



The Equity Waltz in Canada: The Connection Between the Formal and Informal Realities of Racism in Education

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Focus

- What is the connection between the formal policies, programs, initiatives and rhetoric related to fighting racism in education with the informal reality of those with diverse lived experiences, perceptions and identities?
- Does the formal development and articulation of policy-responses aimed at creating an anti-racist educational milieu mesh with the implementation and effect of such measures?
- How is identity understood in relation to educational policy development?



Framework

- 1) Framing the context for discussing race and identity in Canada:
 - demographic characteristics and Canadian psyche/ethos re: racism
- 2) Defining anti-racism in Canada:
 - key components to anti-racist education in Canada
- 3) Analyzing anti-racism programs in education:
 - content of anti-racism educational programs
- 4) Contextualizing Whiteness within educational policy development:
 - conceptualization of anti-racist education policies and leadership
- 5) Considerations and perspectives:
 - accountability and educational institutional culture
 - the neo-liberal context



Metaphor of the “Equity Waltz”

- “symbolizes the back-and-forth, almost hypnotic, seemingly effortless motion floating on the dance-floor, which could also be applied to the way racism is approached within the Canadian context: dynamic, considered fluid and something that is constantly being addressed, but is easily swept aside in order to focus on the meshing of bodies, and generally understood to be light-hearted rather than systemically debilitating”.



Context

- Increasing diversity internationally
- Multiculturalism in Canada
- Case of Lebanon
- Social construction of identity and power
- Whiteness
- How can we speak of diversity?
 - Aboriginal peoples
 - African-Canadians
 - Immigrants and racial minorities
 - Francophones
 - Canadians



African-Canadians

- **1605** - Mathieu Da Costa, translator for Samuel de Champlain
- **1628** - Olivier Le Jeune, six-year-old slave boy, in New France
- **1685** - King Louis XIV's *Code Noir* permits slavery for economic purposes
- **1734** - Marie-Joseph Angélique hanged; allegedly burns master's house
- **1776** - "Free Negroes" reach Nova Scotia; British promise land and freedom
- **1781** - Loyalist Reverend John Stuart brings slaves to Québec
- **1784** - Canada's first race-riot in Birchtown, Nova Scotia
- **1785** - "Negro Dances and Frolicks" prohibited in Shelburne, Nova Scotia
- **1790** - Imperial Statute allowing settlers to bring enslaved persons
- **1792** - Black Loyalist exodus; 1,200 leaving Nova Scotia for Sierra Leone
- **1793** - Simcoe's Anti-Slave Trade Bill leads to gradual prohibition of slavery
- **1796** - 600 Maroons from Jamaica land at Halifax
- **1797** - Mohawk Chief Thayendanegea rewarded by British with Slaves
- **1812-1815** - Blacks serve for Upper Canada in War of 1812 against US



African-Canadians

- **1815-1860** - African-Americans seek refuge via Underground Railroad
- **1819** - Declaration that residence in Canada made Blacks free
- **1833** - British Parliament Abolishes Slavery throughout the British colonies
- **1837** - Gov't welcomes Black men into armed forces (Mackenzie Rebellion)
- **1851** - Founding of Canadian Anti-Slavery Society
- **1852** - Steamships bring freedom-seekers to Canada
- **1858** - First Black Californians (800) arrive in B.C. but segregation prevails
- **1866** - First Black politician in Canada, elected in Victoria Town Council
- **1892** - Canada's first Black doctor plays important role Civil War
- **1911** - Anti-Black campaign in Western Canada
- **1916** - WWI All-Black battalion serves in France
- **1939-1945** - Blacks accepted into Can. army in WWII despite segregation
- **1946** - Black woman arrested for sitting in theatre's "White Section" in N.S.
- **1954** - Denial of service to Blacks in restaurants in Dresden, Ontario



African-Canadians

- **1963** - Leonard Braithwaite becomes first Black elected to Parliament (Ont.)
- **1964-1970** - Halifax's Africville demolished, residents relocated
- **1965** - Significant Ku Klux Klan activity in Amherstburg, Ontario
- **1967** - Toronto's Caribana Festival founded (celebrated by 1M people)
- **1975** - Wilson Head founds Urban Alliance on Race Relations
- **1985** - Lincoln Alexander becomes country's first Black Lieutenant-Governor
- **1991** - Race riot at Nova Scotia high school prompts education reform
- **1992** - Toronto Yonge Street "Rebellion" leads to anti-racism reforms
- **1995** - Canadian sprinter Donovan Bailey: "World's Fastest Human"
- **2002** - Austin Clarke wins national and international literary awards
- **2005** - Michaëlle Jean becomes first Black Governor General



Racial and Ethnic Discrimination: Immigration

- **1901** - Canadian pop. is 5.4 M; 13% are immigrants, mostly from G.B.
- **1903** - Head tax on Chinese; \$18 million collected from 1901 to 1918
- **1906** - "Anti-Asiatic Parade" ends in riot
- **1908** - Continuous journey rule; "landing money" required of East Indians
- **1910** - Immigration Act prohibits immigration "belonging to any race deemed unsuited to the climate or requirements of Canada"
- **1914** - 376 East Indians arrive by ship to Vancouver; refused admittance
- **1917** - Wartime Elections Act: those from "enemy alien" countries lose rights
- **1918** - Socialist groups illegal; Gov't bans some foreign-language pubs.
- **1919** - Doukhobors, Mennonites and Hutterites prohibited entry
- **1922** - Opium and Narcotic Drug Act: deportation of "domiciled aliens"



Racial and Ethnic Discrimination: Immigration

- **1923** - Immigration open: G.B., US and “preferred (White) countries”
- **1930** – Depression: deportations re: “unemployment”
- **1930** - Edict prohibiting landing of “any immigrant of any Asiatic race”
- **1931** - Canadian pop. is 10.4 M; 22% immigrants, 98% are European origin
- **1931** - Communist Party illegal; immigrants risk deportation
- **1934** - 94% of applications for naturalizat. refused; politics, “bad character”
- **1939** – Ship from Germany with 930 Jewish refugees could not land in Americas; forced to return to Europe where 3/4 died at hands of the Nazis
- **1942** – Japanese-Canadians expelled to detention camps; Gov’t encourages “repatriation” to Japan; 4,000, most of whom are Canadians, leave
- **1947** - Chinese Immigration Act repealed
- **1948** - 9 boats (987 Estonian refugees) arrive on East coast; all but 12 accepted



Racial and Ethnic Discrimination: Immigration

- **1952** - New Immigration Act; refusal re: nationality, ethnic group, habits
- **1955** – Can. Domestic Workers program; low wages, poor conditions
- **1956** - Over 200,000 Hungarians flee to Austria; Gov't accepts 37,000
- **1970** - Naturalizations increase; 8,000 in 1967 to 31,000 (1970)
- **1971** - U.S. largest source country; 30-40,000 avoiding Vietnam War
- **1972** - Ugandan Asians expelled; 7,000 Ugandan Asians arrive in Canada
- **1973** - Allende killed in Chile; criticism of Gov't response based on ideology
- **1979** - 60,000 refugees from Vietnam, Laos and Cambodia to Canada
- **1985** - Supreme Court: refugee claimants entitled to fundamental justice
- **1987** - A group of Sikhs lands in Nova Scotia and claims refugee status
- **1990** - Government proposes increase in immigration (200,000 to 250,000)
- **1995** - Government imposes a Right of Landing Fee, widely known as the Head Tax

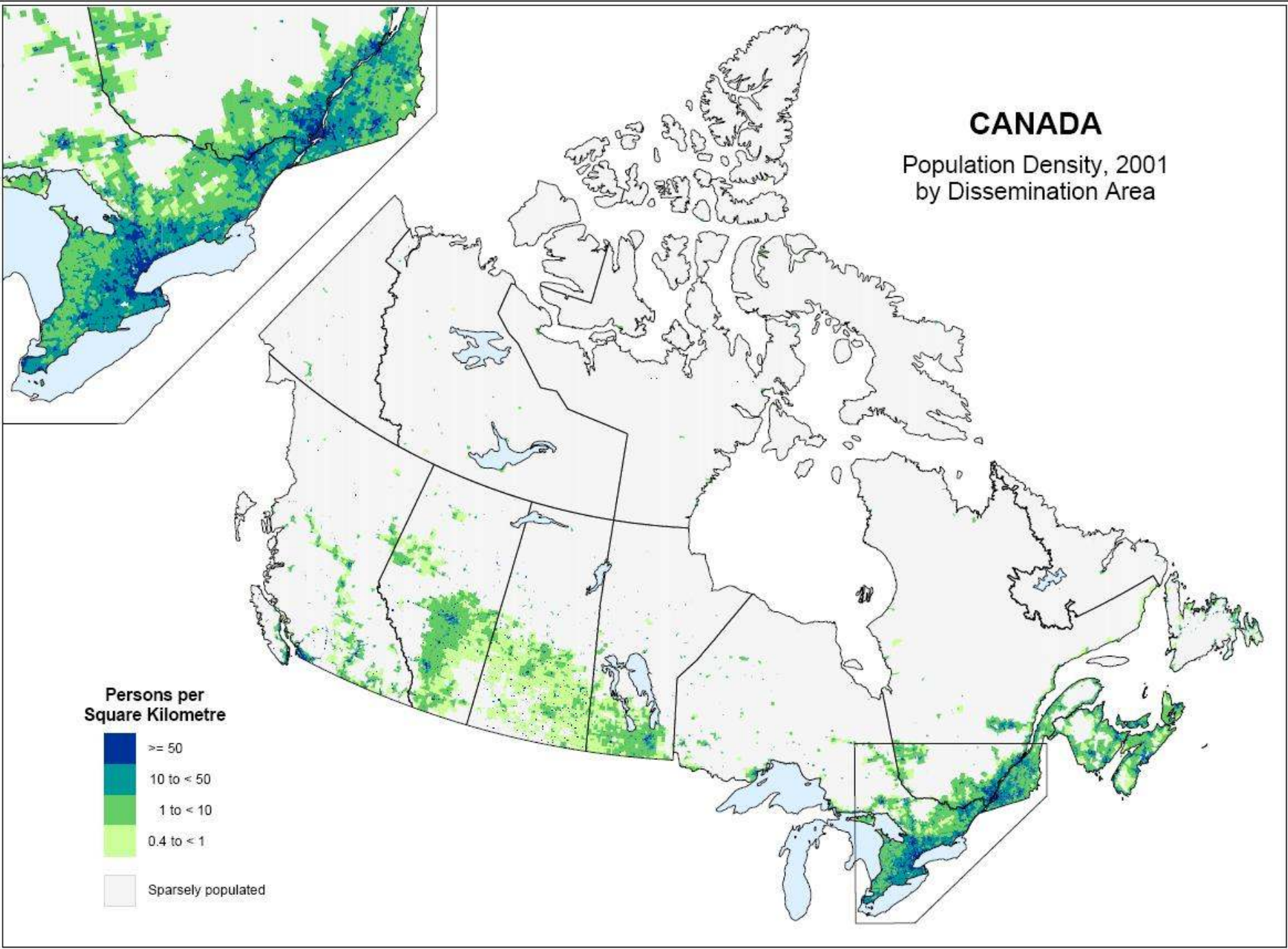
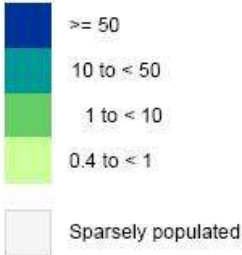
Canadian provinces/territories



CANADA

Population Density, 2001
by Dissemination Area

Persons per
Square Kilometre





Demography of Canada

- **Visible minorities** - three-fold increase since 1981 in VM population, up from 1.1M in 1981 to roughly 4M (13%) in 2001
- **Immigrants** - in 2001, 3/4 of immigrants to Canada during 1990s were visible minorities



Demographic data for Toronto

Population - 2.48 M people (5 M in the Greater Toronto Area [GTA])

Languages – 100+ languages spoken; over 1/3 speak another language at home

Immigration – 2001-2005, GTA attracted average of 107,000 immigrants each year; Toronto absorbed 2/4 of this number; 1 of 5 Toronto residents arrived during 1990s

Visible minorities – 43% of Toronto's population in 2001, up from 37% in 1996

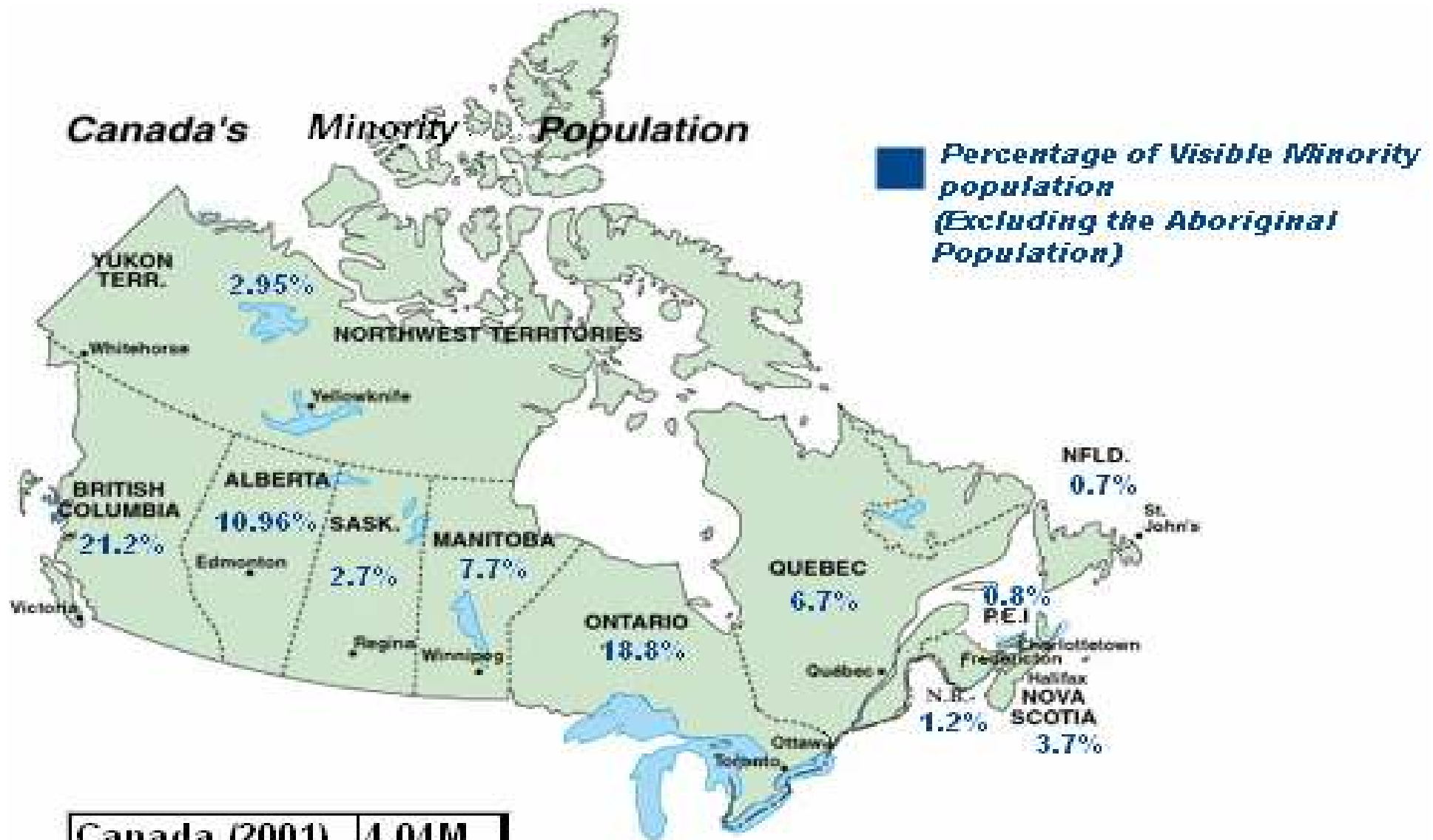
- Chinese at 259,710 or 11% of population of Toronto
- South Asian at 253,920 or 10%
- Black at 204,075 or 8%
- Filipino at 86,460 or 3.5%
- Hispanic at 66,000 or 3%

o Toronto and Vancouver are projected to be majority racial minority cities by 2017

Unemployment – in 1996, roughly double for those of non-European origin, and more than 2-3 times higher for some racial minority groups, especially Blacks

Poverty rates – in 1996, 14% of European-origin families lived below the “low income cut off”, compared to 32% of Aboriginals, 35% of South Asians, 45% for Africans, Blacks, and those of Arab and West Asian origin; actual poverty rates are much higher for racial minority groups than European-origin groups

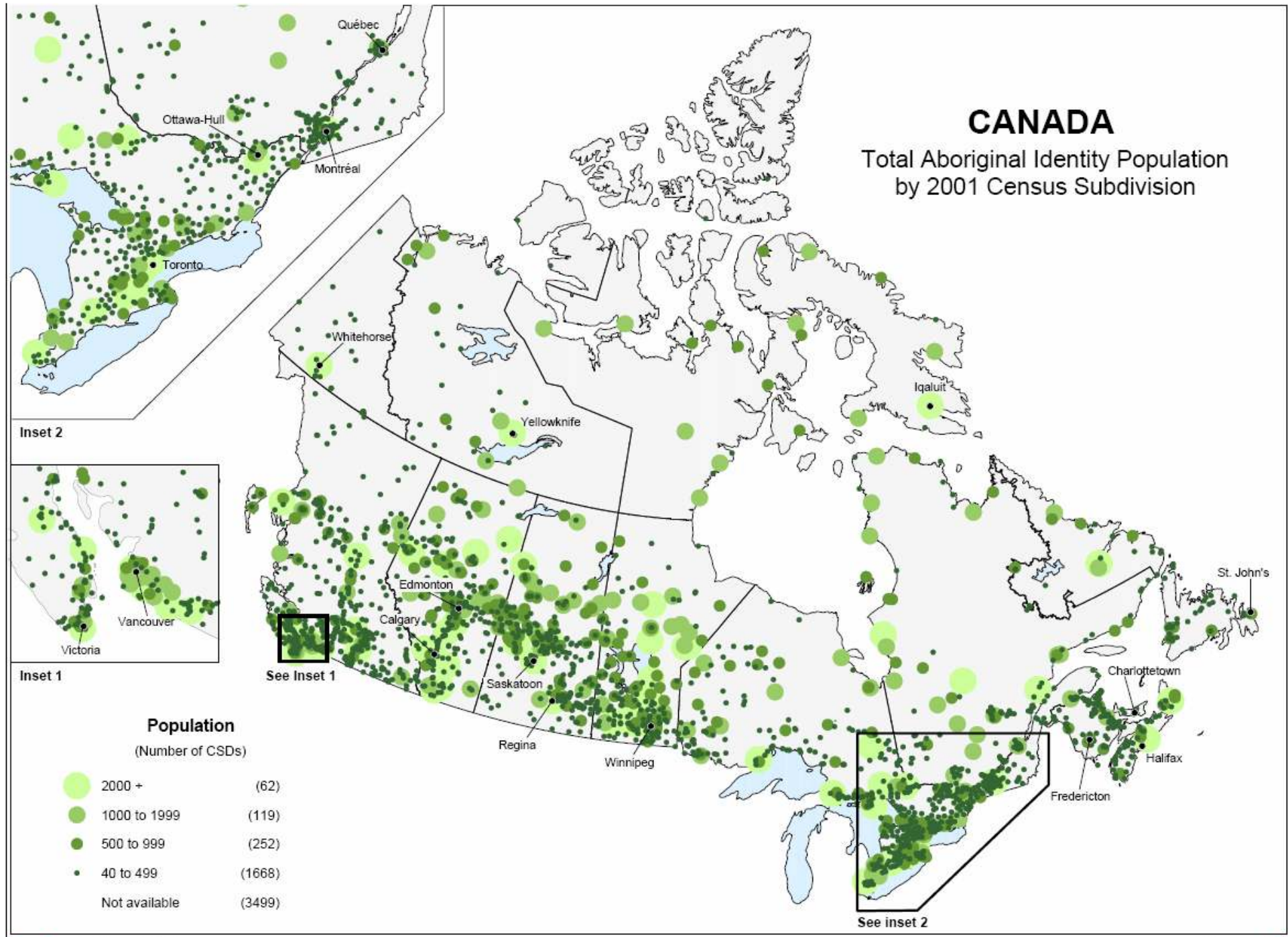
Canada's Minority Population



Canada (2001)	4.04M				
Chinese	1.1M	Latin American	.21M	Korean	.09M
South Asian	.95M	South-east Asian	.2M	Japanese	.07M
Black	.67M	Arab	.19M	Others	.18M
Filipino	.31M	West Asian	.11M		

Ethnic origin (2001 census)(in millions) (selected groups)

Ethnic origin	Total responses	Single responses	Multiple responses
■ <i>Total population</i>	29.6	18.3	11.3
■ Canadian	11.7	6.7	4.9
■ English	6.0	1.5	4.5
■ French	4.7	1.0	3.6
■ Scottish	4.2	.61	3.5
■ Irish	3.8	.50	3.3
■ German	2.7	.71	2.0
■ Italian	1.3	.72	.54
■ Chinese	1.1	.94	.16
■ Ukrainian	1.1	.33	.74
■ N.A. Indian	1.0	.46	.55
■ Dutch	.92	.31	.61
■ Polish	.82	.26	.56
■ East Indian	.71	.59	.13
■ Norwegian	.36	.05	.31
■ Portuguese	.36	.25	.10
■ Jewish	.35	.19	.16
■ Russian	.34	.07	.27
■ Filipino	.33	.27	.06
■ Metis	.30	.07	.24
■ Hungarian	.27	.09	.17
■ American	.25	.03	.22
■ Greek	.21	.14	.07
■ Spanish	.21	.06	.15
■ Jamaican	.21	.14	.07





Aboriginal Peoples: Social Indicators

- 608 First Nations, comprising 52 Nations/cultural groups; more than 50 languages

“Aboriginal people's living standards have improved in the past 50 years - but they do not come close to those of non-Aboriginal people:

- Life expectancy is lower.
- Illness is more common.
- Human problems, from family violence to alcohol abuse, are more common.
- Fewer children graduate from high school.
- Far fewer go on to colleges and universities.
- The homes of Aboriginal people are... flimsy, leaky and overcrowded.
- Water and sanitation systems in Aboriginal communities are more often inadequate.
- Fewer Aboriginal people have jobs.
- More spend time in jails and prisons.”
 - The Royal Commission on Aboriginal Peoples (1991)



Aboriginal Peoples: History

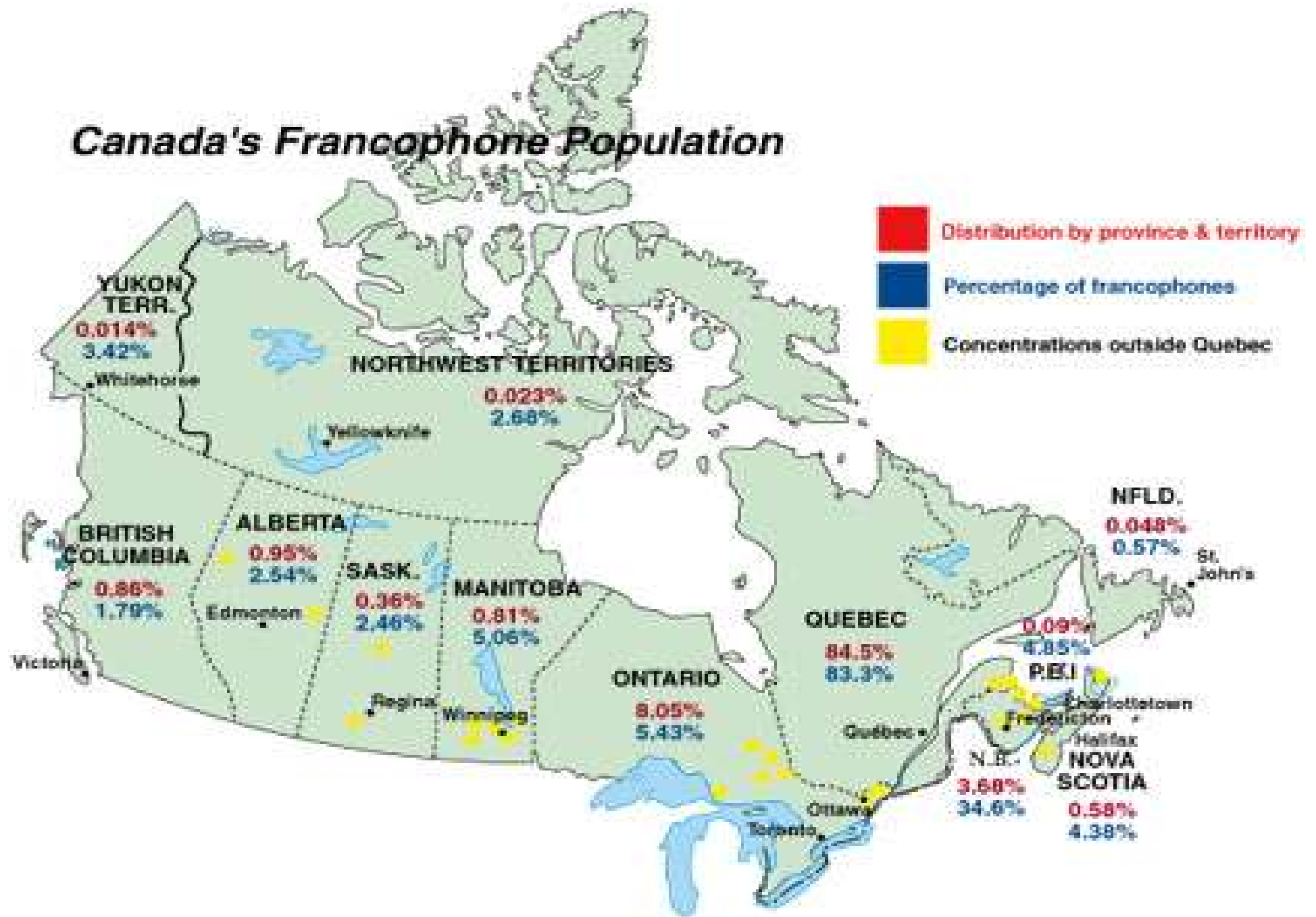
- **Before 1500** – for 10,000-20,000 years, Aboriginal societies flourished in the Americas; in S.E. N. America, the Cherokee were organized into confederacy (their largest roughly rivaled London); in Central and S. America, they had well-developed empires; in northern N. America, their cultures were shaped by environment
- **1500s** - Encounters between Aboriginal and non-Aboriginal people began to increase, characterized by: mutual curiosity and apprehension; exchange of goods; friendships and intermarriage; and military and trade alliances.
- **1500s – 1700s** - Newcomers survive difficult climatic conditions and flourish economically with support of Aboriginal peoples, sometimes through formalized treaties, and the *Royal Proclamation of 1763*
- **1800s** – beginning of imbalanced relationship with increased European immigration, seeking more power through economic and ideological imperialism; 'reserves' of established for Aboriginal people; legitimate claims of Métis people



Aboriginal Peoples: History

- **1849** - the first residential school opened in Alderville, Ontario; the Church and government leaders forced assimilation as means of tame “savages”
- **1867** – Confederation: partnership between English and French, negotiated without reference to Aboriginal nations. First Canadian PM John A. Macdonald sought to “do away with the tribal system, and assimilate the Indian people in all respects with the inhabitants of the Dominion”
- Indian Acts (**1876, 1880, 1884** and later) furthered ensured control over Aboriginals:
 - **1884** - *potlatch* ceremony, central to west coast Aboriginals, outlawed.
 - **1885** - *sun dance*, central to cultures of prairie Aboriginal nations, outlawed
 - **1885** – “pass system” introduced, prohibiting outsiders from coming on reserves without permission from Indian agent, and restricting movement of Aboriginals off-reserve
- **1982** – The *Constitution Act* produces recognizes “existing Aboriginal and treaty rights”

Canada's Francophone Population







Francophones in Canada

- Cultural and linguistic assimilation
- Francophone populations across Canada
- History with English
- Special status for Quebec
- Bias toward intercultural education
- Context and role of French language in maintaining culture is unique in North America
- Problematic in attracting and maintaining immigrants



Defining anti-racism in Canada

- 1980s – reaction to multiculturalism; influence from GB
- Structural issues
- Representation
- Outcomes
- Euro-centricity
- Social construction of identity
- Power relations
- Whiteness



George Dei (Books)

(1996) *Anti-racism education: Theory and practice.*

(1997) *Reconstructing 'Drop-Out': A critical ethno. of the dynamics of Black students' disengagement.* [+others].

(2000) *Removing the margins: The challenges and possibilities of inclusive schooling.* [+others]

(2000) *Indigenous knowledges in global contexts: Multiple readings of our world.* [+others].

(2000) *Power, knowledge and anti-racism education: A critical reader.* [A. Calliste].

(2000) *Anti-racist feminism: Critical race and gender studies.* [with A. Calliste].

(2002) *Inclusive schooling: A teacher's companion to 'Removing the margins'.* [with S. James-Wilson & J. Zine].

(2004) *Playing the race card: White power and privilege.* [with L. Karumanchery].

(2005) *Critical issues in anti-racist research methodologies.* [with G. Singh Johal].

(2006) *Anti-Colonialism and education: The politics of resistance.* [with A. Kempf].

(2006) *African education and globalization: Critical perspectives.* [A. Abdi and K. Puplampu].

(2006) *The Poetics of Anti-Racism.* [with N. Amin].



George Dei (1994)

- 1) recognizing the social effect of “race” although race lacks a scientific basis;
- 2) teaching intersectionality of racial identity with (race, class, gender, etc.);
- 3) questioning white (male) power and privilege;
- 4) addressing the marginalization of certain voices and the delegitimation of the knowledge and experience of subordinate groups;
- 5) recognizing that students do not go to school as “disembodied” individuals, but that their background and identities are implicated in the schooling;
- 6) acknowledging the pedagogic need to confront the challenge of diversity;
- 7) acknowledging the role of the educational system in producing and reproducing not only racial but gender, sex, and class based inequalities;
- 8) stressing that the school problems of youth cannot be analyzed in isolation from the material and ideological circumstances of students;
- 9) questioning explanations of pathological family and home environments as a source of school problems.



George Dei (2003)

- “Schools have a responsibility to help students make sense of their identities, to build the confidence of all students, and remove the fear of conforming to lowered expectations. It is also important for an education to know that the needs of students extend beyond the material to emotional, social, and psychological concerns. To assist society in dealing with these issues educators cannot extend a helping hand from a distance. We must assist all students to “come to voice,” to challenge the normalized order of things and, in particular, the constitution of dominance in Western knowledge production. The prevailing notions of “reason,” “normalcy,” and “truth” are essential to the structuring of asymmetrical power relations in Euro-Canadian society”



(Re-)Defining anti-racism

- Terminology
- Data-collection
- Accountability
- Neo-liberal framework
- Vacillating commitments
- Accountability and institutional culture
- Educational policy development



Analyzing anti-racism policies and programs

- The diversity dilemma: when and how to talk about it?
- Crisis management (Aboriginal peoples, African-Canadians, UN declarations)
- Formal vs. informal (explicit vs. implicit)
- Resources
- Indicators
- Accountability
- Representation
- Integration
- Power relations



The Ontario case in the 1990s

- NDP (1990-1995)
 - Agenda
 - Resources
 - Formalization of process
 - Language
 - Content
- Progressive Conservatives (1995-2003)
 - Backlash
 - Radical surgery
 - Embargo on language
 - Elimination of diverse representation
 - Focus on “high standards” and neo-liberal agenda (curriculum avoided)



Toronto Board of Education (TBE)

- Evolution (including resources, staffing, philosophy and action)
- Gov't anti-racism staff from TBE
- Fish-bowl effect
- Data-collection and research
- Centre of international activity
- Trickle-down effect from provincial policy



Discussion document on anti-racism education

- *Changing Perspectives: Resource Guide for Antiracist and Ethnocultural-Equity Education* articulated a clear vision of antiracism, which “will enable all students to”:
 - feel that their culture and identity are affirmed by the educational system;
 - develop a positive self-image that includes pride in their racial/ethnocultural identity and heritage;
 - accept and appreciate diversity and reject prejudiced and discriminatory attitudes and behaviour (Ontario, 1992:3).



Anti-racism and ethno-cultural equity policy

- “Antiracism and ethnocultural equity school board policies reflect a commitment to the elimination of racism within schools and in society at large. Such policies are based on the recognition that some existing policies, procedures, and practices in the school system are racist in their impact, if not their intent, and that they limit the opportunity of students and staff belonging to Aboriginal and racial and ethnocultural minority groups to fulfill their potential and to maximize their contribution to society. The impact of racism becomes compounded when two or more factors, such as race, gender, disability, sexual orientation, etc., are present in the same situation” (Ontario, 1993: 5).
- Policy considered revolutionary:
 - 1) it presented a plan of action;
 - 2) it emphasized social justice, which some considered conflicted with high academic standards;
 - 3) it contained provisions for accountability; and
 - 4) it sought to bring into the decisionmaking fold marginalized groups, which was rejected by those claiming that “merit” should be the only criterion for participation in educational policymaking



Anti-discrimination education

- In the Conservative government reforms, Antidiscrimination education is sufficiently vague and non-prescriptive, avoiding accountability, that it does not cover any proportionate weight in comparison to other tangible requirements such as the Individual Education Plan (IEO), the Teacher-Advisor program, and the Annual Education Plan.
- It highlights “equal opportunity”, and “asks”, not “requires”, that:
 - Students entering the system should be given the support they need to adjust to the new environment and to acquire competence in the language of instruction if they are not familiar with the language of instruction. Teachers, including guidance counselors and teacher-advisors, should give support to students that is appropriate to their strengths, needs, and backgrounds so that all students have a chance to succeed.
 - Schools and individual teachers should also work to ensure that community-school interaction reflects the diversity in the local community and the wider society. As part of their ongoing efforts to develop meaningful partnerships, schools should enable their staff members to participate in professional development activities that will enhance their ability to work with parents and community members from the diverse groups represented in the community (p.59). *(note: underscoring provided for emphasis)*



Long-term effect of Conservative approach

- Black (2003), in his review of anti-racism in education in Ontario, found that:
 - “The word “racism” cannot be found within the curriculum for any compulsory course.
 - “Racism” appears in only two of 22 ministry-approved Canadian history textbooks published prior to 2000. (If school budgets were larger, teachers could buy recently published textbooks that are more likely to have the word in their indexes.)
 - Courses and workshops in anti-racist teaching methods are elective, so only those teachers already interested receive advanced instruction on the topic.
 - How can our kids – future mayors, police chiefs, principals and provincial premiers – uncover racism in our society, never mind try to challenge and eliminate it, when our schools, boards of education and the ministry cannot guarantee they will even read or discuss the issue in school?”



Whiteness

- Is it possible to speak of anti-racism, or social justice, without contextualizing Whiteness?
- Power and privilege
- Women and race
- Whites who have no racial identity
- Marx and Pennington (2003) highlight the confounding relationship between being “good” and being “racist”:
 - Thus, naming racism within themselves (White pre-service teachers) was at first cause for great concern. This is the point where guilt, fear, and even trauma came into the picture. Because they viewed goodness and racism as a dichotomy, their first glimpse of their racism led them to the conclusion that they must be horrible people. It seemed that, in coming to terms with their own racism, our students/participants necessarily had to make the connection that they could still be good be people and still be racist.... Moreover, despite their altruistic hearts and their efforts to “hide” their racism, it is still possible for their racism to hurt the children they teach (p.105).



Whiteness

- Studies on White teachers and identity (Carr and Klassen, 1997, Solomon et al. 2005) in Canada
- Thompson, (2003) argues that Whiteness must be challenged for there to be meaningful change in education:
 - To pursue social justice, we have to decenter whiteness from programs for social change. Among other things, this means relinquishing our cherished notions of morality: how we understand fairness, how we understand what it means to be a good person, how we understand what it means to be generous or sympathetic or tolerant or a good listener. When we are challenged for our whiteness, our tendency is to fall back on our goodness, fairness, intelligence, rationality, sensitivity, and democratic inclusiveness, all of which are caught up with our whiteness. “How can you call me (me, of all people!) a racist?” (pp.16-17).



Considerations and perspectives for policy development and research

- How do we measure equity?
- Outcomes/results?
- Data-collection?
- Accountability mechanisms?
- Qualitative as well as quantitative analysis?
- Institutional structure/culture?
- Citizenship, democracy and social justice?



Educational policy development and equity

- Carr (forthcoming a), in his analysis of how educational policy is developed, highlights five key considerations re: institutional response to equity:
 - **resisting change and rupturing progressive work** (how easily the equity agenda can be splintered, de-railed and marginalized by competing interests and uncooperative institutional and leadership elements);
 - **shaping the policy message** (the gulf between an idea and how that idea will be realized and implemented, characterized by a lack of knowledge, commitment, research-base and diverse people formulation of the problem);
 - **controlling the agenda** (the operational apparatus scaffolding the equity agenda can serve as an unnecessary deterrent to proceeding with tangible action, mired in institutional intransigence and layers of decisionmaking that are usually foreign to equity-seeking groups)
 - **developing curriculum and educational policy** (the tussle over the formal policy terrain involves endless compromises and political trade-offs, and can become disjointed, owing to non-integrated strategies);
 - **White complicity and privilege** (involves a reluctance to acknowledge inequity and personal implication, and also relates to preserving inequitable power imbalances).



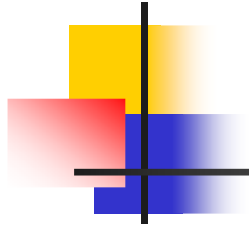
Neo-liberalism and equity

- “So even though some government, community, and other organizations addressing diversity still exist in Alberta, many of them have faced restructuring and downsizing in recent years. As teachers and students I have interviewed confirm, this lack of political will to address racism and other discrimination through policy and programming negatively influences the work they do in this field. Many school-based activists identify the regression in programs and cuts to funding as a source of significant frustration in their work” (Lund, 2006:36).
- Lund and Fidyk (2006) examined the availability and usage of anti-racism education resources in Canada, stressing that a “climate of constraint and additional demands for those (anti-racist) educators dedicated to these types of programs in schools” are barriers to implementing social justice measures (p.60).
- Mandatory “voluntary” community service (Ontario example)
- Critique by Westheimer and Kahne (2004) of community work without democracy and critical analysis



Neo-liberalism and accountability

- By whose standards?
- Intensity in relation to academic standards?
- Is there a framework?
- Democracy, citizenship and social justice as integrated or segregated parts of the curriculum?
- If the resources and expertise are available, can we access them?
- Understanding power, and being able to problematize it
- The case of Black-focused schools and racial equality
- Who has the power?



Thank You

Merci

Obrigado