This is an important factor in her study, the Vancouver study, and in the Taylor study because according to her, “Whites tend to live in ethnic encapsulation” (Sleeter, 1993:189). Their life experiences [neighborhoods, upbringing, consumption of media] create a worldview that supports
White privilege in a way Euro - North Americans view as natural and fair. In her report, Sleeter states that many educators claim they do not see color or differences. They believe that all students are the same, a belief similar to the ‘no problem here’ attitudes found in the Vancouver study. Most educators viewed minority students as simply the latest of a long line of immigrant groups who will have to engage in the same process of ‘self help, assimilation, and perseverance’ that previous groups had undergone before truly becoming part of the larger society (Sleeter, 1993). Sleeter also found that most educators viewed race in terms of ethnicity. As a result they believe that racial categorization is not a major factor in the life chances of individuals. They believe that all individuals can fully assimilate into society much the same as previous waves of European immigrants had done in the past. Accordingly, current students who are racial, cultural, ethnic or religious minorities, can assimilate into an open Canadian social system in which individual mobility results from hard work. As Omi and Winant explain,

ethnicity theory assigned to blacks and other racial minority groups the roles which earlier generations of European immigrants had played in the great waves of the “Atlantic migration” of the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries (Sleeter, 1993: 160).

With such a perspective, White educators tend to down play the significance of race in the provision of life opportunities. If the minority students do not integrate or do well, it is because of inabilities of that group or individual. Many of the educators in this case associated these students with dysfunctional families, unhealthy communities, and individual lack of ability and motivation. The essential point is that if they want to succeed, if they want to integrate, they can.
A final finding of the Sleeter study is that the educators in the study did not construct new understandings of race as the result of a comprehensive staff development program. Instead, they selected information to add to their preexisting framework for understanding 'differentness' that had to be developed over their lifetimes. If this is true, then the District announcement of a 'commitment to the valuation of differences' cannot be expected to manifest into progressive action. As Echols and Fisher found in Vancouver, "an appearance of cooperation and compliance but little commitment to the cause," (Echols and Fisher, 1989: 144) might be expected from the individuals developing the Taylor policy. Their preexisting understandings and motivations concerning the differences that are becoming more widespread in the student population will offer considerable insight into the potential of the policy. It is interesting that several conclusions made in the literature can be made in Taylor. The district had a previous policy that addressed racism, regulation II - C -- 16, which stated that "racism is not a major problem." Secondly, while the district committee working on the policy was encouraged to address the issue of institutional racism, many members of the committee "felt that it [institutional racism] didn't apply to us" (Mrs. Helen, 1995). Thirdly, several educators expressed the concern that ESL was a large waste of funds. "Past generations didn't get massive funding and they are English speaking now, it [ESL] is just too expensive!" (Teacher Interview, 1995) I suspect that some of the motivations of the committee members of the Taylor policy are similar to those found in these previous studies.
CHAPTER 4 - FINDINGS

Demographic Change in Canada

Teachers are increasing working with extremely diverse student populations because of flourishing diversity within the Canadian population as a whole. As stated previously in chapter one, the population of visible minorities in Canada is growing rapidly. Alongside these increases in diversity, it seems that certain anxieties have correspondingly risen in Canada as well. A variety of polls are revealing that a vast majority of Canadians believe; Canadian immigration should reflect the interests of the majority of Canadians, immigration should not alter Canadian identity and cultural character, and that Canadians wish to retain a traditional culture and ethnic balance (Globe and Mail, 1987; Fleras, 1992).

Within the Taylor School District, the intersection of non White population growth, a history of Anti Orientalism, discrimination against Indian people, and class biases make it apparent that a policy is needed and that knowledge manager attitudes will be very interesting indeed.

Interests and Motivations of Individual Members of the Race Relations Committee

During 1980-1981, the Taylor School District established an ad hoc committee, consisting of representatives of the school board and teacher’s union, to address issues around multiculturalism. An essential driver of the committee was a teacher who was a ‘colored’ immigrant from South Africa. He was a strong advocate for the establishment
of a policy to address racial discrimination. Another educator who eventually became a member of the Race Relations Committee spent a great deal of time discussing these issues with him and envisioning a potential policy. As of June 20, 1981, the Taylor School District established a policy statement on racism:

**POLICY II -- C -- 16**

**RATIONALE** - Racism is not a major problem in schools in School District -, but racism does exist and can occur in banter, racist jokes, name calling, graffiti, stereotyping, threats and insults.

**POLICY** - The Board condemns any expressions of racial ethnic bias in any form by its trustees, administration, staff or students (Notice of motion, Taylor School District).

The statement that racism is not a major problem must be considered in the following context. Firstly, the composition of the community reflected a low level of racial diversity. Secondly, racism was viewed as residing strictly within the realm of the personal rather than institutional. The policy acknowledged that racism did exist and manifested in individual attitudes as demonstrated by behaviors such as joking and stereotyping. As has occurred in Canada on a whole, Taylor School District has since moved into a more expansive phase of race relations work. Specifically, Taylor developed a Race Relations Policy to address inherent racism that may exist within the fabric of schools.

During 1989-1990, several racial incidents involving teachers led to violations of the Provincial Teachers' Association Code of Ethics. The Superintendent of Taylor School District asked the President and First Vice President of the Taylor Teachers'
Association to form a group to address the problem. Including representatives from the School Board and Taylor School Administrators Association, the committee heard details of alleged incidents of discriminatory behavior perpetrated against several district personnel. Because of these meetings, one of the school trustees decided to spearhead the development of a policy that would address the issue of racial discrimination. The 1990-1992 collective agreement between the Taylor Teachers' Association and the Taylor School Board included a ‘Letter of Understanding’ which made a strong statement against racism. It proposed the future development of a District Policy on Race Relations.

On April 14, 1992, school board member Mrs. April Helen submitted a motion to revise Policy II-C-16. She argued that the board needed to address institutional racism more directly by “providing a curriculum and mode of instruction that exposed and addressed the ‘roots’ of racism and discrimination” (Helen, 1994). One of her main motivations for proposing the motion concerned a friend who apparently had faced institutionalized racism during his time of employment with the Taylor School District.

The motion called for the development of a committee including representatives of the Canadian Union of Public Employees [CUPE], the Taylor Teachers Association [TTA], the District Parent Advisory Committee [DPAC], the Taylor School Administrator’s Association [TSAA] as well as student and community representatives. The goal of the committee was to develop a District Race Relations Policy ready for
presentation to the Board by October 1992. The policy would assist in the prevention of racism and would enable the further development of sound relations between racial groups. The goals and motivations of the members of the committee can be garnered through a summary of the committee's meeting agendas and minutes.

Representation from all of the aforementioned shareholder groups was attained. The group decided to postpone the development of the “terms of reference” until community resource persons could share with the committee on definitions and meanings in the area of race relations.

April 24, 1992.
The District Director of Instruction provided a summary of curriculum activities dealing with multiculturalism that were available in the District. The resources reflect an emphasis on cultural [heritage] awareness as the favored approach to diversity.

October 19, 1992.
A senior representative of the School District Student Services Department became the committee Chairperson. He viewed race relations as a component of the broad subject of multiculturalism.

The size of the committee was set at 12-16 members.
November 17, 1992.
A member of the local new immigrant support organization became a community representative. A discussion of the draft terms of reference was again postponed. Plans to search out expertise in this area for possible presentations to the committee were made.

January 12, 1993.
The Westwood Multiculturalism Society presented an “Awareness of Racism Workshop.” The presenters strongly advised the committee to focus on racism before multiculturalism. They also discussed the Echols - Fisher Report (1992) which analyzed the Vancouver Race Relations Policy and its subsequent implementation.

The committee became the ‘Committee on Race Relations.’ They began to study a variety of research materials, Race Relations Policies (George Brown College, Vancouver School District), as well as an article by multicultural educator, James Banks. A presentation by the Westwood Multiculturalism Society encouraged members to move beyond a psychological understanding of racism towards an acknowledgment of the sociological underpinnings of contemporary racism. As a result, the committee developed an increased focus on Race Relations as opposed to Multiculturalism. They also planned to use the Vancouver policy and the Echols - Fisher report as reference points and also use members of the Westwood Multiculturalism Society as consultants.
February 8, 1993.
Agreement on the ‘Terms of Reference’ was made. The purpose of the committee was the following:
1. To review current policy.
2. To develop a rationale for a new Policy.
3. To develop a policy on Race Relations.
4. To work for the implementation of the policy and regulations to become part of the institutional fabric of the district.

February 16, 1993.
The committee discussed the Vancouver School District Policy. They recognized a need to ensure that recommendations become implemented and that a potential policy maintains a focus on racism.

The committee received a report from the district ESL teachers. They stated that they noticed very few incidents of racism. They also recognize a need to get minority parents involved in the schools. There was also further discussion of the Vancouver Policy. The committee agreed that a statement needs to address staff training as well as student training in anti racism. Strong efforts are also needed to include members of minority groups as knowledge managers in the school system as well as ensure the placement of diverse languages, histories and cultures into the social and educational fabric of schools.

The policy draft was discussed and consequently, ‘equity,’ ‘access,’ and ‘justice’ were included into the rationale statements. A strong statement against racism was included in the preamble.
March 29, 1993.
The statement, “The District recognizes that Canadian culture is dynamic and that diversity contributes to its enrichment” was deleted from the policy. The five rationale statements were written according to the following foci: global, national, district, individual and barriers.

April 6, 1993.
The committee received a report on the Vancouver School Board Policy and the Fisher-Echols Report. The report found that the policy suffered due to: lack of awareness on the part of district shareholders, far too many statements, and a lack of financial support to ensure implementation of the Policy recommendations. It was noted that an effective policy needs to have the following characteristics: it needs to be owned by the shareholders, there must be widespread agreement by the shareholders, its goals need to be attainable, the implementation of the policy needs to be monitored and evaluated, and policy strategies need to be integrated into all levels of the district and supported by political will. The following suggestions were made: to include race relations into school charters, focus on justice and equity as opposed to traditional multiculturalism, find ways to include initiatives into the fabric of the district, and focus on process [co-operative strategies] beyond content.

April 20, 1993.
The revised draft of the policy was discussed.

May 13, 1993.
A community forum was held to discuss the Draft Policy.
June 8, 1993.
The report of the Committee on Race Relations was completed and submitted to the Board (Minutes, Taylor Race Relations Committee, 1992-1993).

Impetus for the development of the policy arose from two factors. Firstly, it started during the expansive period of Canadian multiculturalism (Fleras, 1992) in which many school districts and other institutions; banks, unions, colleges, etc., began to develop race relations policies. Secondly, as my 1992 research showed (Brothers, unpublished paper, 1992), there were several people such as Ms. Brenda Ash who were keenly interested in promoting a policy. Another person who generated a strong push for the creation of the policy was School Board member Board April Helen.

For many of the committee members, there was a definite growth in understanding of issues related to race relations. Whereas some of the members were knowledge of multicultural issues, several proceeded from a general unfamiliarity with basic terminology and an idealistic timeline of four months, to the gradual acceptance of the psychological as well as sociological reality of racism - April Helen spoke of “my eyes being opened up” (Helen, 1992). Originally, the committee chairperson placed racism as a component of multiculturalism (Student Services Memorandum, October 19, 1992). This reasoning was questioned during a workshop provided by the Westwood Multicultural Society on January 12, 1993. The workshop leader encouraged the committee to focus on structural racism that may exist within the district as opposed to focusing on multiculturalism. Apparently this created a fair amount of consternation from several members who did not think that it [institutional racism] applied to the
district (Helen, 1992). Others felt that the charge of ‘institutional racism’ was directed specifically and unfairly at the administrative level of the district. In its final form, the policy strongly advocates a challenging of any personal as well as institutional racism that may exist in the district.

In order to obtain more insight into the understandings of culture, race, and multiculturalism that members of the committee held, the researcher conducted a series of interviews with committee members. These interviews provide some insight into the motivations that committee members had for becoming involved in the development of a district race relations policy. The comments gathered from the members were collated according to the previously established categories utilized in the literature review.

Naturally, the individuals developing the policy brought their own societal and cultural perspectives with them to the committee. As well, they shared a connection to the “dynamic and complex cultural institutions” (McCarthy and Critchlow, 1993: xxi) known as schools. To comprehend the goals that the members have for the policy, it is important to make sense of the variability that exists within group. It is important to understand the “differences, unstable alliances, needs, desires, and interests” (McCarthy and Critchlow, 1993: xxi) that often underlie and inform the perspectives of individuals on the question of race and race relations.
Defining Culture

* Culture is Holistic

Since the term 'culture' constantly entered discussions, it is necessary to probe members understanding of the term. Members of the committee shared very similar understandings of culture. Most members spoke of culture as the collection of values, beliefs and "patterns of life" (C2) that a group of people share. People are members of a group because of shared background, ethnicity, place of origin, religion and race. Culture is adapted by individuals via interaction with others as well as by personal agency. "You just get it while you're growing up from your parents and others around you" (C2)!

Accordingly, how individuals make sense of the world and develop particular habits and social traditions is largely framed by the culture within which they constantly interact.

Culture is largely holistic in the sense that it frames the spiritual, material and symbolic characteristics of people. "It is the whole package, the entire way of living" (E1)! April Helen spoke of the impact Christianity has upon her worldview. She claims a calling of "servanthood and concern for others" (A1) guided her responses to how she interacted with others and thought about how to make responses to others. Three members shared how they were taught to be non-prejudicial of others. As a result, they all could recall childhood friendships with people of different racial groups while also remembering that racism was alive and well in their communities. Almost all of the members were clear that they had worldviews that championed ideals of "equity" (E2),
fair play and justice. This worldview framed how they approached their jobs, and how they tried to operate in their private lives as well.

A pattern that emerged with all the members of the committee to different degrees was a recognition that much about their individual 'ideology' was difficult to articulate. Consequently, they needed and enjoyed the dialogue of discussion for it facilitated the emergence of their understandings from within their established cognitive framework.

I asked each member to truly reflect upon their own background in order to understand where they obtained their 'justice oriented' worldview. Members claimed a difficulty in quickly ascertaining the roots of their sense of justice because they had internalized that this ideology was 'just as things were to be.' To them, it was common sense to try to judge others by their individual characteristics and not stereotype because this ideal was a strong part of their cultural upbringing. This is not to say that their belief system went unchallenged, many spoke of incidents and situations where the ideals of justice and equity have and continue to clash with contrary ideals. For example, several members remember being members of cross cultural friendship groups. Upon reflection, they recognized that all of their non-White friends had thoroughly integrated into Euro-Canadian folkways. In contrast, other non-European young people who had not adapted Euro-Canadian folkways were not necessarily included into their peer group (E1, E2, CI). Mrs. Brenda Ash remembered being encouraged by her parents to treat all fellow students as equals. However, when asked how her parents would have responded to her dating a member of another cultural/racial group, she said they would have stated, "Don't be racist but don't do that!" (E2).
Only one of the committee members seemed to have an Arnoldian definition of culture. She defined culture as “all the things that make life rich” (E2). She lamented the slow death of culture in Canada and claimed that as a society we were losing our culture. Upon further discussion, it became clear that she believed that an increasing cultural diversification was making the maintenance of a presumed ‘common culture’ difficult. She claimed that the result was a “watering down” (E2) of culture, the remedy to which was to be the fostering of increased common linkages between individual members of different groups. It was not that the this ‘watering down’ is necessarily a bad development, however, it did mean that certain remedies needed to take place.

Regardless of individual definitions of culture, the overwhelming feeling of the majority of members was that culture did encompass all that a person or group of people is, culture is holistic. It was for this reason that many of them, in spite of pervasive commitments towards equity, recognized that difficulties will emerge as their communities become increasingly diverse. Just as the committee members were influenced by their cultural worldviews, new Canadians are also strongly shaped by their cultural heritage.

The Transmission of Culture

Members of the committee felt that it was difficult to bring about rapid change in the ways that individuals and organizations think and operate. Mrs. Evelyn Wood compared her cultural upbringing as “baggage .... ways of thinking that I am still trying to
change" (C2). She reflected on her early years as a member of an ethnic minority within a primarily monocultural community. In spite of strong efforts by her parents to have the family assimilate into the larger community, they retained many of their traditional cultural practices and worldviews. She went on to reflect that her new cultural insights and practices became an overlay on top of her preexisting insights and practices. Mrs. Grace Jones, an Asian Canadian, was cognizant of the increased impact of her ethnic group within the community, “I am very interested in how we will fit into Taylor and how the existing community will adapt to us” (F3). Given the large size of the new community, she stated that members of her ethnic group were not going to have to change their ways very quickly. For example, given the high number of immigrants, members of her ethnic group can function without skills in the English language. Therefore, there will be a continued maintenance of their linguistic differences. Diversity is not only established, it will continue to grow and be reinforced. Expanding cultural diversity means that it is foolhardy to believe that the masses of newcomers will be assimilated into Euro-Canadian folkways. For this reason, many of members believed that Canadians need to be able to become increasingly open to cultural ways that are different from their own. Due to prevalent ethnocentrism, this is something that can be difficult to do.

The committee members showed a range of opinions concerning the structural versus individual nature of culture. Several members were adamant that racist attitudes are transmitted within families. However, given a belief in a Canadian cultural ethos of ‘fairness, equality and justice,’ they also believed that institutions such as schools are neutral in their treatment of members of majority groups and minority groups alike.
Indeed, because she regarded racism as relatively non-existent, one member stated that “the development of a policy was a waste of time” (C2). A presentation on racism organized for the committee by the Westwood Multicultural Society on January 12, 1993 raised the possibility of the existence of institutionalized racism within the school district. This was strongly opposed by several members of the committee, “I thought that was the end of the committee right there” (A1)! as this notion clashed with their belief in the inherent neutrality of the institution. For others on the committee, it was a revelation that they readily accepted. A female member who worked for the school district promptly compared the existence of institutional racism to the only recently won gains that women have attained in accessing the ranks of administration in the school district. Mr. John Maxwell of the committee, who is Gay, stated that he closely guarded his sexuality when applying to the district only a few years previous. “The fact that I am now ‘out’ indicates how much things have changed but also how much things have been and may be institutionalized” (D1). These sentiments reveal a tendency by some to equate gender and sexual orientation based bias with racial bias, and not differentiate or deal with them in a nuanced way. For many on the committee, it was obvious that intercultural awareness and education was a growing necessity in schools. What was less obvious was an need for an evolution of the ‘invisible curriculum’ of schools. Whereas it was easy for most members to state the need for the inclusion of the histories of others in the curriculum, ESL instruction, and the celebration of cultural diversity, it was not obvious that members saw the existence of cultural bias in the ways assemblies were run, sports were organized and foods were chosen in the cafeteria. These areas were ‘neutral’ in schools and decisions simply reflected ‘the way things should be’. One member reported
a bias in this regard, a visible minority herself who claimed that “Asian students don’t have a voice at assemblies and don’t speak out” (F3). In many of the conversations with members, the idea of change in the cultural space in schools was an interesting idea that they largely had never considered previously, nor was it necessarily obvious to them.

Several members were able to identify the variability of the cultural ideals transmitted through individuals and institutions. “Our openness to some people now is not reflected to all people, there is no doubt that [our] racism towards Indians is entrenched deeply” (E1). Mr. Derek Dallas stated that “in spite of their numbers in the district, if we had separate schools for students needing learning assistance, they might be as much as 50% First Nations” (G2), to reinforce what he believed to be the long term existence of unequal relations with First Nations people. The entrenched nature of culture is further reflected by a member who stated that “whereas youth cultures are slowly beginning to see specific forms of White on Black racism as ‘uncool’, it is still okay to be homophobic and anti-Indian” (E2). The specific historical, geographic and cultural legacy of this region has helped to create a high level of racism towards Indian people as well as a high degree of homophobia. Indeed, this legacy continues to impact socio-racial relations in contemporary Canadian society.

* Is Culture Fixed or Does It Evolve?

A strong common denominator of many of the committee members was the fact that they recognized that racism exists, and that the area of race relations poses future problems. They also shared a common optimism that the ideals of equity, justice and fairness would
triumph in the end. One member stated her outlook stemmed from her Christian faith.
Another shared the strong encouragement that she and her sisters received from her father
- to strive for equality with men within a sexist society. Still another spoke of his
experiences working at an early age with kids with disabilities. These experiences
predisposed these individuals to work towards the progressive ideals of equity, fairness
and justice for all in the area of race relations in spite of their admission that they, for the
most part, had not experienced situations that they considered to be specifically racist. In
fact, several members saw the area of race relations as part of a large issue of human
rights. Mr. Derek Dallas proposed a “policy of difference” (G2) whereas another
member proposed a “human rights policy” (D1) which would include issues of gender
and sexual orientation into the development of policy. Almost all of the members who
mentioned issues of justice, fairness and equality reflected on how their thoughts had
evolved and changed due to specific incidents, experiences and education and as a group
they upheld the importance of personal agency in the formation of cultural responses.
Mrs. Evelyn Wood, who grew up strongly impacted by the fact she was adopted and
ethnic, acquired confidence in herself and increased acceptance of others through “self
exploration” (C2) and much contact with individuals of other racial backgrounds.
Interestingly, because she has been able to adapt to the cultural mainstream and has
historically had contact with racial minority individuals who also had made significant
adaptations to mainstream culture, she strongly believed that visible minorities can and
should do the same thing. Mrs. Brenda Ash claimed that because of her travel experience
as well as the fact that she was fluent in a variety of languages, she had adopted
multiculturalism as a cause as opposed to gender issues. Most members believed that in
spite of the existence of cultural transmission, individuals are influenced by personal experience and can be active agents in the transformation of attitudes towards members of other races.

Members were able to extrapolate their own experiences to those of individuals in society in general. They spoke of the “evolution of culture” (D1).

I grew up in the 50’s and there have been tremendous changes since then. I had to be in the closet when I applied to this district, I had to be, I am now out - there are women administrators and a Black administrator? Wow (D1)!

Mirroring Troyna’s work with multicultural youth cultures (1993) one of the members spoke of the mixed group of kids with whom he grew up. “There were several Indo-Canadians and Asians that were part of our larger group, we didn’t think much of it” (E1). He discussed how these kids were similar to himself in how they dressed, talked and thought and yet he did know that there had been much discrimination against Indo-Canadians and Asians historically as well as during his youth. Many of the members identified cross-cultural / racial friendships that they witnessed on Taylor school yards as evidence of a changing, dynamically evolving society. There did seem to be a paradox that existed for many of them in their observations of cultural essentialism. They tended to accept completely the notion that all people are individuals and cannot be classified by the race because they had experienced cross cultural friendships with people who were as one member put it, “just like us” (E1). Therefore, they were on one level very at ease with the idea of high variability within racial groups. “We can’t put people into boxes” (E2). However, when it came to extremely large scale and rapid immigration of peoples
of other racial, cultural and language groups, it was much easier for them to think in stereotypical ways and lapse into essentialist notions of cultural / racial categories. Several members expressed the importance of these people making strides to ‘fit in’, and the term they was used often in the conversations with committee members. A member who was a recent immigrant from a minority racial background also admitted an essentialist construction of race. “I was surprised to find that not all Whites in Canada were ‘English’. I was shocked to hear even Whites speaking English with an accent!” (F3). These points are only further evidence of the highly variable nature of racial relations and cultural characterization. Whereas culture is transmitted, it is also influenced by the choices that people make themselves; people assimilate, integrate or maintain cultural ‘sameness’ to varying degrees. As a result, the committee members witnessed many cross-racial friendship groups in schools and observed that overt racism was more or less a “taboo” (E2) in school-based youth cultures. Young White, Asian, Indian and First Nations youth are adopting African American musical and clothing stylization’s and “Taiwanese youth are picking up a Cantonese accent on the playgrounds” (F3). At the same time, members report that many large groups of students of different racial groups who are socializing exclusively with their own group members at schools is resulting in some ‘ghettoization’. For some of the committee members, this is a tremendous fear, for others it is an opportunity for us to learn other ways that may be in fact better than what we have now. Mr. Derek Dallas spoke of his recent experiences on a First Nations focus group. “The meetings would go on till 11:00 p.m. but I was just elated! We have so much to learn from these people, their manner, their views - they’re awesome” (G2)!
* If There Is a Problem, Can the Policy Fix It?

Most of the committee members accepted the idea that racism has been a problem historically. They were well aware of historical injustice to First Nations people, Asian, African, and Indo-Canadians in Canadian history. Most of them viewed historical racism as resulting from a lack of understanding of others due to ignorance. Some saw these old antagonisms as the result of competition for power in the form of resources, land and jobs. With respect to Asians, many members believed that a fear that the increasing numbers of Asian-Canadians will dissolve Euro-Canadian cultural dominance lies at the heart of much contemporary racism. Mrs. Evelyn Wood spoke out that a policy was “unnecessary” and that “there was no evidence of racism” (C2). For most of the committee members, culture does seem to be a structure by which problems, in this case competition for resources, can be managed and solved. In order to manage the diversity of the Canadian population, one member argued that assimilation, ‘you become like us,’ was a preferred direction when a group was not too much different culturally or racially. Integration was possible when the other group was very similar and non-threatening whereas exclusion was favored if it was determined that the other group was too much of a threat. The majority of members were well aware of the realities of historic racism, however, they were alarmed to be informed that institutional racism may still occur. Again, this may be true because the members of the committee all seemed to believe strongly that Canada, at least ideally, stands for equality, fairness and justice. As such, its institutions are viewed mostly as neutral in their treatment of individuals and groups.
Committee members viewed culture as a problem solving approach for living in our contemporary environment. A race relations policy, in this respect, was said to reflect the 'common sense' ideology underlying our common Canadian culture. It can reflect our national values and provide the structure and vision with which to identify and address race relations problems.

* Committee Member Reflections on What the Policy Can Accomplish

It was interesting to hear how the members individually interpreted essential ideals of the policy. All seemed to view the policy as a reflection of the common sense ethos of Canadian society. As a result, many of them strongly believed that the policy could be developed in several meetings, “I just wanted to write the policy, I knew what it needed, I was afraid it would just get bogged down” (E2). Mrs. Evelyn Wood stated that the ideals of the policy were so natural and common sense, that a policy was not needed as its ideals were already being carried out, “I think that multiculturalism in the schools is already great! All the food, the dance, the heritage is all accepted! I don’t understand why we need a policy” (C2). Others wished the policy was more inclusive to address gender, disability and sexual orientation issues. Yet, these same individuals, to a person, expressed that racism was specific enough to warrant some particular attention.

In spite of the majority view that the policy reflected Canadian values and was a method to solve the problem of increasing racial difficulties, the articulation of goals by individuals could be divided into two camps. Several believed in an evolving ‘Pan Canadianism’ in which people of the various racial and ethnic groups eventually evolve
towards a common set of core values, language and folkways - an integrative core culture. Individuals spoke of ethnic minorities participating in traditional sports, [football, basketball], and events such as plays and speech contests. They spoke of the need for Asian immigrants to “adapt to Canadian culture” (E1) while mainstream Canadians become ‘more accepting’ of these newcomers. As stated previously, several members remarked that their own cross-cultural friendships were marked by the social integration of their friends into Euro-Canadian folkways. When I asked one member, “what will successful implementation of the policy result in, her answer was “fusion - yes that’s it, fusion!!” (E2). Several members spoke of the difficulties they had growing up in Canada as minorities. They spoke of how their people had struggled to adapt and had in fact adapted. “We didn’t have ESL and we made it. We left our cultural baggage at the door and we’ve been accepted ever since!” (II). From several members I heard a reliance upon the ‘ethnicity argument,’ - all racial and ethnic newcomers face the same difficulties upon arrival to a new country - which has been similarly reported by Moodley (1981) and Sleeter (1993). The ethnicity argument states that problems faced by minorities are remedied once these people integrate into mainstream culture and issues of skin color are insignificant.

Others recognized that Canadian culture will never be a melting pot, and consequently, we should support the vitality of difference. Because people do face major restrictions due to skin color and other cultural markers, we need to foster an ideology whereby diversity is accepted and celebrated and cross-cultural literacies are developed. April Helen held up committee proceedings early in the process so that representatives of racial minority groups could be found and brought onto the committee, previously an all
White body, so that minority ‘voice’ could be heard. In addition, the experiences that can only be lived by non-Whites could be brought to the surface. “Color does matter, we do need the voice of others, many of these diverse groups will remain diverse (A1)!”

Members of this group of like minded individuals spoke of the need to foster increased personal self-esteem in minority group individuals, build cross-cultural competencies, and increase the valuing of difference as something that helps us as opposed to damages us as a nation. Mr. Frank Au argued for increased diversity in the RCMP,

We need to develop the ability to walk in and understand other communities. For example, we need to find a way to allow Chinese into Block Watch, We also now have 13 Chinese RCMP constables - great but only 3 speak Chinese! We need to have members of all groups to become open to others (F3).

For these like-minded individuals, diversity is only going to increase. “We will always be an immigrant society, look at national demographics, global demographics” (F3). Another member stated, “others aren’t going to go away, they will be here and they will be different and evolve different - we need to work with this” (E1). For these individuals, a Canadian cultural ideology of acceptance of difference and strength in difference is the path to follow in order to foster harmony in racial relations.
Defining Race

* Committee Members' Understandings of the 'Race' Concept

As I would argue many people do, most of the committee members had difficulty defining 'race'. Members could readily identify racial signifiers that seemed to indicate natural 'concrete' racial categorizations. Members readily classified people according to physical characteristics in order to identify racial groups. Mrs. Grace Jones, instrumental in the implementation stages of the policy, stated “when I returned to Japan, sure enough - everyone was short, beige and had black hair”(F3). Throughout the discussions that I had with committee members, I got the strong impression that members believed that, by and large, groups of people with the same 'racial' physical characteristics have been isolated, homogeneous, and formed natural groups over the majority of human history. They believed that it was only recently that members of the various concrete ‘races’ have had significant levels of close social / cultural contact. In summary, they believe that ‘races’ have been concrete biological constructions.

Many of the committee members could readily speak of the impact resulting from the historic contact between people of different races; the African slave trade, the European invasion of the Americas, and inter continental contact between Europeans and Asians. Some of them bore witness to the contemporary social manifestation of these wrongful inters - racial relations, Ms. Brenda Ash’s memories of ‘like them but don’t date them’ (E2) being a previously stated example. Mrs. Evelyn Wood stated that it is perfectly natural for Asians to ‘hang out’ together for they are all the same people - it is natural (C2)!
It is paradoxical however, that many committee members also expressed the idea that racial identity “does not matter, it’s dumb” (C2). Early in the committee deliberations, several members fought to bring members of racial minority groups onto the committee. Some members did not believe that this was necessary at all, “I know what the difficulties are, let’s not get tokens” (E2) was expressed by one member while Mrs. Evelyn Wood claimed that as a result of her many interracial friendships, she had concluded that there “are no differences between people” (C2). Therefore, she believed that there was no need to have racial identity as a criterion for committee representation. I believe that many members would not have had a problem agreeing with Fields (1990) when she argued that racial categories were concrete constructions from a prior historical location that simply do not have any place or significance any longer. Consequently, to get rid of any discrimination that may continue to exist, all that is necessary is to simply get rid of racialized categories. It is here that I observed one of the paradoxes that existed for many committee members, they wanted to view people as people, recognizing that old definitions of race were obsolete, however - they continued to utilize race as an organizing concept within their own cognitive framework.

From a variety of perspectives, members saw race as illusionary, a social construction that has been created and maintained. In spite of their collective desire to lessen the prejudgment of individuals according to racialized meanings, they continued to need the race concept themselves as an organizing mechanism. One member articulated an awareness of historic racialized categorizations of groups of people and of the inherent limitations that such generalizations have. However, she argued the benefits of the specified ‘groups’ becoming part of the system, Blacks, Asians and Indians as well as
Women, and Gays and Lesbians, gaining power within institutions while at the same time are retaining their ‘differentness’. Another member spoke of the intercultural / interracial youth groups within which she was raised and how this process of “blending” (E1) was continuing. As a result, race is losing its significance as language barriers have waned and cultural difference has lessened for those who have had decades of cultural contact and have experienced integration. This same individual spoke of the difficulties presented by our current large-scale immigration of culturally and racial different peoples. Several other members spoke of how the differentiation of groups of people into racialized groups facilitated the disparity of power between groups of people. “It’s always been about power” (D1). Several members actually provided physical evidence of the illusionary nature of race by highlighting the high levels of racial miscegenation in Canada that, in their opinion, is furthering the melting away of previously concrete classifications of race. “Yes there are racial phenotypes, but there is tremendous miscegenation occurring - even in my own family” (I3)!

It was clear that the members believed that racial categorization has biological foundations. There was confusion on whether the influence of these biological foundations is greater than the impact of integration and assimilation. Some members were more inclined towards viewing the biological categorizations of race as illusionary. They believed that race was becoming an insignificant factor in determining the life opportunities of people. Others still believed that ‘race matters’, especially as large numbers of racially different peoples continue to arrive in Canada. These members believe that race continues to be needed as an important social construct for the understanding of postmodern society.
Committee members who assumed that race was an outdated concept often equated race with ethnicity. Just as Italian, and German immigrants have merged into the mainstream as a result of a quick acceptance of the English language, hard work, and integration, so can all other groups - White and non-White - who arrive in Canada. One committee member, a recent immigrant herself, did not have any awareness of the historical legacy of racialized relations in Canada. She believed that problems between racial groups resulted primarily from language differences and cultural ignorance - the same difficulties faced by all immigrant groups who did not speak English. As previously stated, several members reflected upon how they had friendships with people who had successfully acculturated and how they witnessed the same occurring in the playgrounds of Taylor. Another member indicated that the problems that are sometimes in evidence - racialized groups isolating themselves within certain neighborhoods and also within schools, stereotyping and even jealousies between groups of people - as simple manifestations of problems that always have and will continue to occur between individuals and groups who live in close proximity to one another. In essence, members of this group downplayed the contemporary importance of race as an organizing concept in contemporary society. This is not to say that they do not recognize the existence of people who can be classified into racial groups, they simply do not believe that this categorization has any significant impact upon the contemporary life chances of these people.
The Correlation of Experiences with Racism with the Acceptance of Racism as a Socially Relevant Concept

Others on the committee believed that race is an organizing construct that still plays a significant role in a person’s life chances in contemporary society. These members had clear understandings of the historic nature of racism in Canada. They had all experienced real instances of discrimination or had knowledge about others that had experienced some form of inequality or racism. It is this last point, the fact that all of these individuals could relate specific, real stories of the impact of discrimination that seemed to solidify their acceptance of the reality of race as a significant organizing construct in contemporary society. Mrs. Grace Jones related how her mother, a Canadian born person of Japanese heritage, still lived with social ostracism from members of her senior’s home. She had to endure comments about ‘them’ [Asians] from seniors of Euro-Canadian heritage. Euro-Canadian friends also did not invite her to certain activities, an action that she equated with racism. Mrs. Grace Jones believed these stories because she too had experienced similar problems and as a result could well imagine these events occurring with her mother. Mrs. Brenda Ash stated that one cannot really see racism unless one has experienced discrimination themselves. She spoke of her experiences with sexism in the workplace,
I didn’t see a need for improvement when I was growing up, I had three sisters and a very supportive dad. I was always tops in my classes and it wasn’t until I faced an old boy’s network in the workplace that I realized that sexism does exist — all of a sudden, you’re a second class citizen (E2)!

These experiences allowed her to be able to accept the reality of race as an organizing concept in a way that she otherwise could not, “I do not see racism specifically in Taylor, however, I feel it, I know it is there” (E2). Mr. Brown believed that whereas he could not see significant levels of discrimination against Blacks and Asians, Indian people faced intense racism, “Indian people in Canada are still hated” (E1). He spoke of the taboo against certain racist comments directed against Black people for instance, yet racist attitudes concerning Indian people “are all over the place”(E1). I believe that Mr. Brown had witnessed the social integration of individuals of particular racial backgrounds, Blacks for example, and as a result has come to doubt the saliency of race as an organizing concept with respect to these particular people. Yet, for other groups of people, Indian people for example, race as a category is still needed to explain the reality of discrimination that he has witnessed. Mr. John Maxwell stated that he had faced discrimination as a Gay man. Through his involvement in union affairs, he had been involved in receiving and investigating incidents of racial discrimination. Mr. Derek Dallas worked as an advocate for the rights of disabled people. He stated that this has assisted him to be increasingly open to accepting the reality of racism. It became obvious to me that individuals who had personal experiences with some form of discrimination, or personally knew individuals who had these experiences were then able to accept the reality of racism, to see things “as they are” (Omi and Winant, 1993), and to
be cognizant of the "invisible knapsack" (Macintosh, 1989) of assumptions and privileges that Whites in Western societies carry.

These two competing understandings of race manifested themselves clearly throughout the deliberations of the committee. Whereas some members wanted to have a 'human rights' or 'equity' policy with which to address the existence of discrimination against Women, racial groups, Gays and Lesbians and the Physically Handicapped, these same members all stated that the very existence of race and racism means that particular problems persist in our society that necessitate specific and targeted remedies for the problem of racism. Others on the committee saw race and racism as synonymous with ethnicity and as such, placed an emphasis upon superficial expressions of culture [dance, food]. They believed that there really was not a problem as long as we work to ensure 'others' are successful in adapting to the society that we live in. As it is for the rest of us in society as a whole, race continues to be a difficult concept for these individuals to define and understand.

* Race in the Global Village

Members of the Race Relations committee agreed that Canadian society is diversifying rapidly. Their lens upon Canadian society was a local one. People focused upon the metropolitan area within which Taylor is located. Individual members were able to compare what the population was like in the Taylor region five to ten years ago with what was happening currently. It did seem to be difficult for the members to address the situation from a global perspective. To them, the rest of the world's nations seemed relatively culturally homogenous compared to the Canadian reality.
All members of the committee viewed Canada as a nation that was historically of European heritage into which other people, including First Nations, have made contributions. When discussing cultural change a majority of the members used terms like ‘they’ [racial minorities], and ‘Canadian culture’ by which they meant parliamentary democracy, Euro-Canadian market economy values, and Euro-Canadian ethics. This is the reality that faces tremendous demographic challenge because of the “world coming to our door” (A1). “Canada is an island” (I2), a nation of opportunity into which many of these others would like to come. As a result, Canada is experiencing an ongoing evolution in which we must continually integrate people from a wide range of origins. Again, this reflects a focus upon ethnicity, as opposed to race, which many members seemed to retain. Many of the members articulated an ongoing Canadian challenge, to help or encourage others to develop English language skills, develop solid Canadianized role models from a range of backgrounds, and to retain the traditional heart of Euro-Canadian culture. Again, many members reflected upon their acquaintances, friends and associates of different racial background who were “just like us” (E1). A cause for alarm that Roy (1989) identified in chronicling Anti Oriental sentiment in British Columbian history perhaps is still with us, what happens when too many non-Whites come over and they do not want to change to be like us? As Ms. Brenda Ash stated, “the only reason bad things are building is because of the amount of change and differences” (E1). Several other respondents claimed that matters were fine for the moment. However, difficulties are to come as the demographics make Taylor even more diverse than it is currently.
The members seemed to view the 'global village' as a community of homogenous nations and Canada as a diverse one. There did not seem to be an awareness that this 'diversification phenomenon' is occurring beyond Canada, and that many nations are experiencing the same pressures. For some of the members, diversity is a localized phenomenon unique to Canada.

* Race: A Legacy of Modernity

As has been previously stated, many of the members believed that racism and discrimination are problems of misunderstanding, prejudice and human relations. Many of them gave examples of reverse racism, Chinese discrimination against White Canadians for example. Mrs. Grace Jones pointed out the difficulty some older Korean Canadians have dealing with Japanese Canadians due to the history between those two countries. Mr. Frank Au, a recent immigrant, noted that the speed of cultural contact for many Asian immigrants is simply too fast, they are not ready to reach out into the community and this brings on accusations of self-ghettoization. Several others pointed out that economics and power, not race, were the roots of difficulties between different groups of people, Mrs. Evelyn Wood stated "let's face it, the obvious wealth that they have is a bit much for many people to take" (C2) with respect to Chinese immigrants moving into the Taylor area.

Again, several of the committee members did recognize the ongoing existence of race as an important social construct, and racism as an ongoing reality. April Helen pushed continually for a recognition of institutional racism as well as the inability of a
committee of White Canadians to be able to appropriately address the needs of people of color. She came to view racism as a solidly entrenched problem that needs continued multifaceted approaches to combat it. In her opinion the primary paradigm from which these multifaceted approaches derive is a servant orientated Christianity. Mr. Derek Dallas also recognized the difficulty of combating racism. He stated, “perhaps much of this dilemma resides within the realm of emotional intelligence, not reason” (G2). The problem of race and racism seem so engrained into the very fabric of society that a great deal of ongoing work needs to be done. Ms. Brenda Ash spoke of her longtime involvement in race related issues and strongly believed that the policy needed to retain a focus on ‘race’ specifically.

Three of the members made mention of the historical dimensions of racism. Again, Mrs. Grace Jones spoke of historical examples of the racism that members of her family had faced while in Canada. Perhaps most telling of the historical and localized manifestations of racism is the reference by two members of the depth of prejudice and discrimination against First Nations people. To me, this exemplifies historical and geographically specific developments of racist ideology. Negative feelings towards First Nations people in Western Canada developed along with White domination of Canada during the modern era.
Preferred Educational Responses to the 'Race Problem'

As many school districts are attempting to formulate Multicultural or Race Relations policy, it is of great interest to me to compare the thoughts and motivations of committee members with the range of contemporary approaches to multicultural education. Multicultural education continues to mean different things to different people. Theorists like McCarthy (1993), Omi and Winant (1993), and Lee (1990) argue that much that goes under the name of multicultural education is stalled at the introductory stages of awareness or worse yet, truly transformist race relations education is encapsulated and neutered into relatively meaningless education that does little to eliminate racism in contemporary society.

Committee Member Constructions of Contemporary Multiculturalism

Using McCarthy's (1993) summarization of three versions of mainstream, contemporary multiculturalism: approaches of cultural understanding [relativism], cultural competence, and cultural emancipation, it is of interest to me to see if members of the committee had strong identifications with any of these three.

In the first category of cultural relativism / cultural understanding, I believe that only one of the committee members clearly articulated a belief in the relative equality of
all cultures. Mr. Maxwell stated that there is a tremendously diverse range of cultural
responses to post modern life circumstances. He argued that Canadian traditional culture
has been successful in negating the legitimacy of some cultures. As an example he
proclaimed that there is a Gay culture, and the life choices of members of this community
need to be accepted as legitimate and should in no way restrict their full participation in
all facets of society. With respect to the cultures of different ethno-racial groups in
Canada, he argued that we need to be able to help people fight for the legitimization of
their culture as well as labor to make Canada a place within which diverse cultures are
not seen as a threat to the nation but a benefit to the nation. The remaining members all
seemed to celebrate the notion of diversity, at least diversity in expressive forms of
cultural expression, food, dance, celebrations etc. They also however, retained a strong,
often under the surface desire to maintain the ongoing maintenance of a ‘core culture’.
As a result, these members of the committee all argued for the increased cross cultural
competencies, but also wanted a high degree of acceptance of the norms of Canadian
mainstream culture as opposed to a carte blanche acceptance of cultural relativism. Mr.
Derek Dallas had a strong background in the Inclusive School Movement, and wanted to
meet the diverse needs of exceptional children while including them into schools. He
was pleased with the relative progress that has been made integrating students with
disabilities as well as members of ethno-racial minorities into schools. In his opinion,
this progress has been accomplished by finding ways to understand the particular needs
of these students and then finding ways to include them into the schools. “ Attitudes
have changed and we’re doing better at finding out their needs and meeting them where
they are at - education is a powerful tool” (G2)! Ms. Brenda Ash focused on finding the
positives and similarities that are to be found with other cultural groups. This is to be accomplished by encouraging the awareness and acceptance of the idea of ‘equity’ in human relations. She argued that much will be accomplished by assisting immigrant groups with the development of English skills and by finding and promoting positive role models. “If we have Black administrators then the students do not see Blacks as only janitors” (E2). By helping ethno-racial groups to have success within mainstream culture, we can better promote the development of “linkages between people, a glue” (E2) that will lead to the development of a common exemplary culture. At the same time, she recognized not only the benefits but also the potential societal problems resulting from the disintegration, a “watering down” (E2), of our pre-existing, Euro-Canadian common culture. Mrs. Evelyn Wood expressed her fear of ethno-racial groups not adjusting to the “common space” (C2) by failing to develop their English skills with or without the assistance of schools. She believed that it is fine to support expressive forms of multicultural celebration, however, an emphasis needs to be placed upon “drawing the line” (C2) on too much acceptance of difference if it means that people are not adapting to mainstream culture.

Mr. Frank Au underlined the need for increased understanding of the reality that “New Canadians are not ready to reach out, naturally they are gonna hang out with their own” (F3). He stated that while Canada will continue to be an immigrant country for some time to come, culture is constantly evolving and we need to place resources in programs to assist mainstream Canadians to understand the practices and perspectives of newcomers, and new immigrants to learn the ways of Canada in practices ranging from language development to how to deal with receptionists in buildings. In speaking of his
own experiences as a newcomer to Canada, he did not focus on the uniqueness of his culture that he brought with him, rather, he spoke of his facility with the English language and his post secondary education in the area of social work which had allowed him to adapt more readily than others have been able to do. For this reason, he was very aware of the difficulties present if one does not have these skills. He stated that it is extremely important for mainstream Canadians to have an awareness and understanding of exactly what new Canadians go through and perhaps if they do, they will endeavor to make the integration of these people into Canadian society easier. Mrs. Grace Jones emphasized the importance of a culture of “common concerns under a common law” (I2), the fostering of a common culture of which all Canadians become competent as an important and necessary adjunct to the acceptance of cultural diversity. Mr. Brown applauded the “high level of acceptance in Canada comparative to other nations” (E2) but also emphasized the need of “give and take, the Asians need to adapt, and we need to be more accepting” (E2).

As proponents for the development of common cultural skills, most of the committee members also supported the maturation of cross cultural competencies. Perhaps it was best explained by Mrs. Grace Jones who stated that we need to develop “New Canadianisms” (I2) in which we become ‘multi-cultural’ through the ability to be multi-lingual, understand the ways of a variety of cultures, and be comfortable with a diversity of people. Mr. Frank Au emphasized the importance of ensuring that institutions and organizations are accessible to diverse populations by having employees working in these places who have cross cultural competencies so they can “include new immigrants into Block Watch for example” (F3). He goes further to argue that schools
must be staffed with teachers and administrators who have cultural congruency, or at least competency to deal with the students with whom they work. This means the active recruitment of individuals from ethnic / racial minority groups into the ranks of teachers in the district as well as an ongoing, active, and effective professional development of the existing teaching staff. One member stated that it is teachers who lack cross-cultural competencies who have made comments like “your lack of success here is not my problem, that is the ESL teachers’ problem” (F3) to new Canadians because they are either unaccepting, unaware, or actively opposed to the massive changes that are occurring all around us. As stated previously, Ms. Brenda Ash believed that her skills with languages led her to focus on multicultural as opposed to women’s issues. She went on to explain that her language skills helped her to be more open and understanding of cultural diversity because it allowed her to be aware of the cultural nuances and perspectives that are “non translatable” (E2). One member was very adamant that the only competence that was truly necessary was competence within traditional Euro-Canadian values and folkways. Most members however, I am sure would agree with the views of Mr. Derek Dallas who stated that “we have much to learn from others,” (G2) after spending a considerable amount of time doing committee work with First Nations people. He perhaps took it much further than the others by arguing that the development of these competencies is much more than the rational development of communication skills, rather it also needs to mean “the engagement of self-examination at the emotional level” (G2) through which we can obtain a more realistically thorough understanding of our own cognitive frameworks and a chance to step out and gain new understandings of
the cultural responses that we make. This is a tremendous benefit to be gained through the development of cross-cultural competencies.

Because the committee was split in their acceptance of the idea that racism continues to be a strong influence today, it is natural to expect that a similar split occurred in the acceptance of a need for multicultural education to emancipate people. Several of the members failed to see the need to emancipate any one because they either recognized that many racial minority individuals who have chosen to integrate have attained success, or they recognize that large numbers of ethno-racial minorities are attaining success [as measured by expensive cars and large homes] regardless of whether they integrate or not. Either way, success is dependent on the individual person. Several other members argued that whereas minority groups can and do have success in Canada, institutional changes are a necessity to facilitate the acceptance of these groups into Canada. Finally, another group of members believed that emancipation should be a large goal of any race relations policy. Mr. Brown stated that relative equity exists today, however, as diversity increases during the next ten to twenty years, racism will become more entrenched and as a result, more people will have their life opportunities infringed upon. Again, these members seemed to share the experience of either having personally faced discrimination, or having personally known examples of clear discriminatory action. One member, involved in student services, recognized the "almost caste-like" (G2) existence of the First Nations students in the district. April Helen shared her story of a friend of Asian background who could not get an administration position in the district for years [The first non-White administrator in Taylor was hired in 1997]. Mr. John Maxwell provided several examples of racism within the district. He investigated a
case of racism as a member of the local Teachers' Union in which a Teacher On Call, of Asian heritage was insulted by a racial slur by a student. Upon reporting the incident to school administration, she was informed, “oh, he didn’t mean it. He’s actually a very good kid” (D1). In another incident brought to the attention of the Teachers’ Union, a young teacher faced the ongoing usage of racial epithets by fellow staff members. This person proceeded with a grievance and then stopped this action because of a fear that “... I’ll never get a job in this district” (D1).

A Critique of Current Multiculturalism

* A Focus on White Attitudes

The members of the committee believed overwhelmingly that education can change attitudes pertaining to race. They believed that if racism does exist, it is in the attitudes of individuals and these attitudes are modifiable. Mr. Derek Dallas strongly believed that attitudinal change is at the heart of progress in matters of race because “I have myself changed as a result of professional development” (G2). Another member stated that by having people learn about others it will lessen prejudice and discrimination as will increased cultural contact between individuals of different groups. Another member stated that racism is around because of prejudgment and lack of knowledge of others, thus education will have a positive effect. Mr. John Maxwell spoke of teachers who were raised in other, more intolerant generations (F3), teachers who simply did not
know any better (I2), and teachers who mean well but simply are uneducated as to the harmfulness of some of their attitudes (A1). Members believed the racism in society in general was rooted in the individual attitudes of teachers, parents, and as a result, in students. Concerning the existence of institutional racism, April Helen stated that many people will have difficulty accepting that it does exist (A1). However, upon receiving information that did indicate an awareness of its persistence, institutional racism was still attributed to ‘individuals’ with racist attitudes, which are nevertheless malleable to educational initiatives. April Helen, by her own account and those of others pushed her fellow members repeatedly to address the institutional and social foundations of racism, “I thought it was important for people to realize just how inbred this problem was” (A1).

* A Recognition of Sociological Factors in the Construction of Racism

Because they supported the idea that racism is founded in the attitudes of individuals, many members of the committee did not want to view racism from a sociological perspective. Mrs. Evelyn Wood reflected that several members of the committee was actively trying to find examples of institutional racism and could not provide solid examples, “I just couldn’t see it, there was no evidence of this kind of racism” (C2). She also observed that a student representative on the committee who was questioned about the reality of racism for her in the system “was always asked leading questions” (C2). Other members found themselves in seemingly contradictory positions as they argued that racism does exist in particular individuals who work in institutions, and yet appeared to believe the institutions are largely ‘neutral’ organizations. Mr. Derek
Dallas observed that "many are giving lip service to anti-racism initiatives" (G2) and yet this same individual was reportedly "incredulous" (A1) of the notion proposed by the Westwood Multicultural Society that institutional racism is possible. He stated that he did believe that institutional racism does exist, however, he was dismayed and disturbed that several committee members seemed to argue that 'institutional racism' referred only to the senior ranks of administration. Ms. Brenda Ash believed in the psychological foundations of racism and yet also agreed that racism is "often about economics - who has and who does not have" (E2). Mrs. Grace Jones, who remarked that many of her teachers seemed prejudiced against her during her Vancouver youth, supported the idea of professional development to alter similar prejudicial attitudes in contemporary educators. She did not link personal expressions of racism by her former teachers with a racism that could be system-wide and institutional. Mr. John Maxwell made the argument that victims of racism and other forms of discrimination need to develop strategies to combat racism that is both individually and institutional founded. He argued that individuals need to develop a strong sense of pride in their own identity in order to stand up to the onslaught of racism. They also need to develop networks of support with others that might be facing a similar reality.

* The Role of Institutions as Sites of Power

Members of the committee struggled with the idea of institutional racism and therefore, often displayed paradoxical ideas around the role of schools as sites of power. Mrs. Evelyn Wood was very clear that racism is a tremendously overblown idea and that
it certainly was not endemic to schools. To her, schools are neutral institutions in which education takes place. Most of the other members indicated contrasting ideas. While stating that much lip service to anti-racist initiatives existed and that a strong advocacy movement was needed in order to bring about the inclusion of special needs students into schools, Mr. Derek Dallas also claimed that professional development is needed to address racism. He argued that professional development needs to affect all educational leaders in the district as a whole and at the school level in particular. He also spoke of the need for those in leadership positions to strive to develop a variety of strategies to rid racism from schools. Ms. Brenda Ash, because of her experiences with sexism in the educational system, was aware of the prior existence of "an old boys network" (E2) which could have constituted an informal power structure within the decision-making process. At the same time, however, she claimed that there is "no real racism in Taylor specifically" (E2). Mrs. Grace Jones, after several years of work in the area of anti-racism, was beginning to accept the existence of institutional racism. She spoke of increasing amounts of anxiety within the staffs of schools as increasing demographic changes occur. She stated that many schools are not proceeding with the necessary work, however, she was unsure whether this was due to knowledge managers simply being overloaded with work, not thinking that a problem exists, or that they were gatekeeping in order to maintain the status quo. With regard to the implementation of the policy, she claimed that the workload was much greater than anticipated, and that "if we didn't do a lot extra to get things done on our own initiative, it [anti-racism work] wouldn't get done by anyone else" (I2). Mr. John Maxwell made it very clear that schools are institutions in which groups negotiate for power. He stated that individuals may have been placed in
"gatekeeper" (D1) positions on the committee and they [the senior levels of district administration] wanted to develop a very quick and simple policy. He claimed that this became very clear when some members fought to establish correct terms of reference for the policy and others fought to "simply proceed and write a quick policy" (D1). He also commented that when presented with the idea that institutional racism could exist within the district, "the representatives of senior administration took an extreme dislike of the notion" (D1). He believed that the chair of the committee might have been placed into the position in order to ensure that a safe, manageable, politically correct policy would result. For this reason, he believed that his attempts to expand the policy to address broader issues were not agreed with because they were seen as "not in the interests of those in power positions in the district" (D1). To exemplify this perspective on the role of power, his response to the question, "Are people basically good?" is of interest. His answer was, "If they have what they need. People need to have power to control and set the parameters within which decisions are made (D1).” To this member, the control of power exercised a central role in the interplay of groups within the school system.

* The Role of Professional Development

As most members were directly involved in the education system, I expected that many of them would strongly agree that professional development could play a major role in the negation of racism. Mr. Frank Au stated that "as long as the financial resources remain in place the retraining of teachers can have a major impact" (F3). Mr. Brown had spent time working on a binder of multicultural awareness resources for the
district. Because it is primarily about the changing of attitudes, he believed that such resources, if used, can be beneficial. Other members emphasized the need to use professional development strategies that had individuals explore their own attitudes on matters of race and racism. They also emphasized the usage of professional development to facilitate the following:

- The development of positive attitudes towards others.
- An increased understanding of minority cultures.
- To highlight positive minority role models and cultural contributions that minorities have made to Canadian culture.

Perhaps the most interesting insight was provided by Mrs. Grace Jones who has been active in the facilitation of professional development in the area of race relations. She stated that after spending a considerable amount of time in the area, she was beginning to see the wide range of factors involved in race relations. This helped her to sort out her own understandings. "As a person in the system and a so-called expert, it's tough to know all things - so much is under the surface" (I2). She was also beginning to question how soon we could see positive results from professional development.

"Some educators are still in denial, hate groups are actually growing out there, people seem to be getting ever more anxious out there..." (I2).
* The Non Essentialist Nature of Race

Most members of the committee maintained ambiguous perspectives on a variety of points related to race and racism. As stated in the previous section on culture, members clearly recognized that cultures evolve and individuals can and do have personal agency in determining the responses that they make to their environment. “Yeah, I’ve adapted to new ways throughout my life. This is done by my own self-reflection and my own choices” (C2). Many members spoke of individuals of different racial backgrounds being ‘just like us.’ Mr. Brown stated that individuals and groups go through highly variable degrees of integration, acculturation, and assimilation to the extent that “my friends [during his youth] integrated to be very ‘Canadianized’” (E1). This changes dramatically however, when members discussed large groups of culturally different people who have not been on the road to integration. These people are viewed as ‘they’ and are still stereotyped.

* The Canon of Knowledge

I did get an indication that committee members were interested in an expansion of the canon of knowledge as a means to address issues of inclusion. Members stated the importance of surface level expressions of multicultural education, food fairs, dance celebrations, and demonstrations as well as increased usage of multicultural literature and units of study that represent Lee’s transitional stage of multiculturalism (1990).
CHAPTER 5 - DISCUSSION

A Summary of the Perspectives of the Committee Members

Throughout Canada, many school districts have instituted a multicultural or race relations policy. However, as Echols and Fisher (1992) have found, there is almost no research that documents the implementation process and the effects of these policies. Such research would help to indicate whether the policies do meet their objectives, and if not, why? After completing a two year ethnographic study of staff development and multicultural education, Sleeter (1992) concluded that despite of an intensive in servicing program and a clear cut policy for race relations, most teachers did not construct new understandings of race. Instead they selected information and teaching strategies to add to a framework for understanding race that was already constructed and internalized as a result of their own life experiences (Sleeter, 1993). If a 'learning and working environment in which difference is valued' is to become a reality, it is of tremendous value to understanding the motivations of knowledge managers involved in the creation and then implementation of policy.

I believe a number of conclusions are to be made concerning the beliefs and motivations of committee members. Many of these conclusions are similar to those I have found in the literature.
'I Believe in Justice!'

All of the committee members believed that they individually held ideals of justice, equality, and fair play. They believed they were engaged in a noble enterprise by making a policy that supported these ideals. Referring to their own individual upbringings, the members invariably stated that they were raised by their parents to treat others equally. A belief held commonly by the committee members was that Canada is a country that exemplifies freedom and opportunity. Members recognized that when diverse groups encountered each other, racism and discrimination - aberrations from our commonly held ideals - can occur. The development of a policy that supports 'equal opportunity' and the 'celebration of differences' can effectively address the growing pains of increasing diversity because the education system is a key conduit for the transmission of these values and schooling can be used to be a vehicle for positive change in society. Recognition has to be given however, to some of the difficulties that Canadians might have with too much change. I believe that "democratic racism" (Henry, Tator, Mattis, Rees, 1995: 17) exists in Canada to varying degrees. There certainly was dissonance between the ideals of equality and pluralism spoken of by the committee members and a certain unease with the degree in which the demographic landscape is changing. Members spoke of the need for a policy, yet I did not hear a desire to make schools truly representative of the individuals that they serve. While I did hear of a desire to integrate visible minorities into schools specifically and into society in general, I did not hear a desire to have: curricula which reflects the collective stories of all Canadians; an ongoing evaluation of who participates in school athletics, dramatic productions, and student government - and who does not; questioning of which cultural
norms are established as ‘normal’ in school dances, the hallways, and the cafeteria. In response to the question, “If the policy does what it is supposed to do, how will we know?” the answers spoke of visible minorities blending into the existing status quo and having success within that status quo. At the same time the members were concerned that as large numbers of ‘visible minority people move into the cities served by the Taylor School District and the greater community, they will not integrate, rather, they will retain their own cultural practices and / or modify the evolution of the preexisting culture. To me, this dissonance between equality and fear heightens the importance of an ongoing critical analysis of individual and group interpretations of race and race relations. I found that the members of the committee were intelligent, principled people who wanted the best for all students. However, successful race relations work needs to include the efforts of continually analyzing what it is that we believe, why we believe what we do, and what it is that these beliefs are based on. When this kind of questioning takes place, we are sure to uncover some creative myths that allow us to maintain our belief that we live in a just society.

‘White is not a Color!’

I do not believe that members of the committee would support Roman’s comment “White is a Color” (Roman, 71:1993). As is common in Canada, members used the term ‘Canadian’ interchangeably with ‘White’ to differentiate between mainstream and visible minority cultures. To many of them, mainstream culture is the norm into which visible minorities can adapt. When many of the committee members spoke of multiculturalism,
they referred to the successful inclusion of minorities into the more central modes of mainstream Canadian culture combined with the celebration of the more expressive aspects of their cultures. The resulting ‘Pan-Canadianism’ produces Chinese, Black, and South Asian Canadians who play hockey, speak traditional Canadian English and share many other common cultural practices and values. It also means Euro-Canadians who are more accepting and comfortable with the expressive forms of non-White cultures. It does not mean a wholesale alteration of practices in schooling: hiring practices, curricula, and school culture to name a few components, in order to make them more representative of the historic and contemporary reality of our society. Committee members shared the belief that racial minorities can adapt to the mainstream culture just as preceding waves of White immigrants have done. However, I detected that a certain apprehension exists for the future. They would like to see that visible minorities do in fact integrate as opposed to becoming a large, perpetually alien populous that dramatically changes the cultural reality of Canada.

‘We are All Individuals!’

All of the committee members indicated a desire to treat people as individuals. Many of them shared the experiences that they had had with people from visible minority groups who were ‘just like us’. I believe that this is closely related to the two previous conclusions that I have made: in line with our national ideology of fair play, committee members wanted to view people as individuals and stay away from stereotypes; in addition, Euro-Canadian values and styles are interpreted as the norm. When visible
minorities adopt the speech patterns and cultural responses of the Euro-Canadian majority, it reinforces the opinion that those cultural patterns are the norm. Another belief that becomes reinforced is that the adaptations that visible minorities make are no different than those made by previous generations of White immigrant groups, thus, the concept of race is held to be synonymous with ethnicity. As a result, common sense dictates that once racial minority people take the steps to adapt to mainstream culture through their own efforts, they will be able to have access to all of the life opportunities that Euro-Canadians have access too - race has no major impact on the life chances of individuals beyond being a marker that individuals may not have assumed the cultural skills and patterns necessary for success [a racist idea in its own right]. This inclusionary argument was so much common sense to many of the committee members that several expressed the belief that a policy could either be put together very quickly or perhaps it was not needed at all.

Failing to view visible minority people as individuals has serious ramifications. Not recognizing people as individuals means that their identity is group based. The fear is that minority groups may settle in very large numbers within a community and retain their cultural ‘differentness’. This could lead to the social fabric of Canada changing to such an extent that the comfortable cultural norms to which the majority is accustomed may be swamped.
Know Thyself

As was the case for this researcher, most of the committee members had a difficult time articulating their own understandings and motivations in matters of race. The cultural ideologies of the members were largely framed by an articulation of their familial culture, Canadian cultural values, and their own life experiences, which for many included experiences with visible minority individuals who had adapted Euro-Canadian folkways. During the discussions, members shared their beliefs and at the same time struggled to ascertain the roots of those beliefs. Many held convictions that were contradictory: people are individuals, but ‘they’ sometimes ghettoize themselves; race does not matter, but First Nations people make up an unproportionally high percentage of the at risk students in the district; we need cross cultural awareness and inclusion, but there is not a need to alter the invisible curriculum or the ideals, attitudes, and cultural practices that are informally and often unconsciously taught in the classrooms, hallways, cafeterias, and gymnasiums of our schools. In order for progress to occur in race relations, knowledge managers need to be able to evaluate critically their own assumptions and then the roots of those assumptions. When this occurs, individuals can peel away some of the myths that allow us to express cloaked, perhaps even subconscious racism while at the same time supporting multiculturalism. If committee members can display these contradictions, I assume that they also exist in the rest of the population of knowledge managers. I also believe that the results of this ‘two-mindedness’ can be politically correct policy that means different things to different people, or also policy that is not backed by strong convictions. In such an environment, racism can mutate and continue to thrive.
Race is an Illusion

The concept of 'race' itself was a difficult one for members to grapple with. Many of the members believed that there are biological foundations for racial categories. However, they also believed that these categories lack any significant importance or usefulness today. Yes, some people can be identified by so-called Negroid, Caucasoid, and Mongoloid racial types, however, as people adapt culturally to the practices of the Euro-Canadian mainstream, 'race' becomes unnecessary as 'they' become 'just like us'. The redundancy of race is further supported by increased miscegenation in multicultural Canada. To the members of the committee, race has diminishing significance as a biological concept. On its own, race is also seen as an illusion and can only gain value when it is merged with 'ethnicity'. As a result, the historic problems faced by White migrant groups; Italians, Ukrainians, and Germans to name a few, are believed to be the same as those currently faced by visible minority groups today. As was done by these White migrant groups, visible minority individuals can become a part of the mainstream through their own efforts. Visible minority individuals who have successfully integrated into the mainstream of society are lionized as examples of successful multiculturalism. At the same time, members expressed alarm with a growing congregation and concentration of visible minority people, whether they are South Asian students in the cafeteria or predominantly East Asian shopping malls, as a serious threat to Canadian culture. They believed that large communities of 'others' would naturally encourage the maintenance of different cultural patterns as opposed to further integration. In time and with still increasing numbers, 'other' cultures could conceivable come to be dominant in
the community. I believe that ‘others’ are viewed as individuals only when those individuals are adapting to the current mainstream. When they retain their own cultures or evolve new hybrid cultures, the concept of race becomes reinforced as an important social construct. People who could be viewed as individuals become one of the ‘others’. As an ‘other’, they are part of the problem that surveys on Canadian feelings towards increasing diversity indicate exists.

A Call for Traditional Multiculturalism

The members of the committee support the ideas inherent in the traditional models of multiculturalism identified by McCarthy, “cultural understanding” and “cultural competence” (McCarthy, 1993:291). They support the acceptance and maintenance of the expressive components of culture: food, dance, holidays, and the like. They believe that students and knowledge managers need to develop increased abilities to communicate across cultures; more cross cultural art in public spaces and Cantonese and Hindi language courses for example. By helping students and knowledge managers to think and act progressively in matters related to diversity, the committee members acknowledged that culture is a problem-solving tool. The cross cultural popularity of Michael Jordan and the growing universality of sushi is seen as evidence of our success with multiculturalism. As stated previously, committee members grappled with the idea that race is still an important and useful concept in spite of placing the term ‘Race Relations’ in the title of the policy. Several of the members suggested that race may not have the significance to be a category on its own. Rather, it could be placed under the

Concerning the third model of multiculturalism identified by McCarthy, “cultural emancipation” (McCarthy, 1993:292), I believe the members of the committee did not see a need for any groups to be liberated. They did believe that individual instances of racism can and do occur and that it is reasonable to create safeguards to prevent them from occurring in the Taylor School District. Overall however, they believe that individuals in our open and democratic society can obtain opportunities when they want to, the financial successes of individuals of East Asian origins is used as evidence of this. The lack of a large and racially visible urban underclass on Canada’s West Coast makes it difficult for mainstream Canadians to see a need for the cultural emancipation of any group of people. Under the surface however, I understand that members recognize First Nations people as a special case in this regard. Members of the committee seemed to be very cognizant of the caste-like position that first Nations people occupy in Canadian society.

People Make Change

For better or for worse, most of the committee members believed that it is individual people, not institutions or organizations that are either racist or progressive. Institutions are seen as neutral entities that simply reflect our national ideals. On their own, they do not affect the life chances of individuals. As a result, the school system is a natural location to affect change in the personal attitudes of individuals.

Within this setting, people can make a difference. It was interesting to note that it was due to the impetus of several individuals, as opposed to a groundswell of support,
that the policy got off the ground. Mrs. Helen played a pivotal role in initiating the policy, seeking visible minority participation on the committee, and pushing for the recognition of institutional racism. Ms. Brenda Ash provided a push for a policy from another location in the district. I believe that for the policy to continue to have a growing impact within the school district, it will have to be spearheaded by similar minded individuals who then foster alliances with others in individual classes, schools, student governments, Parent Advisory Committees, and the various labor unions. It was also interesting to me how the personal experiences of the committee members seemed to be a major influence in their beliefs. Those members who had experienced racism or other forms of discrimination were more open to accept the reality of institutional racism and the need to address the invisible curriculum for example. On the other hand, the lack of cross-cultural experiences for some of the other members of the committee signified the "cultural encapsulation" (Sleeter, 1993: 189) that many White North Americans seem to live in. They simply do not recognize the global shift in the racial demographics of First World nations, nations are 'browning' and cultures are evolving.

A Reformist Perspective of the Rationale Statements of the Taylor Race Relations Policy

The rationale statements of the policy provide strong evidence that the committee identified with the more traditional approaches to multiculturalism identified by McCarthy; discourses focusing primarily on "cultural understanding" and "cultural competence" (McCarthy, 291:1993). The fifth statement [of five] belies a growing acceptance of the need for "cultural emancipation" (McCarthy, 291:1993), to break down
barriers may exist that limit the life opportunities of racial minorities. These statements and the perspectives of the committee are now the basis for personal reflection from the perspective of a more critical approach to multiculturalism and race relations that is reformist in nature.

Rationale (1)

School District (Taylor) Acknowledges the challenge of becoming responsive to the needs of a pluralistic society.

The first challenge to being responsive to the needs of a pluralistic society is to determine the extensiveness of pluralism in a particular society. It is increasingly realized that rather than being lumped into distinct "visible minority communities," (Equality Now, 1984), individuals within identified ethno-racial groups exhibit wide ranging opinions, experiences, desires and needs. Willis speaks of the ongoing viscosity of culture or "cultural production" (Willis, 1990: 128), whereas McCarthy and Critchlow argue the elusiveness of racial identity, the evolving contradictions within these groups, what McCarthy calls "nonessentialism" (McCarthy and Critchlow, 1993: xix). This reality is of course further influenced by the range of other factors such as gender, class, either of which can often have greater influence on one's cognitive framework than one's individual racial categorization. Recognizing diversity includes an acceptance of people who remain different as well as recognizing that many individuals will develop or have cultural practices that are the same as those from other groups. Also, if the specific cultural histories within a pluralistic society differ, then it stands to reason that in addressing the sources of existing racism that individuals or groups may be facing, those
sources will also be wide ranging. The causes of racism cannot be reduced to the same source.

A reformist perspective informs us of the need to recognize and then address the wide range of needs in the pluralistic society. The needs of an Aboriginal community that is experiencing a high percentage of teenage suicides is obviously different from those of a financially well-to-do Aboriginal community that still may be finding that a very small percentage of its youth are attaining success in school. This need to move away from an "essentialist" analysis of pluralism (McCarthy and Critchlow, 1993: xviii) is well supported by recent studies in the field (McCarthy and Critchlow, 1993; Hall, 1989; Wright, 1978; Moodley, 1985, 1992). If the specific nature of a community's needs is not addressed, the policy is likely to be seen as off base and of little value (McCarthy, 1990: 115). This means that the policy must be used to address and support diversity rather than be used as a vehicle to increase conformity.

The various cultural groups have been found to have needs and aspirations quite similar to those of others. As previously shown by Moodley (1981) the development of pragmatic skills seems to be one of the basic demands of all groups of people. People would like to provide their families and themselves the opportunities that exist within a competitive, capitalistic society. Whether one seeks to become assimilated into the mainstream [if one can be], or alternatively to 'come as you are' and integrate into the general society further reinforces the nonessentialist nature of the population. However, to affirm cultural pluralism is to acknowledge and accept differences while at the same time providing access to improved life opportunities. West draws a potent parallel to African American representatives of the past who seemed to have done just that.
Cultural workers (Louis Armstrong, Ella Fitzgerald) who simultaneously position themselves within (or alongside) the mainstream while clearly being aligned with groups who vow to keep alive potent traditions of critique and resistance (West, 1993: 22).

Beyond the many diverse needs of a pluralistic society, the policy must confront an ongoing dilemma as identified by Bullivant. People must not only learn about their cultural heritage, they need go beyond that to critically analyze the structural class and economic and political factors that influence their life chances (Bullivant, 1981), to proceed from 'soft multiculturalism' to what Echols and Fisher call 'hard' multiculturalism (Echols and Fisher, 1992). Whereas multicultural initiatives in this country traditionally represent the former, race relations policies must reflect the latter if racism is to be addressed. Obviously, the policy must be used to increase the recognition of elements of structural and institutional racism that may exist in the district. From there, the policy must be used to attack these forms of racism.

To address these various needs, the school district could attempt any of a range of educational responses identified by Sleeter:

- Teaching the Exceptional and Culturally Different
- Human Relations
- Single Group Studies
- Multicultural Education
- Education that is Multicultural and Social Reconstructionist (Sleeter, 1994).

Sleeter argues that all of these approaches have some merit, however, some fail to address the structural realities of racism spoken of earlier. A single-issue approach such
as Aboriginal Studies fails to address the mixed factors and nonsynchronous nature of the identified group in their interrelations with other groups. Multicultural policies can often address a variety of problems but they do not prepare students or other shareholders in the policy to constructively work towards change in some of the underlying, structural foundations of the problems (Sleeter, 1993: 249). Troyna (1989), Hatcher and Troyna (1993) and McCarthy (1993) advocate a critical and reformist model. Although it faces criticism from conservatives like Hirsch who claim it is too divisive (1987), and Marxists who conversely argue that schools cannot be agents of change since they are part of the system (Banks, 1986: 227), this approach is receiving increasing acceptance in the race relations debate. Banks agrees with Hirsch’s notion that we need to emphasize commonality in curriculum, a ‘central canon.’ However, he convincingly questions who is to set the parameters of this common curriculum. If it does not respond to the plurality of the society, it does not serve the interests of that society (Banks, 1992: 155). On the other hand he refutes the radical critics who claim that these needs cannot be met by agents of the state [schools] in the American context.

The school, both explicitly and implicitly, teaches both democratic and undemocratic values, just as wider society does.... this moral dilemma made social change possible because most Americans felt a need to make the democratic ideals they inculcated and societal practices more consistent (Banks, 1986: 227).

I would argue that the same is the case in Canada. Yes, undemocratic values are seen and expressed in schools and in general Canadian society. At the same time, however, we do have well-established democratic ideals and values that cast a light upon shortcomings. To develop a race relations policy that is responsive to the needs of a
pluralistic society, it is the differential between our ideals and our contemporary reality which must be addressed at all levels. To do so, anti-racism work must be, by its nature, critical and reformist. This holds true for all race relations work in general, and in the case of the Taylor School District in particular.

**Rationale (2)**

School District (Taylor) Affirms that the racial, ethno-cultural, linguistic and religious diversity of its students, staff and community is a source of enrichment and strength for Canada. It is through the celebration of diversity and the recognition of similarities that understanding and meaning is built.

If by diversity, the district is referring to the 'heritage' of groups, I can attest from personal experience that a fresh exposure to a personal heritage that may have been overshadowed, downplayed, ignored or perhaps misrepresented, can be an extremely empowering experience. Whether a celebration of this historical information will in fact build understanding between people is highly problematic. The acknowledgment of the intelligent practicality of Sto-lo fishing techniques does little to foster understanding of the current struggles faced by Sto-lo people. Concurrently, equating racial differences with ethnicity in the name of 'recognition of similarities' can deny the definite historical and contemporary significance of color in determining life opportunities that different groups have had in the North American experience. “Teachers of students of color need some way of understanding why people of color have not done as well in society as others have” (Sleeter, 1993: 161). Taylor students need to become aware of the contemporary reality of First Nations people as well as develop the attitudes and skills
which will allow them to discuss and debate the causes of the current state of affairs as well as strategies to improve the current state of affairs.

A recognition of diversity must also show the linkages to power and class. Whether by way of an overt domination of social institutions, Gramsci’s ‘hegemony,’ or by way of the subtle ‘cultural production’ spoken of by Willis (1990), the results are evident that these representations of diversity reveal powerful linkages to the maintenance of power by certain groups in society. Again, this argument is well supported by Porter in his 1965 Canadian classic *The Vertical Mosaic*, and others (Dahlie and Fernando, 1981; Peter 1981; Moodley 1981). A critical analysis of diversity seeks an investigation of the varying ways that individuals and groups have and are currently facing discrimination. Hall makes this point strongly,

...If you present an idealized picture of a ‘multicultural’ or ‘ethnically varied’ society which doesn’t look at the way in which racism has combined with, for example, sexism working back within the black population itself, ... you will have done absolutely nothing whatsoever for the political understanding of your students (Hall, 1981: 68).

A danger here is to revert to an essentialism that holds that all members of the identified group are victimized in the same manner. A key must be to focus upon the ‘varying expressions’ of the racism, the multiplicity of the factors involved in making racism unique in distinct situations. An effective anti-racism strategy must deal with ‘race relations’ in all its forms that may exist within the district. To do so is to be cognizant of the nonsynchronous reality of groups of people. Diversity, as is stated in the policy, becomes a ‘source of
enrichment' when people begin to work together because of a recognition of their similar struggles. McCarthy supports Apple's call for a new politics,

A politics of 'non-reformist reforms' that attempts to build 'integrated' political projects and alliances from within the already hegemonic struggles and everyday practices of teachers, students, parents, administrators, and minority and working class youth (McCarthy, 1990: 120).

This list may be expanded to include all youth, for they are all factors within the equation of race relations.

In addition, proponents of the policy must continually reflect on the concise concept of 'race' itself. In spite of many individuals in our society innocently claiming not to see 'race', or as is frequently expressed, "a person is just a person," (Omi and Winant, 1993: 5) race remains a significant social construct (Omi and Winant, 1993: 7). People are still defined and shaped by their racial categorization [past & present] by others. After conducting research into how children are provided with 'racialized' concepts to assist them in how they understand and act in their daily lives, the findings of Hatcher and Troyna (1993) clearly show that racism is a big part of the experience of [Black] children. 'Race' is also shown to be a large element in the development of children's social relations and understanding of the world. For all children race is interfused with a myriad of other factors which in turn create ever changing understandings of the meanings behind race (Hatcher and Troyna, 1993: 123).

This in turn leads to a final area of concern if the 'celebration of difference and the recognition of similarities' are truly to make for valuable meaning and understanding in Taylor. This change must infuse the entirety of the system. In the domain of
curriculum, diversity needs to be more than “benign pluralism or cultural relativism” (McCarthy, 1993: 300), and actually become embedded in the common canon so that the experiences of all are placed into the center of the curriculum as opposed to special courses or units of study on ‘the Japanese’ for example. The foundations of such a curriculum should also be firmly rooted within the argument for social justice if people are to develop an open mindedness towards diversity. Using the ideas of Bob Connell, such a curriculum would “constitute a fundamental step in the direction of preparing students for democratic participation in the complex and differential world” (McCarthy, 1993: 300). This enlarging of the curriculum is what Sleeter calls for in advocating “Education that is Multicultural and Social Reconstructionist” (1994), what Banks calls “a Curriculum for Empowerment, Action and Change” (Banks, 1992: 154), and what Pinar argues for in the American context, “we must incorporate the African American experience through out the school curriculum, rather than marginalize it as ‘Black Studies’” (Pinar, 1993: 69).

The justification for true ‘multicultural literacy’ is that it is the truthful reflection of the Canadian experience. In expressing the interrelatedness of Blacks and Whites in America, James Baldwin has pointed out, “White does not exist apart from Black,” (Pinar, 1993: 63). It is in coming to terms with all aspects of our art, our science, our economics as well as our wealth, poverty and oppression that the truth of diversity and the recognition of similarities rings out with real meaning.

The implications of a true integration of diversity into the system also means the district must address inclusion, or its absence, in dealing with the general community as well as routine practices of schooling such as staffing. Some argue that this may not be a
priority where the school population is more homogenous. On the other hand, whether a particular school has a diverse population or not, all of the individuals within that school are members of the general society and as such, will increasingly interact with others in hopefully, positive ways. We therefore need a policy to affect all schools because it will have positive benefits for young people entering a heterogeneous world.

Personally, whereas it was important for my former students at a racially diverse high school to have me, as a person of color, as a positive role model, it was equally important for my students at a later school, which was overwhelmingly Euro-Canadian, to experience a visible minority in a leadership role, something that they may not have otherwise experienced.

**Rationale (3)**

School District (Taylor) Recognizes that people are the sum of their experiences, and therefore, as an educational institution, the district has a special responsibility to help develop positive values, attitudes, knowledge and practices by developing a framework which will promote and support equity, justice and access for all.

From a variety of perspectives, those critical of the various approaches to multicultural or race relations education would extend raised eyebrows at the statement above. Marxists might question whether the school district, as part of the hegemonic structure, will have any desire, or for that matter the power, to effect any changes to the “effectivity of social and economic structures in the determination of racial inequality” (McCarthy, 1993: 72). In this respect, it is interesting to note the previous policy statement of the Taylor School District regarding race, II-C-16, which preceded the
current initiative states, "Racism is not a major problem," (notice of motion, Taylor School District). On the other hand, liberal theorists have for a long time stressed that changing individual attitudes by way of education can and will work towards what Banks refers to as the "prejudiceless goal" (Banks, 1993: 292). In the ongoing evaluation of the study of race relations, many theorists are coming to accept the wisdom that is to be gained by learning from both arguments. Neo-Marxists are beginning to expand their emphasis beyond economic structures to include identity, subjectivity, culture, language, and perhaps most interestingly, the agency of individuals (Omi and Winant, 1986; Sarup, 1986). A recognition of the multiplicity of the origins of racism; from the macroeconomic evolution of capitalist systems to the personal development of 'values,' can in more realistic ways begin to seek out and then attend to the roots of racism.

From a non-reductionist paradigm, by stating that 'people are the sum of their experiences,' the policy cannot mean that attitudes resulting from those experiences are the main factors in racism. Such a limited perspective would mean that the district in 'developing positive values, attitudes, knowledge and practices,' would simply stress attitudinal change.

The strong version of these multicultural paradigms directly targets White students, teachers, and flawed protagonists in their racial relations with minorities. It is expected that these prejudiced individuals will change when they are exposed to sensitivity training in human relations and ethnic studies programs (McCarthy, 1993: 292).

Now this is not to say that psychological foundations for racism are to be thrown out all together. A long-standing research tradition exists that points out that a
predisposition toward authoritarianism is highly correlated to the maintenance of racist attitudes (Bettelheim, 1964; Rokeach, 1966; Altemeyer, Adorno, 1950; Doob and Sears, 1939; Berkowitz, 1962). Racism often remains a characteristic of individuals who do not follow the more progressive principles idealized in Western democracies, and as such, are perhaps malleable to educational initiatives (Chesler, 1976). Schools are therefore an important location for such attitudinal adjustment. “Schools can be agents of social justice, they are where the kids are for the formative years of their lives” (Helen, 1995)!

These initiatives would seek to develop positive attitudes by increased cultural understanding, to support the recognition of others as different but equal nonetheless. It also might seek to increase positive knowledge by enriching the cross-cultural knowledge base of individuals. It would equally acknowledge that individuals do have the power of individual agency as well as recognizing that with a progressive policy, institutions can be a force in changing these negative attitudes within individuals. However, these tools on their own are not enough. Henriques states the serious shortcoming quite succinctly:

The burden and responsibility for the oppression of racial minorities are squarely placed on the shoulders of these irrational or “authoritarian personalities” (Henrigues, 1984: 78).

Ever more problematic is the fact that change and the transformation of these oppressive relations are made conditional upon the institutional reformation of these individuals and their return to the observance of rational norms that guide the society and its institutions. Needless to say, historical evidence and the very persistence of racial inequality in schools and society go against the grain of this thesis and the problematic responses it has precipitated (McCarthy, 1993: 74).
Quite clearly, by taking into account the 'sum of people's experiences,' implementers of the policy must take these experiences to also extend into a very wide range of influences beyond the individual. The overt and covert ways in which these factors historically as well as currently affect the institutional construction of race relations needs to be seen as part of the 'experiences' of the people: our families, churches, peer groups, and the media. Fizal Rizvi, in studying the grammar of racism in children, concluded that this expansion is needed.

To tackle popular racism it is essential to challenge not only the attitudes and beliefs that signify its grammar but, more importantly, its practical ideological form, the epistemic authority that sustains its practices, enabling children to make sense of the everyday world in racist terms (Rizvi, 1993: 138).

An increased awareness of our contemporary societal reality will also perhaps make clear to us all of the apparent contradictions between the "shared experience, common cultural orientations, and cross-racial friendships" (Hatcher and Troyna, 1993: 121) that are in evidence in Canadian youth cultures and the continuation of struggles that students have in resolving their personal cross-racial friendships with wider, perhaps negative influences, (Hatcher and Troyna, 1993: p. 121). The acknowledgment of these wider influences sheds light upon the sociological foundations of the origins of racism.

Can the policy lead towards its intended positives? The prospects seem promising as long as individual based classroom practices along with a critical analysis of macro-economic influences on individuals and group interactions are utilized. Such a policy
should move towards a framework, which promotes equity and justice by way of a moral, inclusive, and democratic school district.

Rationale (4)

School District (Taylor) Encourages interpersonal relations that aspire to the realization of harmony, mutual respect and understanding.

The essential question to be asked in respect to this statement is this: can or will interpersonal relations automatically lead to an increased harmony, respect and understanding between people? As discussed previously, there exists a long standing tradition in multicultural education that claims that prejudicial and racist feelings can be combated by increased cultural contact between individuals (Chesler, 1976). Hatcher and Troyna summarize the theories in this way,

The contact hypothesis presumes that racial prejudice and the discriminatory practices to which it sometimes gives rise can be dispelled by the positive experiences of inter ethnic contact in schools [and elsewhere] (Hatcher and Troyna, 1993: 111).

An essential ingredient to making cultural contact a positive factor is that such contact must be between relative equals in terms of how the individuals perceive themselves and each other. However, several studies concerning school children have shown the great difficulties with this basic premise. In studying the social climate of elementary schools in the Toronto area, Ijaz witnessed high levels of inter-racial social contact. In this environment, he also witnessed high levels of negative attitudes and
actions between groups. Further, the problems seemed to be magnified if they were perceived to be racial in nature (Ijaz, 1981). This was reinforced by the findings of Jones, Hewitt and Bach who found that while many youths assume the adoption of black influenced language and dressing styles, they may increasingly be a part of multi-racial friendship groupings as well as have quite common neighborhood experiences with their Black peers, and they still can be under the influence of a myriad of contradictory influences from others that contradict their positive interactions with people of color (Hatcher and Troyna, 1993: 121). What is seen as correct in the home, what is seen on the television, and what is perceived in the general culture all can and do continue to battle with what individuals may experience individually in their social lives. As a result, one can conclude that ideas can be gained from a variety of sources and that they do interplay with each other. Indeed, while increased cultural contact may not necessarily lead to a decrease in racism, it has been noted that anti-racist stances are often established “in the absence of school policies or largely independent of them” (Hatcher and Troyna, 1993: 121). These might originate from the same sources, parents, general community and the like that in other situations may increase racism.

This is of special importance to a district like Taylor in which we can see many of the multi-racial groupings of youths that Hatcher and others have studied. It indicates that race is a significant factor in the lives of all students in how they view general society as well as increasingly in their interpersonal relations. It also indicates that the usage of race as an organizing concept by students arrives from a variety of sources and is under constant construction. The policy is correct to encourage interpersonal relations. Such relations can break down stereotypes that may be based on ignorance if the cultural
contact is positive, equal and focused on the attainment of a co-operative goal. As individuals, we can gain a sense of others as individuals who are different and perhaps in many ways similar. The key however is that we are in fact individuals (Buchignani, 1988). A moral education that focuses upon concepts such as harmony, mutual respect and understanding would influence students to believe that aberrations to a code of 'fair play' are wrong (Rex, 1987). This, in the opinion of Youness (1980), would improve interpersonal relations.

The first is the notions of equality and reciprocity are reconstituted not as pragmatic rules of joint activity but as explicit ideal principles of relationships, based on cooperation and equal treatment. "The practice of free and open discussions where every one's opinions have an equal chance to be heard leads mutually to a belief that fairness demands equality in treatment and in outcomes (Youness, 1980: 122).

I would also argue however that the district must endeavor to continue to make the attack on racism a multi-pronged attack that does not overestimate the power of interpersonal relations. There exists in modern society powerful currents for the development of group identities, some of which can be ethno-racial.

Race relations research points to increased xenophobia, especially within times of uneasiness. The perception that Asian money has inflated lower mainland housing prices is especially pertinent to the Taylor community that is seeing a large influx of Asian peoples. Nearly half of BC's population has come to believe that too many non-White immigrants are moving into the province (Gould, 1988: 107). In addition, Moodley (1985) and Thomas (1984) have noted that affirmative action programs can maintain the
perception of racialized difference as opposed to solving continuous racism by
“perpetuating invidious distinctions by attaching advantage to them” (Moodley, 1985: 117). This, I imagine, can bisect the very understandings of individuality that interpersonal relations may be seeking to create. To illustrate let us imagine a White child who grows up with another child, of Asian background. In many ways, they have an identical upbringing within a Canadian community. As the then grown man of Asian background obtains a job under an affirmative action program, the then grown White man might have cause to ask ‘why? I’ve known you all my life; you don’t need any help! This is unfair!’ The fact of close interpersonal relations does not necessarily create understanding in this case. It may in fact lead in the other direction. What will assist in this particular situation will be an understanding of the systematic, institutionalized ways that may hinder the man of Asian background in ways that are subtly invisible to the Euro-Canadian. The “embeddedness” (Chesler, 1976) of some of the foundations of racism can not be wished away by interpersonal relations no matter how respectful or understanding these may be.

Rationale (5)

School District (Taylor) Acknowledges that racial, ethno-cultural, linguistic, and religious groups may encounter barriers to full participation in education and employment opportunities. The district is committed to removing these barriers.

It is my opinion that this section of the rationale really marks a strong departure from ‘soft’ multiculturalism (Echols and Fisher, 1992) as it has been seen in Canada, towards a more effective focus on race relations. It speaks to me of a recognition that
institutionalized racism may exist and shows that more is to be done than recognition and celebration of diversity, changes need to occur to allow people of difference more social justice within the system. This is especially pertinent for a district that not long ago, officially believed that ‘racism did not exist.’

The fact is that racism is quite often subtle and even invisible in Canada. This reinforces the uniqueness of the Canadian reality. Bagley argues that because of our highly selective immigration policy along with less overt social stratification via status and ethnicity than the USA and Britain (Bagley, 1989), on the surface we do in fact seem to have an egalitarian society here in Western Canada, “In Western Canada in particular, Blacks are likely to be found in the elite groups of doctors, lawyers and professional engineers” (Bagley, 1989: 104). Many people in the lower mainland would have a hard time imagining that Asian Canadians may face barriers at the same time that many believe that as a group, they are doing better economically than any other group. The facts speak for themselves. Gallup polls as late as 1990 indicated that upwards of 73% of the Canadian population see a rise in the number of ethno-racial difficulties (Fleras, 1992:113). Documents such as Equality Now! (1984) have clearly shown that widespread racial abuse and discrimination is in all areas of society. Samuda and others have found that stereotyping, lack of positive role models and low teacher expectations have often crippled the ability of many students of color to do well in school (Samuda, 1984). For us to assume that ‘racism is dead,’ or that we as Canadians do not have the American problem is to take on “an ostrich-like denial that a significant problem of racial hostility exists at all” (Moodley, 1981: 15).
Consequently, we must see contemporary society as it is, warts and all. Race is a distinct area of inquiry, not because race is a ‘cast in stone’ physical reality, but because race is a social construction by which people are still defining themselves and others. The physical markers of race allow all Asians in the lower mainland to be lumped together, and as such, to be often held responsible for many major concerns within the lower mainland,

Even if high immigration stimulates economic growth, even if ‘Orientals’ have one of the lowest crime rates, are underrepresented on welfare roles and unemployment benefits, the popular myth nevertheless, singles them out as main offenders (Moodley, 1981: 16).

In spite of the relative prosperity of individuals within any group, in spite of the building of cross-cultural bridges on an individual basis, racism is still a factor in the lives of all of us. It is this recognition that necessitates a progression towards an anti-racist, social reconstructionist policy (Fleras, 1993; Sleeter, 1994; Moodley, 1992; Edwards, 1993; Troyna, 1989).

If the district is committed to the “elimination of barriers,” it must be committed to a concern with how institutions operate and not just about the promotion of intergroup relations. It must concern itself with an analysis of the structure and practices of institutional institutions.

In this model, we find less emphasis on the lifestyles and cultures of ethnic minority groups and greater attention to the structures that produce, sustain and legitimate values and practices that help maintain racial inequality. Furthermore, this conception eschews the conservative model of schooling and the requisite rationalist models of
reform and instead demands a radical and comprehensive reappraisal of the nature and
functions of formal education (Troyna, 1989: 178).

As I have argued earlier, a “de-racialized curriculum” needs to be incorporated
(Pinar, 1993: 63). A moral education is needed, one that incorporates psychological
insight into others along with sociological insight into the foundations of how we operate.
The district needs to examine how individuals in power positions hire and promote their
colleagues. Is it always because of what is in their formal resume? Buchignani argues
that vigorous teacher education programs along with in-servicing programs are needed so
that higher percentages of classroom and school leaders can model as well as teach the
ideals outlined. Along with Rex (1989), he also asserts that a policy of direct behavior
modification and a zero tolerance discrimination policy needs to be implemented and
then enforced (Buchignani, 1989; Rex, 1989). In essence, the district needs to seek out
and rectify all of the barriers, implicit and explicit that may exist.

Conclusion

In order to understand the terrain of race relations reform in education, I have
attempted to look beyond the dogmatism of what passes for contemporary
multiculturalism and get a sense of what people really think concerning race and race
relations. At the same time, I am leery of new doctrines that are generated in response to
the status quo. I recognize that the socially constructed identities of people, definitions of
race, and relations between individuals and groups are fluid. I also agree that the
A vigorous attempt to read schools as dynamic and complex cultural institutions that are deeply infiltrated by society, and stratified by difference, unstable alliances, needs, desires, and interests is a vital first requirement in thinking through the parameters of race relations reform in education (McCarthy and Critchlow, 1993: xxi).

Members of the Taylor School District Race Relations Committee share many of the same attitudes, motivations, and perspectives with others in the field of education: they have a strong belief in justice and equality; they believe that people can integrate into mainstream society; they believe that in many ways racism is losing its significance as a social concept; and they believe that education can improve race relations. The members of the committee worked to construct a race relations policy that would assist the district to “provide and maintain a learning and working environment in which racial, cultural, and religious differences are recognized and valued” (Taylor Race Relations Policy, Taylor School District). The policy reflects a strong identification with traditional models of multiculturalism; approaches that do not contain the critical and reformist perspectives that this researcher believes are necessary to bring about a learning environment in which differences are truly valued. I do believe however, that the policy is great start in the process.

As a result of this study, I have several recommendations to make concerning further work in race relations education in Taylor School District.
In order to facilitate progress towards a more democratic society, I suggest four recommendations that the school district could consider. I believe that Taylor needs to develop the following:

- Further clarification of a District Vision.
- A process to assist shareholders to become aware of their own belief systems.
- Re-education of educational leaders in matters of culture, race and race relations.
- Strategies to promote improved race relations.

**Clarification of a District Vision**

I agree with the board of trustees when they state that the overall operation of the district is most effective when it is guided by commonly held beliefs and goals.

**What We Believe**

The Board of School Trustees believes the overall operation of School District No. 43 (Coquitlam) is most productive and effective when it is guided by a sense of commonly held beliefs and goals. Together, our beliefs, mission and goals enable the fulfillment of our purpose and provide direction and guidance to district developments and operations (1997-98 Info., School District Taylor).
Superseding the district race relations policy, the board of trustees of the Taylor School District have established statements of belief and a mission statement which are to serve as the guiding principles of the school district. The beliefs of the school district are as follows:

Our Beliefs:

We believe in our students. Our students are valued members of society, they are the future. The success of tomorrow’s society depends on their ability to reach their full potential.

We value and respect individuals

We welcome diversity and recognize that some students require more support than others. All students are entitled to appropriate programs, learning materials and methods of teaching.

We value our community

An effective school district derives its strength and integrity from mutually supportive student, parent, staff and community relationships. We believe these positive partnerships result in responsible and accountable decisions that serve to ensure quality learning opportunities for students of all ages.

Our Focus is for our Children

We believe learning is a lifelong process that requires the support and involvement of our community, that students are our most important focus, and that helping them reach their goals is our highest priority.

Our Mission

OUR MISSION IS TO ENSURE QUALITY LEARNING OPPORTUNITIES FOR ALL STUDENTS OF ALL AGES

Covey (1992) teaches that the establishment of commonly held principles of belief is necessary for organizations to develop a principle-centered culture. Statements of belief and mission statements serve as a ‘compass’ pointing towards the vision of the
organization. Without these pre-established principles, organizations will often seek to
develop a 'map' of strategies to take the organization towards goals that may not be
clearly understood or commonly held. Commonly held principles should be organic,
fundamental, and universal if they are to be owned by the individuals making up the
organization. For this reason, Taylor needs to ensure that its statements of belief are
clearly understood, shared, and firmly established so they can become the terms of
reference, a 'constitution', to which all practices can be measured.

To this end, the district needs to establish a process in which leaders can discuss and
debate the statements so they can eventually gain ownership of them. Consequently,
these leaders can be prepared to develop effective missions in their areas of responsibility
within the district. I have distilled the following convictions from the districts' beliefs
which should become 'owned' by first the leaders, and then the greater district
community:

- Practices should be guided by commonly held beliefs.
- Practices should support the intellectual, personal, and social needs of all students.
- All students are valued and supported to reach their full potential.
- The district is built upon positive relationships and partnerships.
- Students are the primary focus of the district.

I would also add that the district needs to assist and ensure that individuals,
departments, teaching teams, and schools develop their own localized missions and
statements of belief so that they can be empowered to promote their own locally
developed initiatives. Subsequently, specific goals can then be set that will encourage
principle centered relations between shareholders, and ultimately, principle centered
teaching and interrelations with students. These teaching methods and relationships between staff and students should have the following characteristics: they should be holistic, taking into account individuals, schools and the greater community; ecological, assuming that schools are part of a larger society; and developmental, recognizing that we need to develop ourselves as individuals, before developing small groups of change agents, and then we can work towards changing the entire culture of the district.

Self Awareness

The school district needs to provide ways in which leaders and others can come to better understand what it is that they believe and why. It has been clearly shown in the literature and in the discussions with committee members that there are many individuals who claim to support multicultural initiatives while at the same time maintaining practices that support marginalization and exclusion. Shareholders need to be able to recognize their own ideological framework that articulates with their everyday contacts and experiences. It is this framework that provides the scaffold upon which their ideas on race and race relations often exists uneasily with their ideals on justice and diversity.

I believe that district leaders need to be taken through a small group process in which they are guided to analyze their perceptions, values, and ideals that inform how they address problems. What do they mean when they say that they value differences? Which differences can be valued and which are too different?

This type of inservicing I suspect will be difficult work and given its small group structure, quite expensive for a school district to develop. However, I believe that if the
district is to promote a race relations policy as a major initiative, this is a vital step in the process. As valuable resources, I believe that UBC professors Dr. Graham Kelsey and educational psychologist Marvin Westwood would be excellent. Dr. Kelsey, who is now retired, taught a course, 'Problem Reformulation Skills for Principals' that provided me with much insight into self-analysis. Dr. Westwood has experience facilitating group counseling related to leadership and cross cultural education, expertise that would be of benefit to the district. To make use of the valuable race relations policy that is already in place, groups could be guided to make sense of their own understandings of the rationale statements. It is my belief that until leaders have gone through these kinds of processes, we will not be able to rearticulate our 'lived' cultures to new practices of representation without falling back upon our pre-established, often subtly racist perspectives.

Re-Education

Educational leaders need to develop new understandings and practices of representation, perhaps their first consciously articulated understandings of culture, race, and race relations. First, educational leaders need to understand culture as more than just 'heritage'. It must be recognized as: holistic, encompassing all of the ideas and actions of people; transmitted to subsequent generations; evolutionary, as it articulates with the contemporary experiences of individuals; and made up of problem solving responses to living. This new understanding of culture will impact how we address curricula, how we make our school culture more representative of contemporary reality, how we can become more aware of the specific nature of racism in our particular neighborhood, and
how we hire in our school district. Further, because culture entails all that we are, the
district needs to ensure that strategies also address the affective needs of people. It is also
important to realize that strategies dealing with matters of race may also generate a
certain degree of pain and emotion. As a result, a process of healing and reconciliation
may also be needed if people are to escape the lingering scars that come from being a
victim, or being perpetrator.

Secondly, educators need to accept that race continues to be an important concept
in how many people make sense of contemporary society. It is more than a biological
categorization of people and it is more than an old, socially created definition that has
over stepped its time. It continues to mutate and be utilized by people to help them
understand and determine their interrelations with others. We need to understand that a
wide range of factors influences definitions and categorizations of race and that there is
incredible diversity within stereotyped ‘racial’ groups. In order to gain further
understanding of race, we must make use of ‘jazz’ orientations of sociology, psychology,
anthropology, women’s studies, and other fields of inquiry. In fact, discussions around
matters of race can become so confused that an expansion of the definition to take into
consideration the ‘cultural politics of difference’ (McCarthy, 1993) provides a more
realistic perspective of the contemporary status quo and as a result, takes into account the
tremendous diversity that now exists ‘within’ groups. Using non-essentialist, non-
synchronous, and broader definitions of race will help us to recognize that the roots of
racism are highly varied and include psychological as well as sociological and
anthropological impetuses.
To facilitate this 're-education' process, the district needs to locate extremely knowledgeable and effective facilitators who can lead the processes and then weave the professional development practices into the very fabric of the district culture. The professional development strategies must be deliberate, target all educational leaders, utilize a variety of educational strategies, and be continually revisited and reinforced. This re-education should be mandatory for all district leaders at first, and then delivered to all district personnel.

Strategies to Promote Improved Race Relations

* A Focus on the Good

I have emphasized the importance of establishing and clarifying a vision for the school district and for individual schools. I believe that the literature and my discussions with the committee members made it clear that most educators espouse positive ideals in regards to the purpose of schools. It makes sense to me that the district builds upon these positive attitudes and ideals by continuing to revisit the district belief statements and mission and encouraging and supporting schools to do the same with their specific mission statements. The district needs to actively engage its leaders in a re-visitation of the statements of belief so that they can be able to articulate what the statements mean to them and how they believe that these statements should be reflected throughout district culture and in specific schools. These leaders then need to be empowered to effectively facilitate the development of school based missions, or the revisitation of pre-existing mission statements, so that they include the key ingredients identified by Covey:
• It must have a means and an ends.
• It must address all stakeholders.
• It must address the four needs of people: physical, social, psychological, and spiritual.
• It must be generated from within the organization.
• It must become a guiding document against which all practices and ideals are measured.

(Covey, 1992)

It is from such a foundation that a principle centered culture can be established, one that is visionary while being owned by the shareholders of the organization.

Educational leaders need to articulate the ideals that their shareholders already have and then hold themselves to become accountable to them. If they do not practice what that claim to believe, increased dissonance will exist between their ideals and the practices.

In his speech at the Lincoln Monument in 1963, Martin Luther King referred to the march on Washington as an attempt by Negroes ‘to cash a cheque’ that was issued to them in the American ‘mission statement’, the constitution.

.... In a sense we have come to our nation’s capital to cash a check. When the architects of our republic wrote the magnificent words of the Constitution and the Declaration of Independence, they were signing a promissory note every American was to fall heir.

This note was a promise that all men, yes, black men as well as white men would be guaranteed the inalienable rights of life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness .... (Martin Luther King, August 28, 1963).

It was by observing the social dissonance between the ideals of the constitution and the reality of 1960’s America that lent additional moral power to the American Civil Right’s movement. Similarly, mission statements and statements of Belief that are established properly, and are truly owned by the shareholders establish a mandate for
Covey (1992) argues that if they are created by people who are, free to interact freely, uncensored, and are fully aware of their situation, missions are always similar in their espousal of moral principles. They will state positive values, attitudes, knowledge, and practices that mirror the interests of justice, learning, democracy, and morality that our schools should be developing in our young people.

* Democratic Schools

Our education system is preparing students who will enter a nation that is officially democratic, and a world that is increasingly decentralized and developing accelerating interdependence. Education that is Reformist and Multicultural needs to provide a vehicle through which citizens can learn attitudes and skills, and practice their abilities to improve situations of racism. As well, they need to reflect the concerns of a diverse collection of people. In order to progress in areas such as these, schools need to start with a “utopian language of possibility” (Aronowitz and Giroux, 19:1985). Then they must move from the “terrain of hope and agency to the sphere of struggle and action, one steeped in a vision which chooses life and offers constructive alternatives” (Aronowitz and Giroux, 19:1985). The only way that our leaders and students can develop their abilities to imagine and work towards these ideals is through an expanded democratization in which educational leaders have, model, and develop democratic skills. Then they can collaboratively work and learn from other shareholders; parents, community members, and students and develop democratic schools and classrooms. The classrooms of the district need to become laboratories where democratic attitudes, sensibilities, and skills are development and practiced. The same needs to be modeled in
school staff relations and relations at the district level. These processes I believe are already in place in Taylor to a large extent. Pragmatically, an expansion of the process could contain the following initiatives:

- An evaluation of the invisible curriculum in schools. Do the games, sports, celebrations, assemblies, and cafeteria food items reflect the contemporary culture of the school citizens?

- A proactive recruitment of visible minority parents into Parent Advisory Council (PAC) groups. Initial meetings could include translators, and begin with sharing sessions on parental perspectives on schooling, learning, and school culture.

- The development of mission statements that includes the processes and essential ingredients identified by Covey (1992).

- Students need to be able to learn and practice democratic attitudes and skills through class meetings and student government, and then go beyond these strategies to problem analysis and advocacy.

- Students need to be brought into the process of developing or revisiting school routines and school culture through student governments or principal’s councils so that their lived cultures and perspectives can be brought into the equation.

Through this empowerment of the school community, the ‘voice’ of all players can be heard, the lived cultures of people are more apt to be recognized, and people will have a safer environment in which to bring forth their concerns and if need be, to advocate for their causes. In addition, character development can be fostered as well as the competency of people so that the intellectual and creative resources of all people can be mobilized.
* Psychological Foundations of Racism

Although they do not address all of the factors involved in the development of racism, the school district should continue to encourage and support educators to correct prejudicial attitudes in individuals. Care needs to be taken that Whites are not targeted as the 'flawed protagonists' (Banks, 1988), and even if some of them are, it needs to be understood that attempts to reverse their attitudes may not work.

* Increased Interpersonal Relations

District support of attempts to build interpersonal relations between individuals and groups of racially different people should continue. I encourage schools to develop team building activities and exercises that encourage groups of racially different individuals to work together towards mutually beneficial goals. When individuals see each other as peers in these situations, these activities can lessen discrimination. The district could also encourage students to develop interracial 'pen pals' and 'internet pals,' and schools to have intra-district 'exchanges' within the school district. This could be especially useful when schools are largely monocultural and students do not have the opportunity of interracial contact within their neighborhoods. These kinds of interracial contacts can also increase the awareness of the localized and specific nature of the racial diversity in a particular area as well as heighten the awareness of the nonsynchronous nature of inter group contact.
* Zero Tolerance of Racism

Strategies to combat racism, while useful, cannot diminish all instances of racist behavior. For this reason, I encourage the district to maintain a ‘zero tolerance’ policy regarding acts of racism and discrimination in keeping with its pre-established code of conduct that states that students are expected to:

Respect the ethnic diversity of our school community

Respect the rights of all persons within the school including peers, staff and parents.

Not threaten, harass, intimidate or assault, in any way, any person within the school community (Taylor School District Code of Conduct, 1983)

Further education needs to be provided to all shareholders to increase the awareness and recognition of what constitutes racism in order for the policy to be increasingly effective.

* Hiring

The district needs to continue to actively encourage all groups to apply for employment. I believe however, that the district needs to proactively ‘seek’ visible minorities for teaching and leadership positions. This is not to be done primarily to provide jobs for visible minority individuals although it does acknowledge that these individuals may otherwise face barriers to employment due to race. The primary reason for the proactive recruitment is the students. The ranks of educational leaders need to reflect and be congruent with the student population. Visible minority students need to see people like themselves in positions of leadership. Further, the entire system needs to
be exposed to the attitudes and culture that these people bring with them into schools. White students need to be lead by visible minority individuals also. For all of these reasons, visible minority status is an important criterion for employment into the ranks of educational leadership along with high standards of qualifications.

* Language

The district needs to continue to support excellence in E.S.L instruction so that all learners can attain proficiency in the working language of the society. I also encourage the district to promote and support the teaching of Mandarin, Cantonese, Spanish, and Japanese in our schools. Proficiency in these languages will allow English speakers to attain increased cross-cultural competencies.

* Curriculum

The district needs to aggressively address the embedded nature of Eurocentric and conservative curriculum that still exists within education. They need to step to the forefront and proactively encourage and support teachers as they develop interdisciplinary, and interest based approaches to curricula. These kinds of approaches are more in fitting with the emerging post-modern sensibilities that we now live. Specific to race, we can recognize that the race concept is a global, contemporary, and modern phenomenon. If this is the world that our young people are to inhabit, it makes sense that they are led to interface with a curriculum that is truly representative of their world, not an idealized, ethnocentric view that clings to traditional compartmentalization of
curricula and dated pedagogy. To get to this point, the district needs to lead teachers and students to actively deconstruct, critically assess, and intelligently revise those modern perspectives of the world that have for too long been treated like facts. I believe that the district needs to encourage and support teachers to make bold and innovative new entries into the Integrated Resource Packages (IRP’s) in ways that will allow students to explore interests that directly influence their worlds. Teachers can address the IRP’s from theme or issue based perspectives that can lead students to study race-related histories or issues such as the Fraser River Fishery for example. Interdisciplinary approaches utilizing Science, Social Studies, and Language Arts curricula can be used to explore the reality of race and ethnicity while imaginative, yet relevant explorations of Social Studies, Career and Personal Planning, Language Arts, and Music can assist students to search for the messages behind the variations of rap music to be heard in White, Chinese, First Nations, and French youth groups while having their immediate roots in African American inner cities. An increasingly global perspective on each level of the curriculum will allow teachers and students alike to escape the ethnocentrism that so often encapsulates us in such an unrealistic manner. To do so does not mean that we abandon the existing IRP’s, rather, we approach them from a new paradigm that is more reflective of our contemporary reality and our real history.

* ‘Critical Organic Catalysts’ (West, 1993)

The individuals leading this work are often going to be people who have had success in the mainstream society and yet have continued, or are developing an awareness of subcultures of criticism. These 'critical, organic catalysts' (West, 1993) are
the front line troops in the battle against racism. These people already exist within the school district, have power within their individual circles of influence, and yet, retain and seek grounding in subcultures of criticism. Derek Dallas promoted inclusion in schools as well as advocating the need for self-examination at the emotional level, Cindy Maxwell had experienced discrimination and yet worked from within the district to promote reforms, and April Helen, the former DPAC chair who spearheaded the development of the policy, are all examples of catalysts who worked from critical perspectives from within the system. These critics need to be well attuned to the postmodern reality and not be consumed into ethnic chauvinism or all encompassing meta-narratives that do not take into the account the variety of factors involved in the race question. It is here that we can come full circle and use the teachings of Hampton (1995), Calliou (1995), Covey (1992) and others in recognizing the holistic reality of our existence. Once the common vision has been articulated, individuals need to explore and develop their own understandings of themselves as well as the issues. From there, individuals need to seek out like-minded others and create groups that can work together and take advantage of the synergy that is fostered when people are empowered. ‘Teams’ of people are needed to create social and institutional change.

The members of the Taylor Race Relations Committee did develop a very promising start to a movement towards the elimination of racism.

The work must continue.
REFERENCES


*Elizabeth Fry Society of Saskatchewan.* (1992). Aboriginal Women in the Criminal Justice System. In Western Judicial Education Center on Racial, Ethnic, and Cultural Equity. Saskatoon. WJEC.


____ (1986). “Gramsci’s relevance to the analysis of racism and ethnicity.” *Journal of Communication Studies*, 10 (2), 5-27


*1997-98 Info 100.* Taylor School District.


APPENDIX I

Report of the Committee on Race Relations

Submitted to the Superintendent
School District
June, 1993
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1. List of Committee Members

2. Terms of Reference

3. Work of the Committee

4. Recommendations
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     - policy
     - regulation
   * Other Recommendations

5. Conclusion/Acknowledgements
COMMITTEE ON RACE RELATIONS

Community Representatives

D.P.A.C.

Students

Teachers

C.U.P.E

Trustees

Principals & Vice Principals

Administration

Other Representatives Who Served on the Committee in its Initial Stages

Administration

Administration

Administration

Trustee

D.P.A.C.

C.T.A.

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At a regular meeting of the Board of Trustees held on April 24, 1992 a motion was passed authorizing the Board to strike an ad hoc committee to revise Policy II - C - 16 on Racism.

Terms of Reference were subsequently written by the committee and presented to the Board of Trustees on February 9, 1993. The Terms of Reference were as follows:

1. To review current Board policy on racism.

2. To develop a policy on race relations.

3. To develop a rationale for the policy.

4. To make recommendations so that the intent of the policy and regulations becomes an integral part of the fabric of administrative and teaching practice in the School District.
WORK OF THE COMMITTEE

The committee began its work on May 29, 1992 and completed its task on June 8, 1993. In the year the committee worked, it met a total of 16 times as a full committee.

The committee searched out and reviewed policy statements from 35 Districts in British Columbia as well as policies from Saskatoon and several Boards in Ontario. In order to familiarize itself and to develop further sensitivity to the issues, the committee invited and from the Multicultural Society to conduct an awareness raising workshop for committee members. The committee also invited representatives from E.S.L. teachers to present at a committee meeting.

Numerous articles and pamphlets on racism and race relations were also studied and reviewed by the committee.

The committee developed a draft policy and recommendations. In order to facilitate participation and reach as wide an audience as possible, the draft policy and recommendations were translated into Chinese, Korean, Farsi, Spanish and Polish. Feedback on the draft policy was solicited at a public forum held on May 13, 1993. Participants gave verbal feedback at the forum and several submitted written responses following the meeting. The draft policy was also circulated to all principals and vice principals for feedback.

The feedback from the forum, as well as the written responses to the draft policy was collated and studied by the committee. This process resulted in considerable change to the original draft policy.
RECOMMENDATIONS

1. The committee recommends that the Board consider the following policy and its accompanying rationale to replace Policy II - C - 16.

Rationale

School District No. acknowledges the challenge of becoming responsive to the needs of a pluralistic society and

affirms that the racial, ethno-cultural, linguistic and religious diversity of its students, staff, and community is a source of enrichment and strength for Canada. It is through the celebration of diversity that understanding and meaning are built.

recognizes that people are the sum of their experiences, and therefore, as an educational institution, the district has a special responsibility to develop positive values, attitudes, knowledge and practices by developing a framework which will promote and support equity, justice and access to all.

encourages interpersonal relations that aspire to the realization of harmony, mutual respect and understanding.

acknowledges that racial, ethno-cultural, linguistic and religious groups may encounter barriers to full participation in education and employment opportunities. The district is committed to eliminate these barriers.

Policy

The Board is committed to provide and maintain a learning and working environment in which racial, ethnic, cultural and religious differences are recognized and valued. These differences must not be the basis of discrimination.

Within these parameters, the Board promotes:

* respect for the individual in all his/her diversity;
* heterogeneity in groupings;
* positive representative role models at all levels of the school system;
* encouragement of all groups to apply for employment;
qualifications and experience as the key criteria for selection (e.g. accent and experience in Canada are not legitimate criteria);

- assistance to students and staff to overcome barriers to reaching their potential;
- recruitment practices and hiring standards that foster employment equity;
- methods to ensure effective communication with parents who have little or no English;
- the removal of any barriers to parent participation in schools;
- activities which encourage pride in one's heritage and first language;
- cross-cultural training of staff, parents and students (e.g. awareness activities);
- global rather than predominantly Eurocentric education; and
- world literature and materials that portray diversity.

With emphasis on the areas of curriculum, staff development, personnel practices, conduct and climate, the Board promotes the integration of race relations issues into the fabric of the system and their inclusion as part of the agenda of all committees and activities. Race relations issues are not to be trivialized or marginalized.

Regulation

The Superintendent will ensure annually that students, parents, support staff, teachers and administrators are informed of the School District race relations policy.

2. Other Recommendations

After researching material, examining the projected demographics for School District and studying the community forum responses, the Race Relations Committee recommends that:

- the race relations policy be reviewed prior to the end of 1995 by a committee with appropriate representation;
- cross-cultural experiences be encouraged to overcome instances of prejudice;
- courses in a variety of languages be offered to students; and
- as a proactive move to meet the changing needs of students and to operationalize the intent of this policy, an accessible, effective working committee be established to provide advice on policies and programs, to promote cross-cultural awareness, to plan educational experiences and to prepare informational materials for the various stakeholders in the district. Its responsibilities might include:
- organization of cross-cultural awareness workshops to be made available to T.A., P.V.P.A., C.U.P.E., D.P.A.C., students and others;
- preparation of an employment package, in association with Personnel, with a positive statement about hiring to reflect the composition of our community;
- review of curriculum and programs, in conjunction with that department, to ensure that they reflect multiple points of view and a global outlook;
- information for students and employees on how to handle instances of prejudice; and
- assistance and encouragement to interagency groups to establish a community-based centre which provides services to new Canadians (i.e. a bank of translators, language courses, support, etc.).
CONCLUSION & ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

The Committee on Race Relations labored for a year in order to develop the present draft policy. As the product of extensive debate and study, this draft policy is viewed by the committee as progressive, positive and thorough.

Thanks and appreciation is extended to each committee member for his/her valuable contribution and for the dedication each displayed to achieving the goals of the committee. The committee worked through many difficult issues and never lost sight of the purpose.

Special appreciation is extended to who took notes for the committee and chaired the sub committee that actually wrote the first and second drafts.

Thanks is also extended to for his work in preparing for and chairing the May 13 Forum.

Chair
APPENDIX II

Action Plan
For
Implementation
of Race Relations Policy
ACTION PLAN
FOR IMPLEMENTATION OF THE
RACE RELATIONS POLICY

Submitted by: Race Relations Implementation Committee
Draft: October 12, 1993
School District No. acknowledges the challenge of being responsive to the needs of a pluralistic society. The district affirms that the ethnic, cultural and linguistic diversity of its students, staff, and community is a source of enrichment and strength for Canada. It is through the celebration of diversity and the recognition of similarities that understanding and meaning are built. People are the sum of their experiences, and therefore, as an educational institution, the district has a special responsibility to help develop positive values, attitudes, knowledge and practices by developing a framework which will promote and support equity, justice and access for all.

The district encourages interpersonal relations that aspire to the realization of harmony, mutual respect and understanding. It is acknowledged that ethnic, cultural and linguistic groups may encounter barriers to full participation in education and employment opportunities. The district is committed to eliminating these barriers. School District No. continues to experience significant growth which mirrors our global community. The district values the rich and positive contributions of our increasingly diverse population and is committed to ensuring quality learning opportunities for all students of all ages.
The Policy of School District No. states that "The Board is committed to provide and maintain a learning and working environment in which racial, ethnic, cultural and religious differences are recognized and valued. These differences must not be the basis of discrimination."

The specific Board policy statements are listed as goals.

### GOALS

**Respect for the individual;**

1. In order that the Race Relations Policy becomes institutionalized into the fabric of the system it is recommended that the Race Relations Policy and Action Plan be an agenda item for all initial meetings of District committees.

2. Each committee has a responsibility:
   - a) to liaise with appropriate District contact in the areas of:
       - Aboriginal Education
       - Multicultural Education
       - E.S.L. Education
       - Special Education, etc.
   - b) to make itself aware of the Race Relations Policy and Implementation Plan

### ACTION PLAN

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<tr>
<th>ACTION PLAN</th>
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<td>1. In order that the Race Relations Policy becomes institutionalized into</td>
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<td>the fabric of the system it is recommended that the Race Relations Policy</td>
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<td>committees.</td>
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<td>- a) to liaise with appropriate District contact in the areas of:</td>
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<td>GOALS</td>
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<td>Assistance to staff and students to</td>
<td>1. Upon request, assist staff to determine internal and external barriers.</td>
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<td>overcome barriers;</td>
<td>2. Request a contact within each school to serve as liaison with the Multicultural/Aboriginal Resource Team.</td>
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<td>3. Invite resource persons who have expertise in cultural diversity into our schools.</td>
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<td>4. Request Multicultural/Aboriginal representation on Youth Forums.</td>
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<td>Activities which encourage pride in</td>
<td>1. Provide inservice on relevant topics/issues:</td>
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<td>one’s heritage and first language(s);</td>
<td>e.g. respecting and celebrating linguistic diversity</td>
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<td>the positive effect of first language development on English acquisition</td>
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<td>2. Provide and develop curriculum resources.</td>
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<td>3. Encourage teachers to use a variety of culturally sensitive teaching strategies to benefit all learners.</td>
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<td>e.g. key visuals</td>
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<td>cooperative learning</td>
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<td>learning styles</td>
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<td>multi-level instruction/open-ended teaching strategies</td>
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<td>GOALS</td>
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<td>Encouragement of all groups to apply for employment;</td>
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<td>Hiring standards that use qualifications and experience as the key criteria for selection;</td>
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<td>1. Personnel practices will encourage all groups to apply for employment.</td>
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<td>1. Continue to review hiring package as needed.</td>
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1. Please complete the following:

This was completed by:

☐ Teaching Staff
☐ Non Teaching Staff
☐ Parents
☐ Elementary School
☐ Middle School
☐ Junior/Senior Secondary

If this was completed by a group, how many were in your group? __________

2. Which areas of the Action Plan do you consider to be priorities in

1. __________________________________________

2. __________________________________________

3. __________________________________________

3. In order to successfully implement this Action Plan, what do you feel needs to be in place?

________________________________________________________________________

________________________________________________________________________

________________________________________________________________________

4. Many valuable programs and activities which address Multiculturalism, Anti-Racism and/or Aboriginal Education are happening in District schools. What activities or programs at school or district level do you feel are successful in improving Race Relations?

________________________________________________________________________

________________________________________________________________________

________________________________________________________________________

5. Any other comments you may have regarding the Action Plan?

________________________________________________________________________

________________________________________________________________________

________________________________________________________________________

Thank you.

Please return this form to the Multicultural Resource Team — Services by November 14, 1995.