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**BRIDGING THE GAP: MOBILIZING RACE AND
ETHNOCULTURAL EQUITY POLICY WITHIN
SECONDARY SCHOOLS**

by

Melanie Wilson

Honours Bachelor of Science, University of Waterloo, 1991

Thesis

Submitted to the Department of Psychology

in partial fulfilment of the requirements

for the Master of Arts degree

Wilfrid Laurier University

1994

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" Racism is ignorance, but more importantly, it is a form of suppressing the brotherly and sisterly love that should come naturally to all of us. It is fear of the unknown. Instead of being strong enough to embrace and help, we shoot down, relying only on information conveyed to us by our eyes, instead of the heart, where all actions and decisions should come from...

Racism is an excuse for insecurity, and blinds us from seeing that if we treat each other like brother and sister, with absolutely no boundaries, there will be no reason to be insecure.

We must break the circle of hatred and begin the circle of love."

*- by Rohit Kumar, student at Waterloo Collegiate Institute
Excerpts from an essay written for Today's Newsmakers,
WCBE, 1992*

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List of Tables

Table 1	Factors Affecting Implementation of Race and Ethnocultural Equity Policy at the School Board Level	p. 20
Table 2	Survey Participants by Grade	p. 49
Table 3	Student Focus Group Participants by Grade	p. 52
Table 4	Focus Group Participant Profile	p. 53
Table 5	Student Perceptions of Visible Diversity	p. 66
Table 6	Fair Representation of Diversity in Course Material	p. 70
Table 7	Staff Responses to Racist Incidents	p. 72
Table 8	Eigenvalues and Percentage of Variance Accounted for by Factors	p. 77
Table 9	Quartimax Rotated Factor Loadings	p. 78
Table 10	Student Multicultural Anti-racist Club Initiatives	p. 84
Table 11	General Policy Awareness	p. 91
Table 12	Knowledge of Racial/Ethnic Harassment Procedures	p. 92

List of Figures

Figure 1	The Dynamic of Racism: The Triangle Model	p. 12
Figure 2	Supportive Framework for Multiculturalism in Secondary Schools	p. 109
Figure 3	Supportive Framework for anti-racism in Secondary Schools	p. 110

Abstract

The purpose of this study was threefold. (i) to elucidate student perspectives on multicultural anti racist education, (ii) to compare these perspectives with those held by people responsible for implementing such initiatives, namely teachers and school board personnel assigned to race and ethnocultural equity issues and (iii) to generate recommendations for the effective implementation of race and ethnocultural equity policies in schools based on the synthesis of these perspectives. I conducted this study in one secondary school community in order to identify important links between board level race and ethnocultural policy initiatives and potential implementation strategies for secondary schools. A student survey, five focus group interviews and a key informant interview were used to gather input from students, teachers and the school board consultant responsible for promoting race and ethnocultural equity. The results from this research indicate that the challenge of effectiveness can be met by implementing race and ethnocultural equity policies that are grounded in the perceptions and ideas of stakeholders within the school community. Research findings indicate that both student and teacher participants identified an ideal framework of anti-racist multicultural education which requires ideological, behavioral and system supports. When compared with student conceptualizations of the ideal, W.C.I. appears to have an existing internal framework which supports multiculturalism. However, the internal framework supporting anti-racist objectives appears to be more tenuous. Cultural diversity within the hidden curriculum (school experiences not defined by formal coursework) was identified as an outstanding feature at this school. A weakness in this framework arose from the general absence of cultural diversity present in the curriculum (courses). Anti-racist multicultural education at W.C.I. was largely attributed to the efforts of a small, voluntary group of students and teachers. Flaws in the anti-racist framework include weak policy and individual responses to

racist incidents, an unresponsive curriculum and apathy of teachers and students towards race and ethnocultural equity. Student participants from racial and minority backgrounds were particularly sensitive to these issues. Students and teachers made several suggestions for mobilizing the Waterloo County Board of Education's Race and Ethnocultural Equity policy in secondary schools. Suggestions for change revolved around building a climate of school support and implementing effective curriculum changes. I have synthesized these suggestions in the form of recommendations.

Table of Contents

Acknowledgements	i
List of Tables	iii
List of Figures	iv
Abstract	v
Table of Contents	vi
Introduction	1
Literature Review	3
Community Psychology and School Research: Expanding The Role	3
The Nature of School: Questioning the Assumptions	7
The Dynamic of Racism: The Triangle Model	11
Equity and School Change: The Anti-racist Perspective	13
The Gap: Race and Ethnocultural Policy and Practice	17
Successfully Moving Towards Race and Ethnocultural Equity: The Process of Change	20
Empowerment and Equity Policies	24
Statement of Purpose for this Research	28
The Waterloo County Board of Education: Race and Ethnocultural Equity Policy	
Development	30
Overview	30
School/Community Relations	32
Racial Incidents	33
Staff Training and Development	33
Curriculum Development	35

Student Initiatives	36
Links to Outcomes Based Education	37
Implications of Ministry Initiatives	38
Research Issues	40
Using An Empowering Research Framework	40
Personal Background to this Research	42
Rationale for choice of school	42
Method	44
Student Questionnaire	44
Focus Group Interviews	50
Key Informant Interview	54
Responding to Issues of Credibility	55
Findings	57
Perceptions of the Ideal	57
A Snapshot of W.C.I: Perceptions of the Current Climate	62
Ideas for Effective Policy Implementation	88
Discussion	108
The Model Revisited: A Framework for Understanding The Student Perspective	108
The Impact of Being a Racial/Ethnic Minority	115
The Positive Role of Student Groups	117
Recommendations for Race and Ethnocultural Policy Implementation In Secondary Schools	120
Recommendations to Increase Community Input	120

Recommendations to Enhance Stakeholder Awareness	121
Recommendations for Enhancing Board Support	122
Recommendations for Building a Climate of School Support	123
Recommendations for Addressing Curriculum Content	127
Recommendations for Effective Teaching Strategies	129
Recommendations for Handling Racist Incidents	130
Critiquing this Research Approach	133
Limitations of this study	133
Reflections on Working with Student Groups	135
Conclusion	137
References	140
Appendix A -Glossary of Terms in this Research	149
Appendix B -Traditional Models of Education and Student Outcomes	151
Appendix C -Proposed Objectives and Outcomes of Race and Ethnocultural Equity	
Initiatives	157
Appendix D -Student Questionnaire	162
Appendix E -Information Letter and Consent Forms	168
Appendix F -Focus Group Guides	172
Appendix G -Sample Feedback Report Distributed to Participants	175
Appendix H -Coding Processes	180

Introduction

Anti-racist education has been introduced by educators as a social intervention to create equitable environments within British, American and Canadian schools. This perspective has shaped the recent development of race and ethnocultural equity policies within Canadian school boards. The task of such policies is to translate principles of equity into everyday practice. However, developing effective implementation processes has proven challenging for educators attempting to mobilize board policies within schools. The purpose of this study was threefold: (i) to explore the student perspective on multicultural education, (ii) to compare these perspectives with those held by people responsible for implementing such education and (iii) to generate practical recommendations for effectively implementing race and ethnocultural equity policies and programs within individual schools. The school community represents an environment familiar to community psychologists, who have consulted, conducted research and developed programs in a number of different areas. In the first section of this literature review, I have examined the contributions of Community Psychology to school research, particularly in the area of prevention. I have also noted the implications of school equity policies for expanding the work of Community Psychology to include the area of race and ethnocultural equity.

In subsequent sections, I have turned to the research on anti-racist multicultural education which has formed the basis for the development of school race and ethnocultural equity policies. Much of the discourse on anti-racist education exists at the level of policy and curriculum development. This information is readily available in teacher handbooks, curriculum guides and policy statements. However, to understand anti-racist education within the framework of social intervention, it is important to consider its theoretical basis. I have devoted a significant part of this literature review to the theoretical basis of anti-racist

multicultural education. I begin by first examining the assumptions which have guided the traditional education system and their impact on students. I have then explored the theoretical assumptions of anti-racist education and the proposed benefits for students. In subsequent sections I have identified common patterns of race and ethnocultural policy development noting the gaps which exist between such development and implementation at both the board and school levels. In the concluding sections of this review I have identified how insufficient focus on the process of implementation at the school level and insufficient attention to the student perspective have combined to weaken the effectiveness of race and ethnocultural equity initiatives. Finally, I have returned to the Community Psychology perspective, by framing anti-racist multicultural education within the context of empowering interventions. This context provided an appropriate framework for guiding my research.

Literature Review

Community Psychology and School Research: Expanding The Role

The 1954 *Brown versus Board of Education* school desegregation ruling served as a catalyst for many American racial and ethnic minority communities who found a public forum for their demands for structural educational change. The struggles toward multicultural education which have been documented by educators and social scientists since the 1960's, (Sleeter, 1991) have not been reflected in Community Psychology research. This is surprising given Community Psychology's historical affiliations with the Civil Rights movement, guiding principles of distributive justice and continued commitment to systemic school change.

The school setting is a familiar environment to community psychologists working for systemic change within education. In his legacy to the field of education, Sarason (1977, 1982, 1983; Weinstein, 1990) has made significant theoretical and practical contributions to issues pertaining to school institutional change. Among these contributions are Sarason's careful attention to hidden unquestioned assumptions and his focus on school as an ecological system. This systems-level focus has provided a framework notable in the work of several community psychologists who have developed, implemented, and evaluated programs designed to impact the environment of schools and the students within them. A thorough review of five recognized Community Psychology Journals indicates that the focus of change within the school system has centred around prevention of a number of student outcomes including: absentee-ism and academic failure, school dropout, drug abuse, smoking, suicide, school violence and high-risk sexual behaviours.¹ Peirson (1993) has reviewed common

¹ I reviewed the following journals for their content. (i) The American Journal of Community Psychology, 1973-1993, (ii) Journal of Community Psychology 1973-1992, (iii) The Journal of Community and Applied Social Psychology 1991-1993, (iv) The Journal of Primary Prevention 1980-1993, and (v) The Canadian Journal of Community Mental Health 1982-1993.

elements of this research and concludes that such programs have focused primarily on enhancing resistance to peer pressure, building social support and increasing awareness about social issues. A large number of these studies have been conducted with inner-city student populations in which a high percentage of racial and ethnic minority students are represented (Seitz, Apfel, & Rosenbaum, 1991; Trickett, McConahay, Phillips, & Ginter 1985; Tyler & Pargament, 1981; Weinstein, Soule, Collins, Cone, Mehlhorn & Simontacchi, 1991). While the outcomes of such studies have often been reported in terms of race and ethnic identity (Trickett, McConahay, Phillips & Ginter, 1985; Tyler & Pargament, 1981), the issue of racism as an inherent part of school structure, or as an intervening variable to school success has not been discussed in this research. Similarly, the inter-racial/inter-ethnic school environment has not been included as a variable in terms of student outcomes or program success. Interventions to prevent racism in the school have seldom been studied by community psychologists engaged in school prevention work. One exception can be found in the work of Rooney-Rebeck and Jason (1986) who examined how a cooperative peer tutoring classroom structure could be used to improve inter-ethnic relationships among elementary school students. The American Community Psychology literature has occasionally been responsive to school policies such as desegregation and busing (Green, Adams and Turner, 1988; and Perez, Padilla and Ramirez, 1982). Green, Adams and Turner (1988) extended Moos' (1974) concept of school climate by developing an interracial climate scale to assess the impact of desegregation on black and white American students. Perez, Padilla and Ramirez (1982) examined the impact of busing on Mexican American youth.

Educational policies designed to impact race and ethnocultural equity within schools have existed in the Canadian context since the early 1980's (Mock and Masemann, 1989; Tator and Henry, 1991) (Appendix A provides a working definition of equity). Research on the impact

of such policies has been, almost exclusively, the domain of Canadian elementary and secondary school educators. Current changes within the Canadian educational system demand that community psychologists expand their role to include issues of equity as they relate to prevention and systemic school change. A 1992 amendment to the Ontario Education Act states that school boards are required to develop and implement anti-racism and ethnocultural equity policies. A document outlining guidelines for policy development and implementation, mandates that policy initiatives must pervade every aspect of school functioning (Ministry of Education, 1993). This has important implications for community psychology work within schools. To ignore equity issues² which have become an essential aspect of school structure and culture is to ignore the school as a changing ecological system. Not only does this limit effectiveness in planning and evaluating appropriate interventions (that is, interventions that pay sufficient attention to the diversity of Canadian classrooms), it represents failure to examine how the dynamic of racism has contributed to student outcomes which are at the heart of many prevention initiatives. Race and ethnocultural inequities intersect with a number of school prevention issues such as school dropout, academic achievement and violence. Members of Canada's racial and ethnic minority communities readily recognize the links between inequitable educational practice and the resulting lack of achievement experienced among these students (James, 1990; Mukherjee, 1992; Solomon, 1992). Similarly documented reports of school violence often indicate conflicts that are racially motivated. Naidoo and Edwards (1991) have included a preliminary review of race and ethnocultural equity educational policies and their impact on the functioning of Canadian schools and universities. Greater attention to these issues, in the context of action research,

² Equity in education also includes current changes with respect to gender equity and integration of students with physical and mental disabilities. Due to the nature of my study, I have focused on Race and Ethnocultural Equity.

will lead to a broader conceptual understanding of how racism or cultural diversity impact other school issues.

Community psychologists have contributed to school research by documenting and suggesting successful processes for school change (Gruber & Trickett, 1987; Peirson, 1993, Sarason, 1977, 1982; Weinstein et al., 1991). A review of the literature on race and ethnocultural equity policy and anti-racist education reveals a lack of attention to the process of successful change within individual school communities. This has likely contributed to the significant gap existing between policy development in school boards and actual implementation in schools (Mock and Masemann, 1989; Tator and Henry, 1991). Tator and Henry concluded from their review of Canadian multicultural, anti-racist and race relations policy that such school policies have failed to transform most educational institutions in Canada. Through this research, I have attempted to address such failures by identifying and assessing processes that are facilitative of successful race and ethnocultural policy implementation at the school community level. Peirson (1993) has identified such processes within the context of prevention programs. It is my intent in this study to identify such processes as they relate to race and ethnocultural equity.

The present trend towards equity in education provides community psychology with an excellent 'case-study' for examining the practical value of theoretical concepts such as empowering interventions. Promoting race and ethnocultural equity within the educational system can be viewed as primary prevention, in so far as it shapes the views and experiences of students who will then determine the nature of future society. Participation in this process contributes to the ideals of equity and justice as espoused through the values of community psychology.

The Nature of School: Questioning the Assumptions

Justification for anti-racist education begins with the examination of failings within the traditional school system. According to Sarason (1982) successful school change begins with the examination of unarticulated assumptions that guide the structure of school. The traditional educational system has been guided by two important assumptions which have been racist in their impact if not in their intent. These assumptions, (i) equality of opportunity and (ii) the neutrality of knowledge, are challenged by the anti-racist perspective. According to sociological analysis, the Canadian educational system flows from the mandate of an open society. Thus education is viewed as an institution of social mobility, in which a hierarchy of rewards is distributed on the basis of knowledge, skills, and individual merit (Banks, 1974; Lennards, 1986). Theoretically, each student has an equal opportunity to participate and benefit from the educational system, regardless of racial, ethnic and social class identifications (Banks, 1974). However, the assumption of an open society has not been supported historically in the Canadian context. The reality has been unequal distribution of opportunities and rewards as determined by the groups with controlling power. Porter's conception of the Canadian "vertical mosaic" indicates the presence of social stratification based on ethnicity in Canadian society (1965). One can trace this vertical mosaic within the Canadian educational system. Prior to the 1950's, the role of secondary education in Canada was primarily to prepare a select group of students for university studies (Lennards, 1986). The work of Canadian sociologists (Breton, 1972; Porter, 1979) indicates persistent class disparities in the educational achievements of Canadian students, in spite of trends towards mass education in the 1960's. At the secondary level, students from lower socio-economic classes are less likely to be enrolled in academic programs, even when they possess the ability to pursue university studies (Porter, 1979). These disparities are of concern to anti-racist

educators, as Aboriginal and visible minority students tend to be over-represented in the lower socio-economic group status. Shemai (1992) traced educational achievement among ethnic groups in Canada from 1941 to 1981 and concluded that with few exceptions, patterns of educational achievement have consistently reflected the vertical mosaic proposed by Porter (1965). Findings in the North York school board indicate that significantly more Black students were presently in basic and general levels of study than their White and Asian counterparts (Tator, 1987). According to recent Toronto Board of Education statistics, almost one third of South Asian students from lower socio-economic backgrounds are dropping out of secondary schools prior to graduation (Mukherjee, 1992).

The second assumption of the traditional educational system is the neutrality of knowledge. Banks, an American educator (1991), argues that school-based knowledge has traditionally been presented as a set of ahistorical objective facts, exempt from critical analysis. Anti-racist educators challenge the notion of value-free knowledge, noting that knowledge within schools has been constructed to legitimize the dominant political, economic and cultural organization of society (Banks, 1991). School knowledge has been socially constructed to support a hierarchy in which non-Western cultures are held subordinate to Western culture (Banks 1991; Ministry of Education, 1993; Moore, 1988). Cultural literacy has been largely measured according to this singular standard of Western culture. Anti-racist educators often identify elements of 'omission' and 'commission' when referring to racial bias in the curriculum. School knowledge in Western nations has been defined, selected and evaluated based on the dominant canon which is Eurocentric and male-dominated (Banks, 1991; Ministry of Education and Training, 1993; Moore, 1988). Banks stresses the subtleties of this canonization process:

It is rarely explicitly defined or discussed. It is taken for granted, unquestioned and internalized by writers, researchers, teachers, professors and students (Banks, 1991, p. 128).

The dominant canon has had pervasive influence on the Canadian education system in which Moore contends the curriculum continues to reflect a "white studies" program (1988).

Traditionally, students enrolled in Canadian literature classes have not been exposed to the works of racially and ethnically diverse Canadians. Similarly, the historical contributions of racially diverse Canadians (for example, South Asian, Chinese and Black Canadians) have been excluded from mainstream history courses. School knowledge most often presents events from the perspective of those with power rather than the overpowered. Those groups of people who are marginalized and victimized in Canadian society rarely have voice in the present curriculum (Moore, 1988). Writings about Native peoples and visible minority groups included in the curriculum are often the works of members of dominant groups. Such bias perpetrates the notion of Canadian visible minorities as victims of cultural deprivation incapable of telling their own stories (Moore, 1988). The experience of omission has traditionally been used to describe the realities of Canadian English literature and history courses; however the effect is much more pervasive. Eurocentrism is present in maths and sciences, and as Grinter, a British educator writes:

Maths tends to operate in a largely European context of achievement and exemplification, confirming stereotypes largely through omission of its debt to thinkers in earlier human civilizations (1990, p. 222).

Similarly, Grinter (1990) states, that by exclusion of non-European contributions, sciences have contributed to the association of Europe and North America with technological progress and the underdevelopment associated with other societies. In arts courses, the traditions of non-European art are seldom examined. "Art typically reflects the values and issues of European and North American society" (Grinter, 1990). Mukherjee identifies the treatment of

non-European languages in the school system as discriminatory, as languages with "rich literary traditions", spoken by large numbers of the world's population, are excluded from the curriculum (1992).

The term commission refers to the presence of historical or cultural inaccuracies which distort the experiences of majority and minority cultures. This is perhaps best illustrated by the colonial mythology depicting European colonizers and indigenous peoples which still pervades Canadian curriculum material (Moore, 1988). The North York Board of Education has examined literature used in secondary school English courses for existing bias (Anderson & Lebars, 1988). Such bias includes inappropriate language and terminology used to describe members of minority groups. Bias appears both explicitly and implicitly, in the forms of obvious bigotry, negative colour symbolism, or misleading political or sociological terminology (eg. "culturally deprived"). In literature courses, particularly when studying the Western "classics", minority groups are often characterized in stereotypical ways with no attempts to provide historical context or correct biases (Anderson & Lebars, 1988).

The Western bias has also pervaded the hidden curriculum, (refer to Appendix A for a definition of this term) assessment and placement procedures and guidance counselling practices. Several studies indicate the presence of cultural bias in formal and informal testing procedures (Lewis & Samuda, 1989; Samuda & Crawford, 1980; Samuda & Tingling, 1980). Subsequently racial and ethnic minority students have often been placed in programs below their capabilities. Such practices have had negative consequences for secondary school students. Academic streaming has been identified by anti-racist educators as a clear example of institutional racism. The streaming of minority students into vocational programmes has been a reality in Ontario school boards since the early 1970s (Cummins, 1988). This pattern was experienced consistently in Italian, Portuguese and Greek communities during the 1970s

(Cummins, 1988). More recently, Ontario's Black communities have expressed alarm regarding the number of Black students in dead-end basic and general programs (Cummins, 1986; Farrell, 1988; Moore, 1988; Lewis, 1992; Solomon, 1992).

The Dynamic of Racism: The Triangle Model

Notions of equal opportunity combined with the persistence of dominant cultural bias in school practice have led to school systems and structures which have often been racist in their impact. It is important to understand however, that such structures exist within a supportive framework of racist ideology and subsequent patterns of individual and collective behaviour. (Appendix A includes a definition of racism which acknowledges these elements). Mukherjee and Thomas (1989) have created a useful model for conceptualizing how racism has been perpetuated in society. They describe the dynamic of racism as an interaction of prevailing assumptions, institutional expressions (systems and structures) and behaviours (Refer to figure 1.) Prevailing ideas serve to create and maintain institutional structures, while these very systems support the assumptions that are perpetuated. Similarly, individual and collective behaviours are informed and supported by systems and prevailing ideas. These structural elements reciprocate by reinforcing racist behaviours. This three-way interaction has effectively locked racism into the fabric of all social institutions. As can be determined from Figure 1, the school system must be examined from the broader context of society. Prevailing assumptions of equal opportunity have led to a collective consciousness which deny the role of race, ethnicity, class and gender in achievement within Canadian society. As a result, Canadian institutions have supported this bias. Similarly, the pre-eminence of Western values in schools reflects a parallel assumption in Canadian society. These assumptions have had important implications for racism within education. For example, the Eurocentric bias has left a legacy of pseudo-scientific race theories which support 'cultural-deficit' models

intrinsic to many educational assessment and competency development programs. The use of deficit models serve to reinforce teacher attitudes which reflect differential expectations and treatment of students based on race and ethnicity. At present, there is no systematic pre-training in anti-racist education offered by Canadian faculties of education (Mukherjee, 1992; Tator & Henry, 1991), making it difficult for teachers to address classroom bias, thus perpetuating the cycle.

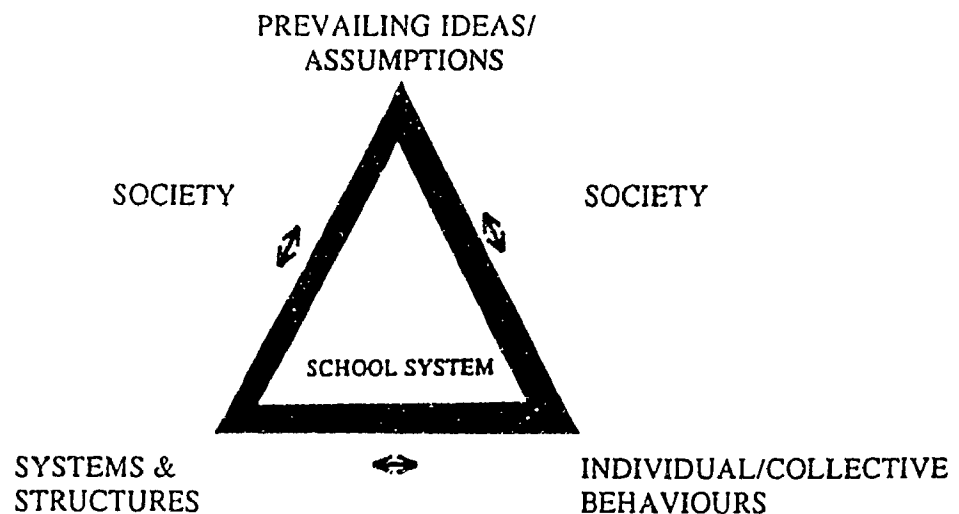


Figure 1. The racism dynamic: The Triangle Model (Mukherjee, & Thomas, 1989).

The Ontario Ministry of Education has formally acknowledged that a number of "existing policies, procedures, and practices in the school system are racist in their impact, if not their intent, and that they limit the opportunity of students and staff belonging to Aboriginal and racial and ethnocultural minority groups" (Ministry of Education and Training, 1993). In summary, racist practices have included exclusion of non-European contributions in the curriculum (Allingham, 1993; Banks, 1991; Moore, 1988; Mukherjee, 1992), use of culturally biased testing procedures (Lewis & Samuda, 1989; Samuda & Crawford, 1980),

disproportionate streaming of visible minority students into basic and general level programming and reluctance in dealing with expressions of racism. The outcomes for racial and ethnic minority students have included a sense of alienation and marginalization at school (Chambers, 1992; Coelho, 1988; James, 1990; Solomon; 1992), negative self-images (Coelho, 1988; Shemai, 1991), active resistance against dominant school sub-culture (Solomon, 1992), disproportionate rates of high school drop-out (Mukherjee, 1992, Tator, 1987) and academic achievement below student abilities (Cummins, 1986; Tator, 1987). The outcome for all students has been exposure to courses which do not accurately reflect the diversity of Canadian society (Moore, 1988). (I have provided more detail regarding traditional educational practices and the resulting documented outcomes for Canadian students in the Table located in Appendix B).

Equity and School Change: The Anti-racist Perspective

The anti-racist perspective has emerged from an understanding that racism is present in society and therefore school, as a societal institution, is influenced by racism (Lee, 1985). Thus, the failure of visible and ethnic minority students to succeed within this system is re-conceptualized as stemming largely from systemic racism. The objective of anti-racist education as articulated in the recent Ministry guide, is to facilitate change within the educational structure that will eliminate "systemic inequities and barriers to equitable education for students and on equitable employment practices for staff of all races and ethnocultural backgrounds" (1993). (Refer to Appendix A for further definition of this term).

Several anti-racist educators differentiate between multicultural and anti-racist education (Lee, 1985; Moore, 1988; Mukherjee, 1992; Thomas, 1984) (See Appendix A). Mukherjee (1992) takes the position that the two approaches are divergent because the roots of the problem are defined differently. According to this perspective, the central assumption of the

anti-racist perspective is that racist ideology is the issue, not cultural diversity (Mukherjee, 1992; Thomas 1984). As such, anti-racist education reflects concerns that problems affecting the educational achievement of many minority students are more the result of discrimination by race than cultural differences (Tator & Henry, 1991). In practice, the differentiation between the two perspectives is less clear. The British Institute of Race Relations (1980) describes multicultural education (that is, the study of other cultures) as a natural, positive by-product of anti-racist education. There is a proliferation of American multicultural education literature which advocates for equity and social change (Banks, 1989; Lynch, 1989; Sleeter, 1991). Moreover, the work of Mukherjee, (1992) and others indicate that harassment is often endured on the basis of ethnic and religious affiliations.³ This has been true particularly among Canadian South Asian communities (Mukherjee, 1992; Naidoo & Edwards, 1991). Tator and Henry (1991) have included practices and policies aimed at promoting "racial, ethnic and cultural equality" in their operational definition of multicultural education. This definition accommodates the equity principles of anti-racist education while extending them to include the elements of ethnicity and culture. It is my preference to treat the salience of ethnicity with as much significance as race, as individuals identify themselves and experience racism on both accounts. For the purposes of my research, I have adopted the definition used by Tator and Henry (1991) as an operational definition of what I have termed anti-racist multicultural education:

Those practices and policies developed at all levels of the educational system designed to promote racial, ethnic and cultural equality of opportunity for all its members. (p. 3)

This definition is also consistent with the Ministry of Education's model of antiracism and

³ The terms race and ethnicity are often confused. Appendix A clarifies the distinction between the two concepts.

ethnocultural equity (Ministry of Education, 1993).

Much of the focus on anti-racist education has existed at the level of policy or, to reinterpret through the triangle model, at the systems level. Tator & Henry (1991) site the lack of a clear conceptual or theoretical framework as a major barrier to policy implementation. Confusion surrounding the assumptions and goals of such policies can be seen in the variation of policy titles which use terms such as multicultural, ethnic and/or race relations and more recently, race and ethnocultural equity. The Ministry of Education proposes to minimize such confusion by establishing a common framework for "Antiracism and Ethnocultural Equity" policy implementation (Ministry of Education and Training, 1993). In practice, the anti-racist perspective has provided a theoretical framework for the development of race and ethnocultural equity policy. Such policies were being developed voluntarily in some school boards across Ontario throughout the mid 1980's to the early 1990's. Mock and Masemann (1989) conducted a survey of the 124 Ontario school boards and found that 39 boards had developed policies in this area or closely related areas (examples: multiculturalism and ethnic relations, ethnic and race relations), three boards had draft policies in the final phases of validation and 22 boards had begun the process of policy formation. In their national study of multicultural and race relations policies, Tator and Henry (1991) noted the lack of such activity in many regions and provinces:

In many regions and provinces in Canada, there are virtually no multicultural and race relations initiatives either in terms of policies or programs at either provincial or board levels. We were unable to identify any significant level of activity in the area of multicultural education in Newfoundland and Prince Edward Island. In both New Brunswick and Nova Scotia, there was minimal activity.

The Ontario Ministry of Education and the Alberta Education Department appear to be providing the most useful leadership for their school boards according to this study. These authors noted a wide range of initiatives occurring in school boards within large urban centres

such as Vancouver, Montreal and Toronto. Mock and Masemann (1989) recommended from the findings of their study that for any real change to take place within school boards, provincial governments must provide clear leadership in the area of race and ethnocultural policy development and implementation. One such recommendation was that such policy development become mandatory with established guidelines for implementation. In July of 1993, an amendment to the Education Act (1992) stated that Ontario school boards are now required to develop and implement anti-racism and ethnocultural policies. The Ministry has provided a document outlining guidelines for policy development and implementation (Ministry of Education and Training, 1993).

While school boards have varied in terms of emphasis of action, there is consensus in the literature concerning priority areas of policy development and implementation (Lee, 1985; Ministry of Education and Training, 1993; Mock & Masemann, 1989; Mukherjee, 1992; Tator & Henry 1991). Successful action within race and ethnocultural equity policy necessitates a multiple approach to school change. Policy initiatives, include curriculum development and implementation, assessment, placement and counselling of students; staff development and training, staff hiring and employment practices; school/community relations and handling racist incidents. The Ministry of Education has expanded this operational definition to include a focus on board leadership (that is, the pivotal role of school board trustees, directors of education, superintendents, principals and teachers in identifying systemic inequities) and student languages (that is, the affirmation and value of first languages and provision of support programs for official language instruction.) I have outlined the core objectives of each area of policy and the corresponding outcomes for students in the Table which appears in Appendix C.

The Gap: Race and Ethnocultural Policy and Practice

Access to multicultural education is not uniformly distributed throughout Canadian school boards. In fact, the most extensive policy development has occurred in school boards based in Toronto, Vancouver, and Montreal, revealing an urban bias in multicultural education (Naidoo & Edwards, 1991; Tator & Henry, 1991). It is the opinion of many educators that multicultural education is not necessary in relatively homogenous populations (Mock & Masemann, 1989, Tator & Henry, 1991). This supports the widely held belief that multicultural education is only beneficial to ethnic and racial minorities, or those dominant groups who have frequent interaction with them. Thus multicultural education can be dismissed easily as supplemental and optional.

Studies conducted by two groups of researchers reveal a significant gap between the model of action as outlined in race and ethnocultural equity policy and actual practice (Mock and Masemann, 1989; Tator & Henry, 1991). Review of this literature indicates consistent areas of policy neglect. Curriculum issues have been the focal point of multicultural and race relations policies and practices (Tator & Henry, 1991). However as these authors note, the typical response has reflected the traditional approach to multicultural education. Popular approaches to multicultural education endorse the enrichment model, in which the regular curriculum is enhanced with "multicultural add-ons" (Elliott & Fleras, 1992; Mukherjee, 1992). There are several weaknesses inherent in this approach. Projects which primarily focus on food, festivals and traditions provide superficial information about culture, particularly when the information comes from an outsider. At the very least, such projects which lack connections with the broader curriculum, do not constitute significant learning experiences (Tator & Henry, 1991). Moreover, the results can be more damaging as this focus promotes a fixed approach to the study of culture based on stereotypes (Elliott & Fleras,

1992). The focus on "material culture" diverts attention away from the elements of oppression intrinsic to culture (for example, social class, gender, political affiliations and responses of the dominant group.) The major weakness of the current approach to multicultural education is the view that such a curriculum is an additive versus integrative process (Tator & Henry, 1991). Addition of optional courses in multicultural history or current issues conveys a strong negative message that suggests the contribution of ethnic and racial minorities is outside the mainstream of history and is therefore designated as an optional learning experience. One notable exception to the traditional approach to multicultural curriculum is reflected in The North York Board of Education's long-term commitment to make the English curriculum more equitable. The *Role of the Reader* project has resulted in the systematic integration of a range of diverse writings by novelists and poets into the curriculum, in addition to critical analyses of racial and ethnic bias in literature already incorporated in the classroom (Anderson & Lehans, 1988).

Despite the evidence pointing to inadequate cross cultural assessment and placement procedures, the research of Tator and Henry (1991) indicates that with few exceptions, educational systems have not begun to address this issue seriously. Among the exceptions are metropolitan school boards in Toronto, North York, Ottawa and Vancouver which incorporate the services of multicultural consultants who serve as cultural as well as linguistic interpreters. Some of these boards also allow the assessments of immigrant students to be done in their own languages.

Efforts to provide staff with development and training have been documented by a number of boards who have invested resources to provide such training in the form of single event, half day or full day professional development workshops. The focus of these events are awareness building and skills development for teachers, principals, superintendents, and

multicultural/race relations officers (Tator & Henry, 1991). One can see the limitations of using this "one-shot" approach to skill development. This response is similar to the "add-on" approach used to diversify curriculum. Recently, a number of Ontario school boards have offered more intense training opportunities which have extended over longer periods of time (Tator & Henry, 1991). The effectiveness and outcomes of such programs are seldom monitored or evaluated formally, thus the extent to which they promote race and ethnocultural equity within the education system is not known (Tator & Henry, 1991).

Many school boards across the country show a low level of commitment towards the principle of employment equity. Most boards include brief equal opportunity statements which promise to eliminate the practice of "overt discrimination" (Tator & Henry, 1991). Studies which have documented inequity of visible minorities and Aboriginal peoples in the workplace indicate this approach has not addressed the systemic barriers to equal employment opportunity (Abella, 1984; Henry & Ginzberg, 1985). Thus as in other workplaces, the recruitment, hiring and promotion patterns, training and performance evaluation procedures within the education system have generally remained the same. The study conducted by Mock and Masemann (1989) indicated that 28 Ontario school boards have developed policies or companion documents which give guidelines for responding to incidents of racial or cultural harassment. I did not find any information regarding the implementation, regulation or success of these procedures.

Community relations has been one of the most neglected areas of policy implementation (Mock & Masemann, 1989; Tator & Henry, 1991). Tator and Henry inferred from their study results that community relations policies were more likely to reflect concern for institutional efficiency rather than consideration for community interests (1991). It should be noted that many of the gains in anti-racist multicultural education have resulted from vocal

parent groups who have pressured school boards to change inequitable policies (Tator & Henry, 1991). Successful community advocacy has been the result of organized lobbying strategies and thorough knowledge of the system (Burke, 1988). New Ministry guidelines have mandated the development of community-school partnerships stressing the involvement of diverse racial and ethnocultural groups in policy development, implementation and monitoring (Ministry of Education and Training, 1993)

Successfully Moving Towards Race and Ethnocultural Equity: The Process of Change

School researchers have examined the process of race and ethnocultural equity policy development and implementation and have identified several factors which limit or facilitate such change at the school board level. I have grouped these factors into seven common themes which appear consistently in the literature. I have summarized these factors in Table 1.

Table 1 Factors Affecting Implementation of Race and Ethnocultural Equity Policy At the School Board Level

	Barriers to Successful Policy Implementation	Facilitating Factors of Successful Policy Implementation
Stakeholder Participation	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Over-reliance on one stakeholder group for development and implementation (Mock & Masemann, 1989) 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Using participatory approach when introducing changes in policy and practices; building ownership throughout the system (Reid Endicott, 1992 & Mukherjee, 1992)

	Barriers to Successful Policy Implementation	Facilitating Factors of Successful Policy Implementation
Goals and Planning	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ● Absence of clearly outlined or prioritized goals (Tator & Henry, 1991) ● Absence of systematic process of implementation (Reid Endicott & Mukherjee, 1992) ● Unfocused organizational objectives, therefore inconsistent interpretation and application (Hitner, Starr Associates, 1985) ● "Management by crisis"; orientation is problem-focused (Hitner, Starr Associates, 1985) 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ● Establishment of clear goals for implementation (Anderson & Fullen, 1985) ● Setting of local goals, relevant to unique settings (Reid Endicott & Mukherjee, 1992) ● Program planning and decision-making based on research data (Reid Endicott & Mukherjee, 1992) ● Setting of goals tied to measurable outcomes (Reid Endicott & Mukherjee, 1992)
Communication	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ● Ineffective program communication caused by ambiguous wording of policy statements and implementation documents, large number of recommendations (Hitner & Starr Associates, 1985) ● "Dysfunctional reporting lines", validation process requiring too many layers of bureaucracy (Hitner & Starr Associates, 1985, Tator & Henry, 1991) 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ● Consistency of policy statements and programs in all communications (Anderson and Fullen, 1985) ● Ongoing communication of board's commitment to equity by senior management (Reid Endicott & Mukherjee, 1992)

	Barriers to Successful Policy Implementation	Facilitating Factors of Successful Policy Implementation
Commitment	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ● Internal resistance, perception of equity as a soft issue of low priority (Mock & Masemann, 1989) ● Lack of senior management support (Tator & Henry, 1991) ● Combination of race and ethnocultural equity with another portfolio (Mock & Masemann, 1989) ● Use of secondment or contractually limited race relations consultant positions (Tator & Henry, 1991) ● Marginalization of race and ethnic relations departments within the school structure (Tator & Henry, 1991) ● Lack of direct access (race relations consultant) to senior management (Tator & Henry, 1991) ● Reliance on "soft monies" and external funding for implementation, therefore initiatives subject to cutbacks (Mock & Masemann, 1989) 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ● Strong expression of commitment to equity by senior administration (Mock & Masemann, 1989; Reid Endicott & Mukherjee, 1992) ● Appointment of staff person (race and ethnic relations consultant) to facilitate implementation (Mock & Masemann, 1989) ● Strong support of race and ethnocultural relations consultant by director and superintendent (Mock & Masemann, 1989) ● Willingness of senior officials to reallocate resources towards the development and implementation of policy (Mock & Masemann, 1989) ● Financial and human resources available for implementation assistance (Anderson and Fullen, 1985)

	Barriers to Successful Policy Implementation	Facilitating Factors of Successful Policy Implementation
Accountability	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ● "Collegial culture"; reliance on the goodwill and integrity of staff for implementation (Hitner & Starr Associates, 1985) ● Ambiguity in roles and responsibilities (Mock & Masemann, 1989) ● Ambiguity in terms of timelines, anticipated outcomes (Mock & Masemann, 1989) 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ● Explicit outline of responsibilities and presence of accountability structures (Mock & Masemann, 1989; Reid Endicott & Mukherjee, 1992) ● Setting of goals within specified timeframes (Reid Endicott & Mukherjee, 1992)
Training	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ● Insufficient training opportunities for teachers and administrative staff (Tator & Henry, 1991) 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ● Effective in-service and ongoing training at all levels of the system (Mock & Masemann, 1989; Reid Endicott & Mukherjee, 1992) ● Education of principal stakeholders in the change process (eg. board members, administrators, employees, associations and the community) (Reid Endicott & Mukherjee, 1992)
Monitoring Processes and Evaluation	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ● Success is gauged by absence/presence of crises, ongoing evaluation deemed unnecessary (Hitner & Starr, 1985) ● Absence of monitoring and evaluation mechanisms (Tator & Henry, 1991) 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ● Clearly established monitoring mechanisms, commitment to evaluation (Reid Endicott & Mukherjee, 1992)

These factors emphasize implementation issues which present themselves at the school-board level, but they do not highlight implementation issues within individual school settings.

Factors such as stakeholder participation, communication and training, have been identified in the recent work of a community researcher as critical to successful change at the individual

school level (Peirson, 1993). The intent of my research is to identify specific factors that facilitate effective implementation of race and ethnocultural equity policies within individual school settings.

Empowerment and Equity Policies

Race and ethnocultural equity policies represent initiatives consistent with Community Psychology's mandate for empowering interventions. Prilleltensky (in press) has outlined three guiding values of empowering interventions, distributive justice, self-determination and collaborative participation. These values have also been articulated in the work of anti-racist educators. The anti-racist perspective acknowledges the presence of racism in shaping the historical, social, political, economic and educational realities of Canadian society (Bolaria & Li, 1988; Elliott & Fleras, 1992; Ramchcharan; 1982; Walker, 1985) As social intervention, anti-racist education appeals to the value of distributive justice by challenging the imbalance of opportunities in the present educational system and reallocating resources to reflect a more equitable structure for all students and staff within the school community. Anti-racist education is viewed by its proponents as a mechanism for creating a just society. By engaging in change at the school level, consequences also extend to society at large.

The value of self-determination refers to the capacity of individuals to determine an independent course of action. Proponents of anti-racist education promote the value of self-determination, particularly with respect to the relationship between students and the curriculum. According to Cummins (1986, 1988), who distinguishes between empowering versus disabling learning orientations, the pedagogy of anti-racist education is oriented toward reciprocal interaction rather than simple transmission of information (Cummins, 1986). This approach creates the foundations of self-determination for students as they are encouraged to question assumptions and critically analyze the values and assumptions which shape school

knowledge. Banks (1991) takes this point further by stating that empowerment education requires giving students opportunities to construct knowledge themselves. According to Banks "when students are empowered, they have the ability to influence their personal, social, political and economic worlds" (1991, p.125). Students are thus equipped to advocate effectively for themselves and for a more equitable society.

Anti-racist education also calls for the collaborative participation of the community in making educational change (Coelho, 1991; Cummins, 1986; Lee, 1985; Tator & Henry, 1991). In terms of empowerment this means enabling persons targeted by social interventions to participate in the decision-making process (Prilleltensky, in press). This value presents a challenge for schools, as educational change has traditionally been the domain of educators and administrators. Students are the primary recipients of change with respect to anti-racist multicultural initiatives, yet they have seldom been included in the process of race and ethnocultural equity policy decision-making. It is the intent of race and ethnocultural policies to influence the attitude and behaviours of students within the educational system. According to Ministry of Education guidelines policies should:

equip all students with the knowledge, skills, attitudes, and behaviours needed to live and work effectively in an increasingly diverse world, and encourage them to appreciate diversity and reject discriminatory attitudes and behaviour (p.5).

However, this influence is weakened by limited awareness of how students understand these issues (Semons, 1991). Research in multicultural anti-racist education has been presented almost exclusively from the perspective of teachers and administrators. Clearly, as Semons (1991) writes in her critique of the literature, the perspectives of students have been ignored.

A significant voice has been missing from the books and articles that have been written about educating ethnically diverse populations, namely the voice of students. Usually research has been presented from the perspective of the teachers, administrators, and experts in the field, virtually ignoring that of students (p. 139)

The results have often been programs and initiatives that are insufficiently grounded in students' perspectives. A few Canadian studies have attempted to examine how students make sense of their school experiences within the context of multiculturalism or racism. In the Canadian context, a small number of studies have documented the salience of ethnicity in students' experiences and perceptions of high school (Burrell & Christensen, 1987; Hsiung, 1985). A number of studies have focused on Black students and their experiences with racism in the school system (Chambers, 1992; James, 1990; Sium, 1987). Few studies have attempted to gather student perceptions regarding anti-racist multicultural school initiatives. This has proven problematic in terms of introducing curriculum change. Wells and Wingate (1986) have noted the difficulties in finding successful methodology within the anti-racist education framework. Traditional approaches which include elements of confrontation have failed to work with students. The Role of the Reader project, introduced in the English curriculum of North York schools, is one of the few examples in which student responses were gathered as a systemic component of the program's evaluation. In this unique case, the nature of students' experiences was used to guide further implementation. These researchers concluded the following from their study. "Students appear to have a much greater knowledge of racial and cultural biases than they are currently being given credit for by the education system (p.13)".

There is other evidence that policy initiatives may not be sufficiently grounded in students' understanding of race and ethnocultural equity. Despite well-intentioned anti-racist board policies in the Toronto area, many students still speak of marginalized experiences within their schools (Lewis, 1992.) Similar dissatisfaction was expressed in a Kitchener-Waterloo study of Black and Caribbean youth who do not see the benefits of anti-racist education for themselves (Chambers, 1992). When school officials were interviewed in this study most did

not feel that there was a problem with their Black and Caribbean student body. Such discrepancies can only be challenged by including the perspectives of students as important stakeholders within the school system. In her ethnographic study, Semons (1991) noted the importance of gaining students' perceptions regarding how ethnicity affected the educational process. She concluded that greater attention to the personal accounts of students would result in responses from educators that were linked more effectively to their student constituency. New Ministry guidelines have mandated the inclusion of student experiences and perceptions in the monitoring of antiracism and ethnocultural equity policies. Among the criteria for monitoring progress are the following student objectives (Ministry of Education & Training, 1993):

- Students feel that their cultural and racial identities are appropriately affirmed by the school (p. 19, curriculum)
- Students perceive that their first language is being valued by the school.(p.19, student languages)
- Students perceive that they have equitable access to available program options (p.19, student evaluation, assessment and placement)
- Aboriginal and racial and ethnocultural minority students have confidence in the service they are receiving from guidance counsellors (p.20, guidance and counselling)

My intent was to use this research process as a tool for including students in the decision-making processes associated with race and ethnocultural policy implementation.

Statement of Purpose for this Research

In the literature review, I have identified two factors which may have contributed to the failure of race and ethnocultural equity policies to transform Canadian schools: (i) insufficient attention given to the student perspective and (ii) inadequate focus on the process of implementation at the level of individual schools. Few studies have attempted to gather students perspectives on multicultural anti-racist education. Subsequently, race and ethnocultural equity policy initiatives have not been grounded sufficiently in students' understanding of these issues. Similarly, policies existing at the board level may not be grounded sufficiently in the realities of individual school communities.

The purpose of this study was threefold: (i) to elucidate student perspectives on multicultural anti-racist education, (ii) to compare these perspectives with those held by people responsible for implementing such initiatives, namely teachers and school board personnel assigned to race and ethnocultural equity issues and (iii) to generate recommendations for the effective implementation of race and ethnocultural equity policies in schools based on the synthesis of these perspectives.

The challenge for the Waterloo County School Board will be to develop effective implementation plans, over the next two years, in various school communities. I chose to examine implementation issues specific to one secondary school community. I addressed the following three research questions in my research at Waterloo Collegiate Institute (W.C.I.):

1. How do students and teachers perceive the ideal anti-racist multicultural school environment?
2. How do students and teachers perceive the current environment at W.C.I. with respect to anti-racist multicultural education?
3. How do students, teachers and the WCBE race and ethnocultural equity consultant (Human

Resources Officer) propose to achieve the ideal through race and ethnocultural equity policies and programs?

I used this research framework to determine effective mechanisms for mobilizing the Race and Ethnocultural Equity policy which exists at the board level within secondary school communities.

The Waterloo County Board of Education: Race and Ethnocultural Equity Policy Development

Overview

It was important to place my research within the context of WCBE initiatives. During my Community Psychology practicum placement⁴, I familiarized myself with the Board's Race and Ethnocultural Equity policy. I have summarized these initiatives in the following sections based on review of policy documents, participant observation and a key informant interview with the Human Resource Officer (the consultant who is currently assigned to the Race and Ethnocultural Equity portfolio.) I have also highlighted the implications of this policy for a recent Board initiative identified as Outcomes Based Education (OBE) in addition to new Ministry of Education guidelines for antiracism and ethnocultural equity.

According to estimations by the Race Relations Advisory Council on Advertising, the visible minority population in Kitchener-Waterloo rose to 26,000 in 1991 and is predicted to increase to 40,000 in 1996 (Picton, 1992). The changing face of Waterloo Region is reflective of the rapidly increasing diversity characteristic of Ontario. The WCBE is one of the largest school boards in Canada, serving more than 54,800 full-time day students (WCBE, 1993). The Waterloo Region school population has been reflective of the increasing racial, religious and cultural diversity present in the community. In recognition of the education system in promoting positive race and ethnocultural relations in the community, The Race Relations committee of Education for Waterloo Region was established in 1985 for the purpose of developing school board-wide policies. This community group guided the development of Race and Ethnocultural Equity Policies for both school boards in this Region.

⁴The development of community consultation skills is an integral part of the Community Psychology program at Wilfrid Laurier University. This development is fostered by student placement in community practicum settings.

Much of the initial activity surrounding race and ethnocultural equity policy development has been sparked by community efforts for change. In 1985 a coalition, comprised of members within the Jewish and Christian community, lobbied the Waterloo County Board of Education for the removal of *The Merchant of Venice* as the Shakespearean play of study for students in grades 9 and 10. This controversy served as a catalyst for a new board policy dealing with race and ethnocultural relations⁵. The Waterloo County Board of Education approved a Statement of Principle in 1987 (WCBE, 1988). Subsequent activity included the development of a policy and procedures document which outlined specific processes associated with the following: administrative leadership, staff development, curriculum, employment practices placement and assessment and responses to racial and ethnocultural harassment. Although this document was submitted to the Board for consent in 1988, it was never officially approved. After a 2 year period of relative inactivity, a human resources officer was hired in 1990 to proceed with policy implementation. At present, an active, comprehensive, implementation document has not been created at the WCBE. However the human resource officer is responsible for preparing and submitting annual action plans which outline proposed initiatives to the superintendent of human and educational resources. Implementation initiatives have been based primarily on models used by other boards. External resource personnel who have done previous work with other school boards, have provided much of the policy in-service. The policy developed by the WCBE is framed in the language of equity, however, the discourse of anti-racist education has been evident in the staff in-servicing programs, the student leadership camps, student organizations and the curriculum materials distributed for teacher use.

⁵ Members of this coalition were also involved in policy development via their presence and input at public meetings.

Since being on staff, the current human resources officer has pursued change in the following areas: school community relations, racial incidents, staff training and development and curriculum development. Major accomplishments are highlighted in the following sections. WCBE policy implementation has occurred in four of the six areas outlined previously in Table 2. Brief policy statements address the areas of equitable hiring practices and the assessment and placement of students. However these two areas have not been pursued in terms of systemic programming.

School/Community Relations

The Human Resources Officer was successful in re-establishing the Race and Ethnocultural Advisory Committee. The purpose of this committee is "to assist and advise the Waterloo County Board of Education in the effective implementation of its policy and procedures for race and ethnocultural equity" (WCBE, 1991). Membership in the committee is diverse and includes community members, students, parents, teachers, support staff, administration and trustees. Student membership in this committee was recently increased from two students to four student representatives. A recent report to the Chairperson and members of Board of Trustees reviews the actions of this committee since its formation in January, 1992 (WCBE, 1993). Committee activities have revolved around the review of existing documents and procedures, the drafting and validation of new procedures, collective response to racist incidents and the identification of community needs. To date the committee has reviewed the following board procedures: Administrative procedures for dealing with racial, religious and ethnocultural harassment, a document entitled "Planning for the Recognition of Religious and Cultural Days of Significance", a Multi-faith calendar, and new curriculum writing guidelines. The committee has also responded to several racist incidents which have occurred in the K-W community.

Racial Incidents

In June of 1992, the Waterloo County Board of Education included "sexual, ethnocultural and/or racial abuse, slurs or harassment" in its Statement of Non-tolerance. These offenses are now deemed, on record, as serious as possession or sale of illicit drugs, possession or use of weapons or physical assault. Penalty for such offenses includes a 3 day suspension. The human resource officer along with the Race and Ethnocultural Advisory committee have established a separate draft document dealing specifically with issues of racial, religious and ethnocultural harassment (WCBE, 1991). According to this draft document "All complaints of alleged racial, religious or ethnocultural harassment that occur within a school setting must be directed to the principal." Thus procedural guidelines revolve around three main parties, the principal (or supervisor if principal is involved), the complainant (staff or students) and the respondent (staff or students). The document establishes guidelines for taking action and outlines specific steps for an informal and if necessary, a formal inquiry process. The aim of each process is to bring both parties (complainant and respondent) to a mutually agreeable resolution through a mediation process. However the terms of resolution are not provided in the document. The document states that "disciplinary action will be taken" when allegations of racial, religious or ethnocultural harassment are substantiated. Disciplinary action is not defined. A pamphlet outlining general policy statements and specific procedures for dealing with racist incidents was recently developed for distribution among teachers, students, parents and the larger community (WCBE, 1993).

Staff Training and Development

Staff development has been a major area of emphasis for the WCBE Race and ethnocultural equity policy implementation. Staff in-service has been organized and delivered by school area. The Board was recently re-organized from seven to six Areas or school

families (1993-94). Each Area includes several elementary schools, one senior public school and two or three secondary schools. The in-servicing procedure began as a pilot-project in April, 1991 when staff from Area 3 schools were invited to participate in "The Race and Ethnocultural Equity Awareness" seminar series. This series included a total of five sessions of which two involved full day participation followed by three sessions from two to three hours in length. The seminar series was scheduled over a one and one-half month period. Participants included teachers (elementary and secondary), guidance counsellors, education consultants, vice-principals, principals, and other board staff from the Area 3 family of schools. Training sessions were conducted by Race Relations Educational consultants from the Toronto area in addition to local members of the community. The sessions covered the following major elements of board policy:

- Overall orientation with the policy
- Theoretical framework: concepts of race and racism
- Race and ethnocultural equity awareness across the curriculum
- Assessment placement and career counselling
- Community participation in school life
- Dealing with incidents of racial and ethnocultural harassment

Thus, staff were oriented to the action framework as outlined previously in Table 2.

Participants were required to complete evaluations at the end of each seminar day. Due to the success of this pilot project, which was sponsored by the Ministry of Education, the WCBE funded subsequent seminar series in which board staff from the remaining six School Areas were able to participate. The long range goal of the human resources officer is to use this training process for a similar in-service for school board administrators.

Curriculum Development

A significant portion of the teacher in-servicing was devoted to the discussion of curriculum development. The objectives of these sessions were to:

- build awareness regarding bias contained in current educational material
- develop plans for addressing literature that contains bias
- expose teachers to new educational materials without bias.

Participants were given resource lists which included resources provided by the Ministry of Education and the National Film Board. As well, participants were encouraged to order books that were used as examples of available resources during the sessions.

The Waterloo County Board of Education has also provided voluntary learning experiences for students in the form of seminars and most recently the Anti-racist student leadership camps. Since 1988, the Waterloo County Holocaust Education Committee has offered annual teacher and student seminars on the Holocaust. The student seminar encourages participants to explore the consequences of racism, as students from various secondary schools meet in small groups to hear survivor testimonies and discuss their experiences.

Since 1978, the Ontario Ministry of Education has run annual multicultural leadership programs at its seminar site at Longford Mills, Ontario. The emphasis of this program is "on the development of cooperation and understanding among students from various cultural, racial and school backgrounds." In 1985, several students from a local secondary school were participants at the Ministry camp. Subsequently, the Race Relations Committee on Education in Waterloo Region organized local camps designed to give more students in this region an opportunity for a similar camp experience. These camps ran successfully from 1986 to 1989. The camp was re-organized and ran again during the fall of 1992 and 1993.

Students from all secondary schools in this region (WCBE and WRSSB) have attended these camps. A similar leadership camp was created for students in grades seven and eight during the spring of 1993. This program was a pilot project sponsored by S.E.V.E.C. Evaluation activities have included brief reports with comments from organizers, facilitators and teachers in addition to reunions for all parties (camp participants, facilitators, teachers and organizers).

The public school board has formed a team of educational consultants who are currently revising the curriculum on a number of different forums including outcomes based education (Spady & Marshall, 1991) and race and ethnocultural equity. It is not clear from conversations with the human resources officer how long this process will take before seeing evidence of change in the classroom.

Student Initiatives

Local students and teachers dedicated to the values of anti-racist education have created an inter-school group known as "CONNECTIONS", which is an aggregate of anti-racist multicultural clubs that have been initiated in schools from both the separate and public school boards. These teachers and students provide their skills and support in extra-curricular programs for which they volunteer their time and effort. The existence of this inter-school organization is symbolic of the commitment and cooperative effort between two school boards and among several secondary schools. CONNECTIONS provides extensive opportunity for networking, skill building and resource sharing. Although these student-directed activities do not represent official components of Race and Ethnocultural Equity policy, they are the primary means through which students have tried to build positive anti-racist multicultural environments in their schools. The Human Resources Officer has supported this student organization in the form of educational resources, administrative support and attendance at student meetings. The goal of CONNECTIONS, according to students involved, is to have

anti-racist student groups in every secondary school within the Kitchener-Waterloo region.

Links to Outcomes Based Education

August 1991 marked the beginnings of an educational restructuring process known as Outcome-Based Education (OBE). This initiative is unique to Ontario schools, however the concept has been implemented successfully in several American school districts (Spady and Marshall, 1991). OBE represents a paradigm shift away from curriculum-based planning to outcomes-based planning. This approach encourages educators to first define learning outcomes, then align curriculum, assessment and other educational processes with these outcomes. Outcomes are defined by Spady and Marshall as "successful demonstrations of learning that occur at the culminating point of a set of learning experiences" (p. 70). This new approach makes the education system accountable to new societal expectations. Realities such as increasing demands for technology, global interdependence and pluralization have motivated educators to re-assess the purpose of school in a post-industrial society, using a framework of life-long learning (King & Evans, 1991; Spady & Marshall, 1991). The goal of the WCBE is to "focus and organize all programs around clearly defined exit-outcomes for students" (WCBE, 1992, p. 1), thereby creating a process to measure the educational and fiscal merit of programs within this system.

Through a series of community consultations, the WCBE developed an initial set of general learning outcomes. These were derived after considering social trends and conditions that will determine what students in future generations will need to know in order to be successful in society. Among the social trends identified were increasing globalization and the social and political realities of cultural diversity/multiculturalism in Canada. I have included some of the learning outcomes which parallel the goals of anti-racist education (WCBE, 1992, p. 11):

An active participant in the culture of Canada who:

- respects the diverse multicultural nature of our country
- takes responsibility for our emerging culture

An informed and involved citizen who:

- identifies and evaluates the issues and needs of the community and responds in a co-operative, caring manner

A happy, wise and caring individual who:

- applies critical, flexible and creative thinking

An informed and caring world citizen who:

- evaluates and responds to social, economic and political issues in an ever-changing world
- appreciates and respects individual, cultural and political differences among all peoples

Participants also identified ethical values that should be exemplified in life-long learners.

Among these was the value of fairness, that is, "fair people (who) are committed to justice, equal treatment of individuals, and tolerance for and acceptance of diversity" (WCBE, 1992).

As the review of literature indicates, anti-racist education provides a strong framework for addressing key learning outcomes identified by the WCBE. The latest move towards outcomes-based education will likely serve to strengthen Race and Ethnocultural Equity Policy initiatives in this school board.

Implications of Ministry Initiatives

Policy/program memorandum No. 119 has transformed the area of race and ethnocultural equity from a voluntary process to a mandatory component of school functioning. New Ministry of Education guidelines (Ministry of Education, 1993) have placed pressure on Ontario school boards to develop and submit antiracism and ethnocultural equity policies in addition to implementation plans by March 31, 1995. After receiving approval by the Ministry, implementation must begin by September 1, 1995. Implementation plans must cover a five year period with "clearly stated objectives and outcomes for implementation at both the system and the school levels." These plans must be monitored regularly and annual

progress reports are to be submitted to the Ministry's regional offices. This monitoring process will include Ministry audits of policy implementation. While these Ministry guidelines have provided much needed direction and a clear path for change, they also present challenges of accountability and effectiveness for school boards that have struggled to translate policy statements into active programs. In the case of the WCBE, the challenge over the next 2 years will be to establish a cohesive plan for implementation.

Research Issues

Using An Empowering Research Framework

During the process of this investigation I adhered as much as possible to the principles of community psychology research. Prilleltensky's (in press) conceptualizations of empowerment research provided a useful framework for this process. Research that is empowering adheres to three principal moral values, distributive justice, self-determination and democratic participation. In the following sections, I have summarized briefly how I addressed the values of distributive justice, self-determination and democratic participation.

Distributive Justice

Anti-racist multicultural education is an intervention process designed to provide an equitable environment for all students, teachers, parents and administrators within the school community. I viewed this research as part of this process, specifically with respect to translating the ideals of race and ethnocultural equity into effective school initiatives.

Self-determination

Throughout this research, I valued the capacity of students to determine what would constitute multicultural anti-racist education for themselves. Thus, I organized my research focus to reflect first and foremost, the group within the school community least likely to be included in such decision-making: students.

Collaborative and Democratic Participation

I addressed the principle of collaborative and democratic participation in my research by focusing on key stakeholders within the school community who should be actively involved in creating anti-racist, multicultural school environments. This study's emphasis on the student perspective reflected the belief that the process of empowerment necessitates the involvement of students in creating equitable school environments for themselves. I also sought input from

teachers during the research process. A review of the literature citing student perceptions indicates that students often blame teachers for the lack of initiatives in anti-racist education, failing to recognize that teachers are part of a larger structure (Chambers, 1992; Lewis, 1992). In an effort to examine the school community as an integrated system, I attempted to include the perceptions of teachers, particularly around issues of curriculum development. Teachers are expected to bridge a significant gap between race and ethnocultural equity policy development and implementation. This is a difficult task given the limited background most teachers have in anti-racist education. In his report to the provincial premier, Lewis (1992) summarized the problem with this fundamental question. "How do you get the best of policies and programs into the individual classrooms?" Among the expectations of the teacher participants in the Waterloo County Board of Education in-servicing series, the following were included:

- Provide challenging educational experiences that acknowledge the multi-racial, multi-ethnic and multilingual nature of their students
- Respond to issues of race and ethnocultural discrimination in their schools
- Work with others in their schools, the system and the community to further multicultural and anti-racist education

While most participants indicated increased personal and professional awareness about anti-racist education, most viewed this as a starting point. I used my research as a tool for gathering teacher suggestions for further training and policy implementation.

I also endeavoured to incorporate the values of collaborative participation through the *research process* itself. Students, teachers and administrators from the school community were given opportunities to participate in the research process. I endeavoured to use a participatory approach in terms of planning the research as well as collecting and analyzing the data. I attempted to establish formal representation in the form of an advisory committee consisting of key stakeholders including students, teachers and administrators. Although a

formal advisory group did not materialize, student, teacher and administrative input regarding appropriate measures, procedures, data collection strategies and interview contacts helped to shape the process of this research. Results from this investigation were fed back to these stakeholder groups as they emerged.

Personal Background to this Research

My Community Psychology practicum placement was at the WCBE where I became involved in a variety of initiatives stemming from the Race and Ethnocultural Equity policy and student action groups. This research process has been guided by my previous involvement with the WCBE. I was given the opportunity to assume a number of roles which were useful to this research experience:

- Supportive member of **Unity and Diversity** (anti-racist student group at W.C.I); Facilitated and co-organized conference workshops, observed group planning and special events
- Supportive member of the **CONNECTIONS** inter-school group
- Participant observer in 1 complete teacher in-service series
- Participant observer at the 1993, annual Holocaust seminar
- Facilitator at 1992 Student leadership Anti-racist Camp

Previous involvement allowed me to experience the content and structure of such initiatives. I began to reflect on my research experiences in the form of journal notes. I continued this process sporadically through the course of this investigation, critiquing the research process, my relationships with participants and other personal insights.

Rationale for choice of school

I chose Waterloo Collegiate Institute (W.C.I) as the school community to be studied.

The rationale for this choice included the following:

- (i) Teachers from this school were among the first WCBE staff to receive in-service training

and have therefore received some exposure to the principles of anti-racist education and the board's Race and Ethnocultural Equity policy. The in-service sessions for Area 1 schools took place during the 1991-1992 school year, thus participants had seven months to implement any action plans stemming from the training events. Three staff from W.C.I attended the sessions (including guidance counsellors and teachers).

(ii) W.C.I has an increasingly diverse student population. My informal observations of the student population indicated a fairly high proportion of students from various racial, ethnic and religious groups.⁶ It was anticipated that such a diverse student population would offer a wide range of opinions and perspectives concerning anti-racist education.

(iii) W.C.I carries the distinction of having the most established anti-racist multicultural student group. "Unity and Diversity" has organized activities around the issue of racism for the last three to four years.

(iv) During the 1991-92 school year, I was able to establish several contacts with staff and students at W.C.I through my community practicum. I saw the potential for a good research relationship based on these familiar networks.

⁶There are currently no WCBE statistics concerning the racial, ethnocultural or religious backgrounds of students.

Method

This study was conducted using both quantitative and qualitative methods. In the following sections I have outlined how a questionnaire, focus groups, participant observation and a key informant interview were used to gather the perspectives of students, teachers and the human resources officer regarding anti-racist multicultural education.

Student Questionnaire

According to Mukherjee (1992), one should be able to observe changes in prevailing ideas, institutional systems and individual behaviours when institutions shift towards race and ethnocultural equity. Since the purpose of this investigation was to examine the implementation of Race and Ethnocultural Policy in secondary schools it was important to collect information regarding student awareness of policy, perceptions of the current school environment and orientation towards participation. I obtained this information by a written, self-administered questionnaire. The questionnaire was reviewed by two students and teachers at W.C.I. They suggested minor revisions which were incorporated into the final survey. (Refer to Appendix D for a sample questionnaire). I have outlined components of the questionnaire in the following sections.

Background Information

I collected demographic information regarding the sex, grade level, racial/ethnic status, length of stay in Canada and the presence of a first language other than english.

Student Awareness

Students were given instructions to check the 'yes', 'no' or 'not sure' response options to seven questions assessing policy awareness. I chose to examine general student awareness of the WCBE's Race and Ethnocultural Equity Policy and more specifically, student awareness of policy initiatives pertaining to racial incidents, curriculum and school/community relations.

I also included three questions which assessed awareness of student directed activities within the school. Questions addressing policy awareness were included in order to address research question #3.

Assessment of the School's Multicultural/Anti-racist Orientation

I designed this component of the survey to assess the multicultural anti-racist climate of the school. Students were asked to respond in likert fashion, to 28 statements concerning inter-ethnic interaction, extra-curricular activities, curriculum issues, diversity of staff, racial incidents and staff training and development. These statements reflect the broad range of policy initiatives cited previously in the literature review (Refer back to Appendix C). According to Mukherjee (1992), change towards inclusiveness should be evident within an organization by examining popular assumptions or prevailing ideas, systems and structures, and individual behaviours. (Refer back to Figure 1). I attempted to include items that reflect the three elements of **The Triangle Model**. The content of some items reflected prevailing ideas regarding cultural diversity and anti-racism that are consistent with the principles of Race and Ethnocultural policies (systems and structures). Also included were items assessing behaviours of teachers, administrative staff and students that one would expect in a multicultural/anti-racist school. These behaviours have been identified in education guidelines as well as in a number of student surveys measuring appreciation for cultural diversity, (Ziegler, 1980), student responses to racism (Today's Generation, 1990) and student perceptions of school interracial climates (Green, Adams and Turner, 1988). The scale developed by Green et al. (1988) was informed by research on American desegregation; thus items were written to reflect contact theory for successful desegregation (Allport, 1958, Cook, 1984). The following four factors, derived from contact theory, were identified in this interracial climate scale:

- The according of equal status to members of all racial and ethnic groups
- The presence of interdependent relationships among groups
- The presence of social norms which support positive intergroup interactions
- Opportunities for positive association

Although desegregation is not a current issue in Canadian schools, the principles of contact theory are also applicable to institutions concerned with promoting increased inter-ethnic tolerance and appreciation (Ziegler, 1980). Items 1, 3, 4, 6 and 21, reflect similar components of Green et al.'s school inter-racial climate scale (1988). I developed the remainder of the items based on established guidelines for creating an anti-racist multicultural school environment (Ijaz, 1990, Lee, 1985). The information gathered in this segment of the survey served primarily to address research question #2, that is, assessment of the current environment.

Student Action Orientation

This section of the survey also related to research question #2 which addressed perceptions of the current environment at W.C.I. I included survey items to determine the extent to which students were willing to participate in anti-racist multicultural education at their school. Students were asked to respond in likert fashion, by agreeing or disagreeing with 15 statements (Refer to Appendix D). These items reflected several dimensions of personal and social action directed towards peers and school staff. With the exception of items 1 and 2 which are general beliefs, each statement referred to a specific action that would infer active participation in anti-racist education. Items 1, 2, 8 -11, 14 and 15 have been adapted from survey questions designed for the *Together We're Better* public awareness campaign sponsored by Multiculturalism and Citizenship Canada in 1991. These items address social action taken with peers. I also included statements 6 and 7 to assess

willingness for group involvement. The remainder of the items were designed to reflect action involving staff members.

The negative student responses to the personal action sub-scale illustrates that statistical utility and efficiency cannot be the only factors in determining the effectiveness of a particular method. While students were comfortable in assessing their school environment (the multicultural anti-racist sub-scale), they responded defensively to questions which assessed themselves. This was also true in the focus group discussions as students resisted the focus on self, preferring to speak about their peers and the school environment. This resistance appeared to stem from fears of being labelled negatively by the survey. Ijaz (1990) emphasizes that the attitudes and behaviours, interactions and activities of students are important aspects of an effective anti-racist, multicultural school. However results of this study indicate that students are not necessarily receptive to examining these factors within themselves, particularly within the context of a survey.

Survey Sample

Due to the length of the questionnaire and the sensitivity of the subject area, I used a non-random sampling technique based on the voluntary responses of teachers and students. I perceived the major benefit of using this method as its potential to facilitate the process of teachers and students ownership. I was interested in using the survey process to build awareness and create support around developing an equitable anti-racist multicultural school environment. By using this framework I hoped to reinforce the voluntary nature of participation and minimize conflict associated with feelings of obligation. The limitations of non-random sampling revolve around the issue of representativeness. I realized that opinions suggested by questionnaire results would not necessarily reflect the opinion of the entire W.C.I. student population as each student did not have equal chance of participation.

However, I was confident that results would at least capture a broad range of responses of students attending W.C.I.

Fifty-five teachers with first period classes were invited to participate in the survey process through memos distributed in staff mailboxes. Ten teachers indicated interest in volunteering their first period classes for participation in the survey. One teacher consented to have the survey conducted in an additional class. Two additional teachers agreed to have the survey conducted in alternate class periods. I used this pool of potential participants to create a sample that would facilitate comparisons among students across grade levels and academic streams. I decided to include 10 classes representing each grade (nine to OAC) and both general and advanced levels in the survey process. By documenting the experiences of a wide variety of students, I hoped to minimize the problem of representativeness. Attempts were made to have representation from students of racial and ethnic minority backgrounds. One of the LINC (Language Instruction for New Canadians) teachers agreed to distribute the survey among interested students in her classes. However when she approached these students they appeared reluctant to participate.

I sent a follow-up memo to the pool of 10 teachers, confirming their consent to participate. Teachers were asked to encourage students to participate in the survey. Students were also encouraged to participate via morning announcements. Emphasis of these announcements was placed on the value of student input in creating a positive school environment. Parent/student information letters and consent forms were also sent to these teachers for distribution to student participants. The letter outlined the purpose of this study and the terms of participation. (Refer to Appendix E for a copy of the information letter, consent form and The Statement of Board Approval for this research). Interested students were instructed by their teachers to sign the consent forms and return them several days prior

to filling out the survey. Students under 18 were required to also have signed consent from a parent or guardian. Each returned form was checked for written consent. Survey distribution and collection occurred four or five days after consent forms were returned.

The survey process took 2 days to complete.⁷ With the exception of 4 classes, survey administration took place during homeroom or first period. On average, the surveys took 15 minutes for students to complete. Several students from the Unity and Diversity club assisted me in distributing and collecting the surveys. I met with these students half an hour prior to administering the survey. I discussed with them briefly about the purpose of the survey process and reviewed survey instructions to be given to participants.

A total of 159 students participated in the survey process. One survey was discarded prior to analysis at the request of the student, therefore 158 questionnaires were used for this research. This sample represents approximately 10.5% of the total school population at W.C.I. (N=1496). The majority of participants who filled out questionnaires were female (63.7%). Table 5 indicates that the majority of respondents were senior students (70.8%) with OAC students having the most representation (43.0%).

Table 2 Survey Participants by Grade

Grade Level	Number of Participants	Percentage of Total Sample
9	27	17.2
10	18	11.5
11	13	8.3
12	31	19.7
OAC	68	43.3
	Total = 157 ⁸	Total = 100.0

⁷ Teachers were given two alternative dates due to reversal of periods in W.C.I.'s school day system.

Approximately 10% of students who completed the survey identified themselves as being members of a racial or ethnic minority group. There are currently no school records which consistently track the racial or ethnic backgrounds of students attending W.C.I., thus, it is not known whether this percentage (10%) is representative of the racial and ethnic minority presence at this school. English was identified as the first language for 89.1% of the survey respondents, while Canada was the place of birth for 88.5% of students. Eight percent of students who stated that they were born outside of Canada, indicated they had lived in this country for more than 5 years.

Focus Group Interviews

Student Focus Groups

Four focus group sessions were organized during the 2 lunch hour periods present at W.C.I. Sessions were all run during the same week. Attempts were made to limit each one and half hour session to a total of 12 students. Two of the sessions were conducted by two moderators. The human resource officer and two graduate students (one in Community Psychology and the other in Social Work) conducted two of the sessions. In these sessions, one facilitator was responsible for focusing the discussion and the other took chart notes, highlighting the major points of discussion. I facilitated the two remaining groups by myself, thus having the dual responsibilities of moderating discussion and taking chart notes. Each session was tape-recorded with the permission of focus group participants.

The objectives of the student focus groups are outlined as follows:

- To gain student impressions of the ideal multicultural/anti-racist environment (Research Question #1)
- To gather student perceptions of the current school climate (Research Question #2)

⁸One student failed to identify his/her grade level.

- To gather student suggestions for improving the anti-racist multicultural environment at W.C.I. (Research Question #3)
- To generate ideas for effective Race and Ethnocultural Equity policy implementation at W.C.I. (Research Question #3)

Focus group discussion was generated by four main questions. The opening and closing questions were presented in the form of modified nominal group exercises (Van de Ven & Delbecq, 1974). In the first exercise, participants were encouraged to freely associate their ideas with multicultural anti-racist education. Students responded to the following two statements:

- When I see.... I feel like I'm in a multicultural/anti-racist school
- When I hear I feel like I'm in a multicultural/anti-racist school

Students were instructed to write down their ideas for 10 minutes and then share each idea in round robin fashion. This process was continued until ideas were exhausted. A similar exercise is used among groups participating in anti-racist workshops (Board of Education for the City of Toronto, 1991). Participants are first asked to respond to statements of "when I see.... when I hear... when I feel... I know there is racism " then they are asked to place their examples along the model depicting **The Dynamic of Racism** (Refer back to Figure 1). In the second nominal group exercise (question #4), students were encouraged to brainstorm ideas for changes they wished to see occurring in their school. In both cases, students were encouraged to hand in their nominal group forms at the end of the focus group session. Questions two and three asked students about their perceptions of the current school environment and their thoughts about the board's role in creating anti-racist multicultural education. (Refer to Appendix F for the complete focus group discussion guide).

Student Focus Group Sample

Students who received survey information letters were also invited to participate in a focus

group if they wished to discuss anti-racist multicultural education further. Students indicated this interest by checking off this option on the survey consent form. Students who distributed the surveys also reminded interested students about the focus groups. Memos were also sent to teachers who volunteered classes in which surveys were not administered, in efforts to include interested students in the focus group process. A focus group sign-up list was circulated in these classes. A total of 86 students indicated interest in participating in focus groups as indicated by consent forms and student sign-up lists. My initial plan was to select a smaller number of students from this pool based on racial and ethnic diversity and input from the established advisory group. I was advised by a teacher in this group to leave participation as open as possible because students who had indicated interest would not necessarily all be available during focus group times. Memos were sent to the appropriate teachers indicating when each focus group would be taking place. An additional announcement of this nature was placed in the written teacher announcements. Students were assigned to attend one of the four focus group sessions. Student announcements were run the day before and the day of each focus group session.

A total of 35 students participated in the focus groups. Twenty-nine (83%) participants were female. Table 3 provides a summary of the grade levels that were represented.

Table 3 Student Focus Group Participants by Grade

Grade Level	Number of Participants	Percentage
9	3	8.6
10	8	22.9
11	0	0.0
12	7	20.0
OAC	17	48.6
	Total = 35	Total = 100.0

Twenty-nine (83%) of the 35 participants had also completed the student surveys. Twelve of the 35 (34.3 %) participants considered themselves to be members of a racial or ethnic minority group. Table 4 provides a participant profile for each group.

Table 4 Focus Group Participant Profile

Focus Group	Participants indicating Racial/Ethnic Minority Status	Grade	Sex	Total Number of Participants
1	5	4, grade 10 1, OAC	2 females 3 males	5
2	2	3, grade 9 4, grade 10	7 females	7
3	3	1, grade 12 9, OAC	9 females 1 male	10
4	2	6, grade 12 7, OAC	11 females 2 males	13

I had planned to run an additional focus group organized for members of the local student group, **Unity and Diversity**. The focus of this session would have revolved around school initiatives undertaken by **Unity and Diversity** members. Participants would have been able to reflect on the process of social action. However group time constraints did not allow for this focus group session. I received permission from this group to tape-record one of their group meetings as an alternative. I recorded their evaluation meeting held one month after their multicultural week events. **Unity and Diversity** findings reported in this study were based on this evaluation meeting and my participant observation of this group over a two year period.

Teacher Focus Group

The teacher focus group session was organized in a format that was similar to the ones organized for students. Participants were asked to fill out consent forms prior to the session (Refer to Appendix E for a sample consent form). I moderated this group by myself and the

session was tape-recorded with permission from the participants.

Teachers were asked to respond to similar questions raised during student focus group sessions. Emphasis was placed on the board's role in anti-racist multicultural education. Elements of policy implementation were discussed by this group in more detail than in the student groups. (See Appendix F for a detailed discussion guide.) Due to small numbers discussion was more informal and conversational than in the student groups.

Sampling Procedure

I obtained permission from the school's vice-principal to solicit focus group participants at one of the school's general staff meetings. I made a brief announcement stating the purpose of this research and the theme of the focus group. Information about the focus group session was placed on the agendas handed out to each teacher present. Two teachers indicated interest in participating as a result. In addition, I distributed memos to three teachers who may not have been present at the staff meeting. Three teachers, 1 male and 2 female, participated in the focus group organized for school staff. All three of these teachers had indicated a personal commitment to addressing multicultural issues. Subject areas represented included English-as-a-Second language instruction, special education and enrichment, and business studies. Two of these teachers have worked closely with the student multicultural anti-racist club (**Unity and Diversity**) for the last 3 years. The third teacher volunteered one of his classes for participation in the student survey process.

Key Informant Interview

I conducted a key informant interview with the human resources officer. Discussion was focused on ideas for effective implementation. This interview was approximately one and one half hours in length. I received permission to tape record the interview.

Responding to Issues of Credibility

Patton (1990) identifies three issues of concern when evaluating the credibility of qualitative analysis: (i) the integrity of methods and analysis, (ii) the credibility of the researcher and (iii) a fundamental appreciation of naturalistic inquiry and qualitative methods. In my research I tried to address the first issue through processes Patton identifies as triangulation. I used multiple methods including a student survey, focus groups, and personal observation in a process of method triangulation (Patton, 1990). The results of this study illustrate that multiple methods yielded similar themes expressed both in the survey and the focus groups. The process of methods triangulation was particularly useful in determining the role and impact of the student anti-racist multicultural group at W.C.I. Also important to the integrity of this study was the triangulation of sources across the same method (Patton, 1990). Findings from both the student and teacher interviews revealed similar response patterns. Patton (1990) also identifies the importance of using multiple analysts to review findings (analyst triangulation). One study weakness can be attributed to the fact that I was the sole researcher involved in the coding process. However two members of my committee reviewed focus group codes and themes for face validity. I also revisited the literature on multicultural anti-racist education for interpretation of this data. In order to provide some accountability to the participants in this study, students, teachers and parents who requested feedback were given a brief feedback report which summarized preliminary findings (Refer to Appendix G). Students had the opportunity to respond to the feedback through individual contact with myself.

Researcher credibility is also recognized as an important component of qualitative research (Patton, 1990). My research was grounded in familiarity with the literature on anti-racist multicultural education as well as initiatives at the board level and the W.C.I. school

community. My work at W.C.I. within the practicum context also meant that I was a familiar face to a number of students and teachers.

I have also been careful when discussing results not to overgeneralize the findings pertaining to school climate to other secondary schools within the Region. The qualitative approach emphasize the uniqueness of each setting and I have reported findings with an awareness that W.C.I. represents a school that is likely fairly high on the continuum of anti-racist education initiatives. The generalizable elements of this study pertain to participant suggestions for implementing race and ethnocultural equity policy in secondary schools. The qualitative methods used in this research setting served as a valuable process for gathering these ideas.

Findings

Research Question #1. How do students and teachers perceive the ideal anti-racist multicultural school environment?

Student and Teacher Perceptions of the Ideal

Raw data from the focus groups consisted of chart notes, nominal group exercise sheets and tape recordings of each focus group session. Recordings served to clarify focus group notes and to preserve direct quotes. The teacher focus group was fully transcribed while three of the student focus groups were partially transcribed.⁹ Teacher participants received full transcripts for review of their session. They did not request any changes to the transcripts. Student participants did not request to see transcripts of their focus group sessions. During the transcription process I was able to identify comments that were made by racial and ethnic minority students fairly easily, due to the small numbers of these students who participated. Throughout the text, I have indicated when comments have been made specifically by racial or ethnic minority students. It can be assumed that when such indications are absent, comments reflect the views of students in general. Similarly, I have explicitly identified the direct quotes of ethnic and minority students. The absence of such identifications implies that quotes have come from students of White majority backgrounds.

The focus group guide provided a broad analytical framework from which to examine the data. I used some coding techniques as suggested by Kirby and McKenna (1989). However, because each of the four interview questions was highly focused, I did not find it necessary to use as much detail in the coding process. I approached the responses of each question by first organizing them into various codes then grouping the codes into larger themes. I used chart

⁹ The results of one student focus group were not transcribed due to the poor quality of taping.

notes (for each question) and nominal group exercise sheets (questions one and four only) to first establish each distinct category. Each question was examined across all four focus groups. Then, using an informal colour-coding process, I grouped these coded responses into broader themes, making efforts to use direct quotes for the purpose of elaborating on these themes. This process is illustrated in Appendix H. I also recorded the prevalence of each idea across focus groups. I have included this information in the results section. Student and teacher responses to this nominal group exercise generated 41 categories of information. Refer to Appendix H for examination of these initial categories.

When student focus group participants were asked to share their perceptions of the ideal anti-racist multicultural school environment, the following themes emerged:

- Diverse School Population
- Freedom of Cultural Expression
- Appreciation and Acknowledgement of Diversity
- Evidence of Fairness and Equality
- Intolerance of Racist Behaviour
- Solidarity and Support
- Social Change Focus

Appendix H also presents the 41 categories as organized into the emergent themes. The first three themes appeared to address the notion of multiculturalism and cultural diversity. The last four themes addressed the concept of anti-racism. Less time was devoted to this exercise during the teacher focus group. However, teacher participants reported similar ideas. I have identified the ideas that were unique to teachers in the following sections.

Diverse School Population

Students and teachers from all five focus groups perceived the presence of racial and cultural diversity in both the student and staff population as important elements of a multicultural school. Visible minority participants emphasized not only the presence of such diversity but "an *even distribution* of colour and race".

Freedom of Cultural Expression

Students and teachers described this freedom in terms of being able to keep and express important aspects of their cultural heritage without judgement, disapproval or ridicule. Focus group participants defined cultural expression in terms of freedom to wear cultural dress, jewellery and hairstyles (3 groups), freedom to express cultural views (1 group) and freedom to speak first languages in school (3 groups).

Appreciation and Acknowledgement of Diversity

Focus group participants visualized a multicultural school as one in which cultural diversity is personally appreciated and publicly acknowledged. Focus group participants often defined appreciation in terms of positive peer interaction. Students described this interaction as "students of various races, religions and other social economic sects getting along relatively well" and sharing their "unique differences". All student groups mentioned the presence of interracial friendships and/or dating relationships as indicative of an anti-racist multicultural school environment.

Comments from all focus groups indicated that appreciation for diversity at the personal level was also accompanied by the need for public acknowledgement in the daily aspects of school functioning. Students spoke generally regarding the role of diversity in the curriculum (courses) but they provided more detailed ideas regarding the hidden curriculum (student programming, school activities occurring outside of the classroom). In terms of courses, participants often stated that in an ideal school, diversity would be acknowledged in textbooks and in the broad range of literature available in the library (2 groups). Students from two focus groups also mentioned that such acknowledgement would also be present in terms of the diversity of language programs offered in the school. Participants emphasized the importance of acknowledging diversity in the hidden curriculum. Groups were clear about

how such acknowledgment was to extend into various aspects of student life. Ideas included the celebration of cultures in multicultural week festivals, (2 groups), diversity of music present in school dances and assemblies (2 groups), diversity visible in posters, flags and symbols (3 groups) and the acknowledgement of religious/cultural holidays in school announcements (2 groups). Teachers felt that acknowledgement of diversity should be reflected in all school operations including the availability of ethnic foods in the cafeteria.

Fairness and Equality

Student focus group participants often used the terms "equal recognition", "equal treatment" and "equal representation" to describe issues of fairness in both in courses and student activities. One of the criteria for an anti-racist multicultural school as mentioned in 3 groups was equal recognition of all cultures in courses offered. History was mentioned most often as a course example followed by World Religions and Languages. In one focus group, the students mentioned the importance of addressing stereotypes which have existed historically for groups of people such as Native people and Blacks, in the classroom setting. Participants in two of the focus groups expressed that students of all cultures should be fairly represented in a cross-section of student activities, including representation on student government, drama productions and athletic teams. Teachers also presented this idea, stressing the need for diversity of student leadership in all school activities. It was clear from several focus group comments that students often use the terms "equal" and "fair" interchangeably. For example one student expressed that "an equal number of all the races on sports' teams" was one way to gauge the anti-racist climate of a school. There was some debate in this focus group about the appropriateness of setting quotas for sports teams. As one student reasoned:

It will be racist if you state that they (the sports teams) have to be equal. Sure they could end up being equal among the people qualified but chances are that its not.... If we're talking about an ideal situation then you... wouldn't need to set quotas to force that equality.

Similarly, students often interpreted "same treatment" as "equal or fair treatment". For example "teachers not teaching some students differently from others" was interpreted as being fair. In terms of student interaction, "being colour-blind" or not noticing differences was often equated with fairness.

Intolerance of Racist Behaviour

Students from all four focus groups envisioned an anti-racist school ideally as one in which they heard no racist comments, jokes or derogatory statements. However, should such behaviour occur, students from two of the groups viewed a vocal student body openly standing up to racist comments as evidence of an anti-racist school environment. Anti-racist posters visible in the school and regular announcements against racism were mentioned by one group as suggestive of an anti-racist school. The need for strong punishment in dealing with racist behaviour in an anti-racist school was mentioned and emphasized exclusively by minority student participants.

Solidarity and Support

Student participants viewed an anti-racist multicultural school environment as one that was openly supported by the administration, teachers, parents and students. Structurally, the presence of anti-racist messages, via announcements and posters was viewed as demonstrative of administrative support. Praise and recognition by the administration for students involved in multicultural anti-racist activities were also viewed as evidence of structural support. Administrative support via a strong system of dealing with racist behaviour was seen by visible minority students as a crucial component of an anti-racist environment. Students also viewed an anti-racist school as one in which "teachers promote anti-racism, not just students".

A feeling of solidarity and support was particularly important to racial and ethnic minority students who saw the ideal environment as one where "an entire school understands and supports diversity in culture." These students voiced a need for support from the majority. For example, one student stated "when I see people from a majority battling racism I know they are a multicultural/anti-racist group." Student support was also perceived by the presence of a anti-racist student group within the school. Teacher participants felt that structural support also required a sensitivity to minority issues. One teacher expressed that an anti-racist multicultural school is one where minority students' rights are advocated. He described an anti-racist school as one where visible minority students and teachers felt comfortable in all school venues.

Social Change Orientation

A few student participants visualized an anti-racist school as one which motivates people to change society. This orientation was viewed as possible in courses such as "World Religions" and "Sociology." Students felt the focus of class discussions would speak to current issues, multiculturalism and racism. According to some participants, the results would be evident from "hearing people talk about making a better world not just the school," hearing "individuals speaking out against racism in society," and seeing "people promote anti-racism in the community".

Research Question #2: How do students and teachers perceive the current environment at W.C.I. with respect to anti-racist multicultural education?

A Snapshot of W.C.I: Perceptions of the Current Climate

General Perceptions

Due to similarity in themes, I have found it useful to present findings from both the

student survey and the focus groups in this section. Descriptive survey results are presented in tables and throughout the text. I have reported valid percentages which correct for any missing responses to each question.

Approximately 92% of survey respondents agreed or strongly agreed that multiculturalism is viewed positively by students at the school. Similarly, 88% of survey participants agreed or strongly agreed that the majority of students at the school feel positively about getting to know other students of different races and cultures. Several survey participants also made qualitative comments regarding the presence or absence of racism at W.C.I. Their perception was that students were generally accepting of all races. This viewpoint is illustrated by one student's comments:

"We have grown up in a time where we are brought up with all races and we learn that they are not any different than we are. Our school is not one of lots of racism. We are fair and equal to everyone."

When students were asked to visualize themselves along a multicultural anti-racist continuum during focus groups, responses were varied. It was the opinion of students in two of the focus groups that a positive attitude toward multiculturalism prevailed in the school. One group perceived their school favourably when compared with other schools in the Region. Students identified four schools, close in proximity, which were not seen to promote much anti-racist multicultural activity. One student voiced an opinion that W.C.I is "a leader among schools," an opinion that in my experience is shared by many students, teachers and WCBE staff. Teachers also offered general ratings during their focus group discussion. Responses seemed to vary according to the degree of involvement with the initiatives of the student anti-racist multicultural group. A teacher who worked closely with this group placed its efforts fairly high on the continuum of anti racist multicultural education. Another teacher was less optimistic when describing the general student population, stating that the school was

caring on the surface but hostilities surfaced when tested. In the focus group sessions, students from two groups, like the following, noted a positive trend which has occurred in their school over the past 3 to 5 years:

Well most of us have been here for 5 years and like I've seen a change in the school like from grade 9 to now. I actually feel a big change in - like people's attitudes have changed and people have become more aware of the problem and they're taking it more seriously than before.... the multicultural events- they've come out in the last 3 years.

Teachers also noted a similar trend over the last 4 to 5 years. Much of this change coincides with the formation and activity of **Unity & Diversity**, the student anti-racist multicultural club. Most of the positive change noted in the school was attributed to this group by focus group participants. While most survey and focus group participants were positive about W.C.I.'s anti-racist multicultural environment, ethnic and racial minority focus group participants (most of whom participated in one focus group) placed their school on the lower end of the continuum.

During focus groups, when students made specific comments pertaining to the current school climate, they tended to make reference to earlier perceptions of the ideal. Responses of both teachers and students generated 27 of the 41 categories identified in the first focus group question. (See Appendix H). I found it useful to summarize most of their comments in terms of six of the seven themes presented earlier. The opinions of racial and ethnic minority students often differed significantly from those of White majority backgrounds. I have reported these differences in an additional section. As well, the pervasive influence of the school's student anti-racist multicultural club was apparent throughout this study. I have included a descriptive analysis of this group as an important piece in this research.

Diversity of School Population

Students from one focus group commented on the presence of diversity among staff and

students. Ethnic and racial minority students perceived that there was less diversity. During one focus group session, amid much laughter, one student stated: "At W.C.I there's like, say 3000 white people and 10 black people." While this statement was somewhat exaggerated, there was a sense among most of these participants that they represented a very small percentage of the school population. Students who participated in the survey also appeared to have different perceptions of the amount of ethnic and racial diversity present at W.C.I. These perceptions seemed to influence their responses to the issue of racism. One student stated: "There aren't that many different races here and not really any racism." By contrast others perceived the school as being very diverse. Teachers and visible minority students in this study identified the visible minority staff as a 'token' presence at W.C.I.

Freedom of Cultural Expression

Participants from one group stated that generally, people do not feel free to wear traditional cultural clothing and those who do face ridicule. Similarly, students from another group perceived negativity towards speaking other languages at school. One student expressed his own discomfort at hearing other languages:

... the Oriental people that come to our school, they all talk in their language and they know how to speak english but they still choose to speak oriental and I don't understand why.

When asked why this bothered people, the same student replied: "It bothers some people because you feel like... you don't know if they're talking about you or not you know ..."

Other participants implied that students who spoke their own languages were somehow trying to prove superiority.

Appreciation and Acknowledgement of Diversity

The majority of survey participants responded positively to statements which assessed the presence of cultural diversity in various aspects of school life (the hidden curriculum). As

Table 5 indicates, the majority of survey respondents agreed or strongly agreed that cultural diversity was adequately present in the hidden curriculum. However this diversity was not perceived to extend to the course curriculum. Only half of the survey respondents agreed or strongly agreed that their textbooks sufficiently reflected cultural diversity.

Table 5 Student Perceptions of Visible Diversity

	Strongly Agree(%)	Agree(%)	Disagree(%)	Strongly Disagree(%)
● Extra-curricular activities adequately reflect the diversity of our school.	11.1	62.1	24.2	2.6
● The diversity of our school is shown regularly during morning announcements.	11.0	49.0	36.1	3.9
● The diversity of our school is reflected in the school's yearbook.	15.2	58.3	25.8	.7
● Bulletin board displays reflect the diversity of our school.	14.3	63.0	21.4	1.3
● My textbooks reflect the perspectives of various racial and cultural groups	9.0	41.0	41.0	9.0

Students were asked about their perceptions of interracial/inter-ethnic peer interactions in the survey. Ninety-three percent of participants agreed or strongly agreed that students of different ethnic backgrounds help each other in classes and make friends with each other during extra-curricular events. In the survey, items which addressed cross-cultural interaction and friendships drew the most response from participants. Many respondents seemed offended by the inclusion of these items. Responses such as the following were popular: "I

make friends with people because of who they are, not the colour of their skin." "Friends are chosen because of their personality not race." Other students expressed comments suggesting that they do not notice differences. The following comments illustrate such notions of 'colour-blindness':

"I'm not a colour conscious person so I don't really have an answer for this question."

"I usually don't notice their culture or their colour."

Some students interpreted these survey items as conscripting or placing expectations on their choices in friendship:

"We're not expected to be friends with people from every culture and race."

Other participants such as the following student, expressed opinions that such behaviour would be discriminatory: "I don't go out of my way to make friends with racial minorities or majorities. I feel that in a way is another form of racism."

During the focus group sessions, students from all four focus groups mentioned World Religions and Sociology (Families in Canadian Society) as the primary class forums for discussing issues of racism and multiculturalism. In one of the focus groups, participants agreed that most opportunities for examining these issues were limited to the senior grades. It was also noted that such courses were optional, moreover, they were often linked with course prerequisites that students may not have taken in earlier grades due to lack of interest. The linking of History and Geography with World Religions and World Issues courses was mentioned as one such example:

...Our grade nine geography course is fishing and where do you need this?... Kids can get turned off from geography in grade 9 so then they won't read their booklets and find out that later on when you need another course in grade 11 [geography] that you can't take the World Religion course because

there was no interest [in taking more geography].¹⁰

Teachers present in the focus group identified history and family studies as courses in which diverse perspectives were presented. They expressed the need for courses which address multiculturalism and racism.

Focus group participants made few comments about the level of appreciation and/or acknowledgment of diversity in regular school events. Most references to school events centred around multicultural week celebrations. However, in one focus group, several students of racial minority backgrounds commented on the limited appreciation for different types of music in assemblies, airbands and school dances: "Yeah well, we only have one type of music in dances... Like as soon as something [is played] they go oh, this is rap or rapping", "...for airbands, you go up and do something with rap and they sit there and boo. All the people boo... and say come off..."

During focus groups, students also spent some time describing peer interactions at WCI. While most agreed that students got along with each other relatively well, several student and teacher participants noted that cultural groupings were fairly commonplace at lunchtimes and in the hall ways. One student reflected on his observations:

That's how it is in this school, most of the time, like- everybody knows it like, when you go downstairs at lunch you see all the black kids over here, you see all the white kids there, you see all Chinese people... They know other people, they say "hey what's up" but overall when you watch them they're always with their normal culture."

Students seemed to have varying responses to the presence of cultural groupings. Some, like this survey respondent, felt that such groupings were negative:

¹⁰This student made the incorrect link between Geography and World Religions. When I examined the course calendar, World Issues was offered within the Geography department and World Religions was offered in the History department.

People with different colour, race, background at this school only talk to each other, no one else... Racism goes both ways. Many minorities at my school tend to stay in cliques and avoid contact with others...

References to cultural groupings were discussed only in terms of visible minority student groupings. In defense of such groupings one visible minority student stated that people stay within their own groups "to feel better." Teacher participants perceived that some staff members found cultural groupings to be problematic, feeling uncomfortable when "all of the same group are hanging around together." One teacher who works closely with the LINC (Language Instruction for New Canadians) students acknowledged the need for these students to be with people from their own culture and speak freely in their languages during lunch hours. Apparently this was an issue raised during the board's teacher in-service sessions. The consensus among these teachers was that students, particularly those from racial and ethnic minority backgrounds, should feel comfortable in peer interactions of their own choosing. Cultural groupings did appear to pose some problems in LINC classroom settings. As one teacher stated:

I found well, in my classroom, I'm getting the - I don't want to use the word ghetto - ghettos of all the different groups and there's almost conflict being set up among the different groups. The Chinese people are starting to talk a lot louder and then another group is telling them to be quiet and they argue and step on each other's rights and it's becoming an issue.

Racial and ethnic minority students challenged the notion of colour-blindness often expressed by their white majority peers. The tendency to ignore differences was viewed negatively by some visible minority participants in one focus group session. Their feelings are summarized by this student's comments:

...they'll go oh, 'I forgot' you're not White and I think to them, its supposed to make me feel better because they don't see me as different but it doesn't, because I am different and you have to notice that...

In general, focus group feedback indicated positive interracial and inter-ethnic interactions

were regular aspects of classroom and school activities but same group interactions were more likely in terms of close friendships and dating relationships.

Fairness and Equality

In the survey, there was a split in opinion concerning students' perceptions of fairness in terms of how diversity was displayed in course material (See Table 6).

Table 6 Fair Representation of Diversity in Course Material

	Strongly Agree(%)	Agree(%)	Disagree	Disagree Strongly(%)
● The contributions of diverse groups to Canadian society are presented fairly in my course material	2.0	46.4	41.8	9.8
● When stereotypes of certain groups of people appear in textbooks and novels, they are challenged in class discussions.	9.2	45.8	32.0	13.1

Students also expressed dissatisfaction with the limited opportunity to discuss the issue of racism. The majority of students who completed the questionnaire (75.9%) disagreed or strongly disagreed that enough class time was given to discuss issues of racism. Fifty-seven percent of survey participants agreed or strongly agreed that they hear about anti-racist education on a regular basis at their school.

In terms of fairness in staff-student relationships, most survey respondents (86.6%) perceived staff as treating students fairly regardless of race or ethnic background. Students in both the focus groups and the survey often equated equal treatment with treating people the same. This was true for students from majority and minority student backgrounds. One survey respondent expressed this popular view. "Due to the large diversity at our school, everyone is given the same opportunities and is treated equally. This is the way it should be."

Some survey respondents did not see clear links between survey items and the issue of racism. For example one student questioned the need for guidance staff to have "special tools" to meet the needs of students from diverse backgrounds. The need to represent cultural or racial groups fairly in school assemblies or special events was challenged by another student who stated that "not all races have to be represented, we're all equal." Comments like these indicated that students often displayed a limited understanding of systemic or institutional racism, and adhered to prevailing assumptions of equal opportunity.

During the focus groups, issues of fairness and equality were discussed in relation to the course curriculum. Participants in one focus group spent some time discussing representation of various groups in history courses. For example, when asked if Native people were allowed to speak for themselves in textbooks, one student noted this was more true of senior level history courses than those taught in the junior grades:

Well, like, thinking back to grade 10 history, no, but the textbook I have right now in OAC I was really impressed by. They do have quotes and articles and things like that from actual Native people.

Another student mentioned U.S.-Soviet tensions, and Black history, as classic examples where balanced viewpoints were often missing:

...like when we learn about things like the States having a war with Russia, they'll show the States side as being good and the Russians the bad ones. They should show us from both points of view. And they should do the same thing with slavery and that sort of thing in Black history so its from the Black person's point of view as well."

Inclusion of all viewpoints was viewed by these students as essential to teaching issues fairly.

Prevalence and Tolerance of Racist Behaviour

Despite perceptions that the multicultural anti-racist climate at W.C.I. was generally positive, 70% of survey respondents perceived racial harassment to be an everyday occurrence at the school. Two survey questions which polled participants' responses to racist

jokes or comments indicated that most students would ignore a racist remark (62.5%) or laugh at a racist joke (76%). Eighty-seven percent of survey respondents indicated that they would ignore unfair treatment of students who are culturally different if their friends did the same, indicating a reluctance to intervene with their peers. With respect to teachers, most survey respondents felt that staff considered racist incidents to be serious offenses and attempted to prevent such occurrences (Refer to Table 7).

Table 7 Staff Response to Racist Incidents

	Strongly Agree(%)	Agree(%)	Disagree(%)	Disagree Strongly(%)
● Racial incidents are considered to be serious offenses by staff at this school.	38.4	44.4	15.9	1.3
● Most teachers try to stop students from discriminating against one another.	17.2	67.5	12.1	3.2

Students from all four focus groups noted that racist jokes and to a lesser extent, derogatory statements constituted the most prevalent forms of harassment at W.C.I. Students voiced varying opinions regarding the severity of racist jokes. While most participants viewed such behaviour as negative, reaction was mild as compared to reaction to other forms of harassment.

Some visible minority focus group participants, like the following, were also conscious of stereotypical behaviour: "... when you walk down the hall, they look at you. They see you're Black and they go hey 'what's up homie.... all that stuff". These students felt such stereotypes imposed expectations with respect to areas such as sports:

There's a lot of things that they expect because you're a different colour. You're better at some things. Like a lot of people say you're Black, you should be able to play basketball and like a lot of people say you're Greek you should - why don't you play on the soccer team? You should be good at playing soccer, you're Greek.

and music:

For example, I'm on Council [student] and as soon as I say o.k. like there should be a broader array of music, just because I'm saying it, they're like oh o.k. you want rap. And its not necessarily that I want rap but I might want some House, or techno or hip hop or something else. I might want something of a different variety. They classify anything that's done by a Black person is rap and its not really the case.

Focus group participants indicated that people were not stepping forward to confront racist comments and jokes. Standing up to jokes was viewed as high risk behaviour. As one student commented, "it's easier to stay with a group than to single yourself out". Standing up would mean risking negative reaction from peers.

Recurring comments from students and teachers during focus groups indicated some dissatisfaction with the way racist incidents were handled. Participants voiced the need for such incidents to be used by the administration as tools for learning. This would mean addressing the school as a community when such incidents occur. The current approach of the administration is to intervene only with the parties involved. When asked to suggest changes that would improve the multicultural anti-racist climate at W.C.I., visible minority participants stressed the need for "tough rules" to deal with racist incidents. Their perception was that positive staff attitudes were not accompanied by an effective system for dealing with racist incidents. Teacher participants were also not satisfied with the current ad hoc approach to dealing with racist incidents. At present, WCI refers to The WCBE's statement of Non-Tolerance when dealing with incidents of racial or ethnocultural harassment. This statement which appears in the course calendar and student handbook, briefly outlines the responsibilities of principals when such activity occurs. However clear guidelines have not

been given to staff. One teacher shared how a particular incident was handled, demonstrating a 'trial and error' approach to dealing with racial harassment:

I got a chance to have an in-school suspension one day because you're supposed to send them out of school for 3 days for racist behaviour. And instead, the boy spent some time with me because it was thought that it could be a better... cure (*cure* was stated by another staff member amid much laughter) - well an educational process rather than, you know, hoping that it would be better in that sense.... And I don't know, maybe it was, but what I thought it would at least do is cause us to look at what are we going to do. Hey, we didn't know what to do here and this just happened to work.

Some dissatisfaction stemmed from the fact that the tone of traditional procedures was disciplinary versus educational.

Solidarity and Support

Survey results indicate that in principle, a positive tone towards multiculturalism exists at W.C.I. For example, In the survey, 92% of respondents agreed or strongly agreed that students supported multiculturalism, while 82% agreed or strongly agreed that most staff try to promote good race and ethnic relations among students. The principal of the W.C.I. has helped to create this positive tone through his participation in, and support of, student assemblies and conferences which address racism and multiculturalism. However, focus group findings indicate that positive personal attitudes have not translated into involvement on the part of most students and teachers at W.C.I. There was consensus among focus group participants that with the exception of a few teachers, staff were minimally involved in addressing issues of multiculturalism or racism in class or in organized multicultural anti-racist events. Participants from all four groups recognized that most of these initiatives were extra-curricular events organized almost exclusively by students. Teachers who participated in the focus group were only able to identify a small circle of sustained teacher support around multicultural anti-racist issues at W.C.I. Teacher participants felt that staff in many disciplines did not see how issues or racism or multiculturalism were course related, therefore

not relevant to their everyday work. Students also speculated about the level of teacher involvement in multicultural anti-racist education. Some attributed this lack of involvement to fear and close-mindedness stemming from their own limited experiences:

I think there are some teachers that are in the same trap as we all are. They grew up in Waterloo - I mean its a pretty isolated town, pretty wealthy city and um, they've grown up um believing certain things and they will express freely views in class - not necessarily racist views but you can tell their cultural bias.

There was a sense among students that teachers were not sufficiently in touch with the increasing reality of cultural diversity.

It was the viewpoint of most visible minority students who participated in the focus groups that students of majority backgrounds were reluctant to get involved in multicultural, anti-racist activities. They attributed this uninvolvedness to lack of interest. One visible minority student voiced her frustration during a focus group session:

Well ... I remember from last year that it was held after school [the Multicultural talent show]. The only people that came were people that were of a different race... and the reason why we're having it is so we can spread it and share all the different cultures.

However other students attributed the reluctance of majority students to become involved to other reasons, such as a sense of not having a culture to represent, fear of being labelled negatively by peers, and concern that their involvement may not be accepted.

...we had stands set up of different food and music and stuff. People were representing their cultures and I would - I don't want this to sound offensive but- I think a lot of people um, that weren't minorities didn't feel that they had a right or didn't feel as comfortable setting up a table for Germany or whatever because White people are the majority - you know what I mean, like cultures that were more pervasive didn't feel as comfortable because the point of the multiculturalism seemed more to be anti-racist - to expose people to the minority cultures.

This student expressed concern that the involvement of White students from majority ethnic cultures may be perceived as inappropriate.

Majority versus Minority Status Differences

The multicultural/anti-racist school climate and the student action sub-scales were assessed individually for internal consistency using *Cronbach's Alpha* reliability coefficient. The mean score for the multicultural/anti-racist school climate scale which included 28 items, was 79.76 ($SD=9.38$). Cronbach's alpha for this scale was .87 indicating that the scale was internally consistent. Similarly, Cronbach's alpha for the Student Action scale indicated high internal consistency ($\alpha=.91$). The Student action scale had 15 items ($M=41.38$, $SD=7.81$).

The reliability of these two sub-scales allowed for comparisons across gender and ethnicity. I was particularly interested in examining whether belonging to an ethnic or racial minority group influenced students' perceptions of the school's multicultural anti-racist environment and/or students' orientation to personal action in this area. I ran four t-tests in order to make such comparisons. It was important to first check assumptions of normality and equal variance necessary for interpreting t-tests. The skewness and kurtosis data associated with these data (1.13 and .19 respectively) indicate that scores were normally distributed. The histogram showed a distribution that was negatively skewed (-.69), indicating more scores in the upper range.¹¹ The probabilities associated with each F value indicated homogeneity of variance in two instances and only a mild deviation of homogeneity in the other two cases.

Survey findings indicated that students who identified themselves as being members of an ethnic or racial minority group perceived the multicultural anti-racist environment at W.C.I to be less positive ($M=74.93$) than students of majority status ($M=80.25$), $t(110)=-2.13$, $p<.05$. These results coincide with findings during the focus group discussions in which

¹¹T-tests do not depend heavily on the assumption of normality and I did not consider it a serious threat to the validity of this analysis.

visible minority students expressed more dissatisfaction with the current school climate. In addition, students of ethnic or racial minority backgrounds who completed the questionnaires were more likely to take personal action against racism ($M=44.27$) than students of majority status ($M=40.69$), $t(132)=1.99$, $p < .05$. Visible minority students in one focus group observed that only "multicultural" (their term) people or "people who are on the side that will be called racist names" take personal action in the form of organized events.

Status differences found between students who identified themselves as ethnic or racial minorities versus those who placed themselves in the majority group prompted me to do further analysis in order to determine where these differences occurred. Initially, I conducted a factor analysis using the principal component method, on the student action sub-scale. The criterion for factor extraction was an eigenvalue greater than 1. A total of 3 factors met this criterion. However when the factor matrix was rotated using the quartimax rotation all 15 items from the sub-scale loaded onto factor 1 with loadings greater than .40.¹² The student action sub-scale was adequately interpreted as a single factor scale.

I conducted a similar factor analysis with the Multicultural Anti-racist Climate scale in order to isolate specific factors present within this measure. The criterion for factor extraction was an eigenvalue greater than 1. A total of 9 factors met this criterion. Refer to Table 8 for the eigenvalues and the corresponding percentage of variance explained.

Table 8 Eigenvalues and Percentage of Variance Accounted for by Factors

Factor	Eigenvalue	Variance Accounted For (%)
1	6.59	26.22
2	2.62	9.4
3	1.80	6.4

¹²The quartimax procedure emphasizes simple interpretation of variables by minimizing the number of variables that have high loadings on a factor (Norusis, 1990).

Factor	Eigenvalue	Variance Accounted For (%)
4	1.63	5.8
5	1.37	4.9
6	1.32	4.7
7	1.15	4.1
8	1.04	3.7
9	1.01	3.6

I then examined the variables within each factor for ease of interpretation. Four of the factors allowed for straightforward interpretations. Factor loadings greater than .43 for each of the five factors included are presented in Table 9. The items loading highest on the first factor were associated with the visible presence of diversity in various aspects of school life such as bulletin board displays, morning announcements, textbooks and extra-curricular activities. Items that corresponded with factor 2 focused on staff promotion of positive race and ethnic relations within the school. Factor 3 consisted of items concerned with the presence of the anti-racist perspective in the curriculum and in the classroom. The final factor used for analysis (Factor 5) included two items which assessed student attitudes towards multiculturalism. The other factors were discarded due to difficulty in making clear interpretations and because of the relatively low percentage of variance accounted for by each.

Table 9 Quartimax Rotated Factor Loadings

	Factor 1	Factor 2	Factor 3	Factor 5
Multicultural Anti-racist Climate Scale (Item Number)	Visible Presence of Cultural Diversity	Staff Promotion of Positive Race/Ethnic Relations	Curriculum: Content and Process	Student Attitudes Towards Multiculturalism
8	.78			
9	.74			
10	.59			

	Factor 1	Factor 2	Factor 3	Factor 5
Multicultural Anti-racist Climate Scale (Item Number)	Visible Presence of Cultural Diversity	Staff Promotion of Positive Race/Ethnic Relations	Curriculum: Content and Process	Student Attitudes Towards Multiculturalism
7	.54			
11	.48			
22		.78		
21		.73		
24		.70		
19		.50		
12			.71	
25			.71	
27			.69	
26			.63	
13			.43	
28			.43	
1				.72
2				.69

Subsequent analyses included computing indices for each of the four factors identified previously. Indices were computed by adding the scores of items on each of the four factor loadings. These scores were divided by the number of items in order to yield indices that were comparable. The four indices were used in t-tests in order to compare students of minority versus majority status. Further t-test analysis indicated that students from ethnic or racial minority groups differed significantly from majority students in their responses to items dealing with anti-racist curriculum issues. Students from ethnic or racial minority backgrounds were significantly less satisfied ($M = 9.83$) with current curriculum content and process in terms of anti-racist education than students from majority backgrounds ($M = 10.14$)

$t(137) = -3.47, p < .001$.¹³ In fact, while most (86.4%) majority students felt represented in their course material, 67% of ethnic and racial minority students did not feel represented, $X^2(1, N = 149) = 29.88, p < .001$.¹⁴ Students did not differ significantly in their perceptions of the visibility of cultural diversity in school life (hidden curriculum), staff promotion of positive race relations or student attitudes towards multiculturalism. While most students perceived that student services meet the needs of students from a wide variety of ethnic backgrounds, more students of majority status (90.5%) agreed or strongly agreed than students from ethnic and racial minority backgrounds (73.1%), $X^2(1, N = 152) = 4.48, p < .05$. Similarly, fewer students of ethnic or racial minority backgrounds (61.5%) perceived that staff knew how to work effectively with students from a variety of backgrounds when compared with students of majority status (87.7%) $X^2(1, N = 148) = 8.67, p < .05$. While 73% of White ethnic majority students perceived that most teachers were comfortable in discussing racism in class, only 50% of ethnic and racial minority students agreed or strongly agreed with this statement, $X^2(1, N = 146) = 3.94, p < .05$.

There was some consensus among minority participants from one focus group that students of racial or ethnic minority backgrounds, particularly Black students, tended to leave schools such as W.C.I. for two schools in the Region cited as having greater diversity among the student body. This 'leaving' trend was confirmed by the human resources officer who has noted similar patterns in other schools throughout the region. In order to gain permission from school administrators to change schools, these students give 'legitimate' reasons such as

¹³A check for assumptions indicated that scores were not normally distributed and variance was not equal between groups (Levene = 5.54, $p = .02$). I then used a nonparametric test (Mann-Whitney) to make the same comparisons and significant differences were found, $Z = -2.53, p < .05$.

¹⁴ When presenting group differences for individual survey items, the chi square statistic has been reported.

absence of a semestered school year:

Student #1: "most of the time you have to make up a reason..."

Student #2: "Yeah, and they have to interview you... and they call you and if you say well because my school is - because of racism, they'll send you right back."

Students linked their dissatisfaction with school to their academic performance:

Some of us ok. - some of us don't like our school so in turn we don't work as hard in this school... I know a person that left this school with very bad marks and went to a school where their race was [more prevalent, more visible] and got 90's and 80's.

Interestingly, the two schools of choice were not necessarily perceived to be more responsive to the ideals of anti-racist multicultural education. However the key buffering factor for these students appeared to be in having greater numbers of Black peers. The human resource officer noted that fitting in and not standing out represent key concerns for visible minority students. The perception of these students was that they were watched more closely in settings where they were fewer in numbers.

Gender Differences

When analyzing for gender differences, I found that female participants ($M=81.20$) perceived the multicultural anti-racist climate at W.C.I. to be more positive than male participants ($M=77.05$). This difference was significant statistically $t(112)=2.35, p < .05$. The female respondents were significantly more likely to take personal action against racism ($M=43.69$) than their male counterparts ($M=37.48$), $t(134)=4.81, p < .001$. However observation of Unity and Diversity membership indicates a fairly even distribution of female and male students.

The Role and Impact of Unity and Diversity

This descriptive analysis of W.C.I.'s student anti-racist multicultural club is based upon participant observations over a two year period, focus group comments (from both student and

teacher participants) and field notes taken during an evaluation meeting.

The multicultural anti-racist club, **Unity and Diversity**, was recognized both by teachers and students as creating a sense of appreciation for cultural diversity at W.C.I and bringing anti-racist issues to the forefront. Students credited this group with initiating most of the multicultural anti-racist events taking place within the school. Student leadership came primarily but not exclusively from students of racial and ethnic minority backgrounds, confirming focus group perceptions of multiculturalism as being strictly a minority group interest at the school. **Unity and Diversity** members represent a range of racial, ethnic and religious backgrounds including South Asian, South-East Asian, Greek, African, Caribbean, Muslim, Sikh, Hindu, Jewish and Mennonite communities. Most of these students were born in Canada or have lived here for a significant number of years, but their personal lives are a blend of traditional and contemporary Ethno-Canadian values. Many of these students indicated strong ties with their particular faith communities, noted by attendance of religious services and observances of cultural and religious practices and holidays. Members were highly motivated and often demonstrated extraordinary leadership and organizing skills. Several students in the club were also involved in the school's enrichment program for gifted students. The student leaders were noted by teacher focus group participants as being high academic achievers. In describing these students, one teacher observed. "If you look at those people, they ooze self-esteem and they are close to the top of their grade level." Teacher focus group participants perceived the nature of student leadership as critical to its acceptance by teachers and students. The teacher who has worked closely with this group stated:

Why I've really enjoyed working with the kids that I'm working with and encouraging more kids to get involved because I haven't felt that they were kids who threatened - who were threatening in the way they presented their ideas - who were blaming other people and its because of the way that they are and how they feel themselves, the confidence and all that. It has not been a threatening kind of thing here, this educational focus.

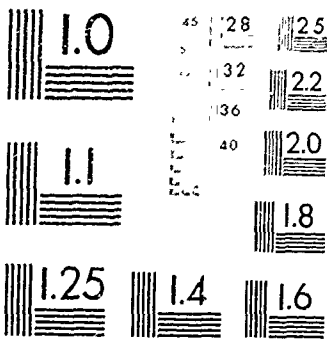
During the staff focus group it was clear that there was tremendous respect for these student leaders and organizers among W.C.I. staff. The same teacher stated: "They have done an awful lot. I think in many cases they have fulfilled for some people what they consider a county job." The work of this group has been acknowledged publicly by the school's administration during assemblies and staff meetings. **Unity and Diversity** has also gained credibility in other schools as well as the broader community. The executive body has been asked by students and teachers at other schools to assist them in starting their own student groups. Student leaders involved in this group have also been invited to speak on issues of racism at a number of community events. Club events have been covered regularly by *Today's Newsmakers* (the WCBE community paper) and community newspapers including the *K-W Record*.

An important function of **Unity and Diversity** has been to nurture leadership among group members. The teachers who have nurtured this group have given students a great deal of space to create and plan their activities with little intervention. The role of teachers has been to provide administrative, technical and emotional support. An environment of praise and recognition has clearly fostered a sense of confidence among members. One teacher observed that as students gained confidence in their abilities as leaders they assumed more leadership roles in other student based extra-curricular activities. In this sense, **Unity and Diversity** was viewed as a major vehicle for fostering leadership among students of racial and ethnic minority backgrounds.

According to the survey, students were very familiar with the activities of this group. Seventy-eight percent of the sample knew that a multicultural/anti-racist student club existed at W.C.I. Survey participants were asked to identify activities the club has organized throughout the school year. Table 4 provides a summary of survey responses. Survey

2

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PRECISIONSM RESOLUTION TARGETS

participants were most familiar with Unity and Diversity's organization of multicultural week. The celebratory aspects of multicultural week were mentioned most often. Other activities organized by this student group outside of Multicultural Week were not listed as frequently by survey participants. (Refer to Table 10)

Activity Cited	Frequency
1. Multicultural Week	94
• Multicultural Fashion Show/ Cross-Cultural Celebration	22
• Assembly	16
• Unity and Diversity Conference: (Grade 7, 8 and 9)	9
• Ethnic Food Booths	5
• Cultural Display Booths	5
2. "Making Rainbows": Exploring Multiculturalism (Workshop: Grades 5 and 6)	10
3. Raising awareness about racism (generally)	7
4. Buddy system (New Canadian students)	4
5. Morning Announcements (Recognition of special holidays, religious celebrations)	3
6. Speaking engagements within the county	3
7. Posters and displays against racism	2
8. Food Drive	2
9. Discussion Groups	2

Multicultural Week, organized in March of each year, represents the group's major event. As Table 10 indicates, activities which focused on the celebratory aspects of Multicultural Week were most salient among the general student body. Students appeared to be less familiar with

the group's educational initiatives. However, much of **Unity and Diversity** activity revolves around increasing awareness and educating their peers about racism. For example, for the past three years, **Unity and Diversity** has organized a full day conference for students ranging from grades seven to nine as part of the group's Multicultural Week events. The conference has provided a highly interactive learning environment for participants interested in exploring issues of racism and multiculturalism. Attendance at these conferences has influenced several students to join this club when they come to W.C.I one or two years later. A similar pilot project was conducted by this group in 1992, for students in grades five and six at one of W.C.I's elementary feeder schools.

This balance between celebration and education was observed throughout multicultural week events. For example, **Unity and Diversity** addressed the entire student population for the first time, in the form of a mandatory assembly. While the group shared unique elements of their cultures through traditional performances, they made a concerted effort to educate their peers about racism. **Unity and Diversity** chose to focus on the role of the bystander in eliminating racism. The group used drama presentations, speeches and movie clips to encourage their peers to respond to racial slurs and other forms of racial harassment. **Unity and Diversity** appears to have gained acceptance at W.C.I. due to the group's non-confrontational approach to change. However addressing racism requires some degree of confrontation and this fact was not lost on student organizers as they reviewed and evaluated the multicultural week assembly. The assembly represented a major step in building anti-racist awareness among the W.C.I student body. One teacher organizer acknowledged the level of personal risk involved:

... I think it's a really big risk and I wanted to say that for all of the people who were part of the assembly group, the organizing and the participating, for you to stand up and talk about what you believe in front of your peers is really not the easiest thing in the world. I think it's the most difficult.

Assembly organizers voiced concerns about how the message was received by the student body. Some students raised concerns that the movie clip, which addressed racist jokes, actually triggered an increase in this behaviour:

It seemed that after people watched [the film]¹⁵ - it seemed that there were a lot of racist jokes in the school after they had watched it. It just - lots of people were - it kind of triggered more.

However, group members also observed an increase in positive personal responses to such incidents. In the words of one student organizer: "There's a lot of standing up and pointing out that it was a racial joke - making it more of an issue." It was agreed that both reactions provided evidence that the assembly was a starting point towards creating awareness among the student body.

Reactions of discomfort and defensiveness were also evident during one focus group debate which ensued over the appropriateness of the assembly's focus. Some students, like the following, felt it had a negative orientation: "... the assembly that they just put on was mostly focused on showing racist acts instead of celebrating multiculturalism". He felt a more appropriate focus would have been "the celebration of how far people have come." Students articulated that the results of a continued negative focus would be alienating, demotivating and dis-empowering:

"If you focus on the bad all the time then you're just going to end up making people turn off..."

"People just feel like they're being nagged."

"If you keep on saying all the bad things then people are just going to think to themselves o.k. so anything that we've ever done - we're still at square one..."

"...or they just think...they can't do anything about it..."

However there were students who saw the validity of including both a celebratory and an

¹⁵ The film title was not clear on the recording.

educational focus. As one student noted:

Multiculturalism and racism go hand in hand because you cannot have multiculturalism as long as you have racism. There's still racism around and therefore, the assembly had an excellent focus on racism.

Students who supported this opinion, thought the assembly provided an appropriate balance between celebrations of multiculturalism and issues of racism.

Unity and Diversity members are proud of firmly establishing Multicultural Week as a "tradition" within the school. During an evaluation meeting, the teacher present remarked on the amount of positive feedback she had received from other teachers with regards to multicultural week events. The expectation from this group was that the event will continue to occur every year. However, students were also conscious of a general apathy towards Multicultural Week events and announcements. This was discussed at length during focus groups:

...with the announcements stuff and multicultural week stuff, we do have it but a lot of people don't pay much attention to it... the announcements - I know a lot of people talk and they don't pay any attention so, we might have it but its not really being taken any notice of...

... at the multicultural show, a lot of the students didn't show up, it was basically parents coming to see their kids...

Several students, like the following, suggested that appreciation for multiculturalism was limited to Multicultural Week: "...we do all this stuff during multicultural week... but then once its over, people still have an attitude towards a certain race - like its not changed."

Another student suggested it was akin to putting on an act:

... me and a friend... noticed that a lot of people that he was friends with were getting into the culture and everything during multicultural week but aside from that they never really cared before and suddenly they were acting like it was a big deal and then as soon as its out of school they're back to what they used to be ... so in his opinion he thought there was a lot of people putting on an act...

Although the presence of Multicultural Week activities was identified as a positive influence at W.C.I., feedback from focus group sessions indicates there is some debate regarding the longterm influence on the school in terms of affecting the multicultural anti-racist climate. However, **Unity and Diversity** was clearly identified throughout the study as the primary source of multicultural/anti-racist change at W.C.I.

Research Question #3: How do students, teachers and the WCBE race and ethnocultural equity consultant (Human Resources Officer) propose to achieve the ideal through race and ethnocultural equity policies and programs?

Ideas for Effective Policy Implementation

Question three in the focus group sessions allowed teachers and students to give their suggestions regarding policy implementation in secondary schools. Through this process, participants were able to envision change which would enhance the anti-racist multicultural climate at W.C.I. I have summarized their responses in the following sections and have included them in more detail in my recommendations for both the school level and board level. Students and teachers gave 36 suggestions which I organized into the following themes (Refer to Appendix H):

- Gaining Board Support
- Building a climate of school support
- Curriculum Process: Effective teaching strategies
- Addressing curriculum content
- Handling racist incidents

The human resource officer also discussed suggestions which from her perspective would be essential to successful policy implementation. Her suggestions were also placed within the previous five themes. The human resources officer also shared some insights with regards to raising stakeholder awareness and the importance of community input. I have included these comments in the following two sections.

The Value of Community

The human resources officer identified the support of local ethnic communities as essential for policy implementation. For example, positive links with the Jewish community during policy formation, have been fostered by the board:

We have an ongoing relationship with the Jewish community because of things that had happened when the policy was being formed, and so it has been both an upfront commitment on the part of the board to listen and to become engaged in whatever kinds of forum that we are invited to on behalf of the Jewish community... to hear what their concerns are, to try and find some common ground on which to look at things.

Successful initiatives appear to be a result of the persistence of such communities in sustaining relationships with the Board. The human resources officer indicated that other ethnic communities in the region have not been as vocal about their needs. When describing examples of change within Toronto school boards, she noted the influence of organized ethnic professional associations, for example, The South Asian Teachers Association, in the Peel Board, in successfully mobilizing ethnic communities. The human resources officer perceived a potential role of these organized groups in identifying the needs of their communities and then bringing the issues to the Board.

The Race and Ethnocultural Equity Advisory committee has helped the Board to forge links with other communities via the K-W Race Relations committee, which has a cross-section of membership from Muslim, Latin American, Chinese, Laotian, Cambodian and Caribbean communities. Responding to the needs of these communities has been identified as one of the critical areas of policy, as outlined by the Ministry of Education (Ministry, 1993). Clearly, in a board this size, the onus for developing school-community partnerships will have to come from both sides. The Race and Ethnocultural Equity Advisory committee represents the Board's formal link with the region's racially and ethnically diverse community. Ideally, the role of this group would have been to identify the issues, then shape the directions for implementation. The

human resource officer described how the absence of an advisory group placed most of the burden of defining implementation on her shoulders at the beginning of her term:

It has meant that I've had to do a lot of the asking ... and checking the system- as opposed to it being a much more... broad sweep of implementation. It has been somewhat broken, 'the front' I think has been broken.

With the exception of the North York and Toronto Boards of Education, few Canadian boards have introduced racial equity programs in any kind of systematic or comprehensive fashion (Tator & Henry, 1991). The typical response by the education system is to place most responsibility for implementation on the shoulders of the race relations consultant (Mock & Masemann, 1989). The human resources officer in the WCBE Board has had the monumental task of carrying the Race and Ethnocultural Equity Policy through its initial implementation process. The absence of clear implementation goals and corresponding plans has been cited in the literature as a major barrier to successful multicultural anti-racist education programs (Reid Endicott & Mukherjee, 1992; Tator & Henry, 1991). She envisions the expansion of the Race and Ethnocultural Equity advisory group's role to include the steering, monitoring and evaluation of policy implementation. This participatory approach is essential to creating a sense of ownership within the board (Reid Endicott & Mukherjee, 1992) and taking the onus of responsibility from one individual and placing it in the hands of the community (Mock & Masemann, 1989). A recent report to the Chairperson and members of the WCBE trustees identified coordination of translation services for new Canadian parents, implementation of training programs in cross-cultural awareness and development of strategies to encourage the participation of minority communities as future initiatives to be pursued by this Advisory Committee.

Raising Stakeholder Awareness

In the survey conducted in this study, students were polled regarding their knowledge of a board policy dealing with race and ethnocultural equity. Table 11 indicates that the majority of

students responding to the survey were not familiar with the existence of an official board policy or the assignment of a specific person to race and ethnocultural equity issues.

Table 11 General Policy Awareness

	Yes(%)	No(%)	Not Sure (%)
• Does this school board have a policy that deals with racial and ethnic issues?	38.0	2.5	59.5
• Does this school board have a specific person assigned to issues of race and ethnic relations?	25.9	4.4	69.6

When asked about specific areas of policy, survey participants indicated a similar level of awareness. For example, as Table 12 indicates, the majority of students who completed the questionnaire were not aware that official procedures for dealing with racial and ethnic harassment exist within the board. Approximately 70% of participants indicated that they would not know what actions to take through the Board if they were harassed because of race or ethnicity. Forty-eight percent of survey participants were aware of student opportunities in anti-racist education offered by the Board, while 37% of the students were aware that the board had a committee which examined racial and ethnic issues.

 Table 12 Knowledge of Racial/Ethnic Harassment Procedures

	Yes(%)	No(%)	Not Sure(%)
• Does this school board have official procedures for dealing with racial and ethnic harassment?	36.7	5.1	58.2
• Do you know what actions to take if you are harassed because of race or ethnicity?	29.1	35.4	34.8

The interview with the human resources officer indicates that students are not the only ones who lack awareness regarding the existence of a board policy. When the board adopted its policy in 1988, it was never shared with every staff member. According to her, "most staff members in the board still don't know that we have a Race and Ethnocultural Relations Policy." The strategy of the Human Resources officer was to begin with basic awareness raising sessions for teachers. This was not an easy task considering the size of the system and the cost involved. The first series of teacher in-servicing began in the spring of 1991. It took two years to complete this process for each of the seven areas which make up the Waterloo County Board of Education.¹⁶ According to the human resource officer, there are over 4500 teachers in the system and approximately 300 teachers participated in the in-service. This means over 93% of teachers in this board have received no formal introduction to the Race and Ethnocultural Equity policy. A pamphlet outlining general policy statements and specific procedures for dealing with racist incidents was recently distributed among teachers in the board. This effort facilitates awareness raising among teachers and parents, however more thought may be necessary in finding effective ways for disseminating this information among the student body.

¹⁶As of the 1993-94 school year, the WCBE is now divided into 6 school areas.

Not only does the board have to increase awareness among its constituents that the policy indeed exists, it has the more difficult task of establishing a level of consciousness that the policy is important. Students in this study often indicated a limited understanding of systemic racism and existing patterns of inequity. This limited conceptual framework is also evident among the administration and staff. According to the human resource officer this promises to be a lengthy process as it challenges traditional perspectives:

The whole notion of de-centring is very, very difficult to do because if people don't recognize that the school climate, the whole school program - the whole notion of education is centred around a particular kind of socialization and values and traditions and norms and so forth, um - if they don't even know that how then are you going to help them to be aware that we need to include other perspectives?

This suggests that increasing awareness in school communities about the existence of the policy, will not necessarily translate into a broader understanding of race and ethnocultural equity. Efforts to enhance awareness must exist in a climate of equity. Challenging the assumptions of the present system and shaping positive attitudes towards race and ethnocultural equity should be part of the awareness building process.

Gaining Board Commitment

It is evident from interview comments that while the Board is committed to the principle of equity in education, it remains in the words of the human resource officer a "soft issue" relative to competing priorities. This is reflected in part, by the Board's initial reliance on 'soft monies' or external funding for major initiatives and its response to the staffing of policy implementation.

Recent WCBE funding decisions reflect an increased financial commitment towards policy implementation. A typical pattern of this board has been to apply for external funding for pilot projects, then to shift financial responsibility internally after evaluating these projects. For example, the first series of secondary student anti-racist camps which were funded almost exclusively by government grants, are now funded by the Board. These camps were piloted

recently with grade 7 and 8 students as a result of a S.E.V.E.C. grant. Similarly, the first staff in-service which was piloted in one school Area was funded by a grant from the Ministry of Education. Later, the Board assumed funding responsibility for in-servicing the remaining school areas. Internal funding responsibility is consistent with successful race and ethnocultural equity programs (Mock & Masemman, 1989).

However, in this current climate of financial restraint, equity issues remain in jeopardy of marginalization. The positions of persons assigned to race and ethnocultural equity issues have structural features which contribute to marginalization. In this Board, the human resource officer must divide her/his time between two portfolios, Race Relations and Gender Equity. When asked about the impact of carrying dual responsibilities for implementation, the human resource officer responded by saying:

It is somewhat overwhelming for 1 person to be doing that not only in this area [Race and Ethnocultural Equity] but in the area of employment equity and also to be responsible for doing awareness around sexual harassment as well. So, there are indeed some days where I feel that I'm not really chipping away... I'm not really bringing about that much change or that much awareness.

There is a heavy burden of responsibility placed upon the Human Resources Officer who is supposed to coordinate and facilitate staff development and program planning for both areas of equity on a board-wide basis. As well, the position of Human Resources Officer remains a contractual one. The person who currently assumes this post was hired in 1991 for a two year term. Her contract was renewed for the third year. Teachers who participated in the focus group felt that implementation efforts were disrupted by such contract positions. One teacher expressed the following concern: "If someone else moves in next year, well its going to be a whole new perspective, and we'll go back to square one again." It was the opinion of these teachers that the current human resource officer's term was ending just as implementation was gaining momentum. The expectations for this two year position were viewed by both the human resources officer and

the teachers as unrealistic. The process of identifying issues, establishing a process of implementation and changing programs was clearly viewed as requiring a long term commitment by this school board. Teachers felt that by continuing to offer this post as a contract position, the Board was sending a strong message of how little the policy is really valued.

The positioning of the human resource officer within the Board also contributes to the marginalization of Equity policies. As it stands, the position of human resource officer exists outside of the main structure of educational services. The human resources officer expressed concern about how current WCBE re-structuring would affect her autonomy and decision-making power.¹⁷ Her concern was that the position of human resources officer not be "lowered in the hierarchy." At the time of the interview, the human resources officer reported to the superintendent of human and educational resources who in turn reported to the director of education. The best case scenario was viewed by the human resources officer as reporting directly to the director of education. At the very least, she felt the human resources officer should report to the designated superintendent as the immediate supervisor:

I don't want to go any lower than that. I can't in my opinion- to go less than a Divisional leader is marginalizing the issue and it will make it more difficult for me to cross divisions if they put me any lower.... I need to be as high up in that one Division so I can cross divisions...

In her comments regarding what has occurred in other school boards, the human resource officer noted that marginalization of race and ethnocultural equity policy was often achieved by placing those in charge of implementation low within the hierarchy:

¹⁷At the time of the interview, the Board was organized into three divisions. Race and Ethnocultural Equity issues were placed within the Human and Educational Resources Division. In the 1993-94 academic year, the Board was re-organized into two divisions. Race and Ethnocultural Equity issues are now placed in the Support Services Division.

... because its part of the political reality that you have to deal with within organizational management... and the further you are from the people who ultimately make the decisions, the - I mean I look at what's going on in other school boards and wherever they have put the person further down they don't do anything. Their wings have been clipped.

Current attempts at academic restructuring have also affected board and staff commitment to issues of race and ethnocultural equity. Teachers agreed with the human resources officer that WCBE Administrators were overwhelmed by educational restructuring. Specifically, administrators and teachers are pre-occupied with the implementation of grade nine de-streaming and the recent board initiative of Outcomes Based Education. This according to teacher focus group participants, has meant that equity issues have "taken a back seat" to matters deemed more pressing. The human resource officer identified all of these factors as contributing to the marginalization of race and ethnocultural Equity issues.

Building a Climate of School Support

Peirson (1993) has identified community ownership as critical for change within school settings. Of particular importance is the internal motivation for change. Currently, the primary motivation for race and ethnocultural equity exists at the board level. Transferring this impetus for change will become even more challenging in the next two years as Ontario school boards meet new Ministry requirements for anti-racism and ethnocultural equity. In Peirson's study (1993), the school community (staff in particular) appeared to resent change that was mandated by the Ministry without their participation in the decision-making. Reactions to race and ethnocultural equity policies may be similar to responses to other Ministry initiatives, (eg. de-streaming) if they are not implemented with the full participation of individual school communities. Students and teachers in this study identified a need for change to be created internally. Their suggestions for implementation reflected this focus.

The teacher in-service program was viewed by the human resources officer as a means of

building support within schools for further initiatives in anti-racist multicultural education.

We tried to take a minimum of 2 teachers per elementary school and four or more per secondary school in each of the areas and put them through so that we would have a core of teachers in each of our schools...that would have some kind of initial understanding and could be a conduit through which information could get to the schools - could get to other teachers.

Teachers who participated were asked to develop action plans that they would initiate within their schools. There was no formal mechanism to monitor if these action plans were introduced or implemented. While the in-service program has not been formally evaluated for its impact, there is anecdotal evidence that it has resulted in support for anti-racist multicultural education at the elementary school level. The human resources officer has received feedback from several elementary teacher participants who are willing to sit on curriculum teams, attend additional workshops, buy resources and engage in staff development of their peers. However, the in-service appears to have generated less activity at the secondary school level. The human resource officer attributed this difference to the greater degree of collaboration among teachers in elementary education. Whereas elementary education has a more holistic orientation, secondary education has a focus which is largely subject-driven. The human resources officer viewed this subject focus as clashing with the holistic values of anti-racist education.

Teachers in the focus group gave pragmatic reasons for why the in-service did not appear to build support within secondary schools. Two of the participants attended the in-service sessions. While they applauded the board's initial efforts, they agreed that "the timing was not effective for going back and doing some work within the school." In-service sessions occurred towards the end of the school year, beginning late in April and continuing until June, extremely busy months in the secondary school year. The teachers admitted that any initiatives they may have proposed to their peers "fell by the wayside" by the time school started the following September. Moreover, only four staff persons from the school attended the sessions. Thus sharing with the

remainder of staff would have been an ambitious task. Teachers were aware of the cost of the in-service sessions and felt that the program could have been initiated with greater attention to fiscal responsibility. As one teacher commented:

Perhaps there should have been an onus from administration or from the board or some directive that the monies that were spent on these people to go to workshops really should have come back and done something.

They agreed it would have been easier to do something if the sessions had taken place at the beginning of the school year. It was suggested that further attempts to in-service teachers should take place early enough in the school year to sensitize them to the issue and to allow for the implementation of action plans. Teachers also expressed a need for the establishment of in-service goals which were clearly linked to specific outcomes and timelines. The absence of such guidelines meant that action plans were not implemented within the schools. This is an illustration of how ambiguity of goals, timeframes and expected outcomes contribute to the failure of implementation efforts to filter through the schools (Hitner & Starr Associates, 1985, Mock & Masemann, 1989).

Teacher focus group participants expressed a need for more opportunities for staff development. They identified the initial staff in-service sessions as a good beginning, however they did not feel sufficiently prepared to take the next steps in implementation. It was agreed during this session that more staff development opportunities should be available. Ongoing staff development opportunities enhance the possibility of effective policy implementation (Mock & Masemann, 1989; Reid Endicott & Mukherjee, 1992).

Each of the stakeholder groups (the human resource officer, teachers and students) who participated in this study gave suggestions for building support for anti-racist multicultural initiatives in secondary schools. Suggestions promoted the idea that each secondary school should be the central unit of change. The involvement of constituent groups was also viewed as essential

for successful change. The human resources officer identified the need to bring all the constituent groups in the school together for the purpose of planning anti-racist multicultural initiatives. Structurally, the human resources officer envisions the formation of race and ethnocultural equity advisory committees, organized within each secondary school or each family of schools (there are approximately 2 secondary schools per family). The purpose of these committees would be to guide anti-racist multicultural initiatives unique to each school community. Teachers who participated in the focus group also felt that having an in-school policy on Race and Ethnocultural Equity would facilitate operationalization of goals outlined in the board's policy. However these teachers viewed the development of clear board policy initiatives as necessary prior to developing their own. Perception that the board's policy was still in the early phases of validation appeared to limit action at the school level. The board's Race and Ethnocultural Advisory committee has cited the development and support of school-based committees as one of its future initiatives (WCBE, 1993).

Teachers and students felt that programs or changes were legitimized in the eyes of the school community if they were initiated by internal resource people. As one teacher noted, "external resource personnel have a difficult time gaining the confidence of staff within the school." Students from one focus group agreed that it was easier to relate to people from one's own setting. Due to the subject-based nature of secondary schools, the unit of collaboration among secondary school teachers appears to be within departments. Teachers who participated in the focus groups viewed departments as the logical place to build support around anti-racist multicultural issues. It was agreed that teachers experience a reasonable level of comfort and trust within their departments. Therefore attempts to in-service policy, or introduce resources would be met with more receptivity than in a school-wide setting, for example, a staff meeting.

Teachers also felt strongly about having anti-racist multicultural resources such as videos,

films, and curriculum guides, available within each secondary school. Currently, these resources are only available at the board office, perhaps making it difficult for staff to utilize them.

Students also had suggestions for making the issues of anti-racism and multiculturalism more centrally structured in student life. Among their suggestions, was including a multicultural representative as a permanent office within student government. Other students suggested the administration of a school-wide survey in an attempt to raise awareness among the entire student body.

Addressing Curriculum Content

Students in all four student groups shared general suggestions for changing the curriculum. Among these included systematic review of textbooks presently in use for inclusiveness of different cultures, study of other cultures for their own merit, not just in relation to how the culture relates to our own, and increased availability of multicultural resources in the library. Students also spoke very generally about fair representation, for example, addressing stereotypes and including "positive as well as negative aspects of culture". Some examples of specific changes included:

- More multicultural opportunities in drama, history and English
- History courses focused on specific ethnic histories (for example, Black, Asian history)
- Culturally specific Geography courses
- Addition of Current World Events courses
- Creation of a course dealing with racial and multicultural issues
- Increased diversity in language courses offered (for example Asian languages)
- Systematic incorporation of current event issues into present courses

Other suggestions pertaining to *when* such courses should be offered included:

- Offering social interest courses or opportunities in grades 9 and 10 as well as senior

grades

- Introducing multicultural education in elementary school

One participant in the teacher focus group session envisioned the creation of a course in community leadership. Students would be able to choose the area of race relations among others for their leadership experiences. This suggestion arose out of the concern that current student leaders (Unity and Diversity members) conduct all of their activities voluntarily without academic compensation or tangible recognition for their extraordinary leadership talents. These students also miss a significant amount of class time in order to plan and run their events. Her concerns are articulated as follows:

...it really concerns me that anytime that there's one of these areas addressed; that there's something that needs being done - leadership role of any kind, the kids are immediately contacted and they're supposed to do this outside of their school time or take time out of their studies in order to do it... and their - the leadership role has been engraved enough now that this is expected of them and they can fulfil it and so they do it.

In terms of curriculum change, students suggested adding 'multicultural' courses as often as changing traditional classes. The human resource officer viewed globalized curriculum change as more effective in terms of reaching the most students. She felt it was unrealistic to expect a mandatory secondary school credit course in Race Relations. Furthermore the whole notion of examining human dynamics must be infused throughout the curriculum. She cited World Religions, Society Challenge and Change (Grade 11 and OAC) and English as primary vehicles for introducing issues of race and ethnocultural equity. Integrating diversity into mainstream courses, like history for example, bring minority perspectives into the realm of Canadian experience. It was clear from discussion in the student focus groups that some considered ethnic minority experiences to be outside of the 'Canadian framework'. This idea is best captured by the following student's suggestion "Maybe in history we could learn about other history not just Canadian history, but also Black, Indians, Oriental etc..." By including other voices as part of

Canadian history courses it may be possible to change this perception. The human resource officer felt that overall curriculum change could be complemented with optional credit courses in Ethnic studies, which would examine both literature and history of different groups. This she felt would be of particular benefit to racial and ethnic minority students:

I know for example that there's a greater drop out rate of students of colour, particularly African Canadian students or Caribbean students and if one of the things that we could do to help them stay in school would be to offer courses that are focused on them, then we as a system we'd be foolish not to do that.

Courses in ethnic studies have traditionally constituted the enrichment approach to multicultural anti-racist education. However, there is potential for these courses to extend beyond the enrichment model as a source of education for all students. I noted during focus groups that participants from both minority and majority racial and ethnic backgrounds often expressed avid interest in taking ethnic studies courses.

Curriculum Process: Effective teaching strategies

It was the perception of teacher participants in this study that their peers were not comfortable talking about racism with their students. One issue that was identified was the lack of exposure and training in multicultural anti-racist education. Another issue raised was the fear of not being able to handle negative student reactions. The tendency was therefore to avoid the issue wherever possible. Teachers and students who participated in the focus groups recognized that the process of bringing the anti-racist perspective to education was critical to the degree of comfort and acceptance by peers. Both groups articulated the need for safe environments and the opportunity for honest, open dialogue. Teachers felt this was particularly important for staff in-servicing. They felt that in-service experiences should be carefully structured learning experiences, organized during departmental meetings, thereby creating a forum of trust and safety. The element of personal challenge was also deemed an important part of the in-service process. As one teacher expressed:

I think you have to assume that people are going to - their feelings are going to be challenged. We have to assume that they do harbour negatives and that's what must be addressed in such a way where people are free to say good-bye to those feelings and they can move on.

Students were also conscious of the need to create an environment where people feel comfortable expressing their thoughts and opinions. Students in this study appeared comfortable when describing their perceptions of school climate. However when discussing their own personal views, responses were cautious and carefully measured. I observed that students were reluctant to share any views that could be mis-interpreted as 'racist'. This reticence could be a barrier to the open discussion of racism in class room settings. One teacher participant has successfully included immigration and employment equity as workplace issues in his business classes. Students have revealed many personal biases and stereotypical views during discussions and teachers felt such honesty is an important process in challenging traditional attitudes. It was agreed however that such honesty was possible only if a sense of trust among the teacher and students was fostered within the classroom. This need for safe environments was underscored by several students' suggestions for discussion groups, seminars and other small group settings which encouraged dialogue. One teacher suggested homeroom periods as a useful time for teachers to discuss issues and build rapport with their students. While students and teachers in this study identified building trust as essential to discussing racism, the human resource officer also recognized the need for equipping students with tools for dealing with the controversy surrounding anti-racist education. She viewed peer mediation and conflict resolution skills as essential for dealing effectively with the controversy:

... we need to enter into a debate and some of the debate is not going to be pleasant... Some people's feelings are going to be hurt at first, but we need to set it up in such a way that we can talk and that we can listen - so it's a safe place. And I think giving people peer mediation, or conflict resolution skills, so that everybody enters this the same way, will help us deal with that.

Promoting this skill base was viewed by the Human Resource Officer as providing a "common

entry point" for debate. Wells and Wingate (1986) advocate for the use of methodology that is neither confrontational or accusatory, noting the negative responses of students to these approaches:

While we want to end the seemingly pervasive predisposition towards ethnocentrism and racism that surfaces in our classrooms, our experience has shown that the methods implicit in the language of confrontation do not persuade people to change... those who are "stamped out" are not convinced by their humiliation, do not abandon their prejudices. What they do is withdraw themselves further from situations where their thinking is challenged (p.205).

They suggest using an analysis which connects personal reactions to an analytical framework which reflects a universal theory. In their particular curriculum, Allport's theory of prejudice was used as a framework students could use to assess their own responses or "categorical ways of thinking". These teachers noted that students were willing to critique and renegotiate negative responses against the backdrop of a universal theory. The authors note the limited application of Allport's theory due to the absence of sociopolitical context. The triangle model used in this study (Figure 1 p.12) provides an alternate framework for analyzing racism that includes the interplay between prevailing ideas, systems and institutions, and individual behaviours (Thomas & Mukherjee, 1989). The triangle model has been used effectively with adults in workshop and class settings, to analyze racist incidents and process appropriate responses (D'Antini, 1991, Reid Endicott & Mukherjee, 1992) The model appears to have practical applications for students as well. I found the model to be a useful tool for organizing student conceptualizations of a multicultural anti-racist framework.

Students also encouraged the use of alternatives to traditional teaching methods. Among suggestions offered were drama performances, movies, assemblies, conference days, parent/teacher/student nights and guest speakers. Students who had already participated in alternative curriculum opportunities such as the annual Holocaust seminars and the student leadership anti-racist camps felt that these forums were effective for teaching anti-racist education.

My own observations of these experiential learning opportunities indicated a high degree of enthusiasm and interest in the students who participated. Several participants voiced the opinion that such opportunities should occur more often and should be extended to include more students. In the literature, educators note that the most successful anti-racist curriculum approaches are based on student participation versus formal lecturing (Wells & Wingate, 1986). These educators have found that students respond favourably to techniques such as small group dialogue, film studies, and personal journals (Coelho, 1988; Johnston & Crawford, 1989; Wells & Wingate, 1986). Cooperative teaching strategies are advocated by anti-racist educators (refer to Table 3) because they encourage self-analysis, critical thinking and social responsibility (Banks, 1991; Wells & Wingate, 1986). Wells & Wingate (1986) noted the limitations of introducing racism as a set of historical facts or events from which students can easily dissociate themselves. These educators developed a Holocaust studies curriculum in which students were encouraged to respond to films, newspaper clippings and magazine articles in the form of personal journals. This method has proven successful in allowing students to make connections among historical events, individual decisions and personal responsibility (1986). These learning opportunities support the development of values which promote social action (Banks, 1991) as students learn to critique their environments as active participants. Wells and Wingate (1986) have observed that secondary school students appear to have natural pre-occupation with equality and fairness. Their observations are consistent with the emphasis students in this study placed on fairness and equality. However, they also recognize that students have difficulty making connections between these strong feelings regarding individual rights and the social implications for collective responsibility. Students can be encouraged to make these links through a curriculum which identifies them as active members within a human community.

Students and teacher focus group participants also recognized the power of personal

experiences in changing personal attitudes about racism and multiculturalism. Student participants advocated for an increase in foreign student-exchange programs. Some also felt that bringing guest speakers in the classroom to share their personal experiences with racism would have a real impact on students. This approach has been used effectively in the WCBE Holocaust seminars in which students meet survivors in small group settings. During one focus group, teacher participants discussed the profound impact of "being a minority" stating that this lived experience should be captured somehow in learning experiences of teachers and students.¹⁸ In a similar vein, students from one focus group felt it would be useful to have their peers who discriminate, experience what it feels like to be a racial minority. Wells and Wingate (1986) noted the following about successful programs:

Students assumed roles of people in the other culture so that they experienced the other group personally rather than only experiencing the group cerebrally through lectures (p. 205)

This element of personalization is viewed as a key component of effective anti-racist education.

Handling Racist Incidents

A brochure outlining procedures for dealing with racial incidents was distributed among board staff during the 1993-94 school year. One of the strongest policy messages that has been communicated by the board and is understood by teachers, is that "racist behaviour is not allowed." However the notion of *how* to deal with racist incidents has not been communicated effectively. As one teacher stated:

I think that the message is out there and the administrators know that's the message. But I don't think any body knows how to handle it. How to handle the fact that it has happened - or what to do. And we don't have a school policy about it.

It was apparent from teachers' comments that not having an in-school race and ethnocultural

¹⁸This discussion arose from one teacher's experience during a job placement in a foreign country.

equity policy prevented consistent action in dealing with racist incidents. Participants indicated a need for staff to develop a systematic method of dealing with incidents. There was some speculation as to whether the focus should be on educational versus punitive measures when dealing with such incidents. Students in one focus group stressed that racial incidents should be used as models or educational tools to prevent other incidents from occurring. Racial and ethnic minority students felt strongly about having such behaviour punished. Traditional procedures for dealing with racial and ethnocultural harassment focus primarily on the victim and the victimizer. However, an educational approach also examines the role of the bystander. This approach was used by the student anti-racist group at W.C.I. to educate their peers. Wells and Wingate (1986) investigated the role of the bystander in the Holocaust, encouraging students to reconstruct this role. They have described the response to this exercise:

Students come to the curriculum convinced that the Nazi leaders alone were responsible for the Holocaust... By examining the role of the bystander, they begin to see the implication of the acceptance of authority and the dangers of conformity to a redefined morality. Students start to question their previous assumptions that the bystander could play a neutral role (p.207).

In this study, student reactions to the multicultural week assembly illustrate that by reconstructing the role of the bystander it is possible to build a climate of intolerance where racist behaviour is concerned. This bystander focus provides a preventive orientation that is generally missing from existing policies and procedures.

Discussion

The Model Revisited: A Framework for Understanding The Student Perspective

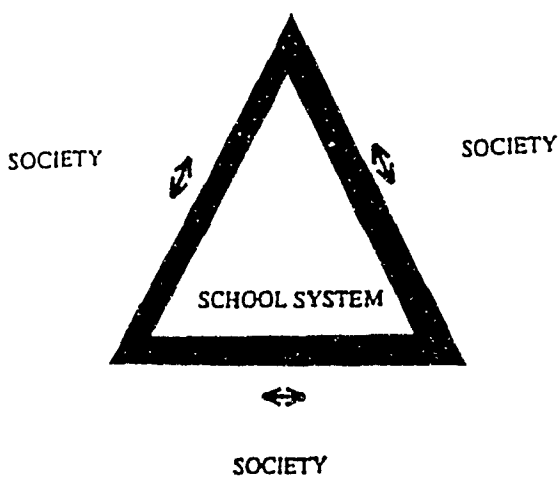
Students identified 7 major themes that were consistent with their perceptions of the ideal anti-racist multicultural environment. Participants associated the ideal with. (a) a diverse school population, (b) freedom of cultural expression, (c) appreciation and acknowledgement of diversity, (d) evidence of fairness and equality, (e) intolerance of racist behaviour, (f) solidarity and support for multicultural/anti-racist initiatives, (g) a curriculum that reflects a social change focus. In order to relate these themes to the **Triangle Model** of change (Mukherjee & Thomas, 1989), I organized each of the seven themes in terms of how they related to. (i) prevailing ideas and assumptions, (ii) attitudes and behaviours, and (iii) systems and structures. Figures 3 and 4 illustrate the relationships between Mukherjee's framework and the ideas which emerged in the focus groups. Specifically, Figure 2 displays students' perceptions of how ideas, behaviours and structures combine to support multiculturalism, while Figure 3 displays similar patterns for perceptions of anti-racism.

**CULTURAL DIVERSITY WITHIN SCHOOL COMMUNITY
FREEDOM OF CULTURAL EXPRESSION**

Assumptions:

eg. Multiculturalism is a positive aspect of school

eg.. Retaining cultural heritage is part of the Canadian identity



**APPRECIATION AND ACKNOWLEDGEMENT OF DIVERSITY
SOLIDARITY AND SUPPORT**

Attitudes and Behaviours:

eg. Regular positive interracial/inter-cultural student interactions and friendships

eg. Students display elements of cultural heritage on a regular basis (eg. clothing styles, speak first languages freely)

System Supports:

eg. Diversity visible in hidden curriculum (posters, school symbols, displays, morning announcements, special events)

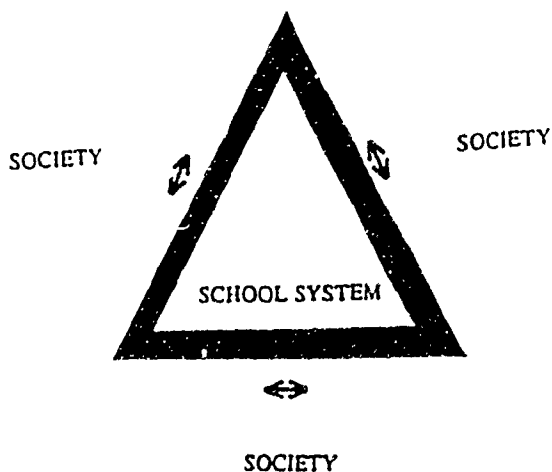
eg.. Diversity present in course curriculum (textbooks, course material, discussions)

Figure 2. Supportive framework for multiculturalism in secondary school

**SOCIAL CHANGE FOCUS
SOLIDARITY AND SUPPORT**

Assumptions:

- eg. Racism exists in our society
- eg. Anti-racism requires the support of the entire school community (students, teachers, administrative staff, parents)



**FAIRNESS AND EQUALITY
INTOLERANCE OF RACIST BEHAVIOUR
SOCIAL CHANGE FOCUS
SOLIDARITY AND SUPPORT**

Attitudes and Behaviours:

- eg. Students standing up to racist comments
- eg. Voluntary involvement of teachers, parents in anti-racist activities
- eg. Praise and recognition from administration for involvement in anti-racist activities

System supports:

- eg. implicit curriculum which discourages racist behaviour (eg. anti-racist posters, announcements)
- eg. presence of an anti-racist student group
- eg. strong punishment/disciplinary action for racist behaviour

Figure 3. Supportive framework for anti-racism in secondary schools

When students described the ideal school environment in terms of its multicultural and anti-racist orientations, they looked for cues which extended beyond the classroom. In terms of system supports, students identified both the explicit and implicit curriculum as important components of multicultural and anti-racist education. The Ministry of Education defines the curriculum as encompassing "all learning experiences the student will have in school" (p. 13).

Included within this broad definition are:

aspects of school life as the general school environment, interactions among students, staff, and the community, and the values, attitudes and behaviours conveyed by the school (p.13).

However, my review of the literature on multicultural anti-racist education indicated the focus on curriculum was primarily on course content and teaching methodology (Review Table 2).

While the course curriculum represents the pivotal source of change within Canadian schools it did not appear to be the only salient indicator of change for these students. Educators have begun to identify and include elements of the hidden curriculum in their guidelines and checklists for anti-racist education (Ijaz, 1990; Lee, 1985; Thomas & Mukherjee, 1993).

These consultants have noted the importance of including the physical school environment (eg. bulletin displays, symbols, decorations), special events and extra-curricular programs (drama programs, theme weeks, multicultural events) co-curricular activities (eg. morning announcements, cafeteria menus) in the assessment of anti-racist multicultural school climates. These aspects of school life were particularly significant to the participants in this study. This theme was observed again when students evaluated their current school environment.

When students described supportive behaviours within an anti-racist multicultural framework, they often conceptualized these in terms of positive interracial/inter-ethnic peer relationships. A popular American survey of secondary schools suggest that friendships are the most salient aspects of secondary school for students (Goodlad, 1979). It is therefore not

surprising that students look for cues in peer interactions to determine the school's anti-racist multicultural environment.

In summary, students in this study were able to visualize a more inclusive curriculum in terms of courses. Participants readily mentioned the inclusion of diverse cultures in textbooks, classes and library materials as a requirement for an ideal anti-racist multicultural environment. However the broader school environment (eg. peer relationships, hidden curriculum) was also significant to their conceptualizations of the ideal. These findings have important implications for race and ethnocultural equity policy implementation, the goals for which are defined almost exclusively by educators. Ijaz (1990) and Thomas and Mukherjee (1993) suggest that formal assessment of anti-racist multicultural school environments must expand to include the attitudes, behaviours, activities and interactions of students.

When compared with student conceptualizations of the ideal, W.C.I. appears to have an existing internal framework which supports multiculturalism. However, the internal framework which supports anti-racist objectives is more tenuous. Mukherjee (1992) notes the role of external influences in shaping racist or anti-racist environments. The potential for change is optimized when internal and external influences reflect consistent messages. Results from this study indicate that change within secondary schools may be facilitated or limited by external societal messages. For example, the multicultural framework at W.C.I. is supported by a consistent societal response to multiculturalism. The Canadian policy on Multiculturalism legitimizes the recognition and acceptance of cultural diversity within Canadian society. Most students appear to have adopted the Canadian ideals of multiculturalism, at least in principle, and they anticipate cultural diversity as a normal part of their school experience. This acceptance has boundaries, illustrated by the ambivalence of White majority students towards multicultural events and the limited acceptance of cultural

expressions (eg. conversing in first languages, wearing traditional clothing). Patterns of peer interactions also demonstrate some boundaries. While interracial and inter-ethnic interactions were observed regularly during classroom and school activities, same group interactions appeared to be favoured in close friendships and dating relationships.

By contrast, students have received inconsistent societal messages regarding racism. Despite the proliferation of evidence documenting the historical and current reality of racism in Canada a collective consciousness has just recently begun to emerge (Elliott & Fleras, 1992; Henry & Ginzberg, 1985; Porter, 1965; Ramcharan, 1982; Singh Bolaria & Li, 1988; Walker, 1985). Members of Canadian society have responded to this recent awareness with varying degrees of denial or acceptance.¹⁹ This was demonstrated by the range of reactions offered by students in this study. Although students appeared to accept the presence of racism in Canadian society there was a reluctance to accept it as part of the school community. Participants often denied its presence at the interpersonal level but alluded to its existence at the institutional level (eg. inequitable treatment of Aboriginal peoples in textbooks). Generally, students perceived that the school functioned in a system of fairness and equality. These assumptions are linked closely to prevailing ideas of meritocracy and equal opportunity, common beliefs in Canadian society (Lennards, 1986). This assumption also indicates a limited understanding of institutional racism and the structural inequality endemic to Canadian society. Other students acknowledged the presence of racism but expressed scepticism regarding the success of anti-racist programs and policies in changing attitudes and behaviours.

Diversity in the hidden curriculum remains a key source of support for multiculturalism at W.C.I. This diversity is due largely to the actions of racial and ethnic minority students who

¹⁹The ongoing debate regarding employment equity policies in the public service sector is one case in point.

have taken the responsibility of enhancing the school's environment for themselves and their peers. The activities organized by **Unity and Diversity** are now viewed by staff and students as part of the school's structural framework. Students also identified the presence and activity of **Unity and Diversity** as the primary structure supporting anti-racist initiatives at W.C.I. The group has assumed responsibility for building anti-racist awareness among their peers through workshops, assemblies and conferences. The source of change at W.C.I. is the voluntary activity of a small group of students and teachers. This activity occurs against a backdrop of indifference in the broader school community. Student participants cited the lack of teacher involvement as a major flaw in the multicultural anti-racist framework at W.C.I. While students perceived that teachers supported and promoted positive race and ethnocultural relations in their personal interactions, this did not translate into classroom or extra-curricular involvement.

Student efforts for positive change have not been supported by changes to the course curriculum. Weaknesses in the multicultural framework arise from the lack of diversity in the present curriculum. Students noted this absence in textbooks, library literature and language programs. Students also indicated that the current curriculum provides few opportunities to discuss or challenge racism. They also observed that classes were not sufficiently rooted in a global view or oriented towards current events. Teachers made direct links between weaknesses in board race and ethnocultural policy and the resulting impact on individual schools. They identified limited staff development and slow board response to curriculum review as factors that hindered the process of curriculum change. W.C.I.'s response to racist behaviour best illustrates how weaknesses in the supportive framework pose challenges for anti-racist objectives. During the focus group sessions and in survey responses, students were careful to qualify statements which they perceived could label them as 'racist'. This

suggested a prevailing disapproval of openly racist behaviour. However, students had mild reactions to racist jokes which appeared to be the most prevalent form of racist behaviour at W.C.I. The absence of a clear policy against such behaviour sends students a message that while such behaviour is not condoned, it is also not condemned. There was consensus among teacher participants that a clear, systematic policy for dealing with racist incidents was missing at W.C.I. This has led to confusion among teachers regarding appropriate responses and a sense among ethnic and racial minority students that incidents are not taken seriously. Most student participants were unfamiliar with the Board's policy on racial and ethnocultural harassment. Moreover, it is doubtful that the traditional disciplinary approach to racist incidents will prevent such 'mildly offensive' behaviours from occurring. Education efforts like the one organized by **Unity and Diversity** during the multicultural week assembly appeared to have more impact in shaping the attitudes and behaviours of their peers by creating a climate of non-tolerance.

The Impact of Being a Racial/Ethnic Minority

Student perceptions of W.C.I.'s anti-racist multicultural climate were mediated by their racial and ethnocultural experiences. While both groups of students demonstrated similar perceptions regarding the school's present climate, differences were reflected in the reactions to this climate. For example, although students from both groups expressed dissatisfaction with the lack of diversity in the curriculum, racial and ethnic minority students were more sensitive to the experience of being excluded. Being absent from the curriculum contributed significantly to their overall perception of the school's anti-racist multicultural climate; a perception that was notably less positive than their majority status peers. These findings reiterate the conclusions of anti-racist educators who cite the negative impact of curriculum exclusion on racial and ethnic minority students in terms of alienation from and dissatisfaction

with school (Chambers, 1992; James, 1992; Mukherjee, 1992; Solomon, 1992). In several studies this alienation has been implicated in negative academic consequences for racial and ethnic minority students (James, 1990; Lewis, 1992.) Some Black students in this study linked school dissatisfaction with their motivation to try academically. Dissatisfaction with the current curriculum did not appear to influence the academic performance of all racial and ethnic minority students. For example, members of **Unity and Diversity** who are predominantly students of South Asian, South-East Asian, Greek, Jewish, Caribbean and African descent, are perceived by teachers to be high academic achievers.²⁰ Yet these students have been among the most vocal in their request for curriculum change. This finding indicates that the impact of school on racial and ethnic minority students cannot be measured sufficiently in terms of academic success alone. Shemai (1992) reported the consistent high academic achievement of Jewish and Asian students within the Canadian educational system. Mukherjee (1992) has observed a similar pattern for South Asian students in Ontario schools. Shemai attributes this academic success to the stronger influence of family and ethnocultural values over school standards in the socialization patterns of these groups. Canadians of Jewish and Asian heritage have managed to negotiate the school system without being submerged by its moral-value standards (1992). However, both Shemai and Mukherjee note the negative impact of a hegemonic curriculum on these students in terms of personal well-being and self esteem. As Shemai writes:

The school forms, constrains, and influences the self-identity and the cultural identity of the student. This impact is important to their well-being and it is often hidden and cannot be traced by dropout rates or success rates (p.54).

While most students in this study noted the presence of racial and ethnocultural harassment,

²⁰ Teacher perceptions of academic success were not confirmed with documented evidence of grades in this study.

(jokes, derogatory statements), students of racial and ethnic minority backgrounds were understandably more sensitive to its impact. These students emphasized the need for redress. The absence of a clear systemic response by the administration to racist incidents was interpreted by these students as acceptance of such behaviour.

Although most survey respondents supported the ideals of multiculturalism in principle, students of racial and ethnic minority backgrounds were more likely to support multicultural initiatives with personal action. These survey and focus group findings were supported by observations of **Unity and Diversity** group membership which consists predominantly of racial and ethnic minority students. While students of majority backgrounds can distance themselves from personal involvement, this does not appear to be an option for students of racial and ethnic minority backgrounds. Their experiences of cultural exclusion and harassment are included in their repertoire of school life, thus dictating a response at some level.

The Positive Role of Student Groups

The impact of **Unity and Diversity** at W.C.I. speaks to the power of voluntary student leadership. It was clear from the amount of discussion devoted to **Unity and Diversity** during focus groups, that the group has influenced the perception of W.C.I. as a school with a positive multicultural anti-racist environment. In fact, the school's positive reputation rests almost exclusively on the activities of a very small, dedicated group of students and teachers. Group initiatives have dramatically influenced various elements of the hidden curriculum at W C I. Multicultural week, announcements of religious and ethnocultural holidays, anti-racist posters, a peer support structure for New Canadian students and awareness-building activities have become regular aspects of student life at W.C.I as a result of **Unity and Diversity** activity.

The focus of many in-school multicultural events has often been on the celebratory aspects of traditional culture. These celebrations are a source of pride for students who are given opportunities to share aspects of their cultural identities that are hidden during regular school life. This celebratory focus is accepted easily by members of the dominant culture as it does not require them to change. A more critical focus which addresses issues of power, inequity and racism is often a source of discomfort to members of the dominant culture who resist change which may challenge their current positions (Thomas, 1984). Student anti-racist groups like **Unity and Diversity** face challenging issues as they endeavour to raise awareness about racism among their peers. While such groups place the emphasis on fostering harmonious relationships, conflict is a natural byproduct of challenging race and ethnocultural inequity. Student organizers realize the limitations of the first approach and the personal and organizational risks of the more critical approach. Entering the dialogue of conflict could mean alienating their peers and jeopardizing the positive rapport these student groups have built with the remainder of the school community. Avoidance of conflict in the interest of preserving this rapport could lead to the choice of 'safer' initiatives which compromise the goals of anti-racist education.

The success of **Unity and Diversity** can be attributed to several factors which I have summarized here. These factors are based on the comments of teachers within this study and my observations during extended interaction with this group:

- Members are motivated by a strong sense of ethnic identity, personal views and leadership skills to make changes within their school
- The group has sustained organizational and social support from a small group of teachers and the administration
- The group is viewed positively by peers, teachers and the administration

- The group negotiates change from a position of harmony versus conflict

I emphasize here the voluntary nature of such groups. Although anti-racist or multicultural groups exist in several secondary schools throughout the region, they are not mandatory. The incentive for change depends on the goodwill, commitment and leadership of students which vary from year to year and from school to school. Clearly, the burden of change cannot rest exclusively on the shoulders of students. While such groups can influence particular elements of the school's anti-racist climate, as voluntary students groups, they have limited decision-making power in shaping equitable school policies. Their efforts for change must exist within a larger framework of race and ethnocultural equity that is supported by all constituents within the school community.

Recommendations for Race and Ethnocultural Policy Implementation In Secondary Schools

These recommendations for effective policy implementation are based directly on the suggestions made by students and teachers in this study as well as my interpretations of research results. I have organized these recommendations according to the themes that emerged in the research. Each recommendation has been placed within the context of facilitating factors identified in the literature. (Refer back to Table 1, p.20). These facilitating factors were originally determined as they related to implementation at the school board level. However they do little to describe successful implementation at the individual school level. I have made board-level/in-school distinctions in the recommendations for two primary reasons: (i) to extend the meaning of these factors as they relate to in-school initiatives, and (ii) to demonstrate the importance of creating links between the two levels, in order for successful policy implementation.

Recommendations to Increase Community Input

Responding to the needs of communities has been identified as one of the critical areas of Race and Ethnocultural policy implementation, as outlined by the Ministry of Education (Ministry, 1993). Results of this study indicate that the WCBE's Race and Ethnocultural Equity Advisory committee represents the key formal link between this school board and the Region's diverse racial and ethnic community. Expanding the role of this committee would represent continued Board commitment to address the needs of this community as well as a practical way to remove the burden of responsibility for policy implementation from the shoulders of one individual. The following recommendations reflect the need to redistribute this responsibility:

Facilitating Factors	Board Level Recommendations	In-School Recommendations
Responsibility/ Accountability <i>Expanding the role of the Race and Ethnocultural Equity Advisory committee</i>	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Increase responsibility for decision-making regarding program planning and implementation to established community structures (ie. the board-level Race and Ethnocultural Advisory Committee) 2. Clearly define the roles and responsibilities of the Race and Ethnocultural Equity Advisory committee in terms of implementation activities (eg. increase the group's function as a project steering group) 3. Increase autonomy and decision-making power allotted to the Race and Ethnocultural Advisory Committee 	

Recommendations to Enhance Stakeholder Awareness

Study results indicate a lack of basic level awareness among students and teachers regarding the existence of the Board's policy on Race and Ethnocultural Equity. In particular students and teachers reported confusion with regards to dealing appropriately with racist incidents. Not only does the board face the challenge of increasing awareness among its constituents that the policy does exist, it has the more difficult task of establishing a level of consciousness that the policy is important. The following recommendations address issues of communication:

Facilitating Factors	Board Level Initiatives	In-School Initiatives
<p data-bbox="318 352 574 516">Communication <i>Communicating the policy effectively to teachers and students</i></p> <p data-bbox="318 722 558 823"><i>Communicating the theoretical basis for Equity policies</i></p>	<p data-bbox="626 352 1013 516">1. Increase efforts to build awareness of the policy and its importance, among students and staff through information sessions, print material</p> <p data-bbox="626 554 1013 684">2. Explore effective methods for communicating policy to students, including procedures for dealing with racist incidents</p> <p data-bbox="626 722 980 852">3. Focus awareness building around the reasons for equity policy; link the policy to operating assumptions</p>	<p data-bbox="1045 352 1435 516">1. Communicate board/school policy on race and ethnocultural equity to students and staff on a regular basis using innovative methods</p> <p data-bbox="1045 554 1451 646">2. Organize teacher/parent/student nights to discuss policy, school initiatives, issues</p>

Recommendations for Enhancing Board Support

Findings from other boards suggest that further efforts of the WCBE towards race and ethnocultural equity may be jeopardized by the administration's limited commitment to policy implementation in terms of human resource allocation. The combination of race and ethnocultural equity with other portfolios, (Mock & Masemann, 1989), use of contractually limited positions, and marginalization of these positions within the school structure (Tator & Henry, 1991) have all been identified as barriers to effective policy implementation (Refer again to Table 3, p. 20). The following recommendations reflect a need for the WCBE to re-evaluate current human resource allocation for the purpose of fostering effective Race and Ethnocultural Equity policy implementation:

Facilitating Factors	Board Level Recommendations	In-School Recommendations
<p>Commitment</p> <p><i>Commitment of senior administration to provision of human, financial and technical resources</i></p>	<p>1. Re-evaluate the following aspects of the human resource position for the combined impact on sustained, effective Race and Ethnocultural Equity policy implementation:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Appointment of short term contracts versus permanent positions • Assignment of combined versus separate portfolios for Gender and Race and Ethnocultural equity • Present opportunities for autonomy and decision-making 	

Recommendations for Building a Climate of School Support

Students and teachers who participated in this study offered a number of suggestions for mobilizing Race and Ethnocultural Equity policy at the secondary school level. Suggestions centred around creating a formal base of support for anti-racist multicultural education within each school. The following recommendations represent participants' suggestions for increasing stakeholder involvement, establishing relevant goals and programs, creating systems of accountability, developing monitoring mechanisms and increasing the availability of in-school resources:

Facilitating Factors	Board Level Recommendations	In-School Recommendations
<p>Stakeholder Participation</p> <p><i>Creating an in-school advisory body</i></p>	<p>1. Facilitate the formation of race and ethnocultural equity advisory committees within each secondary school or within each School Family</p>	<p>1. Organize an in-school race and ethnocultural equity advisory committee</p> <p>2. Encourage a cross-section of membership in school-level advisory committees with representation from students, teachers, administrators and parents</p>
<p>Goals and Planning</p> <p><i>Grounding goals and programs in stakeholder conceptualizations</i></p> <p><i>Attention to uniqueness of each school's needs</i></p>	<p>1. Implementation goals and programs should reflect student conceptualizations of multicultural anti-racist school environments with particular attention to the following:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ● The hidden curriculum (student activities, school events, visual environment, daily operations) ● Teacher and student attitudes and behaviours ● Interracial/inter-ethnic peer interactions 	<p>1. School equity programs should target the implicit curriculum and attitudes and behaviours in addition to formal curriculum (courses, textbook materials)</p> <p>2. Conduct a school-wide survey or focus groups to determine needs of students and staff regarding race and ethnocultural equity</p> <p>3. Formulate an individual school policy on race and ethnocultural equity based on the existing board policy</p> <p>4. Use in-school committee to negotiate relevant school implementation plans</p> <p>5. Liaise with voluntary student groups to implement programs</p>

Facilitating Factors	Board Level Recommendations	In-School Recommendations
<p>Responsibility/ Accountability</p> <p><i>Creating systems of accountability</i></p>	<p>1. Use Board Advisory committee roles and responsibilities as a guideline for an in-school committee</p> <p>2. Establish specific staff in-service goals regarding expected timelines and outcomes</p>	<p>1. Clearly define roles and responsibilities of the in-school advisory committee for implementation of race and ethnocultural equity initiatives within the school community</p>
<p>Commitment</p> <p><i>Increasing availability of human resources and curriculum material</i></p>	<p>1. Increase the availability of multicultural/anti-racist resources within each secondary school (eg. videos, films, curriculum guides)</p>	<p>1. Promote the use of multicultural/anti-racist materials for use within the school</p> <p>2. Enlist the support of teachers willing to sit on a school level advisory committee</p> <p>3. Advocate for a permanent multicultural/anti-racist representative in the existing student government body</p>

Facilitating Factors	Board Level Recommendations	In-School Recommendations
<p data-bbox="318 394 578 457">Monitoring Processes/Evaluation</p> <p data-bbox="318 495 509 558"><i>Creating formal system checks</i></p> <p data-bbox="318 798 587 924"><i>Developing monitoring procedures and evaluations based on stakeholder definitions</i></p>	<ol data-bbox="639 394 1008 991" style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Develop formal monitoring mechanisms for tracking staff development (eg. implementation of action plans, use of training materials in the classroom) 2. Establish clear timelines and expectations for the development of school action plans 3. Include attitudes and behaviours (students and staff), peer interactions and the hidden curriculum in the assessment of school climate and policy implementation 	<ol data-bbox="1040 394 1425 991" style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Use the in-school race and ethnocultural advisory committee as the steering group for program monitoring and evaluation 2. Enlist democratic participation of students and staff informally (eg. time-limited projects) as well as formally (eg. working group) 3. Use participatory evaluation process to encourage input from all constituent groups within the school community (eg. school-wide survey, focus groups)

Facilitating Factors	Board Level Recommendations	In-School Recommendations
<p>Staff Training</p> <p><i>Effective opportunities for staff development</i></p> <p><i>Establishing trust among school staff</i></p> <p><i>Establishment of an internal resource base</i></p>	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Time staff development opportunities so that they occur early in the school year to facilitate implementation of action plans 2. Create in-service models that are personally introspective as well as informational 3. Examine innovative, cost-efficient methods for providing on-going opportunities for staff development (eg. peer training models) 4. Train school staff as internal resource people responsible for training and development of their peers 5. Establish staff support systems for teachers, consultants and guidance personnel who are willing to be internal resources 6. Use individual secondary school departments as the unit of curriculum change 	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. (Staff) Clearly articulate specific needs for training in race and ethnocultural equity (eg. -introducing curriculum units, responses to racist incidents, dealing with bias in the curriculum) 2. Introduce curriculum changes and other implementation issues within departmental staff meetings 3. Explore the possibilities of using designated internal resource staff for further development opportunities

Recommendations for Addressing Curriculum Content

Students in this study agreed with overwhelming consistency that the present curriculum lacked in terms of cultural diversity and failed to provide adequate redress for issues of racism. While most students provided general suggestions, the following recommendations stem from specific suggestions students and teachers gave for changing the present curriculum:

Facilitating Factors	Board Level Recommendations	In-school Recommendations
<p>Goals and Planning</p> <p><i>Curriculum content that reflects the needs of students and teachers</i></p>	<p>1. Begin systematic review of the curriculum for inclusiveness and bias in the following subjects identified by students and staff:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ● history ● english <p>2. Pilot new curriculum units in courses identified by students and staff as amenable to the inclusion of multicultural/anti-racist issues (eg. world religions, sociology, drama)</p> <p>3. Pilot new courses/course units in the following areas identified by students and staff:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ● Current world events course ● Courses in ethnic studies: Black, Native, Asian ● Language courses: Asian languages ● Course in community leadership ● Course in multiculturalism <p>4. Develop multicultural/anti-racist curriculum for students in junior (eg. grades 9 and 10) as well as senior grades (grades 11, 12 and OAC)</p>	<p>1. Negotiate a system of course credit for student leadership in multicultural anti-racist education (eg. peer help credit, co-op placements or leadership credit courses)</p> <p>2. Introduce curriculum units on racism, multiculturalism in present courses (eg. world religions, sociology, drama)</p>
<p>Commitment</p> <p><i>Availability of resource materials</i></p>	<p>1. Promote and circulate multicultural/anti-racist curriculum resource lists to secondary school libraries</p>	<p>1. Include multicultural anti-racist materials in annual orders of library materials</p>
<p>Monitoring and Evaluation</p> <p><i>Monitoring use of material resources</i></p>	<p>1. Monitor school usage of multicultural anti-racist resources</p>	<p>1. Review current library holdings for inclusion of multicultural anti-racist materials; diversity in literature</p>

Recommendations for Effective Teaching Strategies

Teachers and students who participated in the focus groups recognized that the process of bringing the anti-racist perspective to education was critical to the degree of comfort and acceptance by peers. Both groups articulated the need for safe environments and the opportunity for honest, open dialogue. The following recommendations are based on specific suggestions which articulated this need:

Facilitating Factors	Board Level Recommendations	In-School Recommendations
<p>Goals and Planning</p> <p><i>Creating an atmosphere of open dialogue</i></p>	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Incorporate units of conflict resolution into anti-racist multicultural curriculum 2. Develop and incorporate a non-confrontational framework of racism that is easily understood by students (eg. The dynamic of racism: triangle model) 	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Introduce anti-racist multicultural topics in small group settings which encourage dialogue (eg. seminars, discussion groups) 2. Place racism in a systemic framework which assesses the issue without implying personal blame 3. Use creative teaching methods (eg. movies, film studies, drama, conference days, guest speakers, personal journals) 4. Use homeroom periods to discuss current issues and build rapport among students and teachers
<p>Monitoring and Evaluation/Stakeholder Participation</p> <p><i>Including student input</i></p>	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Use focus groups as a forum for gathering student input in curriculum decision-making and evaluation 	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Incorporate student feedback as a formal part of curriculum development (eg. surveys, focus groups)

Facilitating Factors	Board Level Recommendations	In-School Recommendations
<p>Commitment</p> <p><i>Increasing accessibility of co-curricular opportunities</i></p>	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Advertise co-curriculum opportunities more openly in schools (eg. Holocaust seminars, student leadership camps) 2. Expand experiential learning opportunities for greater numbers of students (eg. Holocaust seminars, leadership camps) 3. Expanding opportunities for international student-exchange programs 	

Recommendations for Handling Racist Incidents

Both student and teacher participants expressed dissatisfaction with the way racist incidents were currently being handled. The following recommendations suggest the broadening of current policy to include educational and prevention goals, clarification of roles and responsibilities and effective communication of race and ethnocultural harassment policy to staff and students:

Facilitating Factors	Board Level Initiatives	In-School Initiatives
Goals and Planning <i>Developing educational goals for offenders</i> <i>Creating a prevention focus</i> <i>Creating a role for students in resolution of incidents</i>	1. Define clearly suggested penalties for such offenses 2. Incorporate educational goals in disciplinary action for offenders, and the larger school community 3. Include prevention goals within the incidents policy 4. Focus on conflict resolution education as prevention	1. Develop an in-school policy on racial incidents based on the board policy based on collaboration with students and staff 2. Focus educational efforts on the positive role of bystanders 3. Explore alternate processes for resolution (eg. peer mediation models)
Responsibility/ Accountability <i>Establishing teacher roles and responsibilities</i>	1. Define the role of teachers within the racial and ethnocultural incidents policy	1. Introduce Racial and Ethnocultural Incidents policy (board-level) to all staff
Communication	1. Build student awareness around the Racial Incidents policy	1. Use incidents as learning tools for the larger student body

Study results demonstrate the importance of gaining the internal school perspective when implementing board level changes. Students and teachers had a clear picture of their school community which facilitated the articulation of clear suggestions, particularly for building school support and implementing curriculum changes. Conversely, the human resource officer was often able to use her external vantage point to make clear links between board policy initiatives and school programming. Recommendations emphasize that both perspectives are necessary for determining effective implementation strategies. It was useful to use the framework established in Table 1 in describing facilitative factors of successful implementation within schools. Factors such as clear goals and planning, communication and training reflected similar concerns at both the board and school levels. However, at the

school level, communication also reflected concern for interpersonal issues. Building trust, developing systems of support, and creating climates of open dialogue were often conveyed in the suggestions of student and teacher participants. At the school level, issues of stakeholder participation and commitment emphasized the responsibilities of teachers versus senior administration (eg. role of the principal and vice-principals). Students and teachers were less clear on issues of accountability and monitoring and evaluation processes, suggesting key areas where the board should provide technical and administrative support.

Critiquing this Research Approach

Limitations of this study

I have identified two central limitations to this study. The first limitation concerns the study sample. Use of a small non-random survey sample limited the extent to which I could generalize results to the entire school population. I was also limited in terms of identifying the utility of the sub-scales within the survey. For example, the multicultural anti-racist climate sub-scale represented an initial attempt to measure this aspect of school environments. Statistically, study results indicate that the scale promises to be a reliable measure for determining multicultural anti-racist school climates. However due to the non-random nature and small size of the sample it will be necessary to test the scale on other student populations through the process of standardization. Similarly, in order to determine the scale's construct validity, it will have to be used in conjunction with other measures.

Moreover, the research sample was not necessarily representative of the total school population. This is illustrated by the observation that the student sample for both the survey and focus groups included very few New Canadian students. Therefore, I could not explore how language barriers, adjustment issues and other experiences unique to new immigrants contributed to the perceptions of school climate or anti-racist education initiatives. Similarly, the focus group sample of teachers was limited to three staff members who have already indicated an ongoing commitment to multicultural anti-racist education.

The second weakness of this study was the limited collaboration of key constituents groups in the research process. Democratic participation is one of the key values guiding community psychology research and practice (Prilleltensky, in press). In research settings this value is evident by collaboration between the researchers and key stakeholders in identifying the needs, choosing the research questions, designing the study, monitoring the research,

disseminating feedback and shaping the recommendations. Common structures for achieving this process are advisory committees or working groups which consist of key stakeholders within the setting. During the initial stages of my research, I attempted to establish a formal working group consisting of teachers, **Unity and Diversity** members and parents, to guide the project. I viewed the formation of this working group as a key indicator of project ownership and an important framework for enhancing the multicultural anti-racist environment at W.C.I. However, I experienced difficulty in establishing a formal working group and I abandoned this idea early in the research process. I have reflected on the collaborative process and have concluded that a working group did not form for two main reasons on which I have elaborated here.

My invitation to do this research came from the human resource officer, establishing my position within the school system but outside of the school. Subsequently, the perception of my research at the board level was different than within W.C.I. The human resources officer has a vested interest in finding ideal ways for pursuing implementation of race and ethnocultural equity policy. Therefore, at the board level, my research was perceived as facilitating the process. When I approached W.C.I., the school principal saw the benefit of the project for the school, but the perception among teachers and students was that it was my thesis research. While they appeared enthusiastic about the project, students and teachers viewed their participation as assisting me versus enhancing their school. Much as I tried to balance this perception to reflect one of mutual benefit, the project was still viewed as my research. My position as an outsider clearly limited the possibility of group ownership.

Perhaps the working group did not materialize for more pragmatic reasons. I targeted **Unity and Diversity** for participation in the research process because of their present leadership role at the school. However their ongoing leadership commitments precluded their

involvement in the research process. Although these students expressed enthusiasm for the project, they were understandably busy with their own initiatives. I conducted this research during peak months of what was considered to be peak months of activity for this group. I began the survey process in February and March when the group was busy organizing and running Multicultural Week events. Although focus groups were conducted after these events, student organizers were visibly tired from the previous months of organizational activity.

Reflections on Working with Student Groups

A formal working group would have enhanced the research process in terms of creating ownership and a support for myself, but it was not critical for enlisting participation. I did seek collaboration in less formal ways and this approach was met with more success. On an individual basis, I consulted with several teachers and students who reviewed the research proposal and the student survey. They suggested minor changes which I incorporated into the final version. I found that the school principal, students and teachers were willing to meet short term time commitments which involved the discussion of specific issues. With this in mind, I organized two strategic meetings with the human resource officer, the school principal and **Unity and Diversity** members (2 students and a teacher) before the survey process and the focus group interviews. This group offered several useful suggestions concerning timing, recruitment of participants and organization of the focus group process. Students and teachers also responded favourably to specific, time-limited tasks. For example, several **Unity and Diversity** members assisted with the distribution and collection of the surveys. Other members were instrumental in recruiting their classes for participation in both the survey and the focus groups. I conclude from my experience that collaboration with the school community may not occur in the formal ways as outlined in community research, particularly

when the base of participation comes from students. It may be necessary to re-think this concept of participation by acknowledging informal mechanisms and their value in terms of collaboration.

Conclusion

New Ministry of Education guidelines have provided Ontario school boards with the mandate to develop and implement anti-racism and ethnocultural equity policies. The challenge for these boards will be implementing effective policies and programs within each school community. The results from this research indicate that the challenge for effectiveness can be met by implementing policies that are grounded in the perceptions and ideas of stakeholders within the school community. Students and teachers in this study were able to conceptualize the ideal, then assess their own school environment based on these conceptualizations. Research findings indicate that participants identified a framework of anti-racist multicultural education which supports the combination of prevailing ideas, attitudes and behaviours and system supports for the purpose of eliminating racism and fostering cultural diversity (Mukherjee & Thomas, 1989). When compared with student conceptualizations of the ideal, W.C.I. appears to have an existing internal framework which supports multiculturalism. Attention to diversity in the hidden curriculum was identified as an outstanding feature at this school. A weakness in this framework arose from the general absence of ethnocultural diversity in most courses. The internal framework supporting anti-racist objectives appears to be more tenuous. Flaws in the anti-racist framework include weak policy and individual responses to racist incidents, an unresponsive curriculum and apathy of teachers and students towards these issues. Student participants of racial and ethnic minority backgrounds were particularly sensitive to these weaknesses. Much of the activity with respect to anti-racist multicultural education at W.C.I. was attributable to a small group of teachers and students who have formed a voluntary student club around issues of multiculturalism and racism. This group has worked hard to create a positive school image that has extended into the greater community.

Teacher participants made direct links between weaknesses in Board race and ethnocultural policy and the unresponsiveness of secondary schools. Limited staff development and slow response to curriculum review were cited among this group as barriers to action. Both students and teachers presented several cogent suggestions for mobilizing the WCBE's Race and Ethnocultural Equity policy in secondary schools. Suggestions for change which were grounded in the daily routines of student and teacher life, revolved around building a climate of school support and implementing effective curriculum change.

Adhering to the values of collaborative research was a personal challenge throughout this research. Opportunities for collaboration were influenced by my position as an outsider to the school community. As a researcher I had no legitimate role outside of my research (eg. teacher, consultant). Thus even though I was familiar to many students and teachers, the potential for project ownership was limited by perceptions that my research was strictly my own. Students often asked me good-naturedly, "What are you *doing* here?" as they passed me in the halls. My role as an outsider was a constant point of reflection throughout the research experience.

Focus groups proved to be a powerful research tool in this study. Discussions reflected a commitment to openness and honesty. Students expressed enthusiasm in sharing opinions and suggestions about issues that directly affect them. Participants often wanted assurance that results of these discussions would be used to change their school. Results of this research indicate that the focus group interview can be used successfully to include students in decision-making. In this study students were able to make articulate suggestions regarding Race and Ethnocultural policy implementation. Within the context of education, this method can be used by educators to critique curriculum changes or any other aspect of program development within anti-racist multicultural education.

The survey was a useful tool in terms of providing a broad assessment of the school's multicultural anti-racist environment. However the scale is several steps away from being a standardized instrument. Further work in this area could prove useful to educators, as very few standardized scales measure this construct. In general, the combined method was successful in gathering a wide range of student responses. I am speculating that this research model will be most effective if conducted by a previously established in-school committee (eg. a race and ethnocultural equity committee). The potential for the model's use in other settings still remains.

I conclude here by returning to roles and responsibilities of community psychology in facilitating race and ethnocultural equity within Canadian schools. Race and Ethnocultural equity is an essential aspect of school structure and culture in Ontario schools. This particular analysis of race and ethnocultural policy development suggests gaps in the literature regarding effective processes of implementation, particularly at the school level. This gap has resulted in a disparity between policies in principle and policies in practice. The strength of community psychology work in schools has been this unique attention to the process of change. It is this perspective that could prove essential to successful policy implementation. Secondly, race and ethnocultural equity issues intersect with a number of school prevention issues such as school dropout, low academic achievement and violence. Attention to the issues of racism and multiculturalism is critical to our understanding of school as an ecological system. Finally, race and ethnocultural equity, put simply, is a pursuit of redistributive justice. This is a value underlying the work of community psychologists responding to various forms of social injustice. Therein lies our responsibility as researchers, consultants, policy analysts and agents of social change.

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Appendix A

Glossary of Terms Used in this Research

Glossary of Research Terms Used in this Research

Antiracist Education: "An approach to education that integrates the perspectives of Aboriginal and racial minority groups into an educational system and its practices. The aim of antiracist education is the elimination of racism in all its forms. Antiracist education seeks to identify and change educational practices, policies, and procedures that foster racism, as well as the racist attitudes and behaviour that underlie and reinforce such policies and practices." (p. 42, Ministry of Education, 1993)

Bias: "An inaccurate and limited view of the world, a given situation, or individuals or groups." (p. 43, Ministry of Education, 1993).

Ethnic: "An adjective used to describe groups that share a common language, race, religion, or national origin. Everyone belongs to an ethnic group. The term is often confused with 'racial minority'". (p. 43, Ministry of Education, 1993)

Ethnocultural Group: "A group of people who share a particular cultural heritage or background. Every Canadian belongs to some ethnic group. There are a variety of ethnocultural groups among people of African, Asian, European, and indigenous North, Central, and South American backgrounds in Canada. Some Canadians may experience discrimination because of ethnocultural affiliation (ethnicity, religion, nationality, language). (p. 43, Ministry of Education, 1993).

Hidden Curriculum: "School calendars, celebrations, food services, athletics, assemblies, concerts, bulletin boards, hallway displays, school libraries, guidance offices" that affect the "ethos" of the school (p. 9, Tator, 1987).

Multicultural Education: "An approach to education, including administrative policies and procedures, curriculum, and learning activities, that recognizes the experiences and contributions of diverse cultural groups. One of the aims of multicultural education is to promote understanding of and respect for cultural and racial diversity." (p. 43, Ministry of Education, 1993)

Race: "... a belief that the human species can be divided into distinct groups on the basis of perceived physical characteristics such as skin colour... At present, race is generally regarded as having no empirical validity or scientific merit. It exists instead as a social construction which is manipulated to define, structure, and organize relations between dominant and subordinate groups" (p. 333-334, Elliott & Fleras, 1992)

Racism: "... a relatively complex and organized set of beliefs (ideology) that asserts the natural superiority of one racial group over another both at institutional and individual levels. As well as having an ideological component, racism involves discriminatory practices that protect, sustain, or promote the power and domination of the superordinate group. p. 335, Elliott & Fleras, 1992)

Appendix B

Traditional Models of Education and Student Outcomes

Table 1 Traditional Models of Education and Student Outcomes

	TRADITIONAL SCHOOL MODELS	STUDENT OUTCOMES
CURRICULUM I. CONTENT	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ● Eurocentric dominant canon (Allingham, 1993; Banks, 1991; Moore, 1988; Mukherjee, 1992) ● Exclusion of non-European contributions (Grinter, 1990; Mukherjee, 1992); hegemonic curriculum (Shemai, 1992) ● Presence of historical and cultural bias; distortion of historical realities of visible minority groups and Aboriginal peoples (Anderson & Lebas, 1988; Dhand, 1988; Moore, 1988; Banks, 1991) 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ● Denies needs and experiences of non-white students (Mukherjee, 1992) ● Denies opportunity for visible minority students to develop sense of pride in cultural heritage (Mukherjee, 1992) ● Sense of alienation and marginalization for racial and ethnic minority students (Chambers, 1992; Coelho, 1988; James, 1990; Solomon, 1992) ● Jeopardizes self-image of racial and ethnic minority students (Coelho, 1988) ● Active resistance of Black students against dominant school sub-culture, formation of a separatist culture (Solomon, 1992) ● Exposure of all students to courses which do not accurately reflect the diversity of Canadian society or the shrinking global village (Moore, 1988) ● Internalization of racial inferiority of non-white peoples by all students (Reid Endicott & Mukherjee 1992)

<p>II. PROCESS</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ● Transmission model of instruction (Cummins, 1986; 1988) ● Learning is subject-centred and teacher dominated (Cummins, 1986; 1988; Mukherjee, 1992) ● Student's race, class and gender experiences are placed low in the learning process (Mukherjee, 1992) ● Emphasis on individual, competitive strategies; prevailing ethic of classroom competition stemming from a Western cultural bias (Banks, 1974; Coelho, 1988; Mukherjee, 1992) ● Status quo is supported and reinforced (Banks, 1991; Mukherjee, 1992) ● Stereotypes of minority cultures as presented in literature and texts are not challenged (Anderson & Lebens, 1988) 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ● Emphasis on competitive classroom culture contributes to the low achievement of racially and ethnic minority students and students of low economic status (Coelho, 1988; Slavin, 1983) ● Students continue to internalize and transmit the values of dominant culture including values supporting inequity (Reid Endicott & Mukherjee, 1992)
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<p>ASSESSMENT & PLACEMENT/ GUIDANCE COUNSELLING</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ● Cultural bias implicit in formal and informal testing procedures (Lewis & Samuda, 1989; Samuda & Crawford, 1980; Samuda & Tingling, 1980; Tator & Henry, 1991; Tator, 1987) ● Assessment based on internal pathology/deficit models (Cummins, 1986;1988; Samuda, Samuda & Tingling, 1980) ● Testing of immigrant students immediately upon entry to the Canadian school system (Tator & Henry, 1991) ● Disproportionate rate of streaming of visible minority students in basic and general level programming (particularly Black students) (Cummins, 1986; Farrell, 1988; Lewis, 1992; Ray, 1985; Solomon, 1992; Tator, 1987) 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ● Disproportionate rate of high school drop-out by racial and ethnic status (Mukherjee, 1992; Tator, 1987) ● Perception of lower teacher expectations for academic outcomes of visible minority students (particularly Black students) (Chambers, 1992; James, 1990; Solomon, 1992) ● Mistrust of guidance counsellors by visible minority students (Chambers, 1992) ● Academic achievement below student abilities ● Low representation of visible minority students in Canadian universities and colleges
<p>STAFF TRAINING & DEVELOPMENT</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ● No systematic pre-training in anti-racist education by faculties of education (Mukherjee, 1992; Tator & Henry, 1991) 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ● Students taught by teachers with little knowledge of teaching diverse cultures (Mukherjee, 1992) or implementing anti-racist curriculum in the classroom

<p>HIRING PRACTICES</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ● Faculties of Education have not actively recruited students from visible minority backgrounds (Lewington, 1991) ● Standard hiring practices and procedures with discriminatory impact on racially visible and aboriginal peoples (Reid Endicott & Mukherjee, 1992; Abella Silberman, 1984) ● Clustering of racial minority staff in certain subject areas or in support positions (Mukherjee, 1992) ● Low numbers of racial and ethnic minorities in senior administrative positions, particularly South Asians (Mukherjee, 1992) and others (Cheng, 1987)²¹ 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ● Visible minority students have few role models from their racial and ethnic backgrounds (Chambers, 1992; Lewis, 1992; Mukherjee, 1992) ● Internalization of the notion that other racial groups are inferior due to their lack of presence in the school system as authority figures (Reid Endicott & Mukherjee, 1992)
<p>RACIAL HARASSMENT</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ● Reluctance in dealing with expressions of racism (Chambers, 1992; Mukherjee, 1992) ● Reluctance to accommodate special needs, eg. the right of Sikh students and employees to wear kirpans to school, time off for religious holidays (Mukherjee, 1992) 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ● Visible minority students subject to overt and covert racist behaviour on a regular basis (Chambers, 1992; Chan, 1987; Mukherjee, 1992; Reinhart, 1992)

²¹A second report by the Toronto Board of Education found no compelling evidence of under-representation in senior teaching positions. (Cheng, 1988)

<p>COMMUNITY INVOLVEMENT</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ● Low involvement of parents from visible minority backgrounds (particularly New Canadians) in school life (Lee, 1985; Tator & Henry, 1991) ● Historical notion that parents and the community have limited roles within the educational system (Mukherjee, 1992; Tator, 1987) ● Low involvement of visible minority community members in formally structured groups eg. parent-teacher associations, board committees (Reid Endicott & Mukherjee, 1992) 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ● Students whose parents are alienated and isolated from the school process and who are not actively involved (Tator & Henry, 1991)
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Appendix C

Proposed Objectives and Outcomes of Race and Ethnocultural Equity Initiatives

Table 2 Proposed Objectives and Outcomes of Race and Ethnocultural Equity Initiatives

	THE ANTI-RACIST EDUCATION MODEL: RACE AND ETHNOCULTURAL EQUITY POLICY INITIATIVES	STUDENT OUTCOMES
CURRICULUM I. CONTENT	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ● Curriculum development and selection reflects culturally and racially diverse society (Ministry of Education and Training, 1993) ● Existing curriculum structures, policies, programs and learning materials are reviewed for bias and discriminatory barriers (Ministry of Education and Training, 1980, 1993) 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ● "Enables all students to see themselves reflected in the curriculum (Ministry of Education and Training", 1993) ● "Ensures that the cultural and racial identities of all students are appropriately affirmed by learning experiences in the school" (Ministry of Education and Training, 1983)
II. PROCESS	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ● Emphasis on collective, cooperative classroom strategies (Coelho, 1988; Mukherjee, 1992; Thomas, 1984) ● Emphasis on critical pedagogy and transformative curriculum (Banks, 1991; Cummins 1986; 1988; Mukherjee, 1992) ● Issues of power are considered in classroom discourse (Banks, 1991; Mukherjee, 1992; Thomas, 1984) ● Stereotypes and racist ideas are discussed with attention given to historical context and ethnocentrism (Anderson & Lebens, 1988; Thomas, 1984) 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ● Students respond favourably to techniques such as small group dialogue, journals (Coelho, 1988; Johnston & Crawford, 1989; Wells & Wingate, 1986) ● Students are able to develop critical thinking skills and tools for self-analysis (Banks, 1988; Wells & Wingate, 1986) ● Students are able to reflect on their roles in society and relationships to the larger community (Banks, 1988; Wells & Wingate, 1986) ● Students are able to take responsibility toward social action (Banks, 1988; Wells & Wingate, 1986)

	THE ANTI-RACIST EDUCATION MODEL: RACE AND ETHNOCULTURAL EQUITY POLICY INITIATIVES	STUDENT OUTCOMES
ASSESSMENT & PLACEMENT/ GUIDANCE COUNSELLING	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ● Promotes multifaceted approach to student evaluation and assessment (Ministry of Education and Training, 1993) ● Advocates for cautious interpretation of standardized achievement, aptitude and psychological test scores; acknowledgement of cultural limitations (Ministry of Education and Training, 1993) ● Use of cultural and linguistic interpreters in the assessment process; conduct of assessments in students' first language (Tator & Henry, 1991) ● "Eliminate racial and ethnocultural stereotyping in educational and career-planning programs" (Ministry of Education, 1993) 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ● Optimizes students' educational and career opportunities (Ministry of Education and Training, 1993)
STAFF TRAINING AND DEVELOPMENT	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ● Staff in-service programs, courses, workshops designed to broaden awareness, expertise, competence and skill in all areas of policy implementation (Ministry of Education, 1993; Mock & Masemann, 1989; Mukherjee, 1992; Tator & Henry, 1991) 	

	THE ANTI-RACIST EDUCATION MODEL: RACE AND ETHNOCULTURAL EQUITY POLICY INITIATIVES	STUDENT OUTCOMES
STAFF HIRING EMPLOYMENT PRACTICES	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ● Proactive approach to ensuring diverse racial and cultural composition of board staff at all levels within education (Tator & Henry, 1991) ● Workforce audits and monitoring procedures which examine the present composition of board staff (Tator & Henry, 1991) ● Broad advertisement of vacancies internally in addition to outreach to designated groups (Ministry of Education, 1993) ● Review of recruitment, interview, selection, training and promotion practices for bias (Ministry of Education, 1993) 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ● School environments which reflect the racial and cultural diversity of the community (Ministry of Education, 1993) ● Reinforcement of self-esteem of racially and culturally diverse children by exposure to role models (Reid Endicott & Mukherjee, 1992) ● Exposure of all students "to a diversity of experiences and learning/teaching styles, thereby countering stereotypes..as to who has knowledge and whose knowledge is legitimate" (Endicott & Mukherjee, 1992)
RACIAL AND ETHNOCULTURAL HARASSMENT	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ● Development of clear guidelines and procedures for dealing with racial and ethnocultural harassment²² involving staff and students (Mock & Masemann 1989; Mukherjee, 1992; Tator & Henry, 1991) ● Clear communication of policy procedures to all members of the school community (Ministry of Education, 1993) ● Establishment of a harassment monitoring process (Ministry of Education, 1993) 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ● Provides students/staff who are harassed with appropriate recourse for taking action ● Establishes the serious nature of such offenses

²² Policies fall under the definition of discrimination and harassment as prohibited by the Ontario Human Rights Code.

	THE ANTI-RACIST EDUCATION MODEL: RACE AND ETHNOCULTURAL EQUITY POLICY INITIATIVES	STUDENT OUTCOMES
SCHOOL/ COMMUNITY RELATIONS	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ● Involvement of "diverse communities in partnership activities with the school board" (Ministry of Education, 1993) ● Creation of race and ethnocultural advisory committees consisting of community members (WCBE, 1991) ● Active participation by the community in development, implementation and monitoring of school board policies and programs (Ministry of Education, 1993) ● Establishment of non-traditional programs aimed at community outreach and increased parent participation (Tator & Henry, 1991) 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ● Programs reflect perspectives, needs and goals of the diverse school community (Ministry of Education, 1993) ● Systemic school change resulting largely from direct community pressure and advocacy (Tator & Henry, 1991) ● Links between parent involvement and student success (Tizard, Schofield & Hewison, 1982)

Appendix D

Student Questionnaire

10. List any activities you think this club (if you think there is one) has helped to organize?

The following statements describe your school. Please give your opinion by circling one of the following choices for each question:

- 1 = Strongly Disagree (SD)
- 2 = Disagree (D)
- 3 = Agree (A)
- 4 = Strongly Agree (SA)

1. The majority of students at this school think it's good to get to know other students of different races and cultures.

- | | | | |
|----|---|---|----|
| 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 |
| SD | D | A | SA |

2. Students at this school believe that multiculturalism is positive.

- | | | | |
|----|---|---|----|
| 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 |
| SD | D | A | SA |

3. Other students expect you to have friends of different races and cultures.

- | | | | |
|----|---|---|----|
| 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 |
| SD | D | A | SA |

4. Students of different ethnic backgrounds help each other out in my classes.

- | | | | |
|----|---|---|----|
| 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 |
| SD | D | A | SA |

5. Most students at this school have made friends with classmates of different cultures and races during extra-curricular events (eg. sports, school dances, clubs)

- | | | | |
|----|---|---|----|
| 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 |
| SD | D | A | SA |

6. Most staff at this school encourage students to make friends with students of different races and cultures.

- | | | | |
|----|---|---|----|
| 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 |
| SD | D | A | SA |

7. Extra-curricular activities adequately reflect the diversity of our school.

- | | | | |
|----|---|---|----|
| 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 |
| SD | D | A | SA |

8. The diversity of our school is shown regularly during morning announcements.

- | | | | |
|----|---|---|----|
| 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 |
| SD | D | A | SA |

9. The diversity of our school is reflected in the school's yearbook.

1 2 3 4
SD D A SA

10. Bulletin board displays reflect the diversity of our school.

1 2 3 4
SD D A SA

11. My textbooks reflect the perspectives of various racial and cultural groups.

1 2 3 4
SD D A SA

12. I feel represented in my course material.

1 2 3 4
SD D A SA

13. My courses are preparing me to live successfully in a global society.

1 2 3 4
SD D A SA

14. Teachers at this school come from a variety of racial and ethnic backgrounds.

1 2 3 4
SD D A SA

15. Student services (eg. guidance counselling, tutoring) meet the needs of students from a wide variety of ethnic backgrounds.

1 2 3 4
SD D A SA

16. The staff at this school know how to work with students from a variety of racial and ethnic backgrounds.

1 2 3 4
SD D A SA

17. Eliminating racism is a priority of staff at this school.

1 2 3 4
SD D A SA

18. Eliminating racism is a priority of students at this school.

1 2 3 4
SD D A SA

19. Racial incidents are considered to be serious offenses by staff at this school.

1 2 3 4
SD D A SA

20. We hear about anti-racist education on a regular basis at our school.

1 2 3 4
SD D A SA

21. Most staff at this school are fair to all students, regardless of race or ethnic group.

1 2 3 4
SD D A SA

22. Most staff at this school try to promote good race and ethnic relations among students.

1 2 3 4
SD D A SA

23. Racial harassment is an everyday occurrence at this school.

1 2 3 4
SD D A SA

24. Most teachers try to stop students from discriminating against one another.

1 2 3 4
SD D A SA

25. We are given enough class time to discuss issues of racism.

1 2 3 4
SD D A SA

26. The contributions of diverse groups to Canadian society are presented fairly in my course material.

1 2 3 4
SD D A SA

27. When stereotypes of certain groups of people appear in textbooks and novels, they are challenged in class discussions.

1 2 3 4
SD D A SA

28. Teachers generally seem comfortable about discussing racism during class time.

1 2 3 4
SD D A SA

The following statements describe a series of personal actions. Please agree or disagree with the following statements.

1. I could make a difference in solving racial discrimination.

1 2 3 4
SD D A SA

2. My actions could help to eliminate racism.

1 2 3 4
SD D A SA

3. If I noticed that cultural or racial groups were not represented fairly in my course material, I would mention it to my teachers.

1 2 3 4
SD D A SA

4. If I noticed that cultural or racial groups were not represented fairly in school assemblies, announcements or special events, I would do something about it.

1 2 3 4
SD D A SA

5. If I had the chance to help teachers make changes to the curriculum, I would.

1 2 3 4

SD D A SA

6. I would get involved in a "Let's Stop Racism" campaign at my school.

1 2 3 4
SD D A SA

7. I would join an anti-racist student group at my school.

1 2 3 4
SD D A SA

8. If someone made a racist remark, I would ignore it.

1 2 3 4
SD D A SA

9. If I heard a racist joke, I would laugh.

1 2 3 4
SD D A SA

10. If my friends ignored the fact that someone from another culture was being treated unfairly, I would do the same.

1 2 3 4
SD D A SA

11. If my classmates were bothering a person from another cultural group, I would tell them to stop.

1 2 3 4
SD D A SA

12. I would be willing to report a racist incident to my school principal/vice-principal.

1 2 3 4
SD D A SA

13. If my teacher was to ignore a racial incident, I would confront her/him.

1 2 3 4
SD D A SA

14. I would go out of my way to make friends with people of other cultures than my own.

1 2 3 4
SD D A SA

15. If I saw someone of another culture sitting alone in the cafeteria, I would go over and talk to her/him.

1 2 3 4
SD D A SA

Appendix E

Statement of Board Approval for Research

Student Information Letter and Consent Form

Teacher Consent Form



The Waterloo County
Board of Education

Education Centre
51 Ardell Ave., Box 68
Kitchener, Ontario
N2G 3X5

(519) 570-0300
FAX (519) 742-1364

Direct Dial (519) 570-0003 + extension desired

February 3, 1993

Mr. Paul Davock
Wilfrid Laurier University
Psychology Department
75 University Avenue
Waterloo, Ontario

Dear Paul:

RE: E.S.R. 851

WCBE Contact Person: Craig Simpson

TITLE: Building Anti-Racist Multicultural Environments: Implementing
Race and Ethnocultural Policy in the Schools

Submitted by: Dr. Steve Chris

Student: Melanie Wilson

Please be advised that the following school(s) has/have agreed to participate
in the above study.

Waterloo Collegiate Institute
300 Hazel Street, West
Waterloo, N2L 3P2

Principal: Mr. R. Smale
Telephone: 884-9590

The researchers concerned should contact the principal(s) of the school(s) as
soon as possible to make all necessary arrangements. The usual Operations
Division Procedures apply.

If any problems or questions arise, or if there is any further way we can be
of assistance, please do not hesitate to call the contact person for this
project.

*Feedback from your study is required. Send a copy to Dr. Jim
Dudeck, c/o Special Education Services, Education Centre, and
copies to each school used in your study.*

Yours truly,

Jim Dudeck, Ph.D.
Research Committee Chairman

JED:js

cc: Director
Area Superintendent
Principal
Contact Person
File

Wilfrid Laurier University



Founded 1911

Dear Parent/Guardian and Student Participant:

March 2, 1993

My name is Melanie Wilson and I am a graduate student in the Community Psychology Masters program at Wilfrid Laurier University. For the past 15 months, I have worked as a student consultant for Marcia Smellie, the Human Resource Officer for the Waterloo County Board of Education. During this time I have been examining race and ethnocultural relations issues. Under the supervision of Dr. Steve Chris, my thesis supervisor, and Marcia Smellie, I am conducting a pilot study designed to explore implementation of this school board's Race and Ethnocultural Equity Policy. The purpose of this study is to help this school board achieve its goal of developing positive, anti-racist multicultural school environments.

This study is a pilot project that will take place at Waterloo Collegiate Institute. Your participation in this project is a way of giving students input regarding how the board's policy can be implemented in their school. The research has been approved by the Waterloo County Board of Education's Research Committee. However, it is up to each student and their parent/guardian (for those students under age 18) as to whether he or she wishes to participate. Students who are under the age of 18 must receive parental permission to participate. Those students who are 18 years of age and older do not need written consent from parents. However all parents are encouraged to seek more information if interested. If you need further details, please contact me at 746-5810. All students will be asked to sign the consent form to ensure that participation is voluntary.

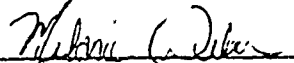
Approximately 210 students will be selected through a voluntary process to complete a questionnaire about policy awareness, perceptions of the school's anti-racist multicultural climate and issues around student participation. A smaller group of 24 students will be asked to participate in focus group sessions to discuss the issues further. These focus groups will be tape-recorded with permission from all participants. Recordings will be transcribed in note form and will be erased immediately after.

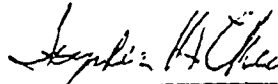
Participation in this study is voluntary and will not affect grades or standing in any way. Each student is free to withdraw her/his full participation at any time during the project. Students may choose to omit any question asked on the questionnaire or during the focus group session. In order to protect confidentiality, the student's name will not be recorded on the questionnaire. Students can indicate their interest in participating in the focus groups by checking off this option on the consent form. The names on these forms will be used only for the purpose of writing invitations.

A written summary of the questionnaire and focus group results will be available for all participants by the end of April 1993. These summaries will be distributed in the same class in which the questionnaire is written. If you agree to participate, please return the enclosed consent form by March 5, 1993 to your first period teacher.

Thank you for your interest and cooperation.

Sincerely,


Melanie Wilson (746-5810)


Steve Chris (570-0300)


Marcia Smellie (570-0300)

Department of Psychology

Wilfrid Laurier University, Waterloo, Ontario, Canada N2L 3C5 (519) 884-1970 Fax (519) 886-9351

Information and Consent to Participate:

To teacher participants:

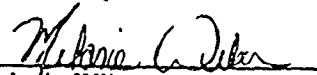
My name is Melanie Wilson and I am a graduate student in Community Psychology at Wilfrid Laurier University. Under the supervision of Dr. Steve Chris and Marcia Smellie, I am conducting a pilot study designed to examine the implementation of this board's Race and Ethnocultural Equity Policy. The purpose of this study is to assist the Waterloo County Board of Education in achieving its goal of developing positive, anti-racist/multicultural school environments.

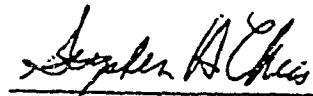
The first phase of this project involved completion of a questionnaire by approximately 150 students at W.C.I. This questionnaire examined policy awareness among the student body as well as their perceptions of the school's anti-racist multicultural environment. You are involved in the second phase of this study, the purpose of which is to gather teacher input regarding effective policy implementation.

The session will be tape recorded with permission from all participants. The recordings will be transcribed, then erased. Please note: names of participants will not be transcribed to ensure confidentiality. The report resulting from this session will include a summary of themes in addition to direct quotes. If you wish to review any quotes prior to inclusion in the report, a list of quotes will be made available to you.

Participation in this focus group session is voluntary and you are free to decline or withdraw your participation at any time. I will make a written summary of the focus group session available to you by the end of May, 1993.

Sincerely,


Melanie Wilson (746-5810)


Steve Chris (570-0300)


Marcia Smellie (570-0300)

I have read the preceding information and I agree to participate in this research by taking part in a focus group interview. This research is being conducted by Dr. Steve Chris and Melanie Wilson in collaboration with Marcia Smellie (Human Resources Officer for the board). I understand that participation in this process is voluntary and all participants have the right to withdraw at any point during the session.

YES _____ NO _____

Signature of Participant _____

Teaching subject area(s) _____

Feedback Request:

If you would like receive a written summary of the focus group results, please indicate:

YES _____ NO _____

Appendix F

Student Focus Group Guide

Teacher Focus Group Guide

Student Focus Group Interview Guide

Objectives of this session:

- To gain student impressions of multicultural/anti-racist education
- To generate ideas for effective race and ethnocultural equity policy implementation

The following questions represent a suggested guide for focusing the discussion around multicultural/anti-racist education:

I. Nominal Group Exercise

- Instruct participants to write their ideas about the following:
- Allow 10 minutes for recording ideas

1. When I see I know I'm in a multicultural/anti-racist school.

When I hear I know I'm in a multicultural/anti-racist school.

- In round-robin fashion, invite each participant to share one idea from her/his list
- Co-facilitator records each idea on chart paper (verbatim)
- Continue this process until ideas are exhausted (Encourage participants not to repeat ideas already presented) (10 to 15 minutes)

II. Open Discussion (approx. 10 minutes per question)

2. What are your thoughts and feelings about the multicultural/anti-racist environment at this school? (eg. student interaction, racial incidents, school events etc.)
3. What are your thoughts and feelings about the school board's role in anti-racist education? (eg. offering courses, communicating policy to students etc.)
4. What are some things you would like to see happening in this school and other schools in this region? (Include in your responses, ways that teachers, counsellors, students, parents or the school board can get involved in multicultural/anti/racist education.)

IV. Closure

- Invite students to comment on the focus group process (Did they enjoy the discussion? Any improvements?)

Teacher Focus Group Interview Guide

Objectives of this session:

- To gain teacher impressions of multicultural/anti-racist education
- To generate ideas for effective race and ethnocultural equity policy implementation

The following questions represent a suggested guide for focusing the discussion around multicultural/anti-racist education:

I. Nominal Group Exercise (15 minutes)

- Write your thoughts about the following:

1. • When I see I feel like I'm in a multicultural/anti-racist school.
 - When I hear I feel like I'm in a multicultural/anti-racist school.
 - In round-robin fashion, share one idea from your list
 - Continue this process until ideas are exhausted

II. Open Discussion (approx. 10 minutes per question)

2. What are your thoughts and feelings about the multicultural/anti-racist environment at this school? (eg. teacher participation, student interaction, racial incidents, school events etc.)
3. What are your thoughts and feelings around effective Race and Ethnocultural Equity policy implementation?
4. What are some things you would like to see happening at this school/within this Board?

III. Closure

Appendix G

Sample Feedback Report Distributed to Participants

WILFRID LAURIER UNIVERSITY
Waterloo, Ontario

FEEDBACK REPORT

Date: June 7, 1993

To: Participants in the study on Race and Ethnocultural Equity School Board Policy

From: Melanie Wilson
Graduate Student in Community Psychology

Supervisor: Dr. Steve Chris

Several students and teachers at W.C.I participated in a pilot study designed to examine implementation of this school board's Race and Ethnocultural Equity Policy. The purpose of this research was to provide feedback that could facilitate effective policy decisions effecting students, teachers and administrators. The goal of such policies is to create school environments that are multicultural, anti-racist and inclusive of all students.

I felt it was particularly important for the Board to hear what students had to say about multicultural/anti-racist education, thus the study included a student survey and several focus groups designed to gather student opinion. Other elements of the study included a focus group for teachers and observation of activities organized by W.C.I.'s student anti-racist group, **Unity and Diversity**. I have provided a brief summary of the survey and focus group results here.

Student Survey

One hundred and fifty-eight students filled out the survey. This represents approximately 10% of WCI's student population. Sixty-four percent of the participants were female and 36% were male. The majority of participants were senior students, OAC students being the largest group represented (43%). Seventeen percent of participants identified themselves as being a member of a racial or ethnic minority.

Knowledge of Race Relations Policy

Students revealed that they had limited knowledge of the board's Race and Ethnocultural Equity policy. Only 38% of students surveyed knew that the board had such a policy while even less (30%) knew there was a person assigned to implement this policy. Similarly, approximately one third of students surveyed were familiar with the presence of harassment procedures (37%). Few students (29%) knew what actions to take (according to board policy) in the case of racial or ethnic harassment. These results indicate that the board has work to do in terms of communicating its policy to students. By contrast, 78% of students surveyed were aware of a student anti-racist club (**Unity and Diversity**) at WCI and many were able to identify activities that this group organized.

WCI's Multicultural Anti-racist Environment

Students were asked to respond to several statements concerning the multicultural anti-racist environment at WCI. These statements were based on aspects school life which are repeatedly mentioned in the literature as crucial to anti-racist education. In general, students surveyed felt positive about the environment at WCI. 91.5% of students surveyed agreed or strongly agreed that multiculturalism is viewed positively at this school. In terms of seeing this ideal in action, 93% of the students indicated that classmates from diverse backgrounds helped each other in class and formed diverse friendships during extra-curricular events. However, 70% of students surveyed agreed or strongly agreed that racial/ethnic harassment was an everyday occurrence at WCI. 60% of students perceived teachers as being encouraging of diverse friendships, while 83% agreed or strongly agreed that staff at WCI worked well with diversity in addition to promoting good ethnic relations. The majority of students surveyed felt that extra-

curricular events, bulletin board displays and the yearbook adequately reflected the diversity of the school. However, in terms of course content, only 50% of students agreed that their textbooks adequately reflected diversity. 67% of students of racial and ethnic minority backgrounds who participated in the survey indicated that they do not feel represented in their course material. 76% of all students surveyed disagreed that enough class time was given to discuss issues of racism.

In general, students of racial and ethnic minority backgrounds felt slightly less positive about the multicultural anti-racist climate at WCI than students from majority backgrounds²³, and female students felt more positively about the climate than male students.

Personal Action

This section of the survey created the most controversy for student participants, several of whom felt that the questions may have been attempts to label them as 'racist' or 'anti-racist'. The statements referred to actions which address peers and staff and require some level of student response. Most survey items were adapted from survey questions designed for the *Together We're Better* public awareness campaign sponsored by Multiculturalism and Citizenship Canada in 1991. Students indicated varying levels of comfort in terms of addressing staff and peers:

- 58% of students surveyed agreed or strongly agreed that if cultural or racial groups were not represented fairly in course material they would mention it to teachers:
- 64% of students surveyed would take personal action if cultural or racial groups were not represented fairly in school assemblies, announcements or special events
- 70% of students would report a racist incident to the vice-principal
- 65% of students indicated an interest in assisting change in the curriculum
- 87% of students indicated that if their peers were to ignore unfair treatment based on race or ethnicity, they would do the same
- 63% would ignore racist remarks made by peers
- 76% would laugh at racist jokes

In terms of being actively involved in group activities, approximately half of students indicated that they would become involved in an anti-racist campaign or join an anti-racist group. Students who indicated that they would not get involved often cited lack of time as the primary reason. Students often refused to answer the last 2 questions which assessed willingness to make friends with people from other cultures and racial groups. Students indicated that culture and race were not the determining factors in their friendships. However, during focus groups, when asked to visualize the ideal, students most frequently cited the presence of interracial friendships as a strong indicator of an anti racist multicultural school. In general, students from racial and ethnic minority groups indicated a higher orientation towards action than students from majority groups. Similarly, female students who responded to the survey appeared to be more action oriented than male students.²⁴

Student Focus Groups

35 students participated in focus group sessions which were approximately 1.5 hours in length. Discussion revolved

²³While both groups of students were fairly positive, there were statistically significant differences between the two groups of students.

²⁴Group differences were statistically significant.

around student perceptions of multicultural anti-racist education and suggestions for the board with regards to implementation.

Students were first asked to visualize the ideal multicultural anti-racist school. In addition to the presence of interracial friendships students' comments centred around the theme of 'appreciation' versus tolerance. Students perceived a multicultural school as being a place where ethnic and racial heritage are *actively* appreciated in the forms of:

- "announcements about important religious dates"
- "promotion of multicultural events/weeks/festivals"
- "praise and recognition for involvement in multicultural events"
- "people of one language trying speak another"
- "people unafraid to wear their traditional clothing"
- "people discussing their uniqueness"
- "people of different races talking about races and groups other than their own"

When asked to identify what an anti-racist school would look like students made frequent reference to the absence of racist jokes and derogatory comments. Students also envisioned anti-racist education as an *active* process. In an anti-racist environment action would be apparent in terms of:

- "a very strong anti-racism system such as punishment for racial remarks"
- "people talking about anti-racism around the school"
- "individuals speaking out about racism in society"
- "people standing up to racist jokes"
- "teachers teaching anti-racism"
- "class discussions concerning racism"
- "administration praising efforts of those involved in anti-racist education"

When commenting on the anti-racist multicultural environment at WCI, students identified WCI as a leader among schools in terms of the presence of a diverse student population, a student anti-racist group (Unity & Diversity), multicultural events and announcements. Senior students (grade 12 and OAC) commented on the positive change in climate they have experienced over the past 3 to 5 years. The **Unity & Diversity** group can be credited for much of this positive shift. While students (in the survey) were more familiar with the entertainment aspects of this club eg. multicultural week festivities, **Unity & Diversity** has organized several projects with community education and advocacy as the primary focus.

Several participants agreed that racist jokes/comments were prevalent among students. Students have trouble taking a stand for fear of being singled out. The perception was that students considered confronting such behaviour as 'high risk'. Some participants from racial and ethnic minority groups voiced concerns that multiculturalism is perceived as being relevant only to visible minorities. This perception seems to limit the involvement and participation of students from majority backgrounds who in turn, were not sure if their participation would be welcomed.

Most of the students agreed that the board should structure courses to reflect diversity and fairness.

- "start with textbooks - fair representation of diverse groups"
- "curriculum should include diversity eg. authors from different cultures -not just in independent studies"
- "course content should include positive aspects of culture not just negative"

Students gave a variety of suggestions specific to W.C.I. I have listed some of these here:

Extra-curricular Events:

- Celebrations of 'Civil Rights'

- Increased involvement of student government in multicultural week
- Multicultural representative on student government
- Assemblies, dances and airbands featuring a broader array of music
- Performances/movies promoting multiculturalism -confronting racism
- More multicultural events throughout the school year
- Announcements which focus on anti-racist happenings around the world
- Conference day -seminars and speakers

Class:

- Multicultural resources available in the library
- Courses offered on other cultures (eg. Black, Asian History)
- Current World events courses for all grades
- More languages taught

Racial Incidents:

- Use of racial incidents as models/educational tools to prevent future incidents
- "Make students who discriminate learn how it feels to be a minority"
- "When there are incidents we need to talk about them"
- "More publicity re: what you do if there are racial incidents"

Students agreed that they desired more direction and participation from teachers. The perception was that while teachers were supportive in principle very few were actively incorporating the ideals of multicultural anti-racist education in their classes or extra-curricular participation.

I found that students really appreciated the focus group as a forum for voicing their concerns and sharing their ideas. Several students commented that discussion forums like these should occur on a regular basis at WCI to increase awareness and sustain interest in this area.

This summary only represents preliminary results of my thesis. A complete version of this document will be submitted to the Waterloo County Board of Education in Feb. of 1994. I will present your recommendations to the Board's Race and Ethnocultural Advisory committee in Feb. 1994. Students and teachers who would like more information about this research or access to survey statistics can contact me at:

The Dept. of Psychology
 Wilfrid Laurier University
 Waterloo, Ont.
 N2L 3C5
 884-1970 ext. 2371

I wish to thank all of the students who participated in the survey process and the focus group discussions. Your ideas and insights were valuable. In addition, I express thanks to the teachers who volunteered students and class time to participate in this research.

Melanie Wilson

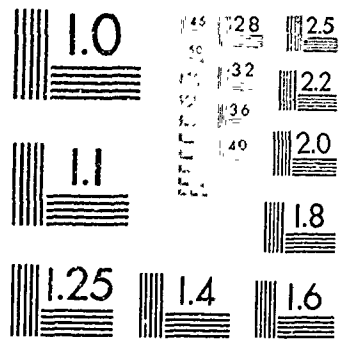
Appendix H

Coding Process for Student/Teacher Focus Groups

Coding Process for Interview with Human Resources Officer

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NBS 1010a ANSI/ISO #2 EQUIVALENT



PRECISIONSM RESOLUTION TARGETS

Initial Coding Process for Focus Groups (Question #1)

1. The purpose of the first exercise was to gain student perceptions of what an antiracist multicultural school would look like. Students were asked to visualize such an environment by responding to the following:

- When I see.....I know I'm in an antiracist multicultural school
- When I hear....I know I'm in an antiracist multicultural school

I grouped responses into the following categories:

When I See....

1. Strong punishment for racist behaviour
2. Positive interracial interaction/interracial friendships
3. Racial diversity in student/staff make-up
4. Support of entire school for multicultural education
5. Involvement of parents
6. Equal recognition of all cultures in courses
7. Equal treatment of students by teachers
8. Equal representation in cross-section of student activities
9. Equal treatment of students by students
10. Diverse language programs
11. Presence and appreciation of cultural dress
12. People unafraid to wear cultural dress, hairstyles, jewelry
13. People keeping cultural heritage
14. Diversity visible in posters, flags, symbols
15. Presence of a student anti-racist group
16. Diversity in textbooks, literature in library
17. Involvement of majority groups in battling racism
18. Teacher involvement in anti-racist activities
19. Presence of multicultural week
20. Different types of food being offered in the cafeteria
21. Visible minority students/teachers feeling comfortable in all venues
22. Inclusionary language in curriculum
23. Posters, announcements against racism

When I hear.....

24. Open discussion about racism
25. No racist comments: jokes or derogatory statements
26. Students standing up to racist comments
27. Classes with a world focus
28. Freedom to express views without judgement
29. Classes which address racism; multiculturalism
30. Acknowledgement of religious/cultural holidays in announcements
31. People sharing and accepting cultural differences

32. Presence of diverse music in school activities
33. Racial/ethnic stereotypes being addressed in class
34. Positive aspects of different cultures mentioned in conversations
35. People speaking their own language in school
36. Praise/recognition from the administration for involvement in multicultural activities
37. Individuals speaking out against racism in society
38. Recognition of multicultural/anti-racist events in yearbook, bulletin displays
39. Promoting anti-racism in the community
40. People talk about "making a better world, not just the school "
41. Minority students ' rights being advocated

Thematic Coding Process for Focus Groups (Question #1)

Diversity in School Population

3. Racial diversity in student/staff make-up (4 student groups, teacher group)

Freedom of Cultural Expression

12. People unafraid to wear cultural dress, hairstyles, jewelry (3 student groups)
13. People keeping cultural heritage (1 student group)
23. Freedom to express cultural views without judgement (1 student group)

Appreciation and Acknowledgement of diversity

2. Positive interracial interaction/interracial friendships (4 student groups, teacher group)
11. Presence and appreciation of cultural dress (4 student groups, teacher group)
14. Diversity visible in posters, flags, symbols (4 student groups, teacher group)
10. Diverse language programs (1 student group)
16. Diversity in textbooks, literature in library (2 student groups, teacher group)
19. Presence of multicultural week (2 student groups)
20. Different types of food being offered in the cafeteria (teacher group)
21. Visible minority students/teachers feeling comfortable in all venues (teacher group)
28. People speaking their own language in school (2 student groups, teacher group)
30. Acknowledgement of religious/cultural holidays in announcements (1 student group, teacher group)
31. People sharing and accepting cultural differences (3 student groups)
32. Presence of diverse music in school activities (2 student groups)
34. Positive aspects of different cultures mentioned in conversations (3 student groups)

Fairness and Equality

6. Equal recognition of all cultures in courses (four student groups)
7. Equal treatment of students by teachers (1 student group)
8. Equal representation in cross-section of student activities (2 student groups)
9. Equal treatment of students by students (2 student groups)
33. Racial/ethnic stereotypes being addressed in class (1 student group)
22. Inclusionary language in curriculum (teacher group)

Intolerance of racist behaviour

1. Strong punishment for racist behaviour ((1 student group)
23. Posters, announcements against racism (1 student group)
25. No racist comments:jokes or derogatory statements (4 student groups, teacher group)
26. Students standing up to racist comments (2 student groups)

Solidarity and structural support

4. Support of entire school for multicultural education (1 student group)
5. Involvement of parents (1 student group)
15. Presence of student anti-racist group (2 student groups)
17. Involvement of majority groups in battling racism (1 student group)

- 18. Teacher involvement in anti-racist activities (2 student groups)
- 23. Posters, announcements against racism (1 student group)
- 36. Praise & recognition from administration for involvement in multicultural anti-racist activities (1 student group, teacher group)
- 41. Minority students' rights being advocated (teacher group)

School with a social change focus

- 27. Classes with a world focus (1 student group)
- 37. Individuals speaking out against racism in society (1 student group)
- 39. Promoting anti-racism in the community (1 student group)
- 40. People talk about "making a better world, not just the school" (1 group)

Initial Coding Process for Focus Groups: Question #2

2. What are your thoughts and feelings about the anti-racist multicultural environment at W.C.I.? (Students were asked to visualize themselves along a continuum ranging from racist monocultural to anti-racist/multicultural)

I grouped participants' responses into the following categories:

1. General overall ratings of W.C.I - ranging from very negative to very positive (3 student groups, teacher group)
2. Positive trend noted over past 3 to 5 years - positive (2 student groups, teacher group)
3. Presence and activities of anti-racist group - positive (3 student groups)
4. Limited student involvement in the multicultural club & multicultural events (mostly minority students) -negative (4 student groups, teacher group)
5. Apathy towards multicultural week - negative (2 student groups)
6. Interest and participation limited to multicultural week - negative (1 student group)
7. Prevalence of racist jokes and comments - negative (4 student groups, teacher group)
8. No stand taken by students against racist jokes - high risk -negative (1 student group)
9. Presence of cultural groupings (segregation) - negative? (depending from whose perspective) (2 student groups, teacher group)
10. Traditional dress made fun of - negative (1 student group)
11. Negativity towards speaking own language - negative (1 student group)
12. Low teacher involvement: most initiatives student run -positive in terms of student impact, negative in terms of teacher involvement (4 student groups, teacher group)
13. Lack of teacher involvement:personal bias, fear, inadequate training (2 groups, teacher group)
14. Diversity in courses limited to a few subject areas and senior grades (student group, teacher group)
15. Stereotyping occurs (1 student group, teacher group)
16. Tendency of minority students to ignore jokes/stereotypes (teacher group)
17. No school policy to deal with racial incidents:ad hoc approach unsatisfactory(teacher group)
18. Administrators ignore incidents (don't know how to handle them) (teacher group)
19. Respect for Unity and Diversity among administrators (teacher group)
20. Broader issue of school climate (class distinctions) (teacher group)
21. Staff inservice limited to 4 staff from WCI:limited impact on staff (teacher group)
22. Perception of majority:there is no problem (visible minority students) (1 group)
23. Students ignore ethnic differences - negative (visible minority students) (1 group)
24. Visible minority students leave the school due to racism and lack of diversity (visible minority students) (1 group)
25. Limited diversity in staff (visible minority students) (1 group)
26. Diversity among students - depending from v' 'h perspective (3 student groups, teacher group)
27. Diversity not embraced & appreciated by majority (visible minority students and teacher group)

Thematic Coding Process for Focus Groups (Question #2)

Diversity in School Population

- 24. Students leave the school due to racism and lack of diversity
- 25. Limited diversity in staff
- 26. Diversity among students - depending from which perspective

Freedom of Cultural Expression

- 10. Traditional dress made fun of - negative
- 11. Negativity towards speaking own language - negative

Appreciation and Acknowledgement of diversity

- 5. Apathy towards multicultural week - negative
- 6. Interest and participation limited to multicultural week - negative
- 9. Presence of cultural groupings (segregation) - negative? (depending from whose perspective)
- 23. Students ignore ethnic differences - negative (minority students ' viewpoint)
- 27. Diversity not embraced & appreciated by majority

Fairness and Equality

- 14. Diversity in courses limited to a few subject areas and senior grades

Intolerance of racist behaviour

- 7. Prevalence of racist jokes and comments - negative
- 8. No stand taken by students against racist jokes - (high risk) -negative
- 15. Stereotyping occurs
- 16. Tendency of minority students to ignore jokes/stereotypes
- 17. No school policy to deal with racial incidents:ad hoc approach unsatisfactory
- 18. Administrators ignore incidents (don 't know how to handle them)

Solidarity and structural support

- 3. Presence and activities of anti-racist group - positive
- 12. Low teacher involvement:most initiatives student run! -positive in terms of student impact; negative in terms of teacher involvement
- 13. Lack of teacher involvement:personal bias, fear, inadequate training (3 groups including teacher group)
- 17. No school policy to deal with racial incidents:ad hoc approach unsatisfactory
- 19. Respect for Unity and Diversity among administrators
- 21. Staff inservice limited to 4 staff from WCI

Thematic Coding Process for Focus Groups (Question #3)

3. What do you think the role of the school board should be in terms of creating anti-racist multicultural environments in the schools?

Suggestions:

Gaining Board Support

1. Continue to implement initiatives that have been started (teacher group)
2. Extend the contract of the Human Resources Officer (teacher group)
3. Make role of policy implementation a full-time permanent position (teacher group)

Building a Climate of School Support

4. Offer information nights for teachers, parents and students (1 student group)
5. Set up seminars for teachers on multicultural/anti-racist education (2 student groups, teacher group)
6. Strongly encourage teachers to share their learnings from teacher workshops with students (1 student group)
7. Strongly recommend teacher involvement (3 student groups)
8. Provide more extensive inservice opportunities for teachers (teacher group)
9. Tie in-service participation to expected outcomes (teacher group)
10. Conduct inservice at a more effective time in the school year (teacher group)
11. Introduce initiatives/in-service through each department (teacher group)
12. Structure staff in-services to promote open and honest discussion (teacher group)
13. Build experiences on "being a minority" into staff in-services (teacher group)
14. Make internal resource people responsible for in-servicing peers (teacher group)
15. Purchase instructional videos defining racism in all of its forms (teacher group)
16. Make resources (videos, books) available in each school (teacher group)
17. Use resource people within the schools to promote anti-racist education (1 student group, teacher group)

Addressing Curriculum Content

18. Examine textbooks for inclusiveness of different cultures (3 student groups, teacher group)
19. Promote materials which present each point of view fairly (1 student group)
20. Promote diverse examples in all subject areas, particularly history (2 student groups, teacher group)
21. Promote discussion of racism by teachers in class (4 student groups)
22. Offer social interest courses in junior grades (ie. World Issues, World Religions, Sociology) (1 student group)
23. Offer courses in multicultural/anti-racist education (3 student groups)
24. Ensure availability of multicultural resources in libraries (teacher group)

Curriculum Process: Effectively Teaching Anti-racist Multicultural Education

25. Circulate information to teachers re. current news events and how to use them to promote discussion in class (1 student group)
26. Introduce multicultural education earlier (ie. in elementary school) (1 student group)
27. Introduce anti-racist education to students in small seminar settings (2 student groups)

28. Open up educational seminars to more students (eg. Annual Holocaust seminar, Black History Month Conference) (3 student groups)
29. Promote educational seminars more openly (3 student groups)
30. Offer more student leadership anti-racist camps so more students can attend (1 student group)
31. Offer participation in these camps only to students who are not members of an organized student anti-racist/multicultural club (1 student group)
32. Offer programs such as student exchanges, adopt-a-foster child (1 student group)

Handling Racist incidents

33. Enforce tough rules for racist incidents (1 student group) (visible minority students)
34. Make students who discriminate learn how it feels to be a minority (1 student group)
35. Use racist incidents as educational tools to prevent other incidents from happening (2 student groups)
36. Provide more information to teachers and students on how to handle racist incidents (How to take action) (1 student group, teacher group)

Thematic Coding Process for Focus Groups: Question #4

What kinds of changes would you like to see taking place at WCI?:

Extra-curricular Events

1. Celebrations of 'Civil Rights'
2. Increased involvement of student government in multicultural week
3. Multicultural representative on student government
4. Assemblies, dances and airbands featuring a broader array of music
5. More multicultural events throughout the school year
6. Variety of music played on inter-com prior to beginning the school day

In-School Events

1. Announcements which focus on anti-racist happenings around the world
2. Organization of an anti-racist conference day - seminars and speakers
3. Show movies of tragedy and hope
4. More discussion, focus groups

Curriculum

1. Multicultural resources available in the school
2. Multicultural literature available in the library
3. Courses offered in Ethnic studies (eg. Black history)
4. Courses offered in World Events for all grades
5. Increase the number of language courses taught (broader variety of languages)
6. Leadership credit in anti-racist multicultural education
7. Focus on current events in the classroom
8. Bring in speakers from different cultures to talk about their culture/society
9. Offer course in multiculturalism on a trial basis
10. Update current courses to reflect current events

Dealing with Racial Incidents:

1. Use of racial incidents as models/ educational tools to prevent future incidents
2. "Make students who discriminate learn how it feels to be a minority "
3. "When there are incidents we need to talk about them "
4. "More publicity re: what you do if there are racial incidents "
5. Tougher rules against discrimination

General

1. Increase involvement of the entire student body
2. Give students more opportunities to give their opinions/suggestions re.improving and changing WCI