

directions

Research Reviews from the Canadian Race Relations Foundation
Comptes rendus préparés par la Fondation canadienne des relations raciales



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*Research Reviews from the Canadian Race Relations Foundation
Comptes rendus préparés par la Fondation canadienne des relations raciales*

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Foreword

We are proud to present the first issue of *Directions*, the fruition of the Canadian Race Relations Foundation's first call for proposals three years ago when our Research Program was launched. *Directions* provides an overview of some of the Foundation's completed research projects in an accessible and reader-friendly format.

The CRRF has an ambitious mandate which ranges from conducting research to raising public awareness around racism and the importance of eliminating it, to facilitating networks to achieve these goals. Our Research Program is unique in its approach—supporting research undertaken by academics and experts in the community who are dedicated to working towards proactive ways to eliminate racism.

The Research Program informs a knowledge base which is augmented by action-orientated recommendations and practical policies and implications. It is our hope that the CRRF's contribution to this knowledge base will serve the dual purposes of advancing the frontier of anti-racism research and placing tools in the hands of anti-racism practitioners who are working to eliminate racial discrimination in all its forms in Canada. We hope that *Directions* will, over years, become an authoritative source of information and provide readers with data and perspectives that will support the creation of a just future in which all Canadians are treated equitably and fairly.

Finally, on behalf of the Foundation Board and staff, I would like to extend special thanks to the Research Advisory Panel which has provided invaluable expertise and guidance to the Program through these inaugural projects.

Moy Tam
Chief Operating Officer

Avant-propos

Nous sommes fiers de vous présenter le numéro inaugural de la revue *Directions* qui se veut la concrétisation du premier appel d'offres de la Fondation canadienne des relations raciales lancé il y a trois ans dans le cadre de son Programme de recherche. *Directions* donne un aperçu de quelques travaux de recherche complétés et exécutés à la demande de la Fondation. Son format est convivial et accessible.

La FCRR s'est donné comme mandat ambitieux de favoriser, entre autres, l'exécution des projets de recherche visant à sensibiliser le public au racisme et à l'importance de le combattre, et l'établissement de réseaux qui permettront de réaliser ces objectifs. Notre programme de recherche est unique par son approche, puisqu'il soutient les travaux entrepris par des théoriciens et des spécialistes qui se sont engagés à découvrir des moyens proactifs d'éradiquer le racisme sous toutes ses formes.

Le Programme de recherche contribue à une base de connaissances qui est enrichie par les implications des recommandations pragmatiques et des politiques actives. Nous espérons que la contribution de la Fondation à cette base de connaissances servira à la fois à faire progresser la recherche sur la lutte contre le racisme et à donner les outils dont ont besoin les intervenants qui tentent d'éliminer toutes les formes de discrimination raciale au Canada. Nous entretenons également l'espoir que la revue *Directions* deviendra, au fil des ans, une source d'information faisant autorité et procurera aux lecteurs les données et les points de vue qui permettront de bâtir une société dans laquelle tous les Canadiens et toutes les Canadiennes sont traités de façon juste et équitable.

Enfin, au nom des administrateurs, des administratrices et du personnel de la Fondation, j'aimerais remercier tout particulièrement les membres du Comité consultatif sur les projets de recherche pour l'expertise et les conseils inestimables qu'ils nous ont fait partager dans le cadre du Programme par l'entremise de ces projets initiaux.

Moy Tam
Administratrice en chef des opérations

Editorial Commentary

I am very pleased to introduce the inaugural edition of the Canadian Race Relations Foundation's (CRRF) journal, *Directions*. This journal introduces anti-racist practitioners, students, activists, and scholars to the latest CRRF-supported research into the manifestations and causes of racism in Canada. The five research projects summarized in this collection represent a sample of the research projects supported through CRRF's Research Program.

CRRF's arm's length status from government enables it to support a broad and diverse range of research topics. This autonomy also helps to ensure that knowledge about racism is produced by traditional researchers as well as by groups and individuals whose voices and experiences have been traditionally left out of the knowledge production process.

There is no easy consensus on the primary causes or most effective strategies for fighting racism. As a persistent, complex and constantly changing social phenomenon, racism defies facile solutions or monolithic answers. CRRF invites proposals on specific themes and awards research contracts, but, this does not mean that CRRF imposes a single perspective on funded research.

Contributors utilize different conceptual frameworks and methodologies which mirror contemporary theoretical debates. These debates are not "merely" theoretical because issues debated have implications for developing and evaluating anti-racist strategies. The essays demonstrate that underlying assumptions about racism and its role in society inform research and recommendations for action stemming from research findings. For example, the three projects that address racism and education confront a central debate in eliminating racism: given scarce resources, should anti-racism efforts be directed at changing individual behavior, or at systemic and structural change? Covell and Howe suggest a human rights curriculum will be more effective than the traditional cultural awareness approach in eliminating racism in schools by teaching children a greater sense of social responsibility through developing emotional intelligence, critical thinking skills and improved moral reasoning. Other contributors such as Blades, Johnston and Simmt doubt that interventions designed to change individual behavior by exposing children to "superior" knowledge will succeed in fighting racism because the educa-

tion system itself is not neutral, but already biased toward the dominant groups. They find that there is tremendous diversity in teachers' awareness of ethnocultural difference and in teachers' use of these perceptions in their everyday interactions with minority students. Solomon and Rezai-Rashti find that although most student teachers are willing to develop growth plans to develop better competencies, most student teachers possess limited knowledge and interpersonal skills for working with diversity. Some student teachers, even after they are made aware of the impact of racial differences in education, and their own location in this process, choose to remain "colorblind" and "raceless." They find that teachers' responses to issues of racial and cultural diversity vary tremendously along racial lines. White candidates' acknowledgment of the impacts of racism is linked to their willingness to acknowledge the unmarked category of Whiteness as a privileged racial identity.

Agocs and Jain and Labelle and Salée also investigate systemic discrimination. Agocs and Jain's study documents patterns of behavior within the culture of a workplace that creates an inhospitable work environment for male and female racial minority workers. They develop an assessment tool that helps to identify systemic racism and sexism in the workplace. Labelle and Salée document the life history of second generation immigrants from Haitian and Jamaican backgrounds to shed light on the centrality of experiences of racism throughout their life history as Canadian citizens. They suggest that dominant discourses of citizenship and national identity and patriotism and loyalty, between Québec and Canada have a hollow ring to those who have experienced exclusion and marginalisation in Canada and Québec's public culture and social institutions.

If this first edition is any indication, readers looking for accessible and usable research on Canadian racism and anti-racism will find themselves turning to the journal, *Directions* as one of their first choices. Congratulations to the CRRF for producing this valuable resource in fighting racism in Canadian society. I look forward to future editions.

Jo-Anne Lee

Assistant Professor, University of Victoria (Victoria, British Columbia)

Éditorial

J'ai le plaisir de vous présenter le premier numéro de la revue « Directions » publiée par la Fondation canadienne des relations raciales (FCRR). Cette publication fera découvrir aux intervenants, aux étudiants, aux activistes et aux chercheurs du domaine des relations interethniques et de la lutte contre le racisme les derniers rapports de recherche qu'a subventionnés la FCRR sur les causes et les manifestations du racisme au Canada. Les cinq rapports résumés dans ce numéro illustrent bien la nature des travaux de recherche exécutés à la demande de la FCRR dans le cadre de son programme.

Le statut d'autonomie de la FCRR à l'égard des ordres de gouvernement lui permet d'accorder son soutien à une gamme de sujets de recherche aussi vaste que diversifiée. Cette absence d'influence garantit également que les renseignements concernant le racisme sont mis en lumière par des chercheurs conventionnels aussi bien que par des groupes et des individus dont l'opinion et l'expérience ont traditionnellement été mis aux oubliettes.

Il n'existe pas de consensus simple sur les causes initiales du racisme ou sur les stratégies les plus efficaces pour le combattre. En tant que phénomène social complexe, tenace et en constante évolution, le racisme défie toutes solutions faciles ou réponses monolithiques. La Fondation lance des appels d'offres et accorde des contrats de recherche portant sur des thèmes précis, mais elle n'impose pas pour autant de point de vue particulier sur les travaux qu'elle subventionne.

Les chercheurs ont recours à différents cadres de travail et méthodologies conceptuels qui reflètent les débats théoriques contemporains. Ces débats ne sont pas purement théoriques puisque les questions faisant l'objet de controverse ont des conséquences sur l'élaboration et l'évaluation de stratégies de lutte contre le racisme. Les études dont il est question dans cette revue font la preuve que les hypothèses sous-jacentes sur le racisme et le rôle qu'il joue dans la société orientent la recommandation des mesures à prendre en fonction des résultats de ces travaux. Par exemple, les trois projets traitant de racisme et de l'enseignement soulèvent une discussion centrale sur l'élimination du racisme : considérant les ressources limitées, les mesures visant à éradiquer le racisme devraient-elles chercher à modifier les comportements individuels ou l'ordre structurel ou systémique? Les auteurs Covell et Howe suggèrent

que pour éliminer le racisme dans les écoles, l'enseignement du respect des droits de la personne serait plus efficace qu'une approche de sensibilisation culturelle traditionnelle. L'objectif pourrait en effet être atteint en développant chez les enfants un plus grand sens de responsabilité sociale, en favorisant l'intelligence affective de l'élève, son esprit critique et son niveau de raisonnement moral. D'autres chercheurs, comme Blades, Johnston et Simmt, doutent que les interventions visant à modifier le comportement individuel en exposant les enfants à une connaissance « supérieure » contribueront à lutter avec succès contre le racisme puisque le système d'éducation lui-même n'est pas neutre, mais déjà orienté sur les groupes dominants. Ils déclarent qu'il existe chez les enseignants une immense polarisation dans la reconnaissance de la diversité ethnoculturelle et dans leurs interactions quotidiennes avec les étudiants des groupes racisés. Les auteurs Solomon et Rezai-Rashti mentionnent que bien que la majorité des futurs enseignants soient prêts à élaborer des stratégies de croissance personnelle en vue d'acquérir des compétences à l'égard de la diversité, la plupart d'entre eux ne possèdent au départ que des connaissances et des compétences limitées en relations humaines pour les préparer à travailler avec la diversité. Même après avoir pris conscience des répercussions des différences raciales à l'intérieur du système d'éducation, et dans leurs propres établissements, certains futurs enseignants choisissent de se réfugier dans la « neutralité » ou manifestent une « indifférence à l'égard de la couleur ». Les réactions des futurs enseignants aux questions raciales et à la diversité culturelle varient énormément sur le plan de la race. Les candidats de race blanche reconnaissent que les répercussions du racisme sont étroitement liées à leur volonté de reconnaître que le fait d'être blanc constitue un privilège.

Les chercheurs Agocs, Jain, Labelle et Salée ont également étudié la discrimination systémique. Le rapport d'Agocs et Jain a révélé que certains modèles de comportement à l'intérieur de la culture d'entreprise contribuent à créer un milieu de travail froid et hostile pour les travailleurs masculins et féminins appartenant aux groupes racisés. Ils ont également développé un outil d'évaluation qui permet d'identifier les formes de racisme et de sexisme systémiques en milieu de travail. Les professeurs Labelle et Salée se sont penchés sur la vie de tous les jours d'immigrants de deuxième génération dont les parents étaient haïtiens ou jamaïcains d'origine afin de donner une meilleure image de la centralité de leur expérience du racisme en tant que citoyens canadiens. Ils suggèrent que les discours politiques dominants entre le Québec et le Canada sur la citoyenneté, l'identité nationale, le patriotisme et la loyauté continueront

d'être inconsistants pour ceux qui ont vécu l'exclusion et la marginalisation au sein des établissements publics sociaux et culturels canadiens et québécois.

À en juger par le présent numéro, les lecteurs et lectrices à la recherche de documents faciles d'accès et d'utilisation sur le racisme au Canada et sur les moyens de le combattre choisiront sans hésiter « Directions » en tant qu'outil de travail privilégié. Je félicite la FCRR d'avoir produit une ressource aussi importante en matière de lutte contre le racisme dans la société canadienne. J'attends avec impatience la publication des prochains numéros.

Jo-Anne Lee

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Systemic Racism in Employment in Canada:

Diagnosing Systemic Racism in Organizational Culture

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ABSTRACT

This study looks at systemic discrimination in the workplace within a Canadian context. Both pre-employment discrimination or "access discrimination", and post-employment discrimination or "treatment discrimination" are considered.

The aims of this research were twofold. First, it sought to understand and document the personal experiences of people from varying racial minorities with respect to systemic discrimination in the culture of the workplace. Second, it developed assessment tools that identify this form of discrimination, either alone or in combination with sexism, in order to aid employment equity in the workplace. Consequently, two databases were created: one for human rights cases, and the other for transcripts from focus group interviews.

The first objective involved looking at two sources of data: cases brought before the federal and provincial human rights commissions dealing with complaints of racial discrimination from 1980-1998, and results from a series of focus groups with Asian, South Asian, Black or Native individuals. The focus group interviews were conducted separately for each racial minority group and were facilitated by a person of similar background. The groups considered only behaviours that were either witnessed or experienced by the interview participant and not opinion or hearsay. The data collected included the experiences of both men and women.

The second objective dealing with the assessment tools was accomplished by using the aforementioned material, namely, the human rights cases and the focus groups.

The analysis of human rights cases in Canada involving employment-related complaints on grounds of race found an increase in number of cases at the federal level from 1980 to 1998. The researchers suggest that this may be due to increased inci-

dences or to an increase in the willingness of victims to come forward and complain. The researchers also found that in close to half of the cases, boards of inquiry ruled in favour of the complainants, with monetary compensation for pain and humiliation increasing in frequency. Dismissal, refusal to hire, and harassment were amongst the most prevalent complaints. In addition, a majority of the complainants were male and from white-collar jobs. While members of various racial minorities experienced this type of discrimination, complaints from Black employees were most numerous, followed by South Asians.

As a result of the analysis of human rights cases and focus group interviews, a draft survey questionnaire was developed which identified behaviours that members of racial minorities have experienced as racist or discriminatory. Examples of such behaviours that constitute barriers to equality are: creating a chilly or hostile climate in the workplace, limiting access or participation in work-related social interactions, or introducing bias into decision-making in performance appraisal, promotion, developmental activities, job assignment, and compensation. Experiences of discrimination differed among the four racial minority groups interviewed, as well as between men and women, and the assessment questionnaire incorporates this diversity. The assessment instrument contains three main sections: (1) information about the respondent, (2) questions about various aspects of the work culture, including the informal social behaviour that the respondent has observed or experienced in the workplace, and (3) behaviours that have been found discriminatory by human rights tribunals and courts.

RÉSUMÉ

Cette étude porte sur la discrimination systémique dans le domaine de l'emploi au Canada. Deux formes de discrimination ont fait l'objet de recherches : les manifestations discriminatoires préalables à l'embauchage, ou « barrières discriminatoires en matière d'égalité d'accès », et le « traitement discriminatoire » se produisant en cours d'emploi.

La recherche s'est effectuée en deux volets. Elle visait tout d'abord à comprendre et à constater par écrit les expériences vécues par les membres de différentes minorités raciales en matière de discrimination systémique dans la culture d'entreprise. Elle visait ensuite à développer des outils d'évaluation qui permettraient d'identifier cette forme de discrimination, en tant que telle ou en combinaison avec le sexisme, de façon à soutenir l'équité en matière d'emploi. Par conséquent, deux banques de données furent créées, l'une consacrée aux affaires relatives aux droits de la personne et l'autre à la transcription d'entrevues menées auprès de groupes témoins.

Pour satisfaire au premier objectif de la recherche, il fallut examiner deux sources de renseignements : les plaintes de discrimination raciale ayant été déposées entre 1980 et 1998 et portées devant les commissions fédérale et provinciales des droits de la personne, et les résultats d'une série de rencontres avec des groupes témoins d'origine asiatique, sud-asiatique, autochtone et de race noire. Ces entrevues furent effectuées séparément par groupes ethniques et animées par une personne d'origine analogue. Les groupes n'ont tenu compte que des comportements qui avaient été personnellement vécus par les participants, ou dont ces derniers avaient été témoins, ignorant de ce fait les points de vue d'autrui ou les déclarations qui leur avaient été relatées. Les renseignements recueillis comprenaient les expériences vécues à la fois par les hommes et par les femmes.

Le second objectif de l'étude, soit celui portant sur les outils d'évaluation, fut réalisé par l'entremise du matériel précédemment mentionné, à savoir les cas relevant des droits de la personne et les groupes témoins.

L'analyse des affaires relatives aux droits de la personne, liées à la discrimination raciale survenue en milieu de travail, a permis de déceler une augmentation du nombre d'affaires déposées à l'échelon fédéral entre 1980 et 1998. Les chercheurs suggèrent que cette situation peut être attribuable à une augmentation du nombre d'incidents produits, ou à une augmentation du nombre de victimes consentant à les rapporter et à porter plainte. Ils ont également découvert que, dans près de la moitié des cas, les commissions d'enquête avaient statué en faveur des plaignants, et que des sommes compensatoires pour douleurs et humiliation étaient de plus en plus fréquemment accordées. Le renvoi, le refus d'embaucher et le harcèlement constituaient les motifs des plaintes les plus courantes. De plus, la majorité des plaignants étaient des hommes occupant des emplois de col blanc. Bien que les membres des différentes minorités raciales aient subi ce type de discrimination, le nombre de plaintes portées par les employés de race noire était plus élevé, suivi par celui des personnes d'origine sud-asiatique.

Subséquemment à l'analyse des plaintes relatives aux droits de la personne et aux entrevues menées auprès des groupes témoins, l'ébauche d'un questionnaire d'enquête fut préparé en vue de cerner les comportements jugés racistes ou discriminatoires dont avaient été victimes les membres des minorités raciales. Parmi les comportements faisant obstacle à l'équité, citons : la création d'un milieu de travail froid ou hostile, la restriction du droit d'accès ou de participation aux activités professionnelles donnant lieu aux interactions sociales, ou l'introduction de préjugés influençant la prise de décision lors du processus d'évaluation du rendement, de l'octroi de promotions, d'attribution d'activités de perfectionnement, d'assignation de tâches, et de rémunération. Les expériences vécues sur le plan de la dis-

crimination étaient différentes dans le cas des quatre groupes témoins interrogés, et dans celui des hommes et des femmes. Le questionnaire d'évaluation a fait état de cette diversité. L'outil d'évaluation était divisé en trois sections principales : 1) renseignements sur la personne interrogée, 2) questions portant sur différents aspects de la culture d'entreprise, notamment le comportement social informel que le répondant avait observé ou dont il avait été victime en milieu de travail, et 3) les comportements ayant été jugés discriminatoires par les tribunaux et les commissions des droits de la personne.

The research on systemic discrimination in the culture of the workplace had two fundamental purposes. The first objective was to listen to the voices of women and men of various racial minority backgrounds who had experienced this form of discrimination, in order to document and understand it more fully. The second objective was to use what was learned to develop tools that will hopefully be used to identify and address this often silent and insidious form of discrimination in employment. The researchers believe that the development of assessment tools is an important initial step in combating a form of discrimination which is frequently invisible to white employees and managers who have the power to create and maintain workplace culture, while it is a painful and debilitating burden to members of racial minorities.

The first objective was accomplished by using two sources of data, both of which provided nuanced and highly personal narratives of the experiences of individuals who have suffered or wit-

nessed systemic discrimination. One source was the case law as published in the Canadian Human Rights Reporter (CHRR) documents the details of discriminatory behaviours reported by people who brought complaints of racial discrimination to federal and provincial human rights commissions between 1980-1998. The second source was a series of focus groups with men and women who identify themselves as Asian, South Asian, Black or Native, and who have had work experience. Each identity group was interviewed separately by a trained focus group facilitator of similar background, and men and women were interviewed separately. It was fundamental to the methodology that the distinct perspective of each identity group, and of women and men within each group, be heard and documented. The focus groups were taped, transcribed, and analyzed using a computer program for the analysis of qualitative data.

The second objective, the development of tools for the assessment of systemic racism in organizational culture, was accomplished by using

the information provided by the focus group participants and the human rights cases. The analysis of this data yielded many detailed examples of behaviours that members of racial minorities have experienced as racist and discriminatory. A draft survey questionnaire was developed that includes a selection of these behaviours, categorized as involving communication, informal social interaction, job-related decision making, stereotypes and assumptions, organizational response to concerns, and behaviours that had been identified as discriminatory in human rights decisions. The draft questionnaire was field tested in a work unit within a large and diverse public sector organization.

The research project has also resulted in the development of two substantial data bases for future analysis: a database of published human rights cases spanning the nineties, and a database of transcripts from the focus group interviews. Further analysis of the data will result in a number of subsequent publications, all of which will acknowledge the support of the Canadian Race Relations Foundation.

Research Objectives

The purpose of the research was to develop assessment tools that can be used to identify the extent and nature of systemic racism, and of

systemic racism in combination with sexism, within the culture of an organization.

The research question was:

From the standpoint of members of racialized minorities, what are the patterns of behaviour within the culture of a workplace that create invisibility, a chilly climate or, in severe instances, a poisoned environment, and that constitute barriers to career advancement and equal participation in the workplace?

Based upon information gathered from human rights cases and from focus groups, assessment tools that can be used to diagnose systemic racism in organizational culture as part of an employment equity change process were developed.

An additional purpose of the research, which emerged during the research process, was to develop data sets for further analysis, which will lead to publications about the nature of systemic racism in combination with sexism in the culture of the workplace. Two data bases were created: one consisting of the transcripts of focus groups, and the

Researchers and human rights tribunals have neglected the specific ways in which racial and gender discrimination combine to affect women of colour in the workplace

other consisting of human rights cases spanning the past decade. Both data bases were created using the NUDIST program for analysis of qualitative data.

Canadian context

There is considerable published evidence in research studies and decisions of human rights tribunals and courts documenting ways in which systemic racial discrimination within the culture of organizations may interfere with career advancement, fair compensation, and quality of work life. However, there is little research in the Canadian context. Moreover, re-searchers and human rights tribunals have neglected the specific ways in which racial and gender discrimination combine to affect women of colour in the workplace. While the study

of organizational culture has become a significant area of research in recent years, there has been little attention paid to the assessment of systemic racial and gender discrimination in organizational culture.

This research has the potential to strengthen the effectiveness of organizational change strategies for employment equity in Canada by addressing a significant deficiency in cur-

rent practice – the neglect of organizational culture. A strategy for change in organizational culture must build on a sound diagnosis of systemic barriers to equality for racial minority women and men. The assessment instrument developed in this project provides a tool to facilitate that diagnosis.

A second way in which this research is linked to current policy contexts relates to the work of human rights commissions. It has been argued that there is a need for human rights commissions to more vigorously address systemic discrimination in employment. However, current efforts remain dominated by responses to individual complaints, with the result that the human rights complaint process generally does not lead to organizational change that addresses systemic discrimination. For example, in January 21, 1998 in an address at the Law School of the University of Western Ontario, Keith Norton, Chief Commissioner of the Ontario Human Rights Commission (OHRC), indicated that the OHRC was dealing with only two systemic discrimination cases, neither of which related to race; however the OHRC was attempting to focus more resources on systemic cases. We believe that the availability of appropriate diagnostic tools would facilitate the work of human rights commissions in their investigation and resolution of complex systemic cases.

While members of various racial minorities experienced this type of discrimination, complaints from Black employees were most numerous, followed by South Asians.

**Analysis of Human Rights
Cases, 1980-1998
Summary of Project Method
and Results**

The Canadian Human Rights Act and similar legislation at the provincial level prohibit discrimination on the basis of race, religion, ethnicity, sex, and various other grounds. Discrimination in the workplace is defined as making an unlawful distinction between certain individuals and others based on a characteristic that has nothing to do with the job or the service involved. Despite human rights legislation in various jurisdictions across Canada, and a variety of employment equity and equal opportunity policies that have been enacted over the last several decades, racial discrimination and harassment in the workplace continue to exist in Canada today. There has been an increase in legal cases in both Canada and the United States. This can be attributed to either an increase in the incidence of discriminatory behaviors or to an increased number of discrimination victims who decide to resort to the law. Recent amendments in the federal law and heightened public awareness and employee dissatisfaction are among the main reasons why jury awards and settlements against employers have reached previously unimaginable figures in the United States. While the complainants can resort to tribunals and courts to seek justice and be

awarded compensation for the material and psychological suffering due to discrimination, the incidence of discrimination is still rampant and the way to combat this complex social problem has to go beyond the human rights laws to analyse the deep causes of the problem and to understand the motives and circumstances that encourage its taking place.

This study examines the nature and development of racially discriminatory behavior in employment in Canada over the last two decades. One hundred and nineteen legal cases related to racial discrimination in employment were analysed in order to assess the main trends in the incidence of racial discriminatory behavior in Canada. Although the legal cases are just the tip of the iceberg, nonetheless they provide an important source of data in order to help understand the causes of racial discrimination in employment. The analysis covers the cases published in the CHRR over the period 1980-1998. The analysis concentrates on the organizational and individual characteristics that could lead to the discriminating behavior. In addition, the cases provide examples of behaviours that have been found to be discriminatory by boards of inquiry or courts. These behaviours provide the foundation for a section of the assessment instrument developed to identify racism in organizational cul-

ture. These are behaviours that are perceived as constituting barriers to equality by creating a chilly or hostile climate, by limiting access to information or participation in work-related social interactions, or by introducing bias into decision-making in performance appraisal, promotion, development activities, job assignment, compensation, and other areas.

Analysis of Human Rights Cases

The analysis of the human rights cases presents statistics for each of the periods 1980-1989 and 1990-1998, in order to assess change in the patterns of discrimination over the past two decades as can be inferred from the cases. The variables included in the analysis include:

1. Decisions and remedies ordered in the cases;
2. Industrial sector distribution of racial discrimination cases (manufacturing, construction etc.)
3. Occupational distribution of complainants (white collar, blue collar, etc.)
4. Distribution of cases by jurisdiction.
5. Distribution of cases by stage of employment relationship (pre-employment, post-employment.)
6. Distribution of cases by formal relationship of complainant with respondent(s) (co-worker, supervisor.)
7. Distribution of cases by nature

of discrimination (promotion, pay, harassment etc.)

Results

The results of the analysis of human rights cases are contained in a report entitled "*Racial Discrimination in Employment in Canada: An Analysis of Human Rights Cases*", summarized below:

Canada's population and workforce is becoming increasingly pluralistic. Forty-two percent of Canadians report origins other than French or British, while 16% of Canadians are foreign born. As of 1996, 11.2% of the Canadian population consisted of racial minorities. Approximately one-third of the populations of Toronto and Vancouver are visible minorities (VM). Between 11% and 16% of the populations of Montreal (11%); Ottawa-Hull (12%); Winnipeg (11%); Edmonton (14%); and Calgary (16%) consist of VMs. Racial minority representation has almost doubled in a decade, from 6.3% in 1986 to 9.4% in 1991 to 11.2% in 1996. The largest VM groups are: Chinese 26.9%; South Asians 21%; and Black 17.9%. Ontario has 52.6% of the entire VM population in Canada; B.C. has 20.7%; Quebec has 13.6%; Alberta 8.4%; and Manitoba 2.4% .

The proportion of racial minorities in the total labor force in Canada rose from 6.3% in 1986 to 10.3% in 1996. Eighty percent of new workforce entrants are projected to be

women and racial minorities by the year 2000. With a highly diversified workforce, it is essential that equal opportunity be available for disadvantaged groups and others within a non-discriminatory work environment. Canada's economic growth and prosperity in a highly competitive and global marketplace will depend on full utilization of the talents, skills, knowledge, and energy of all Canadians.

Racial discrimination in employment can take place at the pre-employment stage, by denying specific individuals from minority groups equal access to jobs, or it can occur at the post-employment-stage. Levitan et al [1971] call the first type of discrimination "access discrimination," and the latter, "treatment discrimination". Discrimination against racial minorities in access to and treatment in employment inflicts substantial financial and psychological suffering on its victims. Besides the fact that discrimination contradicts basic human rights in a democratic society, its negative effects on productivity and work performance imply a loss of profits and output at the organizational level. On the national level discrimination leads to under-utilization and underemployment of racial minorities and leads to significant economic costs in terms of lower national output, labor market inefficiency, lower labor productivity, higher inflation, and excessive welfare and penal

costs. It also results in morally unacceptable hardship and suffering of minority members in the society. Also, the presence of discrimination in an environment of effective human rights legislation can cost firms substantial losses in settlement payments and loss of clients and reputation.

One of the most direct and objective ways to obtain data on racial discrimination is in the published reports of legal cases regarding complaints of racially discriminatory treatment. In this paper, the researchers report on an analysis of data from 119 legal cases, published in the CHRR, regarding complaints of racial discrimination in employment. These cases were adjudicated by human rights boards of inquiry or tribunals, with some cases going to the courts on appeal, throughout Canada during the period 1980-1999¹.

The researchers identified a set of variables that were of interest in their attempt to understand the

1. Two points have to be stated here regarding these cases. First, the cases published in the Canadian Human Rights Reporter (CHRR) do not necessarily include all the cases adjudicated by Boards of Inquiry across Canada since some of these cases are not published. Second, the cases adjudicated by Boards of Inquiry represent only the tip of the iceberg in terms of the total number of complaints brought to the various Human Rights Commissions across Canada. Most of these complaints are resolved at early stages by conciliation and mediation or dismissed for lack of sufficient evidence or a variety of other reasons.

nature of racial discrimination in the Canadian labor market and the characteristics of individuals and organisations involved. The analyses of data from the 119 human rights cases were conducted using simple statistics. In order to examine the major trends in the development of racial discrimination in employment in Canada over the last two decades, analysis was conducted on two sub-periods; 1980-1989 and 1990-1998.

On average, there were more than eight cases that went to tribunals all across Canada per year. In the 1990s (1990-1998), an average of more than eight cases went to tri-

bunals, thereby indicating an increasing amount of litigation and perhaps an indication of the growing complexity of racial discrimination in Canada. A breakdown of cases by jurisdiction shows that the largest number of cases were adjudicated by the Ontario Boards of Inquiry (N=51 or 45.1% of the total number of cases) followed by the Federal Human Rights Tribunals (N=24, 21.2%), and the B.C. Human Rights Council (N=23, 20.4%). There were no

boards of inquiry in Alberta, New Brunswick, Newfoundland or Prince Edward Island during the period 1980-1998. Looking at the two sub-periods (1980s and 1990s), a significant increase of cases at the federal level (from 5 to 19) and in B.C. (from 8 to 15) and there was a noticeable decline in the number of cases in Ontario (from 33 to 18).

The analysis shows that in 57 cases (47.9% of total), boards of inquiry found in favour of the complainants. The success rate for the complainants has remained almost the same over the two sub-periods (1980s and 1990s). The distribution of cases by nature of complaints shows that dismissal, refusal to hire and harassment were the most prevalent causes of complaints of racially discriminatory treatment in the workplace. It is interesting to note that the percentage of complaints about racial harassment doubled between the 1980s and the 1990s from 14.5% to 31.5% of total cases; almost one quarter of all legal cases of racial discrimination alleged harassment.

More than 66% of all cases related to post-employment discrimination and only 24% to pre-employment discrimination. This result is expected due to at least three reasons. First, human rights legislation and employment equity policies have been in place in Canada for a relatively long period of time

Despite human rights legislation in various jurisdictions across Canada, and employment equity and equal opportunity policies, racial discrimination in the workplace continues to exist in Canada today.

now. These laws and policies are believed to be relatively more effective in eliminating "access discrimination" than the more subtle and harder to combat "treatment discrimination". Second, people usually have more to lose by accepting discriminatory treatment without complaining about it when the discrimination takes place while they are employed than when they are applying for jobs. Third, it is more likely that a person will recognise that he/she is being treated unequally to others at the post-employment than at the pre-employment stage.

The remedies

Various remedies have been ordered in the cases where the complaints were successful. The most commonly ordered remedies are monetary compensation for pain and humiliation (N=32 or 25.0%), and compensation for lost wages/salary (N=27, 21.1%). A noticeable increase in the compensation for pain and humiliation is seen during the 1990s. The percentage of this type of remedy was 17.9% over the period 1980-1989 and rose to 30.6% during 1990-1998. The increase in the tendency of tribunals and courts to order punitive damages in compensation for discrimination is an important development in the 1990s that is making the cost of discrimination in the workplace somewhat greater than was the case in the 1980s.

Origin of the complaints

A breakdown of cases by the industrial category of organisations shows that the highest percentage of complaints (N= 41, 34.7%) took place in the public administration sector, followed by the community, business, and personal services (N= 39, 33.1%) and manufacturing (N=16, 13.6%). The results show an astonishingly high number of complaints brought against organisations in public administration. There seems to be a surge in such complaints in the 1990s. The percentage of complaints against organisations in the public sector rose from 19.2% during the 1980s to 47% during the 1990s. Jain [1982] found only 11% of complaints of race and sex discrimination in the public sector in his study. The analysis shows that governments, quasi-governments and crown corporations accounted for 48.3% of the total complaints. In 51.7% of the cases the respondent organisation was a privately owned company.

In a majority of cases (N= 69, 60.0%) the person accused of discrimination is the supervisor of the complainant. In other cases (N=17, 14.8%) both a supervisor and co-workers were involved. In 18 cases

The increase in the tendency of tribunals and courts to order punitive damages in compensation for discrimination is an important development in the 1990s

(15.7%) selection committees were named as respondents. Thus, an overwhelming majority of persons accused of racial discrimination were supervisors.

A vast majority of complaints came from white-collar employees (N= 88, 75.9%). The higher degree of complaints by white-collar employees can be explained by the fact that there may be more competition for job opportunities among white-collar employees. Also, white-collar jobs involve more interaction and interdependence between employees than is generally the case in blue-collar jobs. This could lead to more friction and conflicts of interests between employees, which could motivate racially discriminatory behaviour. Among white-collar complainants, a majority of complaints (6 out of 10 or 61.2%) came from employees in the professional, managerial, and technical groups. However, the data for the two subgroups indicate that the number of

cases involving blue-collar complainants has increased substantially from 13.7% to 32.3% between the 1980s and the 1990s.

Breakdown of cases by racial minority identity

A breakdown of cases by complainants' racial minority identity

shows that the largest share of complaints (N=38, 34.9%) came from Blacks followed by South Asians (N= 34, 31.2%). The data indicates that individuals bringing complaints came from several racial groups in Canada. This shows that racial discrimination in the Canadian labor market is not restricted to a simple "white/non-white" classification.

The distribution of cases by sex of complainants shows that an overwhelming majority of cases (N= 79, 68.1%) involved male complainants. Many explanations can be given for this observation. It could be due to the lower labor force participation levels for women than men, especially among racial minority groups. Furthermore, the fact that women are generally concentrated in lower level jobs where there is less competition for job opportunities could also offer another explanation for the lower level of complaints by females.

Racial discrimination in employment: A serious problem

The analysis of legal cases indicates that racial discrimination in employment is a serious problem that prevents the efficient operation of the labor market and causes significant losses for the national economy in terms of underutilized human resources as well as the personal suffering and loss of fair opportunities to a large segment of the society. This phenomenon is

Employers have yet to come to terms with the present racial and cultural diversity of the Canadian labour market.

complex and multidimensional. There are various theories reviewed in this study that examine the causes and consequences of racial discrimination in the labor markets. A recent trend among researchers and scholars in this field is to emphasize the social and psychological causes of this behavior in addition to its economic aspects.

The current study utilized data obtained from 119 legal cases to examine the scope, nature, and trends in racially discriminatory behavior in the Canadian labor market. Specific trends and characteristics of the problem which could be of significant interest to policy makers were identified in the empirical analysis. It seems that while racial discrimination is a persistent problem in the Canadian labor market, its manifestations in the 1990s are showing different trends in comparison with the previous decade.

Using Focus Groups to Develop a Diagnostic Instrument for Assessing Systemic Racial Discrimination in the Culture of the Workplace

A Summary of the Project and Results

There is growing recognition that "informal" systemic discrimination embedded in the culture and/or climate of the workplace is a significant dimension of inequality in

employment. Some patterns of racial and gender inequality that seem resistant to the kinds of organizational change promoted by employment equity policy are the "glass ceiling" problem, as well as issues of "poisoned environment" sexual and racial harassment, which appear to require new kinds of theorizing and methodologies for identification and remedy. Between 1987 and 1996, in the federal jurisdiction, the salary gap between visible minority workers and all workers widened, and while the job category of upper level managers grew, the proportion of visible minorities in this category did not increase. As for Aboriginal workers, the salary gap between them and the general Canadian workforce widened despite a steady increase in their representation.

Scholars, employment equity practitioners and advocates for disadvantaged groups have argued that these discouraging results reveal that systemic racial discrimination is deeply embedded within the culture of organizations, and remains invisible and untouched by equity change efforts. Until discriminatory barriers in the informal social behaviour of the workplace are exposed, and brought into the

Organizational culture appears to be the locus of a large and hidden part of the iceberg of systemic discrimination in the workplace

focus of employment equity change interventions, little progress toward equality will be made. Employers covered by the Employment Equity Act and the Federal Contractors Program are required to include the culture of the workplace in their review of employment systems to identify discriminatory barriers. However, the systematic assessment of organizational culture for employment equity purposes is rare.

Organizational culture appears to be the locus of a large and hidden part of the iceberg of systemic discrimination in the workplace -- a part that has not been recognized and dealt with in employment equity change strategies. Many recent theorists are arguing that systemic discrimination in organizational culture is the bedrock that upholds the structures of workplace inequality. An effective approach to equity change, then, requires the analysis of patterns of discrimination inscribed in the culture of the

organization and work unit. Organizational culture includes shared patterns of informal social behaviour, such as communication, decision making and interpersonal relationships, which are the observable evidence of deeply held and largely unconscious values,

assumptions and behavioural norms. Dominant organizational values and norms are socially constructed by dominant groups and typically constitute a "monoculture" which reflects the standpoint of organizational members who are white, male, heterosexual and able-bodied. Hence in workplaces in which whiteness is constructed as normative, informal social behaviour may harass, exclude or marginalize members of racial minorities and/or Aboriginal peoples, creating a "chilly climate" which damages their quality of life and work performance. In some instances the culture of an organization or department may render minority groups invisible, while in others it may single people out for unwanted attention, or create a "poisoned environment" that is intimidating, abusive, hostile, humiliating or offensive to minority men and/or women. Women may face what Reka Karambayya has called "paradoxes of belonging" in a workplace culture that is discriminatory on the basis of gender as well as race. (Karambayya 1997).

Coming to terms with racial and cultural diversity

Employers have yet to come to terms with the present racial and cultural diversity of the Canadian labour market. This diversity will increase over the coming decade with the entry into the workforce of the growing population of young

Employers have yet to come to terms with the present racial and cultural diversity of the Canadian labour market.

Aboriginal peoples, as well as immigrants and their children who are members of racial minorities in Canada. Current management responses in the form of "diversity management" programs often claim to deal with issues of organizational culture. However, these approaches typically do not systematically and effectively diagnose and remove discriminatory barriers experienced by women and men who are members of racial minorities.

Issues of discrimination in informal social behaviours in the workplace may differ for Aboriginal peoples, Blacks, and people of Asian and South Asian ancestry, as well as for immigrants as compared with Canadian-born persons, and women as compared with men. With research-based tools to assist in the systematic diagnosis of organizational culture, these differences can be examined, and specific strategies to address systemic discrimination in organizational culture can be developed.

Designing the tools for assessment

It has been fundamental to the research methodology to focus on identifying discriminatory behaviours rather than attitudes or states of mind as a basis for designing the tools for assessing organizational culture. The benefit of focussing on behaviour is that the assessment of organizational culture will then be grounded in observable phenomena. Specific

behaviours can be clearly identified, scrutinized and understood across the differences of perception and interpretation that separate the experienced reality of racial minorities from that of white people, and women from men. Behaviour, but not attitudes or thought, is susceptible to influence by organizations, and indeed management is legally responsible to ensure that workplace behaviour does not create a discriminatory environment. Behaviour – acts of speech, gesture, decision, interaction – constitutes the evidence that human rights tribunals and courts use as the basis for their decisions. Finally, current theory in social psychology strongly suggests that identifying, understanding, and changing behaviour is a powerful method for changing attitudes. In contrast, changing attitudes may be a difficult and uncertain process, and will not necessarily lead to changes in behaviour. And it is behaviour – action within a social context – that creates the sting of discrimination and the burden of disadvantage.

Research design

The research design included a series of focus group interviews, conducted with at least six groups comprised of adults who had had work experience, and who identified themselves as members of one of the following

**It is behaviour
– action within
a social context
– that creates
disadvantage.**

populations: Aboriginal, Black, Asian, and South Asian. At least three of the groups from each population were comprised of women, and three groups were comprised of men. Men and women, and each of the minority groups, were interviewed separately. The research plan called for a total of 24 focus groups: six from each of four minority populations. The actual number of focus group interviews was 25. Each identity group was interviewed separately by a trained focus group facilitator of similar background to the group members, and men and women were interviewed separately. It was fundamental to the methodology that the distinct perspective of each identity group, and of women and men within each group, be heard and documented.

The interviews followed a protocol, and addressed a series of questions about various forms of systemic racial and gender discrimination in the culture of a workplace, as well as about supportive or inclusive workplace practices. The focus group interviews took about an hour and a half and were tape recorded with the permission of all group members, and the tapes were transcribed.

The transcripts were coded independently by two researchers, working with a coding protocol. The transcripts and codes were entered into the NUDIST program

for computer analysis of qualitative data. The transcripts were analyzed to identify an inventory of behaviours that served as the basis for construction of a draft assessment instrument. The analysis of the focus group data yielded many detailed examples of behaviours that members of racial minorities have experienced as racist and discriminatory. A draft organizational survey questionnaire was developed that included a selection of these behaviours, categorized as involving communication, informal social interaction, job-related decision making, stereotypes and assumptions, and organizational response to concerns. Only transcript data referring to behaviour that was either witnessed or experienced by interview participants was used in developing the assessment survey: hearsay, opinion and general comment were not used.

The survey also included a section on behaviours that had been identified as discriminatory in human rights decisions. Separate items were developed around indicators identified by each of the groups: Aboriginal peoples, Asians, Blacks and South Asians. The draft instrument addresses both race and gender. The draft questionnaire was then tested in work units within a large and diverse public sector organization.

The organizational assessment instrument

The organizational assessment instrument contains three main sections. The first includes information about the individual respondent to the survey, including identity group, gender, and type of occupation. This section can be tailored for use in various workplaces by using terminology that is customary in that workplace. The second section contains questions about various aspects of the culture and informal social behaviour that the respondent has observed or experienced in the workplace. These are the items that were based on the interview material. The items are designed as Likert scales, with the respondent asked to identify the frequency with which each behaviour was experienced or observed. The items are grouped into a number of sections, including communication, informal social behaviours, job-related decision making, norms, stereotypes and assumptions, representation of minorities in the workplace, and organizational response to concerns. The specific items cover both behaviours that interview participants identified as racist or likely to create barriers to their full participation in the workplace, and behaviours that are supportive and inclusive. The third section of the draft questionnaire consists of items that tap observations of behaviours that have been found discriminatory by

human rights tribunals and courts, depending of course upon the context surrounding the behaviour, and the strength of the evidence of its occurrence. These items are intended to detect the occurrence of behaviour that is potentially illegal. A separate score was obtained for each section of the instrument, thus yielding a battery of subtests on various aspects of organizational culture. The higher the subtest score, the more often the respondent reported never or seldom experiencing or witnessing behaviours that had been mentioned as negative in the research conducted earlier with the focus groups.

Field test of instrument

A field test of the instrument was conducted in a small work unit within a large and diverse public sector organization. While a larger test was hoped for, fourteen volunteers responded to the organizational survey. Eight of the 14 respondents identified themselves as white, and 6 as members of racial minorities (2 Black, 2 East Asian, and 2 South Asian). No one indicated Aboriginal ancestry. Of the 14 respondents, 12 were women. Most employees were professionals, with a few middle managers and others, who were mostly long-service employees over the age of 40. Because the numbers were so small, the analysis simply compares racial minority and white employees' responses.

Previous research has found that white and racial minority employees may perceive the same work environment differently.² The field test, although small, also found this result: on every one of the subscales, the average score of white employees was higher than the average score of racial minority employees. This suggests that white employees were less likely than racial minority employees to have experienced or witnessed behaviours considered to create a chilly climate for minorities, and this was the case across the entire range of behaviours that the questionnaire asked about. Racial minority employees were also more likely to indicate that they had seen or experienced behaviours that human rights tribunals or courts had identified as discriminatory. Only four employees marked any of the checklist items; however the test site, an organization with a high level of understanding of and commitment to employment equity, would not be expected to exhibit problems of this kind. The respons-

2. Eg. see Alderfer, C.P., R.C. Tucker, D.R. Morgan and F. Drasgow, "Black and White Cognitions of Changing Race Relations in Management," *Journal of Occupational Behavior*, 4, 1983, 105-136; Burke, R.J., "Managing an Increasingly Diverse Workforce: Experiences of Minority Managers and Professionals in Canada," *Canadian Journal of Administrative Sciences*, 8 (2), 1991, 108-120; E. Kossek and S. Zonia, "Assessing Diversity Climate: A Field Study of Reactions to Employer Efforts to Promote Diversity," *Journal of Organizational Behavior*, 14, 1993, 61-81.

es of Black employees indicated that they had witnessed or experienced more negative behaviours than any other group of employees. Unfortunately, the small numbers of respondents make this observation merely suggestive and indicative of the need for further study.

Conclusions: What Was Accomplished and What Was Learned?

The accomplishments of the research project fulfilled the objectives that were proposed, and went beyond what was proposed in several respects. In summary, the following outcomes were achieved:

1. A database of 119 human rights cases covering the 1980s and 1990s was created. A paper analyzing these cases has been offered for publication.
2. Race-related human rights cases adjudicated in the 1990's, numbering approximately 80, were downloaded or scanned to create computer files which have been loaded into a NUDIST database. Future analyses of these data will be the basis of papers, examining various aspects of racism in the workplace, that will be offered for publication.
3. Twenty-five focus groups and three individual interviews were completed, transcribed, and loaded into a NUDIST database. This data was used to develop the assessment tools, and will be used in the future as the basis of

papers examining various aspects of systemic racism in organizational culture.

4. The data from the interviews and human rights cases was used as the basis for developing a set of assessment instruments designed to identify the presence of behaviours indicative of systemic racism in the culture of the workplace. The instrument includes but is not limited to behaviours that have been deemed illegal by human rights tribunals and courts.
5. An innovative methodology for using focus groups in research has been worked out in the course of the project, contributing to the development of an approach that promises to be fruitful in future race relations research.
6. Research skills and a valuable learning experience, as well as summer employment, were furnished to four minority students, who in turn made this research possible.

The broader perspective

A broader perspective on what was learned from the research experience must make reference to the complexity and frustrations of surmounting, understanding, and facing racism in organizations at the

beginning of the twenty-first century. The focus group interviews and human rights cases contain a plethora of human encounters with racism and sexism, and tell of the courage and tenacity of those whose lives are touched by everyday racism and sexism. Their narratives tell of racism as an unpleasant surprise, as wounding, as devastating to self esteem, and as an all-too-predictable cutting off of opportunity to make a living, to provide for a family, to make use of one's education and talents, and to be accorded the dignity, recognition and respect that every human being deserves.

There are some common themes that are reflected in the experiences of men as well as women, of immigrants to Canada as well as the Canadian-born, and of people of Black, Native, Asian and South Asian ancestry. But the data also revealed the different forms that racism takes – different for each ancestry group, for women and men, and for immigrants as compared with Canadian-born persons. These complexities are reflected in the assessment tools produced by this research, and will be explored in future analysis of the databases that have been created.

Reference

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Ethnocultural Diversity and Secondary School Curricula

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ABSTRACT

This study looks at the appropriateness of teaching practices and curriculum content for students of the Prairie Provinces who are an increasingly ethnically diverse population. Secondary school curriculum often does not invite nor include the diverse perspectives of immigrants to Canada or the cultural understandings of First Nations and Métis peoples. Subjects such as history, mathematics, and science are often taught as if they were "somehow devoid of culture, de-emphasising the role of culture in the development of knowledge, skills, and attitudes."

The goals of this study are: to discover the ethnocultural issues in various subject areas that teachers identify as relevant to learning and meeting the needs of the ethnically diverse student population, and to subsequently develop recommendations for curriculum policy changes within Canadian schools.

The research methodology included interviews with secondary school teachers with the aim of identifying issues pertinent to ethnocultural diversity and curriculum. There were 24 teachers from Alberta, 28 from Saskatchewan, and 33 from Manitoba. The schools were selected based on the cultural diversity of the students. For example, two of the schools had a large First Nations or Métis population, and others had a growing immigrant population.

The findings suggest a number of commonalities across subject areas such as: the need for culturally appropriate resources, programming for ESL students and opportunities for teachers to understand the interaction between race, gender, culture, and poverty. Teachers' responses to their students' ethnocultural diversity varied from them acknowledging the diversity and actively incorporating these diverse perspectives into their daily lesson plans and strategies, to a more reactive stance whereby diversity is seen as an interruption to the planned curriculum. In the course of the interviews, teachers who considered their subject areas as culturally neutral, such as math and science, began to see possibilities for a more inclusive curriculum. This finding suggests that professional development for these teachers would be well suited to serving the needs of the students.

Throughout the interviews, topics also covered the complexity of the students' lives such as the dichotomy of values and expectations between home and school, communication in the classroom, bias encountered in textbooks and the possibilities for change.

Finally, the study offers recommendations for curriculum policy, teacher professional development, teaching resource development, and further research.

RÉSUMÉ

Cette étude examine la pertinence des pratiques d'enseignement et du programme d'études pour les élèves des provinces des Prairies qui font partie d'une population de plus en plus diverse sur le plan ethnoculturel. Le programme d'études du palier secondaire n'accueille souvent pas bien les perspectives d'immigrants canadiens, ne favorise pas la compréhension des peuples autochtones et métis ou ne les inclut pas. Les sujets comme l'histoire, les mathématiques et les sciences sont souvent enseignés comme s'ils étaient « en quelque sorte dépourvus de culture, minimisant son rôle dans l'acquisition des connaissances, des compétences et des attitudes. »

La présente étude avait pour objectif de cerner les préoccupations ethnoculturelles dans les différents sujets que les enseignants jugent pertinents dans le cadre de l'enseignement et qui répondent aux besoins des élèves d'origine ethnoculturelle diverse et, par la suite, de formuler des recommandations sur les modifications à apporter aux politiques liées à l'établissement du programme d'études dans les écoles canadiennes.

Parmi les outils méthodologiques utilisés dans le cadre de cette recherche, mentionnons des entrevues menées auprès d'enseignants du palier secondaire en vue de cerner les questions qui se rapportaient à la diversité ethnoculturelle et au programme d'études. En tout, 24 enseignants de l'Alberta, 28 de la Saskatchewan et 33 du Manitoba ont participé à cette étude. Les écoles ont été choisies en fonction de la diversité ethnoculturelle des élèves. Par exemple, deux des écoles comptaient une importante population autochtone ou métis et d'autres commençaient à voir croître leur population immigrante.

Les résultats révèlent un certain nombre de similitudes d'un sujet à l'autre : le besoin de ressources adaptées aux différentes cultures, des programmes pour les élèves d'ALS et des possibilités pour les enseignants de comprendre l'interaction entre la race, le sexe, la culture et la pauvreté. Les réactions des enseignants aux antécédents culturels des élèves allaient d'une reconnaissance de la diversité caractérisée par l'inclusion des diverses perspectives dans leurs leçons et stratégies d'enseignement quotidiennes à une position plus réactive qui leur faisait percevoir la diversité comme une interruption dans le programme d'études établi. Au cours des entre-

vues, les enseignants qui considéraient leur sujet neutre sur le plan culturel, comme les mathématiques et les sciences, ont commencé à entrevoir des possibilités que présente un programme d'études plus inclusif. Ce résultat suggère que le perfectionnement professionnel de ces enseignants permettrait de répondre aux besoins des élèves.

Au cours des entrevues, les participants ont pu discuter de la complexité de la vie des élèves, comme la dichotomie que présentent les valeurs et les attentes au foyer et à l'école, la communication en salle de classe, les préjugés véhiculés par les livres et les possibilités de changement.

Finalement, l'étude formule des recommandations en vue de l'élaboration du programme d'études, du perfectionnement des enseignants, du développement de ressources d'enseignement et de recherche supplémentaire.



As the Canadian population becomes increasingly ethnoculturally diverse, Canadians need to pay closer attention to the appropriateness of current teaching practices and curriculum content for all students. These issues are especially significant in the three Prairie Provinces of Canada: Alberta, Saskatchewan and Manitoba. A location of cultural diversity since national confederation, this region in Canada has experienced accelerated demographic changes over the past 25 years. Increasing numbers of immigrants from China, the Philippines, Southeast Asia, Africa and South America have come to live in the major cities of the Prairie provinces; in addition, there have been dramatic increases across the Prairies in the percentage of the population with an Aboriginal ancestry. The Alberta cities of Calgary and Edmonton have populations close to the national averages for percentages of the popula-

tion born outside of Canada. Saskatchewan cities of Regina and Saskatoon have seen the most dramatic increases in percentages of citizens with First Nations or Métis ancestry, and the Manitoba city of Winnipeg has experienced the most significant shifts in populations of citizens born outside of Canada of all the prairie cities (Statistics Canada, 1996).

Canadian secondary school curriculum development during the past century presented a traditional set of topics that in most cases did not invite or include the diverse perspectives of immigrants to Canada or the cultural understandings of First Nations and Métis peoples.

In addition, the canon of topics comprising the curriculum was presented as if these topics were somehow devoid of culture, de-emphasising the role of culture in the presentation and development of knowledge, skills and attitudes.

Curriculum theorists, policy makers and teacher educators are challenged to understand the complicity of culture with curricula and to acknowledge the significance of ethnocultural diversity for secondary school curriculum.

Research Questions and Purpose

This study asked: *What issues of ethnocultural difference related to specific curriculum areas are identified by experienced secondary school teachers as significant for meeting the diverse needs of all Canadian students?*

The two major goals of this research study were:

1. To discover the significant ethnocultural issues in secondary school subject areas that teachers identify as particularly relevant for student learning and meeting the diverse needs of Canada's multicultural school population.
2. To develop recommendations for curriculum policy changes as Canadian schools seek to meet the needs presented by the cultural diversity of school populations.

The research project sought to understand classroom teachers' curricular and pedagogical responses to issues of race, culture and ethnicity in secondary schools in order to discover possibilities for developing a more equitable, culturally responsive curriculum for secondary schools in the 21st century.

Research Methodology

The research was guided by insights from critical theory and the antiracist educational theories presented in the work of Canadian educational scholars such as Dei (1996), Alladin (1996) and Ghosh (1996) and American researchers such as Banks (1989), Ladson-Billings (1995a, 1995b), Pinar (1993), Sleeter and McLaren (1995). The research team, comprised of three faculty members in the Department of Secondary Education and three graduate student research assistants, endeavoured to illuminate issues of ethnocultural diversity and curriculum through semi-structured audiotaped interviews with secondary school teachers working in major cities in the Prairie Provinces. To understand the complex world of teaching in a secondary school setting, researchers invited teachers to share stories of their everyday experiences of working with youth from diverse ethnocultural backgrounds in the context of their subject area teaching.

All interviews with teachers were semi-structured, thus allowing them to remain open-ended while providing structure when needed. The following questions that guided the interviews were

The Alberta cities of Calgary and Edmonton have populations close to the national averages for percentages of the population born outside of Canada.

sent to the teachers in advance:

- What cultural and/or racial diversity exists in your classroom?
- In what ways have issue of culture and/or race impacted your planning for teaching in your subject area?
- Describe from your experience a significant teaching situation that you believe relates to cultural and or racial differences.
- Describe a teaching situation when you found cultural and/or racial differences led you to reflect on and/or change your teaching practice.
- In what ways do you feel current curriculum documents and/or resource materials facilitate or constrain your teaching?

Each interview was transcribed, organised according to curricular subject areas, and coded according to the following themes:

- Teachers' awareness of issues of ethnocultural diversity
- Teachers' ethnocultural and education background
- pedagogical concerns
- communication issues
- resources
- administrative support for ethnocultural diversity
- related issues of youth culture, poverty, gender and religion.

Eighty-five teachers from five cities in the three Prairie Provinces volunteered to be interviewed: 24 in

Alberta, 28 in Saskatchewan and 33 in Manitoba. The schools selected for the study reflect the wide variety in the cultural diversity among the students attending secondary schools across the country. Two of the schools have a large percentage of students with First Nations or Métis ancestry. In two other schools, there was a growing immigrant population.

The remaining nine schools had populations with students from a variety of cultural backgrounds, including recent immigrants and first and second generation Canadians. In every case, with the exception of new teachers who lacked the experience to make an observation, interviewed teachers claimed that the demographics of the student population had changed since they first started teaching.

Some of the schools had programs in place to address the needs of diverse school populations. Two schools, for example, modularised courses to adapt to a transient school population and to enhance learning for students with high rates of absenteeism. In another school, teachers use Native Studies Programs that have been developed by the province in collaboration with First Nations and Métis leaders. ESL programs were in place in a number of the schools and were organised in a variety of ways to meet the needs of a growing immigrant population. An international program that

brought in students from foreign countries for a year or two at a time was in place in one of the schools.

Research Findings

In the full report, there is extensive documentation of teachers' stories from the interviews organised by content area. In addition, the report includes insights from administrators, counsellors and librarians. A number of commonalities emerged across subject areas, including the need for culturally appropriate resources, programming for ESL students and opportunities for teachers to better understand the complex interaction of race, gender, culture and poverty within the context of school subject areas.

Teachers' responses to their students' ethnocultural diversity varied across a broad spectrum. At one end of this spectrum, teachers acknowledge the ethnocultural diversity of their students and actively incorporate these diverse cultural perspectives into their daily lesson planning and teaching strategies.

Teachers in subject areas such as Social Studies, English Language Arts, Drama and Art were more likely to be at this end of the spectrum, although such a proactive approach was not limited to teachers of these subject areas. At the other end of the spectrum, teachers tended to be more reactive to student diversity. In these cases,

diversity was typically seen as an interruption to the planned curriculum, with teachers making adjustments and allowances as situations arose. Generally, teachers of subject areas such as science, mathematics, computers and physical education viewed their subject areas as culturally neutral and therefore tended to consider student diversity as not relevant to their planning or teaching. It is important to add, however, that during our interviews, these teachers began to see possibilities for a more inclusive curriculum approach in their subject areas, suggesting professional development for these teachers would be a wise investment.

It would be simplistic to describe teachers' responses solely by subject areas. Our research revealed that teachers' lived experiences of ethnoculturally diverse high school classrooms are highly complex. The following thematic analysis offers insight into some of these complexities.

Teachers' Lived Experiences of Ethnocultural Diversity and Curriculum

The word 'curriculum' typically refers to resources and government mandated documents that guide classroom instruction. Interviews with teach-

Teachers claimed that the demographics of the student population had changed since they first started teaching.

ers in this study suggest the curriculum is more than mere documents. Curriculum is also the lived day-to-day practice of teachers and students learning together. This view of curriculum was revealed when teachers repeatedly emphasised the importance of seeing students as individuals with particular experiences and diverse needs. It was clear from the interviews that meeting the educational needs of students was of primary importance to teachers.

All teachers in the study recognised ethnocultural and religious differences among their students, but only a number seemed to consider the implications of these differences for student learning. Most teachers' awareness of ethnocultural differences appeared to be at a surface level, with little consideration for the role of such differences in understanding and interpreting the curriculum.

Interruptions to the Curriculum

Teaching is often interrupted by the mundane: bells, announcements, sporting events, field trips and other school events. This study revealed the extent to

which teaching is also interrupted by the traditions, beliefs and values that students bring to the classroom. Religious obligations were some of the most common and obvious interruptions to teacher planning. Teachers often made allowances for religious holidays and students' dietary and lifestyle restrictions, such as dress obligations. A number of teachers commented on how perceived cultural beliefs about gender relationships influenced their interactions with students in their classrooms.

In general, teachers adopted a strategy of accommodation to these interruptions through flexible planning or adding topics to the subject area. For example, some physical education teachers adapted to students' religious observances by changing the timing of activity-oriented units to accommodate students who were fasting during Ramadan. Some science teachers accommodated cultural and religious differences by using students' understanding of evolution to invite conversations about ways of seeing the natural world.

The Complexity of Students' Lives

The interviews revealed that as teachers grew in their awareness of the rich diversity of students' backgrounds they adapted their teaching to take account of the complexities of students' lives. Teachers suggested that students'

All teachers in the study recognised ethnocultural and religious differences among their students, but only a number seemed to consider the implications of these differences for student learning.

backgrounds and experiences both constrain and enhance the curriculum.

Those teachers who were faced directly with issues of cultural diversity spoke of the need to modify instruction for reasons of culture, religion and language. For example, in a school with a large Aboriginal population, an art teacher makes a point of including various art works created by First Nations and Métis artists and craftspersons. In another school with a large immigrant population, a social studies teacher encourages students to research famous people from a variety of countries and cultural heritages on the internet. These and other examples cited in the full report demonstrate that many teachers in the Prairie Provinces have begun to modify their practice and the curriculum to attempt to address the needs of the ethnocultural diversity in their classrooms.

In this research, teachers indicated that some students of immigrant families struggle with conflicting demands, expectations and values of home and school. This dichotomy appears in the ways in which students negotiate their lives at home and at school. For example, some students speak a different language at home than at school. One teacher spoke of a student who leaves home in modest clothes approved by her family but

who arrives at school in dress more reflective of youth culture.

In another interview, a teacher noted that some girls who have relationships with boys that are not from their cultural heritage keep their relationships hidden from their families. Teachers in several schools commented how students with an Aboriginal ancestry may also experience the dichotomy between home and school. Some teachers voiced general concerns over absenteeism among Aboriginal students, and others commented that some Aboriginal students seem to live very transient lives, consequently missing significant amounts of time at school. In a few schools there were specific program modifications in place which were intended to address student absenteeism and transience—the most common of which was the modularization of units of study.

The influence of popular culture on students' lives was pervasive, according to several teachers. Many teachers made few distinctions between issues of ethnicity, heritage culture and popular culture as they described how they addressed issues of culture in the classroom. For example, some teachers spoke of their deliberate inclusion of popu-

Teachers suggested that students' backgrounds and experiences both constrain and enhance the curriculum.

lar culture as a way of relating to students. Mathematics teachers indicated that they use examples and questions in mathematics which often include references to music, sport, entertainment, and clothing. English language arts teachers suggested the inclusion of rap lyrics in their poetry teaching, and some social studies teachers discussed how they might debate the use of corporate images in advertising in their classrooms.

Communication in the Classroom

Teachers often assumed communication issues to be culturally specific. Many teachers commented on the reluctance of some Aboriginal students to make eye contact and actively participate in large group discussions in the classroom. A few teachers observed that students who are recent immigrants are often very quiet and do not participate in the social interaction of the classroom. Many teachers seemed to interpret this silence as grounded in the students' cultures rather than a result of shyness or possibly the reluctance to participate in conversation because of their limited English skills.

In contrast, teachers with some experience and education working with Aboriginal and ESL students recognised that the silence cannot simply be attributed to differences in cultural beliefs, traditions and values; their silence may be intertwined with personality differences, learning difficulties, and inexperience with the language of the classroom. In addition, some teachers suggested that student silence may be promoted by inappropriate textbook resources. For example, teachers spoke of the limitation of authorised resources to address ethnocultural issues; they were perturbed by the cultural bias of some textbooks and by the inappropriate language used in some of these texts.

Most teachers pointed out that they do not permit offensive stereotypical language or racist comments in their classrooms. Further, some teachers reported that they respond to challenges about stereotypes in textbooks or inappropriate language in literature through classroom discussions and, in some cases, through offering their students alternative reading materials. However, other teachers felt constrained in their ability to address problematic materials because of limited resources.

Possibilities for Change

This study suggests that possibilities for a deeper curricular conversation in the multi-ethnic classroom may be limited by teachers'

Study findings point to possibilities for developing a more culturally inclusive curriculum by allowing students' experiences as curricular resources, being sensitive to students' individual ethnocultural backgrounds and experiences.

assumption of the cultural neutrality of particular curriculum areas. Some teachers assume, for example, that mathematics is a universal language, that science is culturally neutral, that classics of literature are universal, that 'sports are sports', and that history consists of historical facts. Some teachers did not challenge stereotypes about students from certain ethnocultural backgrounds. For example, in mathematics education some teachers assumed that students who had recently arrived from Asia were likely able to participate and do well in mathematics. Conversations were also constrained by the mandated, such as standardised testing and other external impositions that interrupted a teacher's ability to attend to student difference.

Study findings point to possibilities for developing a more culturally inclusive curriculum by viewing students' experiences as curricular resources, being sensitive to students' individual ethnocultural backgrounds and experiences, and taking account of dietary and lifestyle differences among students from particular cultural and religious backgrounds. Many teachers showed that they are sensitive to the need for respect for all cultures, and more particularly, teachers recognise the value and importance of multicultural diversity. Much more, however, is possible to ensure Canadian students of all backgrounds are invited to share

their perspectives and ethnocultural backgrounds. The following recommendations suggest actions that can be taken to help make Canadian schools more culturally inclusive.

Recommendations

The following recommendations emerged from researchers' reflections on teachers' stories and experiences of working in ethnoculturally diverse classrooms.

Curriculum Policy

- Increase funding to schools to support a school-wide pedagogy that is responsive to the changing cultural demographics.
- Recognise that for most of the secondary school curriculum it is the approach to the curriculum that needs to change, not the existing set of topics.
- Extend support systems and special programmes to students who are learning English as a Second Language.
- Adopt school-wide more flexible approaches to secondary school curriculum development, programming and assessment.

Teacher Professional Development

- Develop systems that support teacher reflection across subject areas on issues of ethnocultural diversity.
- Seek opportunities that help teachers understand that every secondary school subject contains knowledge, skills and atti-

tudes developed from a particular cultural perspective.

- Provide teacher education and professional development for secondary school teachers on pedagogical strategies for addressing ethnocultural differences.
- Be proactive in inviting more teachers from a range of ethnocultural backgrounds to become teachers.
- Encourage Canadian university undergraduate and graduate programmes in education to include studies that explore issues of cultural diversity.
- Develop theoretical frameworks that address the formation of teacher identity within the context of culturally diverse classrooms.
- Invite secondary school students to share their experiences of ethnocultural diversity.

Teaching Resource Development

- Develop suitable teaching resources that incorporate a diversity of ethnocultural perspectives.
- Consider students, parents and the local community a source of insight on cultural understandings.
- Develop assessment materials that consider the diversity of students' ethnocultural backgrounds.

Further Research

- Create a forum for teachers and policy makers to interact.

A further research study that focuses on the experiences of students is vital to further understanding the ways in which the growing ethnocultural diversity affects curriculum and teaching. The findings in this Report are based solely on teacher perceptions, and while these offer an insightful portrayal of our secondary school classrooms, the portrayal would be much richer with the added experiences and insights of students.

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Children's Rights Education as a Means toward Combating Racism in Canada

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ABSTRACT

The goal of the project was to assess the value of a children's rights-based approach to teaching multicultural respect and anti-racist education. The approach was based on a literature that suggests that racism may best be prevented through the use of curricula that focus on raising the student's emotional intelligence, critical thinking skills and levels of moral reasoning. A curriculum, for students in grades 8-9, using the framework of the United Nations Convention on the Rights of the Child was developed.

The curriculum was pilot tested in 6 schools in the Cape Breton Victoria Regional School District in 1999. At the end of the school year, an evaluation of the impact of the curriculum on student attitudes was completed. The data showed, as predicted, that children's rights education had a 'contagion effect' in which those who learn about their own rights become more supportive of the rights of others. The students who received the rights curriculum, compared with those who had not, showed significantly higher levels of self-esteem, perceived peer support, perceived teacher support, and support for the rights of all children and for adults, including ethnic minorities and native peoples. In addition, teachers noted more rights respecting behaviors and a greater sensitivity to the needs of others, particularly immigrant and refugee children.

Since the evaluation data, the curriculum has been widely adopted throughout the district and has been recommended for inclusion into developing core curricula in PDR (personal development and relationships) throughout the province.

RÉSUMÉ

Ce projet avait pour objectif d'évaluer la valeur de l'enseignement du respect du multiculturalisme et de l'antiracisme selon une approche axée sur les droits de l'enfant. Notre approche était fondée sur des recherches suggérant qu'une des meilleures façons d'éviter la manifestation du racisme consistait à enseigner un curriculum favorisant l'intelligence affective de l'élève, son esprit critique et son niveau de raisonnement moral. Nous avons élaboré un tel curriculum destiné aux élèves de 8e et de 9e année dans le cadre de la Convention relative aux droits de l'enfant des Nations Unies.

Le curriculum a été mis à l'essai en 1999 dans 6 écoles du Conseil scolaire Cap-

Breton-Victoria. À la fin de l'année scolaire, nous avons évalué les répercussions du curriculum sur les attitudes des élèves. Les données ont révélé que l'enseignement sur les droits de l'enfant avait eu un effet cascade en ce sens que ceux qui prennent conscience de leurs propres droits ont tendance à soutenir davantage les droits d'autrui. Comparativement aux élèves du groupe témoin, les enfants ayant reçu un enseignement sur les droits de l'enfant ont obtenu des résultats significativement plus élevés sur le plan de l'estime de soi, du soutien perçu de leurs camarades et de leurs enseignants et du soutien accordé aux droits de tous les enfants et des adultes, y compris les membres des minorités ethniques et les Autochtones.

Par ailleurs, les enseignants ont remarqué un plus grand nombre de comportements respectueux des droits de la personne et une plus grande sensibilisation aux besoins d'autrui, particulièrement ceux des enfants immigrants ou réfugiés. Depuis la publication des résultats de l'évaluation, le curriculum a été adopté dans l'ensemble du district et a été recommandé en vue de son inclusion dans le programme d'études de base sur la croissance personnelle et les relations dans toute la province.

Since the establishment of human rights legislation in Canada during the 1950s and 1960s, and since the adoption of an official policy of multiculturalism in 1971, there have been many attempts in schools to foster cross-cultural respect and to combat racism. Despite a variety of approaches, racism has continued.

Recently it has been suggested by educators that in contrast to the traditional approach, what has been described as the fun-food-festivities-and-finery approach, racism may best be prevented through the use of curricula that focus on raising the student's emotional intelligence, critical thinking skills and levels of moral reasoning. Education in the appreciation of children's rights has been

identified as one potential means of achieving these goals. The rights based approach is suggested in the existing literature on children's rights education which points to a link between children's rights education and children's support for the values of tolerance, multiculturalism, and human rights in general. In addition, children's rights education at the elementary level has shown to increase children's self-esteem and perceived peer and teacher support. The likely mediators for the observed positive outcomes of children's rights education are the following.

Unlike traditional multicultural or anti-racist education, children's rights education focuses on the rights of all children as described in the United Nations Convention

on the Rights of the Child. Children learn that they are rights bearing individuals who also have responsibilities to protect and respect the rights of others. Children who learn about rights express a more adult-like understanding of what rights are and, as they learn about rights violations (e.g., child hunger, exploitation etc.), an understanding of the importance of rights for all. In addition, rights education necessitates democratic styles of teaching with considerable peer interaction, group discussion and group activities in which children explore options and values in an egalitarian manner. The development of social consciousness is enhanced when children are encouraged to challenge opinions and express their own ideas. This leads to respect for oneself and respect for others.

Goals of the Research Project

The first goal was to develop a children's rights curriculum that would fit into existing curricula at the junior high school level. This age was selected in part to provide a follow-up to the grade 6 children's rights curriculum. In addition, this age was targeted because salient in early adolescence is the evolving sense of identity which is very much affected by what is experienced. The aim then, was to have rights-respecting attitudes become incorporated into growing identity as an integral part of the self.

The second goal was to assess the impact of receiving the curriculum on the students' perceptions of the supportiveness of their classmates and teacher, their understanding of the nature of rights and their general support for the rights of other children and adults (including minority groups). In addition, the teachers' experiences with and attitudes toward teaching the children's rights curriculum was evaluated.

The Children's Rights Curriculum

The curriculum was designed to impart the information contained in the United Nations Convention on the Rights of the Child in a manner that was developmentally appropriate and one that modeled the rights the children were being taught they had. With regard to the latter, activities were designed to provide children with opportunities to express their opinions (articles 13 and 14), to work with friends (article 15) and to have their views heard (article 12). In regard to the former we considered the salient issues to and the developmental needs of the early adolescent. The curriculum, then, includes a variety of group activities in which students are encouraged to role-play, question, and discuss issues of interest to them. Examples include discussing the representation of rights and responsibilities in sexual activity (articles 13, 16, 29, 34) and in pop-

ular music (3, 24, 27, 33), and a variety of activities to examine rights of equality of treatment and respect for diversity (articles 2, 14, 23, 29, 30).

To encourage and facilitate the use of the children's rights curriculum, it was developed such that activities were coordinated with the existing grade 8 social studies and personal development and relationships curricula of the province of Nova Scotia. To enable this, textbooks that were currently being used in the local school board were obtained and analyzed. Concurrent with the development of the curriculum, a website was established (www.faculty.uccb.ns.ca/childrensrights/) which provides further background information for both teachers, and children. In addition a parent handbook was developed and designed to answer questions and concerns parents may have about their child learning about rights at school.

Curriculum Test Period

In December of 1998, the development of the children's rights curriculum was completed. In conjunction with the Cape Breton – Victoria Regional School Board, (without whose cooperation testing would have been impossible) six schools, that would provide a representative sample of the overall public school population, were chosen to pilot test the curriculum. A workshop was held with the teach-

ers who had agreed to pilot test the curriculum in their classrooms, which provided them with the necessary background materials, and established support networks.

The curriculum was introduced into the grade 8 classrooms of six schools in working class areas of the Cape Breton -Victoria Regional School Board in January of 1999. The teachers agreed to include a part of the curriculum each week until the end of the school year. A meeting was held after a one-month period to enable discussion among pilot test teachers and to provide the opportunity for the teachers to ask questions or voice concerns.

In addition to the meetings, the teachers participated in phone interviews every two weeks. One teacher did not start using the curricula during the first month, and subsequently used it on only a sporadic basis. In consequence, that class was dropped from data collection and analyses. During each phone call, the teachers were asked if they needed any additional resources or help. The teachers also were asked:

1. Which activities from the curriculum they had used since the previous phone call?

Children's rights education at the elementary level has shown to increase children's self-esteem and perceived peer and teacher support.

2. How well each had worked?
3. What issues or questions the students raised during the activities?
4. What they believed the students had learned from the activities?
5. Whether the students had responded positively to the activities used?

Responses to the first question indicated that a wide range of possible activities had been used. Typical responses to the other questions are presented in Table 1.

Curriculum Evaluation

A total of 89 adolescents, average age 13.83 years, received the rights curriculum. Ninety-six percent were of Caucasian origin, 1.3% African-Canadian origin, and 2.6% First Nations. Their understanding of rights, self-esteem, perceived peer and teacher support, and support for others' rights were measured at the end of the school year and compared with a sociodemographically equivalent group of 91 adolescents (average age 13.84 years) from five other grade 8 classrooms. Data analyses

Table 1.

<p>Typical responses from grade 8 teachers to bi-weekly phone interview questions.</p> <p>Question 2: <i>How well did the activities work?</i></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • They love it. • Worked very well. Enjoy doing activities in small groups. • Pretty good. Creates discussion. • Great, and kids are really interested. <p>Question 3: <i>What issues or questions were raised by the students?</i></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Issues and rights from their side – respect. • Why some children have to work – amazed there are teenaged soldiers • Racism and prejudice • Social securities network in Canada – hungry children <p>Question 4: <i>What do you think the students learned from the activities?</i></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Opened up awareness. Realizing more on a global perspective. Gets kids to talk, this is the biggest advantage for my class. • Truly believe they are learning what exactly having rights means. • Before, they had an idea of their rights, but now they understand them. • The respect that goes along with rights • How lucky they are compared with others. <p>Question 5: <i>What was the response of the students?</i></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • The students' response was positive. They are now looking forward to PDR (personal development and relationships) class. Before this, kids hated going to PDR/Health class. • A real change in all students' attitudes toward class. • I think the response is positive because they are all coming to class and want to respond and talk. • Enthusiastic • Positive and interested

showed the following significant differences between the two groups of adolescents.

The adolescents who received the rights curriculum compared with those who had not showed significantly higher levels of self-esteem, perceived peer support, perceived teacher support, and support for the rights of all children and for adults (including ethnic minorities, native peoples, people with disabilities and homosexuals). These measures and statistics are described in Appendix 1.

Adolescents who received the curriculum understood rights as protections, as providing for basic needs, and as providing for equality of treatment. Those who did not

receive the curriculum were more likely to understand rights in terms of personal freedoms, or be unable to explain what rights are. Adolescents who received the curriculum were also invited to comment on the rights education they had experienced. Characteristic responses are provided in Table 2.

The rights curriculum also appears to have led to a sense of collective responsibility and efficacy. Three of the five classes which had the rights education engaged in projects that evolved from discussions about rights. One class established a breakfast program for their school, another worked toward helping Kosovar refugees, and a third worked for a local food bank.

Table 2.

Children's comments on the rights curriculum
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • I think that learning about human rights was very good for us. It made me think about others and stuff going on around the world. It told us the rights that people have so we know. It shows that racist and prejudiced people are bad and we shouldn't be like them. • It is a great program for students to be learning about. It helps us be better citizens and understand each other. It's a great program and hopefully will be offered to more students across Canada. • I learned that respect and equality are important for everyone. • Kids should be able to speak out and tell what they feel without being rejected or teased. It is important that children have rights, so people can hear any ideas that they have. • I never thought about these issues before. I never knew that as many others were out there in need of help. It helped me see the big picture. I think everyone should have this program. • I learned that all children are the same, whether colored big or small. • It is nice to know what rights you have – the right to food and the right not to be bullied. • Children's rights are very good and they help other children and me so we won't fall through the cracks, like being homeless. • Kids rights should be enforced a lot. Everyone should know about children's rights. All kids need rights. • We wanted to have a fundraiser to help kids in other countries.

A final component of the assessment was to interview the teachers at the end of the year to ask their general thoughts about teaching children's rights. Their responses are presented in Table 3.

Conclusions and Implications

The data suggest, as we had anticipated, that rights education may have a contagion effect in which those who learn about their own rights become more supportive of the rights of others. Through rights education, children learn that they are valuable individuals who are the bearers of rights. This lesson is reinforced by the nature of the curriculum in that it requires group learning and problem solving, and provides for children's thoughts being solicited and listened to. As the children are learning about and reflecting on

their rights in cooperative learning situations, they are also developing a caring classroom environment. A caring classroom is one characterized by a sense of group membership, shared values, goals and successes and mutual respect. Increases in self-esteem and perceived support result.

Rights-respecting behaviors are most likely when children feel good about themselves and have a sense of being a valued group member. Rights-respecting behaviors are also more likely when children are knowledgeable about the impact of the violation of rights. The responses of the children in this pilot study indicated clearly that they did feel empathy and connectedness to children whose rights were being violated, whether locally through discrimination or

Table 3.

Teachers' comments about children's rights education
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • I am a true believer in this program and have experienced the 3 R's and their benefits over a short time. Rights-Respect- and Responsibility equals proper social behavior. • This is an excellent course overall. It dealt with very relevant and sometimes sensitive areas which some texts tend to avoid. The scenarios evoked excellent discussions and students really "opened up" which can be difficult, especially with my students. The video from UNICEF was an excellent resource. One of the major reasons I think this course was a success was the support that this course provided. Many pilot courses are left to your "own devices" and provide little support, but with Robert (coordinator) a call or an E-mail away and the chance to discuss your thoughts and ideas with the course designers and the teachers that taught the course really made our job much easier! • I really enjoyed it. Students found it interesting and really liked it. I think it's important to teach children's rights. Curriculum provided was useful, realistic, it was found to be interesting by the students. I like the activities and case studies- things that don't take too long to do, but make a good point. • It's very important to teach. Gets them thinking about situations others have to live with. Conditions that other children must learn to deal with. • I believe it is the best approach to teaching rights and respect.

hunger, or internationally through war. An expected corollary would be fewer incidents of and acceptance of racism, sexism and bullying in schools.

Outcomes

Since the evaluation data, the grade 8 curriculum has been used more widely in the Cape Breton-Victoria Regional School Board. At the beginning of the school year 1999-2000, 35 grade 8 teachers attended a workshop on children's rights and the rights curriculum. Assessment of use at the end of the school year indicated that approximately 850 grade 8 students had been taught about their rights. Teachers' comments again reflected a positive impact on classroom interactions and social environment. Many of the teachers have stated their intent to continue to use the curriculum this school year.

At this time, the curriculum has been evaluated by Ms Sue Burke (coordinator of the Junior High Schools Project) and Ms Anne Blackwood (Director) of the Nova Scotia Department of Education and Culture. They have requested permission to add the activities to the forthcoming new personal development and relationships curriculum.

The issue of teaching children's rights to children and the data resulting from the assessment

were presented at the Biennial Meeting of the Organization for the Protection of Children's Rights, Montreal, October 14, 1999, in a talk entitled "Reducing violence through children's rights education." The research component of the project has been written for publication in a forthcoming issue of an academic journal (*Journal of Moral Education*), with acknowledgment to CRRF funding.

Appendix 1: Measures used to assess rights curriculum impact and statistical data from MANOVAs.

1. Self-esteem (*Rosenberg, 1965*). This scale measures how adolescents feel about themselves. The scale has 10 statements (e.g., I feel I have a number of good qualities) each of which is accompanied by a nine-point scale on which the child indicates level of agreement with the statement (very strongly disagree to very strongly agree).

Children in curriculum classes scored significantly higher than comparison classes. $F(1,129)=23.62, p < .001$

2. Perceived teacher and peer support (*Dubow & Ullman, 1989*). These are two subscales from the measure of children's perceived social support. The teacher subscale has five questions (e.g., Do you think your teachers care about

you?), and the peer subscale has 15 questions (e.g., Are you well liked by your friends?).

Children in curriculum classes indicated more perceived support from teachers $F(1,129)=10.67$, $p<.01$, and peers $F(1,129)=10.18$, $p<.01$.

3. Rights Values Survey.

This is a 30-item paper and pencil measure of support for the rights of adults (15 items) and children (15 items). The scale is a revised version of that used previously to assess support for rights among Canadian youth (Covell & Howe, 1995). The measure yields two scores, one for support for children's rights and one for support for adults' rights. The adult rights comprise rights given to adults under the Canadian Charter of Rights and Freedoms and include rights of ethnic minorities, native peoples, peo-

ple with disabilities and homosexuals. The items regarding children's rights are from the Convention on the Rights of the Child. Each item is a statement followed by a five-point scale on which the respondent rates how important that right is (not at all important to very important). To avoid social desirability of response, the rights statements are presented in specific contexts such that there are competing considerations. For example, "The right of people with mental disabilities to special training and employment opportunities despite high levels of unemployment for others."

Children in curriculum classes showed more support for children's rights, $F(1,129) = 3.79$, $p < .05$, and for adults' rights, $F(1,129) = 7.39$, $p < .01$.

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Teacher Candidates' Racial Identity Development and its Impact on Learning to Teach

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ABSTRACT

Local and international perspectives on teacher education have highlighted the shortcomings of institutions in preparing teachers for the growing race and ethnocultural diversity in their schools and communities. Massive racial exclusiveness and inequalities continue to exist in teacher preparation programs and the ways graduates work with racialized minorities in the school system at large.

This research project conducted in a large urban Ontario university in 1998–1999, explored teacher candidates' racial identities and the way these impact the process of learning to teach. In addition, the study analyses how candidates responded to the theory and practice of race, racism and antiracism in their scholarship, and the development of attitudes, knowledge and practices that prepare them to work for equity and social justice.

The findings of the study indicate that candidates initially possess limited knowledge, and interpersonal skills for working with diversity, but were willing to develop growth plans to achieve competence. Although some candidates were cognizant of the impact of racial difference in schools, others, mostly whites, preferred to remain "raceless" and "colourblind" and denied the presence of "white privilege" in Canadian society. While cross-race partnerships provided the opportunity for candidates of different racial backgrounds to share perspectives and experiences in a positive interdependent manner, factors such as own-group cleavages, and personal and institutional racism limited this learning opportunity.

The research concludes with recommendations for a better screening process for those entering teacher education and the field-based support staff working in practicum settings. More importantly, there is the urgent need for a more comprehensive antiracism curriculum in teacher education and teaching.

RÉSUMÉ

Les perspectives locale et internationale sur la formation des enseignants ont révélé le fait que les facultés d'éducation ne préparaient pas suffisamment les enseignants à faire face à la diversité raciale et ethnoculturelle croissante dans les écoles et les collectivités. Une exclusion raciale massive et des inégalités raciales importantes continuent de caractériser les programmes de formation des enseignants et se manifestent dans la façon dont les finissants travaillent avec les minorités racialisées dans l'ensemble du système scolaire.

Ce projet de recherche, mené dans une importante université ontarienne au cours de l'exercice 1998-1999, a examiné l'identité raciale des futurs enseignants et la façon dont celle-ci se répercutait sur le processus d'apprentissage de l'enseignement. De plus, l'étude a analysé la manière dont les étudiants réagissaient à la théorie et à la pratique concernant la race, le racisme et l'antiracisme dans le cadre de leurs études ainsi que le développement des attitudes, des connaissances et des pratiques qui les préparent à travailler en faveur de l'équité et de la justice sociale.

Les résultats de cette étude montrent que les étudiants possédaient au départ des connaissances et des compétences limitées en relations humaines pour les préparer à travailler avec la diversité, mais qu'ils étaient prêts à élaborer des stratégies de croissance personnelle en vue d'acquérir des compétences à cet égard. S'il est vrai qu'un certain nombre d'étudiants étaient conscients des répercussions de la différence raciale dans les écoles, les autres, en majorité des Blancs, préféraient se réfugier « dans la neutralité », manifester une « indifférence à l'égard de la couleur » et nier le fait que l'on accordait la préférence aux Blancs dans la société canadienne. Les échanges entre membres de différentes races fournissaient l'occasion aux étudiants de diverses origines ethnoculturelles de partager leurs perspectives et leur vécu d'une manière interdépendante et positive, toutefois des facteurs comme les clivages en groupes d'une même race et le racisme personnel et institutionnel réduisaient les avantages qu'offraient ce genre d'apprentissage.

Cette étude se termine par la formulation d'une série de recommandations en vue d'une meilleure sélection des candidats aux programmes de formation des enseignants et du personnel affecté aux stages de formation pratique dans les écoles. Fait encore plus important, il existe un besoin impérieux d'inclure un curriculum antiraciste exhaustif dans le programme d'études des futurs enseignants et dans l'enseignement dans son ensemble.

Teachers, through the schooling process, reflect, reproduce and legitimize racial inequities in society. They are key institutional agents in the maintenance of societal norms, values, and perspectives, and are instrumental in transmitting social and cultural norms and practices from one generation to the next. In a society where race is a key factor in the differential allocation of status, privileges and material rewards race becomes a key determinant of social relations.

Historically, teachers as institutional agents have played a key role in the reproduction and transmission of social inequalities. Such perpetuation of racial inequities in

educational settings has been a symbiotic process: assumptions and stereotypes about racial minorities are fuelled by the attitudes and behaviours of people in positions of authority (e.g. teachers). Consequently, institutional policies and practices that legitimise the assumptions and stereotypes about racial minorities are unquestioningly implemented in practices of schooling.

In Canada, for instance, teacher education institutions continue to recruit predominantly white candidates (Steven Lewis Report, 1992) and offer Eurocentric curricula. Confronting the dilemmas of race, racism and antiracism in teacher education scholarship and practice is further complicated by a number of factors intrinsic to such programs. Discomfort with the interrogation of race, for example, has made "colour-blindness" accepted pedagogy in most programs. Given the institutional and social context within which inequities are produced and maintained, teachers can become social reconstructionists, reversing instead of reproducing the norms and values that dictate attitudes and behaviours. They can transform society by deliberately forming a new consciousness in its people. Such a social formation of consciousness can potentially impact the ideologies and behaviours that have oppressed and marginalized minorities for generations.

How then may teacher education institutions educate new teachers to understand the pervasiveness of racism in Canadian society and its negative impact on the experiences and dreams of racial minorities? How may the curriculum and pedagogy of teacher education prepare teachers to work equitably with racial diversity in Canadian schools and communities? Emerging from the research literature on race and

The awareness of their limitations prompted candidates' development of plans to learn about other cultural groups by visits to ethnic communities and involvement with their cultural institutions.

schooling and, more specifically, the Canadian experience with race and racism are the following questions:

- Where is the entry point for engaging teacher candidates in a discourse on race in its full complexity (i.e., understanding race in its social, historical and political context)?
- How can teacher educators who use an antiracist pedagogy work to effectively overcome resistance to exploring these issues in teacher education scholarship?
- How can teacher educators collaborate in the implementation of a more integrated theory and field-based program that prepares teachers for a racially diverse school environment?

Thus, this research project was designed to examine the study of race, racism and antiracism pedagogy in mainstream pre-service teacher education scholarship, and to investigate how such programs prepare beginning teachers for the implementation and incorporation of antiracism in their everyday classroom praxis.

Methodology

The study was conducted at the Urban Diversity Teacher Education Program at one of York University's off-campus sites for one-year, pre-service teachers. The research setting extended beyond the off-campus centre to practicum schools where candidates spent about 60%

of their school year of learning to teach. These urban schools were chosen to reflect the rich race and ethno-cultural diversity of the Ontario population.

In the year of the study (1998-1999), 60 of the 82 teacher candidates registered in the program volunteered for the research project. The following selection criteria were used to reduce the number of volunteers to a workable number of 36 and also ensured equitable representation across racial groups: racial distribution; gender parity; practicum school racial diversity; and practicum school concentration.

The research team comprising the principal, associate and four assistants reflected the three main racial groups (people of African, Asian and Caucasian heritages)

of the participants. Researchers utilized both quantitative and qualitative data collection and analyses approaches. At various points in the study, such instruments as survey questionnaires, interview and observation protocols were utilized to determine candidates' level of racial identity development, knowledge and awareness of diversity, perspectives on antiracism educa-

Confronting the dilemmas of race, racism and antiracism in teacher education scholarship and practice is further complicated by a number of factors intrinsic to such programs.

tion within schools and communities. Working with the findings of these measures, teacher candidates identified areas of deficit for their own development through personal "growth" strategies.

Post-program evaluations ascertained the extent to which teacher candidates realized their growth plan objectives, and identified personal, programmatic and institutional factors that facilitated or hindered growth.

In the reporting process, generalisations about the data were grounded in such specifics as excerpts from individual and focus groups interviews, and observational and survey data.

relationship with the "other," a few who preferred to remain "raceless" claimed that "race doesn't matter." The complexities of racialization and candidates' own unwillingness to locate racially, made it difficult for some participants to identify with prescribed stages of development outlined in one of the research instruments (Helms, 1995) used in the study. Broadly speaking, though, White candidates generally claimed higher status/stage than their 'colleagues of colour'. Interview findings, however, revealed that their placements were highly inflated). In contrast, most 'candidates of colour' were more realistic in their appraisal of self and competencies, and drew selectively on their experiences in a racist culture to develop personal and professional growth plans.

From the initial assessment it became evident that 'candidates of colour' and whites entered the teacher education program with different orientations, understandings and experiences of race, racism and race privilege.

Findings

1. Racial identity awareness

What was most apparent in our initial attempts to have teacher candidates define their racial identity was how ethnic, cultural and national identity complicates their ability to categorize themselves as either white or 'person of colour'. While most candidates were cognisant of their racial identity and its potential impact on their rela-

2. Readiness to work with diversity

Pre-program findings indicated that candidates possessed limited knowledge, understanding, acceptance and interpersonal skills for working with diverse school and community populations. The awareness of their limitations prompted candidates' development of plans to learn about other cultural groups by visits to ethnic communities and involvement with their cultural institutions. However, at the end of the program, very few candidates had realized the "outreach" goals outlined in their growth plans.

Instead, most of their exposure to diversity came from their interactions and relationships with colleagues who are racially different, their cross-race dyad partners, racially and ethnically heterogeneous student populations in practicum schools, and learning materials and experiences provided by course directors and practicum school personnel.

3. Antiracism concept and competence

Although candidates agreed overwhelmingly with the goals of Anti-Racist Education and claimed competence in teaching from this critical perspective, they showed much ambivalence over the term and concept of "antiracism." Antiracism was often conceptualized as antithetical to the more harmonious and celebratory multiculturalism. For example, participants' perceived good multicultural teaching to be happening if racism is not overtly expressed in classrooms and schools. Whereas 'candidates of colour' were ambivalent about their competence, white candidates felt that they were competent to teach from an antiracism perspective. With regard to "colour-blindness," White candidates claimed to be more "colour-blind" than 'candidates of colour' when working with diverse racial groups.

4. Obstacles to growth

Candidates identified obstacles to

growth as personal, programmatic and institutional (school culture). At the personal level, candidates cited commitment to family and part-time work as limitations to the amount of time they could invest in equity and diversity work. For many, planned visits and exposure to unfamiliar cultural communities never materialized. At the programmatic level, the major obstacle appeared to be time constraints of the program: more class time was required to deal with the emotions and tensions of working across race. The major institutional obstacle at the practicum school site was the marginalization of antiracism and other equity work. These were seen as marginal to the formal curriculum, and there was a strong emphasis on maintaining the "silence" on such contentious issues as race, ethnicity, and other social difference issues.

5. Post-program evidence of candidate's growth

Post-program reflections revealed several areas of growth in awareness, knowledge and skills. Candidates experienced growth in: awareness of cultural stereotyping; awareness of "whiteness" as privilege in Canadian society; skills in dealing with conflict situations in school; use of

Antiracism was often conceptualized as antithetical to the more harmonious and celebratory multiculturalism.

more inclusive language in the classroom; a more nuanced understanding of, and theoretical grounding in, the term "colour-blindness;" and an awareness of how race mediates life.

6. Differential needs and expectations of 'candidates of colour' and whites

From the initial assessment it became evident that 'candidates of colour' and whites entered the teacher education program with different orientations, understandings and experiences of race, racism and race privilege. Differential experiences during the program led to some polarization along racial lines. Noteworthy, as well, a covert resistance of a White sub-group to the antiracism pedagogy was observed. It became very clear that both groups have different program needs, and spaces must be created to meet the group and individual needs of candidates.

Recommendations

1. Selection of teacher candidates

Teacher education institutions should develop better approaches to screen out applicants with entrenched racial attitudes and behaviours that are potentially damaging to racial minorities in schools.

2. Programmatic interventions

Teacher education program restructuring is key to advancing an

antiracism pedagogy. Any such initiative must consider the following:

Theory-practice continuity; Integration of the study of race, racism, antiracism into the mainstream teacher education scholarship; Inclusion of social histories of racial minority groups in Canada in "Foundations of Education" courses; Programmatic integration of teacher candidates' racial identities in the process of learning to teach and teaching; Programmatic provisions for safe spaces for candidates to explore race and other unpopular things must be made.

3. The selection and development of teacher educators and practicum environment

Those engaged in the teacher education enterprise must have a critical appreciation of what it means to educate for equity and diversity, and must be committed to engaging collaboratively in critical reflective praxis. Teacher educators need to develop criteria for the selection of practicum schools and the supervisory personnel within them. Schools must have a proven track record for integrating equity and diversity issues into the formal and informal curriculum and enlightened leadership. In addition, mentor teachers should be those who are committed to critical approaches to teaching and learning and are willing to engage in ongoing professional development by joining a "community of learn-

ers" with teacher candidates and teacher educators.

4. Link teacher education to socio-political action in the community

Teacher education must locate the struggle for race equity and social justice within the larger context of social, political and economic structures that marginalize racial groups and should link with other groups in the struggle to transform institutions and eradicate racism in Canadian society.

Conclusions

This study identified and interrogated pre-service teacher candidates' attitudes, knowledge and behaviours toward racial minorities in schools and Canadian society at large, and established linkages

between teachers' racial identity and the educational and life opportunities of racial minorities. Accordingly, this research concludes that any serious antiracism work in teacher education should pay attention and look for ways to include "Whites" and racial minorities in the discussion of racial oppression. It was observed and discussed in the interviews with candidates that there was a widespread "white defensiveness" among 'white candidates' and increasing polarization among participants based on their racial and ethnic backgrounds. The challenge ahead is to look for and develop sound strategies that may work with both groups for a better understanding of systemic racism and to overcome the unproductive "white defensiveness."

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Intégration ou exclusion?

*La deuxième génération issue de l'immigration
haïtienne et jamaïcaine*

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RÉSUMÉ

Les immigrants, les membres de groupes ethnoculturels minoritaires et de groupes racisés, et tous ceux qui ont récemment acquis la citoyenneté canadienne font souvent l'objet de pressions politiques à peine voilées pour adopter le mode de vie canadien et se conformer aux normes civiles canadiennes. Ils sont invités à intégrer et à embrasser purement et simplement les paramètres sociétaux canadiens. Plusieurs ne demandent pas mieux que de s'y soumettre, d'autres manifestent de la réticence.

Notre étude préliminaire vise à présenter sous un éclairage nouveau, ou à tout le moins différent, la question de l'intégration des immigrants et des groupes racisés au sein de la société canadienne. Elle se fonde sur une série d'entretiens approfondis effectués auprès de jeunes adultes de 18 à 34 ans de la région montréalaise, nés au Canada mais dont les parents étaient haïtiens ou jamaïcains d'origine, ou ayant immigré avec leurs parents alors qu'ils étaient encore très jeunes. En d'autres termes, notre échantillon est composé d'individus qui n'ont pas vécu directement l'expérience de l'immigration, ou n'en ont qu'un souvenir plutôt vague. Dans tous les cas, ils ont essentiellement vécu un processus de socialisation au sein d'institutions canadiennes et ont évolué dans un environnement normatif.

Nous croyons que l'examen de la vie de tous les jours d'un tel groupe d'individus (immigrants de deuxième génération possédant des antécédents sociaux sur le plan de l'exclusion systémique) est susceptible de donner une meilleure image du processus d'intégration civile et sociale au Québec et au Canada, tel qu'il a été vécu par les membres de groupes racisés et les immigrants. Il est souvent présumé que le processus d'intégration des immigrants de deuxième génération est plus facile qu'il ne le fut pour leurs parents et que par conséquent ils devraient se sentir plus rapidement Canadiens ou Québécois à part entière. Cette étude vise en fin de compte à confirmer cette supposition. Compte tenu de la portée relativement

restreinte de notre projet, nous avons choisi délibérément de nous concentrer sur de jeunes membres de la communauté montréalaise haïtienne et jamaïcaine qui avaient socialement réussi. Nous voulions tout d'abord éviter de tomber dans le piège des stéréotypes traditionnels, populaires et socioéconomiques souvent associés aux jeunes de race noire. Ensuite, en tant que groupes racisés, ces communautés avaient des antécédents d'intégration socioéconomique difficiles et essayaient souvent le plus fort des préoccupations populaires à l'égard de l'immigration des « minorités visibles »; et, enfin, parce que ces jeunes appartenaient à deux groupes linguistiques (français et anglais), et qu'il s'agit d'une dimension importante lorsque vient le temps d'évaluer les répercussions de la langue sur le processus d'intégration au Québec où la division linguistique continue d'être une question politique cruciale.

Nos entrevues ont été effectuées auprès de 24 jeunes hommes et femmes exerçant un emploi lucratif en tant que professionnels ou techniciens. Nous nous sommes penchés sur leurs expériences dans le domaine de l'éducation, sur le marché du travail, sur leurs réseaux d'interaction sociale, sur leurs relations interculturelles, sur les liens transfrontaliers qu'ils entretiennent avec leurs parents et les membres de leur famille et, enfin, sur la question d'identité civique et nationale.

Les principales conclusions de notre étude sont les suivantes :

- Selon les personnes interrogées, la période de fréquentation scolaire aux paliers élémentaire et secondaire a habituellement été caractérisée par des confrontations à caractère racial et par le harcèlement de la part des autres étudiants. Même si les incidents mentionnés n'avaient généralement pas été traumatisants, ils avaient laissé des souvenirs amers qui ont contribué à renforcer, dans l'esprit des répondants, les barrières raciales symboliques érigées socialement entre les Blancs et les Noirs.
- Malgré le succès relatif obtenu à obtenir des emplois satisfaisants, les répondants croyaient que la recherche d'emploi avait été pour eux un processus plus long et plus complexe qu'il ne l'était pour les Québécois d'origines différentes. Les démarches étaient plus frustrantes et n'aboutissaient pas toujours à des emplois gratifiants ou stables. De jeunes Jamaïcains de langue anglaise, en particulier, ont mentionné que les exigences en matière de la langue française constituaient un obstacle additionnel pour entrer sur le marché du travail québécois.
- La liberté de se déplacer sur le continent américain était un élément important de la stratégie professionnelle des répondants; la majorité d'entre eux prévoient devoir quitter Montréal et le Québec pour se diriger vers d'autres régions du Canada et des États-Unis afin de trouver de meilleures possibilités d'emploi.
- Les relations sociales personnelles et professionnelles des répondants se limitent pour la plupart, davantage par nécessité que par choix, à la communauté de

race noire. Les relations interculturelles entre les Blancs et les Noirs sont perçues comme étant problématiques.

- Les tensions historiques entre le Québec et Canada empêchent, chez les répondants, le développement d'une identité civique solide à l'égard du Québec ou du Canada. Ils demeurent en grande partie indifférents aux récents discours politiques sur la citoyenneté, l'identité et l'importance d'une culture commune.

L'étude conclut que la tendance encore existante dans la littérature spécialisée à décrire les relations entre les personnes de race blanche et de race noire à l'aide d'une idéologie fondée sur les notions d'interculturalisme, d'identité ou de citoyenneté ne permet pas de lutter avec succès contre les causes profondes du racisme. Nos entrevues confirment que les inégalités économiques et la configuration actuelle de l'espace public canadien constituent des obstacles importants à l'intégration des minorités visibles dans la tradition de la société canadienne. Tant et aussi longtemps que ces problèmes ne seront pas résolus de façon satisfaisante, les discours politiques du Québec et du Canada sur la citoyenneté et l'unité sociale continueront d'être inconsistants pour une grande partie des immigrants et des minorités visibles.

Civic Incorporation or Inclusion?

Representation of citizenship among second generation youth of Jamaican or Haitian origin in Montréal

ABSTRACT

Immigrants, members of ethnocultural minorities and racialized groups and recent Canadian citizens are often under thinly veiled, state-driven pressure to adopt Canadian civic norms and way of life. They are invited to integrate and embrace Canadian societal parameters unreservedly. Many are fully prepared to abide; others are reticent.

This exploratory study attempts to shed new or at least different light on the question the incorporation of immigrant and racialized minorities into the mainstream of Canadian society. It is based on a series of in-depth interviews with Montréal-area young adults (18-34) who were either born of Haitian and Jamaican parents in Canada or immigrated to Canada with their parents as pre-schoolers. The sample is comprised of individuals who do not have first-hand experience of immigration, or who, if they do, have only faint recollections of their life as new immigrants. In all cases they have been primarily socialized and raised within Canadian institutions and normative environment.

The researchers believe that an examination of the life course of such a group of individuals ("second-generation immigrants" with a social history of systemic exclusion), is likely to yield a clearer picture of the process of social and civic integration experienced by members of racialized minority groups and immigrants in Canada and Québec. It is often assumed that second-generation immigrants have an easier time than their parents and as a result should feel more readily Canadian and/or Québécois. This study ultimately aims to verify this assumption. Given the relatively limited scope of the research the researchers deliberately chose to focus on successful, younger members of the Montréal Haitian and Jamaican communities, first because they wanted to avoid the traditional, popular socioeconomic stereotypes often attached to young Blacks; secondly because as racialized groups they have a history of difficult socioeconomic integration patterns and often bear the brunt of popular concerns over "visible minorities" immigration; and finally because they belong to two separate linguistic groups (French and English), and that is an important dimension to appreciate the impact of language on the process of integration in the context of Québec where the linguistic divide continues to be a pivotal political issue.

Interviews with 24 young, male and female, gainfully employed professionals or technicians focused on their school experience, their labor market experience, their social networks, intercultural relations, trans-border links with family members and relatives and the issue of national and civic identity.

The following are the key findings of the study:

- Schooling at the elementary and secondary levels has generally been for the interviewees a time characterized by racially-based confrontations and harassment by other students. While the incidents reported were usually not traumatic, they left unpleasant memories which have tended to reinforce symbolic racial boundaries between socially constructed categories such as "Blacks" and "Whites" in the mind of the interviewees.
- Despite their relative success at securing satisfying jobs, the interviewees felt that job hunting is for them a more difficult and lengthier process than for Québécois of other origins. It is more frustrating and not always rewarded with gratifying or secure jobs. Anglophone Jamaicans in particular feel that French language requirements represent an additional obstacle for them in the Québec labour market.
- Continental mobility is an important element of the interviewees' professional strategy as a majority among them anticipate having to leave Montréal and Québec for other parts of Canada and the USA in order to seek new and better career opportunities.
- Personal social networks and professional connections remain for the most part

within the Black communities, more by default than by choice. Intercultural relations between "Blacks" and "Whites" are perceived as problematic.

- The historical tensions between Québec and Canada prevents the development among the interviewees of a strong civic identity to either Québec or Canada. They remain largely indifferent to recent state discourses on citizenship, identity and the importance of a common public culture.

This study concludes that the tendency extant in the specialized literature to approach Black-White relations in terms of an intercultural, identity or citizenship issue does not grapple successfully with the deeper roots of racism. Interviews confirm that economic inequalities and the current configuration of the Canadian public space figure as important stumbling blocks in the integration of racialized minorities in the mainstream of Canadian society. So long as these problems are not satisfactorily addressed, the Canadian and Québec state discourses on citizenship and social cohesion will continue to have a hollow ring to large segments of the immigrant and minority population.



Appartenir», «faire partie», «être inclus». Autant de leitmotifs qui émaillent régulièrement le discours public en ces temps où la cohésion sociale semble menacée et nécessiter, du coup, un appui particulier. L'État canadien, à l'instar des États occidentaux, insiste beaucoup depuis quelques années pour que les résidents du Canada se sentent citoyens canadiens à part entière et sans réserve aucune. Les immigrants, les membres de groupes minoritaires et tous ceux et celles qui ont récemment acquis la citoyenneté canadienne font souvent l'objet de pressions étatiques à peine voilées pour adopter sans équivoque le «Canadian way of life» (Labelle et Salée, 1999); on les incite à s'intégrer, à se fondre dans le grand tout canadien. Plusieurs ne demandent

pas mieux; d'autres accueillent ces injonctions avec réticence.

La présente étude participe avant tout d'une démarche exploratoire qui vise à offrir un éclairage nouveau ou, à tout le moins, différent, sur la réalité de l'incorporation/intégration des immigrants et des minorités racisées au Canada. Nous avons mené une série d'entrevues qualitatives dans la région montréalaise auprès de jeunes adultes (18-34 ans), nés de parents haïtiens et jamaïcains déjà établis au Canada avant leur naissance, ou qui ont immigré avec leurs parents alors qu'ils étaient encore très jeunes. Il s'agit donc de personnes qui vivent à plusieurs égards une situation objective de minoritaires issus de l'immigration, mais qui n'ont pas, à proprement parler, connu l'expérience

de l'immigration (ou n'en ont qu'un souvenir plutôt vague) et dont la socialisation s'est effectuée essentiellement au sein d'institutions et de l'univers normatif canadien et québécois. Il nous semble particulièrement fécond de poser le regard sur ce type d'individus que la littérature sociologique qualifie souvent d'« immigrants de la deuxième génération », car on peut, à travers eux, à travers leur trajectoire personnelle, plus justement apprécier la réalité de l'intégration. On peut, en effet, supposer que dans la mesure où ces personnes ont été marquées de manière soutenue, voire exclusive, par l'environnement sociétal canadien et québécois, elles ont connu un parcours d'intégration moins compliqué ou moins difficile que celui de leurs parents et que, par conséquent, elles sont plus susceptibles de se sentir partie prenante de la société canadienne, de se considérer comme citoyens canadiens et/ou québécois à part entière. Mais ce présupposé, cette corrélation que d'aucuns établissent d'emblée, est-il vraiment fondé? Quelle sont les raisons qui font que cela se vérifie ou non? Ces questions s'inscrivent en filigrane de notre recherche.

De façon générale, l'étude que nous proposons maintenant s'inscrit dans la foulée des travaux qui s'intéressent au sort de la deuxième génération issue de l'immigration des vingt-cinq ou trente dernières

années. Disposant de moyens modestes pour mener cette recherche, nous ne pouvons prétendre offrir un portrait global et précis de la trajectoire socio-économique de ce groupe dans le cadre sociétal canadien. Nous nous sommes plutôt employés à court terme à mieux cerner l'imaginaire particulier des jeunes de la deuxième génération à l'égard des problématiques d'intégration. Quelle évaluation les membres de ce groupe, socialisés pour l'essentiel au Québec, font-ils de la place qu'ils occupent au sein de la société? Comment se représentent-ils la citoyenneté canadienne et comment vivent-ils leur appartenance à cette société que leurs parents auront, en définitive, choisie pour eux? Pourquoi, le cas échéant, ne se sentent-ils pas intégrés? Autant de questions dont les réponses pourront nous permettre, en bout de piste, de mesurer la distance qui existe entre les vœux de l'État en matière d'intégration des populations immigrantes et issues de l'immigration et la perception qu'ont de la réalité vécue au quotidien ceux et celles qui font l'objet des injonctions étatiques. Il s'agit en fait de saisir l'univers normatif qui informe la vision qu'ont ces derniers du Canada et du Québec et des pratiques d'incorporation de la différence mises de l'avant tant par l'État que par la société civile.

La démarche poursuivie dans la présente étude repose sur une intuition qui s'est vérifiée dans

une enquête précédente auprès de primo-immigrants actifs dans les organisations communautaires à identité ethnique (Labelle et Salée, 2001). La raison fondamentale qui, au sein des minorités ethno-culturelles, joue contre un sentiment fort d'appartenance à la communauté politique canadienne, aussi fort que le souhaiterait l'État, et à la conception particulière de la citoyenneté qui lui est sous-jacente, tient en grande partie aux conditions difficiles d'accès aux réseaux socio-économiques dominants. Les obstacles que plusieurs rencontrent dans leurs tentatives de s'insérer profitablement dans le marché du travail les maintiennent à la marge et les découragent de penser qu'ils auront un jour l'occasion de vraiment « faire partie » de la société canadienne. Aussi, c'est sur les héritiers que l'on fonde l'espoir de l'ascension socio-économique et, à terme, de l'intégration. Mais ceux-ci estiment-ils qu'ils sont mieux « reçus », mieux incorporés que leurs parents? C'est en grande partie ce que la présente étude tente de déterminer. Pour ce faire, nous avons rencontré et interviewé 24 jeunes gens issus de communautés racisées de Montréal. Nous avons choisi à dessein de rencontrer des jeunes gens dont le parcours personnel et professionnel est plutôt enviable, voire exemplaire. Tous et toutes sont instruits et armés d'une formation technique et professionnelle de bon niveau qui les

rend théoriquement compétitifs sur le marché de l'emploi. Notre échantillon réduit et notre biais pour des individus qui affichent un « profil gagnant » ne permet sans doute pas de prétendre à la représentativité de nos répondants au sein des communautés haïtienne et jamaïcaine de Montréal, mais nous avons voulu, d'une part, éviter l'écueil de l'image misérabiliste, négative et stéréotypée que traînent trop souvent les minorités « noires » en Amérique du Nord, tout en postulant, d'autre part, que si l'expérience de l'intégration se sera avérée difficile pour des individus que le capital social et culturel initial prédisposait au succès, on pourrait imaginer sans mal le cheminement que connaissent ceux et celles qui n'auront pas été aussi chanceux au départ. Nous avons d'abord cherché à savoir s'ils jugent leur parcours professionnel satisfaisant et, ensuite, comment ils perçoivent leur perspective d'intégration.

Notre décision de poser notre regard sur les communautés « noires » de Montréal n'est pas fortuite. Comme nous l'avons montré dans cette recherche, les jeunes adultes de ces communautés connaissent un taux chômage et de précarité en emploi sensiblement plus élevé que tous les autres groupes, ce qui ne facilite pas leur intégration dans les secteurs majeurs d'activité économique. Par ailleurs, le procès historique

de racisation et d'ethnisation dont les personnes catégorisées comme « noires » ont depuis longtemps fait les frais les prédispose aux mesures discriminatoires et exclusivistes qui, bien que systémiques et pas nécessairement délibérées, tendent à isoler plus qu'elles n'intègrent ces personnes – une réalité que, bien souvent, les inquiétudes populaires suscitées par l'afflux croissant d'immigrants issus de ce que l'État nomme les « minorités visibles » ne font qu'exacerber. Enfin, la division linguistique qui existe au sein de ces groupes de Montréal offre l'occasion de vérifier si la manière de percevoir la question de l'intégration diffère selon que l'on s'identifie à la langue de la majorité francophone du Québec ou à celle de la minorité anglophone.

Bien que le marché du travail constitue un enjeu capital dans les sociétés modernes et qu'il conditionne l'insertion non seulement professionnelle mais aussi sociale des individus, on ne saurait juger du succès ou des difficultés de l'intégration uniquement à travers cette seule dimension. Pour mieux comprendre le sens et le fondement des perceptions qu'entretiennent les personnes interviewées à l'égard de leur incorporation économique, nous avons également abordé avec eux diverses dimensions complémentaires qui, croyons-nous, permettent de bro-

ser une vue d'ensemble plus précise des raisons qui informent la vision que se font de l'intégration les jeunes de la deuxième génération. À ce titre, leurs impressions sur le parcours scolaire qu'ils ont connu, leurs réseaux sociaux, personnels et professionnels, leur rapport à l'univers socioculturel et national d'origine de leurs parents et leurs propres stratégies identitaires offrent de précieux indices quant à la manière dont ils jugent de la place qui leur est réservée au sein de cette société qu'on aura en définitive choisie pour eux. En complémentarité avec, et, en quelque sorte, par-delà la réalité du marché du travail, l'école, les réseaux, la transnationalité et l'identité personnelle colorent l'idée que se font les jeunes de la deuxième génération de la citoyenneté canadienne.

Les principaux résultats de l'enquête

La très grande majorité des jeunes gens interviewés se sont heurtés à des préjugés à connotation raciste, dans le milieu scolaire fréquenté, qu'il soit privé ou public, francophone ou anglophone. Ceci se manifeste le plus souvent sous forme de harcèlement (quolibets et blagues racistes) de la part d'autres élèves ou étudiants.

Si les conséquences académiques ont été pratiquement nulles chez les interviewés qui se situaient parmi la catégorie des élèves ou

des étudiants performants, il en va autrement sur le plan social. La discrimination et les préjugés entretiennent la méfiance, le repli sur le groupe d'origine et la reproduction de « frontières raciales symboliques » (entre catégories socialement et politiquement construites comme celles de « Noirs » et de « Blancs ») qui existent chez leurs aînés. Le discours narratif sur le racisme, vécu ou relaté par les proches, imprègne les mémoires, il s'alimente de la conflictualité et des répertoires culturels propres à la société québécoise.

Les divers témoignages dévoilent des difficultés quant à l'insertion dans le marché du travail. Plusieurs années après l'obtention des diplômes, la précarité d'emploi demeure importante et un grand nombre de jeunes adultes dans le cadre de cette enquête n'oeuvrent pas dans leur champ d'études et à leur niveau de compétence. La situation du marché du travail, les limites des réseaux sociaux d'embauche expliquent partiellement les difficultés d'intégration vécues par les personnes interviewées. De plus, certains jeunes adultes d'origine jamaïcaine maîtrisent mal le français et ressentent la situation comme un obstacle supplémentaire à l'égalité des chances. Mais la conjoncture économique n'explique pas tout. Rien n'indique que les interviewés qui ont rencontré des problèmes

d'insertion dans le marché du travail soient moins disponibles que des Québécois d'autres origines. Au contraire, les personnes interrogées, conscientes des attitudes et des pratiques discriminatoires, pensent avoir fait preuve d'une volonté particulière de performance sur le marché du travail pour contrer l'imminence de la discrimination.

Ces problèmes de discrimination, de préjugés et d'attitudes entretiennent chez les Québécois d'origine haïtienne et jamaïcaine un sentiment d'être désavantagées par rapport aux jeunes Québécois d'autres origines. D'une façon générale, l'évaluation que font les interviewés de la position des jeunes « Noirs » dans le marché du travail est très pessimiste. Le fait d'appartenir à une minorité linguistique accentue, chez certains répondants d'origine jamaïcaine, le ressentiment et les perceptions de victimisation.

Pourtant, en dépit des évaluations négatives qu'ils font de la situation des minorités « noires », les jeunes interviewés projettent un avenir meilleur que celui de leurs parents et croient en leur mobilité sociale. Les ressources dont ils disposent (scolarité, connaissances linguistiques, etc) expliquent en partie cette relative confiance en soi. Les répondants mettent soigneusement au point les stratégies gagnantes qui leur permettront de

réaliser leurs projets de vie (acquisition de ressources, développement d'habiletés, de réseaux de soutien, etc.). La mobilité continentale apparaît comme un élément important de ces stratégies et bon nombre envisagent de migrer vers l'Ontario ou les États-Unis pour assurer leur réussite professionnelle. Certains jeunes ont à cet égard développé un discours qui s'apparente aux discours politiques ambiants dans la société québécoise, quant à la fuite ou à l'exil volontaire des minorités.

Les réseaux sociaux personnels apparaissent relativement centrés sur la communauté d'origine et sur la communauté « noire » plus large, un peu par défaut. Le choix des amis et des conjoints obéit à une certaine logique de repli sur soi relatif qui assure réconfort et soutien. L'attachement au groupe d'origine haïtienne ou jamaïcaine, ou au groupe « noir », ressort clairement, mais n'est pas soutenu par un racisme à rebours nettement affirmé.

L'évaluation que font les jeunes interviewés des relations interculturelles sur la scène québécoise varie. Ils attestent de la pérennité des préjugés qui affectent les relations entre les Haïtiens et les Jamaïcains du Québec, préjugés enracinés dans l'histoire de la Caraïbe et des divisions induites par le colonialisme européen. Les relations entre « Noirs » et

« Blancs » apparaissent davantage problématiques. Les interviewés sont très partagés lorsqu'il s'agit d'apprécier ce type de relations désignées comme raciales. Outre l'expérience personnelle, l'expérience américaine sert de modèle et d'étalon de mesure du racisme et des relations entre « Blancs » et « Noirs », sur la scène québécoise et canadienne.

Les luttes politiques propres au Canada influencent fortement cette évaluation. En effet, la question nationale du Québec provoque beaucoup de réactions chez les jeunes interviewés. Force est de constater que la problématique identitaire québécoise les interpelle, certains se sentant rejetés par la majorité en tant que « Noirs », ou en tant qu'anglophones ou en tant que membres de minorités issues de l'immigration, ou en tant qu'anti souverainistes. Leur position fait preuve d'ailleurs d'ambivalence. Elle oscille entre le ressentiment de ne pas se sentir inclus dans la québécutude et un discours de rejet, un discours accusateur, inspiré du discours véhiculé par certains leaders d'opinion de la communauté noire, qui tend à situer d'emblée le mouvement souverainiste à l'intérieur d'une logique néo-raciste.

On constate chez les interviewés une certaine posture de distanciation face aux catégories de couleur, « Noir » et « Blanc », « minorités

visibles », issues de l'idéologie raciale. Ce recul qu'ils prennent témoigne de tentatives de déconstruction au moins partielle de cette idéologie. En effet, nombre de témoignages contestent le substrat biologique ou culturel associé aux catégories raciales. Cependant, malgré la critique idéologique de ces termes et de l'idéologie raciale, les répondants y recourent spontanément.

Malgré ces difficultés, on note une volonté d'intégration à la société québécoise qui se situe en tension avec le repli communautaire. L'importance des réseaux ethniques ne va pas contre cette volonté mais constitue un moyen pour déjouer la marginalisation ressentie ou appréhendée. Les liens transnationaux s'inscrivent dans cette même perspective de cultiver des réseaux capables d'assurer la réussite d'une éventuelle migration de travail. En effet, tant chez les groupes d'origine jamaïcaine qu'haïtienne, les réseaux transnationaux se recentrent davantage vers les États-Unis. Ces liens sont d'ordre symbolique et ne sont pas ancrés dans des pratiques concrètes et soutenues. Ils révèlent une idéologie du transnationalisme qui diffère des orientations des primo-immigrants. En ce sens, ils sont à analyser dans la même perspective que celle que Herbert Gans dégageait quant à la distinction entre ethnicité symbolique et ethnicité traditionnelle. En effet, bien

peu forment un projet de retour définitif dans le pays d'origine. Les projets d'émigration qui s'inscrivent dans la vie active, comme nous l'avons mentionné, visent essentiellement le Canada anglais ou les États-Unis.

Les interviewés reconnaissent l'influence de la culture afro-américaine dans leur vie (formes musicales, modes vestimentaires, etc) et de grands leaders politiques. Cependant, ils sont sceptiques quant à une solidarité « noire » à l'échelle continentale, conscients qu'ils sont de la diversité de l'ancrage des groupes et des revendications dans l'espace nord-américain.

Notre recherche a montré également comment la discrimination perçue, vécue ou pressentie a un impact sur les options identitaires et sur la façon dont les jeunes adultes interviewés réagissent au discours étatique normatif sur la citoyenneté. Peu d'entre eux se définissent comme Canadiens. La prépondérance de l'identité à trait d'union, la rétention de l'identité nationale d'origine exclusive (même chez des jeunes nés au Canada), la faiblesse de l'identité québécoise, la politisation de l'identité sont les faits saillants de cette enquête. La concurrence identitaire que se livrent deux sociétés d'intégration, la canadienne et la québécoise ressort nettement des postures des interviewés.

Le discours fédéral sur la citoyenneté ne recueille pas spontanément une forte adhésion, pas plus que le discours québécois d'ailleurs. Si les valeurs décrites dans le cadre civique commun proposé par l'État du Québec sont largement perçues comme universelles et souhaitables (démocratie, droits de la personne, pluralisme...), il n'en va pas de même des éléments historiques et culturels propres que le discours étatique inclut dans ce cadre civique commun, en particulier en ce qui concerne le français comme langue commune et le patrimoine commun. Le discours étatique québécois apparaît donc relativement peu rassembleur et n'offre pas aux yeux des personnes interrogées de garantie quant à l'incorporation citoyenne des minorités dans la société québécoise.

Quant au thème de la place des minorités dans un éventuel Québec souverain, il suscite un discours qui laisse songeur. Les témoignages font ressortir une conception ethnicisante de la notion de Québécois, terme associé à la seule majorité francophone d'origine canadienne-française. Ce discours révèle l'ampleur des défis reliés à la construction de visions démocratiques et pluralistes de la citoyenneté dans le contexte québécois, défis qui relèvent autant de la société civile que de l'État.

Comment assurer une meilleure incorporation citoyenne des minorités racisées? La présente étude ne peut certes apporter de solution miracle à ce problème ancien, mais il semble de plus en plus clair qu'une intervention accrue et vigoureuse de l'État et de la société civile au niveau de l'éducation et du marché du travail s'impose. L'éducation civique au sein de l'école apparaît incontournable, mais elle concerne également les clientèles adultes. Le discours qui se développe au Québec sur l'insuccès des programmes d'accès à l'égalité en emploi et sur la sous-représentation des minorités dites visibles dans les partis politiques et la sphère publique requiert une attention particulière. L'éducation et la sensibilisation en ce sens sont d'autant plus importantes que l'intervention juridique, sur plainte, aux Commissions des droits de la personne fédérale et provinciale, connaît des limites certaines.

Ceci dit, notre étude nous conforte dans notre conviction qu'à poser les questions uniquement en termes de relations interculturelles, multiculturelles ou civiques, le risque est grand de ne pas toucher les racines profondes du racisme, soit les inégalités économiques et l'aménagement de l'espace public tel qu'il existe actuellement. On sait que le racisme et les tensions inter-ethniques sont exacerbées dans les

périodes de crise économique, politique et identitaire. Faute de tenir compte davantage des besoins et des revendications des minorités et de les inscrire dans un projet commun de société, d'inventer de nouveaux espaces de délibération, les relations entre les minorités racisées et les majorités démographiques ne peuvent que se

détériorer. L'accent normatif sur une citoyenneté désincarnée qui ignore les spécificités des minorités ethnoculturelles, racisées et nationales, ne saurait non plus apporter à long terme de résolution des problèmes d'équité auxquels sont confrontées nos sociétés.

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