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

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EXECUTIVE SUMMARY

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

This research project conducted in a large urban Ontario university in 1998-99, explored teacher candidates' racial identities and the way these impact the process of learning to teach. In addition, the study analyses how candidates responded to the theory and practice of race, racism and antiracism in their scholarship, and the development of attitudes, knowledge and practices that prepare them to work for equity and social justice.

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

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

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

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

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

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

CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION

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

Historically, teachers as institutional agents have played a key role in the reproduction and transmission of social inequalities for generations. Such perpetuation of racial inequities in educational settings has been a symbiotic process: assumptions and stereotypes about racialized minorities are fueled by the attitudes and behaviours of people in positions of authority (e.g. teachers). These teachers, in turn, unquestioningly implement institutional policies and practices that legitimize the assumptions and stereotypes about racialized minorities. This process is what King (1991) terms "dysconscious racism".

By the same token, teachers can become social reconstructionists, reversing instead of reproducing the norms and values that dictate attitudes and behaviours. They can transform society by deliberately forming a new consciousness in its people. Such a social formation of consciousness can potentially impact the ideologies and behaviours that have oppressed and marginalized minorities for generations.

But how may this be realized when these teachers have been socialized and schooled in a racist culture? This research project was designed to examine the study of race, racism and antiracism[1] pedagogy in mainstream preservice teacher education scholarship and see how such a program prepares graduating teachers to implement antiracism education into their everyday classroom practice. More specifically, the research will:

(i)   Identify and interrogate teacher candidates' (pre-service teachers')[2] stage of racial identity development in terms of their attitudes, knowledge and behaviours toward racialized minorities in schools and Canadian society at large;

(ii)   Establish linkages between teachers' racial identity and the educational and life opportunities of racialized minorities; and

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[1] Throughout this report the terms "antiracism" and "antiracist" education/pedagogy will be used interchangeably.
[2] In this study, teacher candidates are those who are engaged in initial teacher education. They are also referred to as student teachers" or "pre-service teachers".
Host teachers (HTs) refer to the teachers in whose classroom teacher candidates are placed for field-based practica. They are also referred to as "associate teachers", "cooperating teacher" or "mentor teachers." In some teacher education models, associate teachers are seen as "master teachers" to whom candidates are apprenticed.
The Adjunct Professor (AP) is the liaison between practicum schools and the teacher education facility and has the responsibility of evaluating candidates.
The Practicum Supervisor is university-based and is ultimately responsible for the practicum component of teacher education.

(iii)   Recommend a teacher education pedagogy (curriculum content and methodological approaches) that helps teacher candidates grow personally and professionally to a higher level of competency and commitment to teach the racially different.

Local and international perspectives on teacher education for equity and diversity have highlighted the shortcomings of institutions in Western Europe, North America and Australia. Verma's (1993) collection of research in those regions exposes the massive exclusivities and inequalities that are evident in such areas as the selection of student teachers, curriculum and pedagogical processes, and student teachers' practicum experiences within schools and communities. In Canada, more specifically, teacher education institutions continue to recruit predominantly White candidates (Steven Lewis Report, 1992) and offer Eurocentric curricula. Zeichner's (1996, pp.134-35) damning critique of such curricula reads, "culturally encapsulated teachers . . . continue to be prepared by programs in our colleges and universities for mythical culturally homogeneous school settings."

Confronting the dilemmas of race, racism and antiracism in teacher education scholarship and practice is even more daunting (Cochran Smith, 1995). Discomfort with the interrogation of race has made "colourblindness" accepted pedagogy in most programs (Solomon, 1995; Schofield, 1997). This study is therefore designed to examine the extent to which a teacher education program can integrate issues of race, teacher candidates' racial identity development and its potential impact on learning to teach for equity and diversity.

LITERATURE REVIEW

In the last two decades, an increasing academic interest in the theorising of issues of race, racism and antiracism (Li, 1990; Solomon, 1992, 1996; Hall, 1996; Dei, 1996b; Britzman, 1998; McCarthy; 1998;) has become quite noticeable. The contributions arising from various theories and perspectives, highlight the theoretical and methodological complexities pertaining to the concept of race and the understanding of racism. Current debates about the notion and meaning of race have enhanced our comprehension of racial inequalities and the operationalization of racial logic in education. Omi and Winant (1986, 1993), in rejecting liberal and radical views on race have argued that race is neither an ideological construct nor is it an objective condition. They draw attention to the inadequacy of those liberal and radical approaches in the understanding of the concept of race:

> *Contemporary racial theory . . . is often "objectivistic" about its fundamental category. Although abstractly acknowledged to be a socio-historical construct, race in practice is often treated as an objective fact: one simply is one's race; in the contemporary U.S., if we discard euphemisms, we have five color based racial categories: black, white, brown, yellow and red. This is problematic, indeed ridiculous, in numerous ways. Nobody really belongs to these boxes; they are patently absurd reductions of human variation (1993:6).*

Omi and Winant (1993:7) offer a critical and process-oriented theory of race which, they argue, must meet three requirements: (a) "it must apply to current political relationships," (b) "it must apply to the increasingly global context," and (c) "it must apply across historical times." Accordingly, the concept of race must be understood in a social and historical context. It is not an unchanging, biological concept but rather a complex, dynamic and changing

construct. Also contributing to our understanding of racial inequality in schooling is the debate over whether multicultural education or antiracist education best reveals the system of power relations and racial minorities' differential experiences in contemporary educational settings. This discussion has made us more aware of the institutional and social context within which a racial logic works and is practised. It has become clear that the multicultural perspective, with its focus on individual and attitudinal changes, was not able to respond effectively to issues of racial inequality in schooling. Sleeter's (1993) study of how white teachers construct race, rejects the psychological view of racism, constructed on attitudinal changes; on the contrary, she calls for fundamental changes at the institutional level, including reversing those policies which produce and reproduce racial inequities.

Another important contribution, especially in the field of psychology, comes from the theories of racial identity development (Cross, 1971, 1991; Helms, 1990, 1995; Thompson & Carter, 1997). These theories reject the fixed biological definition of race and claim that race is socially and psychologically constructed (Howard, 1999). The Helms' racial identity models are often used in the fields of counselling psychology and education, and are widely referenced in the academic literature. According to Helms, the development of White people and people of colour occurs as individuals interpret and respond to the racial information in their environment. A schema or manner of behaving is dominant when it is used primarily in most situations. Helms (1995) explains, "Each time a person is exposed to or believes he or she is exposed to a racial event, the ego selects the dominant racial identity status to assist the person in interpreting the event" (p. 187). Responses to such situation provide the person with a sense of well being and self-esteem. According to the Helms' model, statuses develop or mature sequentially. The White racial identity ego statuses range from the "Contact Status", where the individual is oblivious to racism and is satisfied with the racial status quo, to the "Autonomy Status", where s/he has developed a positive socio-racial group commitment and has the capacity to abandon White entitlement and the privileges of racism (See appendix B for the expanded model). The people of colour racial identity ego statuses range from "Conformity (Pre-Encounter) Status", where the individual shows allegiances to White standards of merit at the expense of own-group abandonment, to "Integrative Awareness Status", where they value their collective identities (See Appendix C for the expanded model). Movements along these statuses occur when their dominant schema can no longer sustain a comfort level or follow them to psychologically survive a racial situation.

The importance of racial identity development theories is the salience they give to race in intergroup interaction and relationships, and the continuous self-reflection and self-examination that allow individuals to move from an inchoate status to the more advanced status. Thomson and Carter (1997: 17) state:

> *Racial identity development entails a continual and deliberate practice of self examination and experiencing. . . . In developing racial identity, peoples must undertake careful reflection on the extent to which racial indoctrination has influenced and continues to influence their lives and the manner in which they relate to others who are racially similar or racially dissimilar to themselves. These experiences are ongoing and lifelong.*

But the research literature on racial identity and its application to the schooling process raised many issues of student resistance. Tatum's (1992) study, "Talking about race, learning about racism: The application of racial identity development theory in the class," identified three major reasons why college students resist the exploration of race and racism in their curriculum:

(i)   the topic of race is taboo for discussion, especially in racially mixed settings;

(ii)   the myth of meritocracy; students have been socialized into believing that American society was just; and

(iii)   the denial of personal prejudice and distancing of self from any form of racism (this behaviour was most prevalent among White students). (p.5).

The emotional responses to race-related content in the curriculum were guilt, shame, anger and despair. Solomon's (1995) research found similar emotional responses from Canadian teacher candidates when the study of race, racism and antiracism was integrated into their teacher education curriculum.

The significance of racial identity development for teacher education lies in the exposure of teachers' "dysconsciousness" or uncritical beliefs, attitudes and perceptions of the existing social order. It allows teachers to grow and believe in possibilities of change. King's (1991) analysis of teachers' impaired consciousness or distorted ways of thinking about race has far reaching implications for teacher preparation in a racially diverse school environment. She advocates a liberatory pedagogy in teacher education programs that helps candidates develop the critical skills required for teaching equitably the "racial other".

The theories of racial identity development, despite their many benefits, have some important limitations. According to Howard (1999), Helms' White racial identity development model may be used as a guide and as an educative tool, but it might not reflect the experience of everyone. In her recent study, "The social construction of racial identity of White student teachers and its impact on their learning to teach," Robertson-Baghel (1998) raised a number of issues, and argued that current models of racial identity development are inadequate in framing the wide variance in identity statuses and information processing strategies of student teachers. In addition, there is a tendency to essentialize race and minority groups. Communities are often seen as homogeneous entities. Furthermore, such an approach to racial identity does not allow for an analysis of a more complex racial identity development in which the intersection of race with other issues such as ethnicity, gender, social class and issues of sexuality can be discussed. In this regard, McCarthy and Crichlow (1993) advance a relational and interdisciplinary approach to the discussion of racial identity and unequal relations in schools. They contend:

> *A relational and nonessential approach to the discussion of racial identities allows for a more complex understanding of the educational and political behaviour of minority groups. . . .There is a need to move beyond static definitions of Whites and blacks as they currently pervade existing research in education (xix).*

This review of relevant literature on race and racial identity development posits a number of important questions that need to be explored in this research:

- Where is the entry point for engaging teacher candidates in a discourse on race in its full complexity; that is, understanding race in its social, historical and political context?

- How can teacher educators who use an antiracist pedagogy work to effectively overcome resistance to exploring these issues in teacher education scholarship?

- How can teacher educators collaborate in the implementation of a more integrated theory and field-based program that prepares teachers for a racially diverse school environment?

METHODOLOGY

Research Setting

The study was conducted at the Yvonne Centre, one of York University's off-campus sites for one year, post-baccalaureate pre-service teachers. The Urban Diversity Teacher Education Program at this Metropolitan Toronto site was developed in 1994 as a special project of the Ontario Ministry of Education and Training and the Faculty of Education, York University, to promote equity and diversity in teacher education and teaching.

Specific objectives of the Diversity Initiative were to:

- Provide an environment in which teacher candidates [TCs] of various racial and ethnocultural groups organized in strong school cohorts and cross-race dyad partnerships have extended opportunities to develop teaching competencies and build professional relationships in a collaborative manner;

- Integrate issues of equity and diversity into the curriculum and pedagogy of the teacher education program and in the classrooms of co-operating (host) schools; and

- Develop collaboration among co-operating school staff, representatives of community organizations and York's teacher candidates [TCs] and teacher educators forming a community of learners.

For the first three years, 44 teacher candidates were selected into the program each year using a process that ensured an evenly matched number of dominant (White) group and people of colour. In subsequent years, enrollment in the program doubled; candidates from the Metropolitan area who opted for the primary/junior division were placed in this program. The research setting extended beyond the off-campus centre to practicum schools where candidates spent about 60% of their school year of learning to teach. These urban schools were chosen to reflect the rich race and ethnocultural diversity of the Ontario population.

Research Participants

In the year of the study (1998-99) 60 of the 82 teacher candidates registered in the program volunteered for the research project. The following selection criteria were used to reduce the number of volunteers to a workable number of 36 and also ensured equitable representation across racial groups:

- Racial distribution: A fairly even number of Asians, Blacks and Whites was chosen to reflect the proportion in the larger TC cohort.

- Gender representation: The males and females in the sample reflected those in the larger cohort.

- Practicum school racial diversity: Only Toronto District School Board practicum schools with a high degree of racial/ethnic diversity in their student populations were selected for the project.

- Practicum school concentration: Practicum schools with a high concentration of research volunteers were selected. Such concentrations reduced the number of schools in the project to a manageable number of seven for researchers' visits/observations.

The research team comprising the principal, associate and four assistants reflected the three main racial groups of the participants.

The research project utilized both quantitative and qualitative data collection and analyses approaches that evolved over the school year:

Early September 1998: pre-program data collection and development of growth plans;

Late November 1998: 1st round observation in practicum schools;

January/February 1999: preliminary data analysis;

May 1999: 2nd round observation in practicum schools;

June 1999: post-program evaluations and reflections.

1. **Pre-program baselining:** The following instruments were utilized to determine candidates' level of racial identity development, knowledge and awareness of diversity, and perspectives on antiracism education within schools:

(a) Discovering Diversity Profile (DDP): This commercially-developed instrument measured candidates' knowledge, understanding, acceptance and behaviour as key areas that influenced how they respond to diversity. It provided suggestions for growth in these categories. (See Appendix A for Profile)

(b) Racial Identity Development (RID): This instrument ascertained candidates' stage of RID: their personal awareness, knowledge and consciousness about cross-race contact and inter-group relations. An adaptation of Helms' (1995) model was used to capture the experiences and perspectives of both Whites and People of Colour (racialized minorities). (See Appendices B & C)

(c) Multicultural/Antiracism Education Survey: This survey sought candidates' perspectives on multicultural and antiracism policy and practice in schools and classrooms, particularly regarding the extent of their acceptance. (See Appendix D)

(d) Interview Guide: Racial Identity Development: This 10-question instrument ascertained candidates' awareness of their racial identity, racial difference, the extent of racism in Canadian society, and the potential impact of teachers' racial identity on their work in racially diverse schools. Based on their level of awareness, candidates were asked about their personal and professional needs and growth plan (See Appendix E for Guide). Interviews were audio-taped for transcription and analysis. From these data, candidates charted and baselined their levels of awareness and knowledge of diversity with specific focus on race. Reliable individual and group profiles resulted from these baseline data. More importantly, they identified areas of need and charted realistic plans for personal and professional growth over the year of learning to teach. Common areas of need were communicated to course directors to be addressed in their programs.

2. **Practicum Classroom Observations and Follow-up Interviews**

Two observation sessions were scheduled. The first was conducted during the first practicum block in November 1998; the second was carried out in May 1999. These were conducted to determine the extent to which candidates were implementing their growth plans. Two observation guides were used: The Generic

(Appendix F) to record candidates' competence level in implementing an inclusive antiracism curriculum and interacting cross-racially. The Individualized Observation Guide (Appendix G) documented the extent to which candidates were achieving their growth plan objectives. Follow-up interviews provided clarified or/and additional data to the researcher's classroom observation. A school cohort focus group discussion provided the opportunity for candidates to share their teaching experiences with the researcher regarding factors facilitating or hindering the objectives of their growth plans.

3.   **Post-program Evaluations**

This evaluation ascertained the extent to which teacher candidates realized their growth plan objectives and the personal, programmatic and institutional factors that facilitated or hindered growth. Anecdotal reports, journal entries, surveys, focus groups and individual interviews were used to collect these data. Interviews were audiotaped for transcription and analysis.

Analysis of Data

Both quantitative and qualitative approaches were used to analyze the range of data collected. In the quantification of data from survey questionnaires frequency charts provided some general patterns in the data. Pre and post-program frequency charts from survey data were analyzed and compared to determine the extent to which program intervention and other factors may have changed candidates' perspectives on race, identity and the schooling process. The interview and other qualitative data provided a deeper and more complex exploration of participants' racial identities and the ways these may impact their learning to teach. Data collection and analysis followed a process that Glaser and Strauss (1967), Erickson (1986) and Le Compte and Preissle (1993) describe as the constant comparison method. Analysis was an ongoing process with research team members independently reviewing transcripts in an iterative manner.

Ongoing research team meetings provided investigators opportunity to participate at all levels of the data analysis phase. At the initial stages of data collection the team developed analytic files, rudimentary coding schemes and potential coding categories that enhanced the trustworthiness of the data (Stake, 1995). In these regular group sessions researchers provided different interpretations of the data instead of simply confirming a single meaning. The racial diversity of the research team members brought varied perceptions and interpretations based on their own experiences in multiracial schools and a racialized Canadian society. This process is what Stake (1995:115) terms "researcher triangulation." This ongoing audit of the research process helped the generation of common themes and a working hypothesis (Lincoln & Guba, 1985:38). In the reporting process, generalizations about the data were grounded in such specifics as quotations from individual and focus groups interviews, and observational and survey data.

CHAPTER 2

RACIAL IDENTITY AND CROSS-RACE INTERACTION: BASELINE FINDINGS

Table 1 reflects the range of ethnic and cultural diversity within the two main racial groups in the study. Within the people of colour group, there are two distinct sub-groups: peoples of African and Asian heritages. As well, wide ranges of religious affiliations are represented within the two main racial groups: Christianity (Catholics and Protestants), Hinduism, Islam and Judaism. While most teacher candidates are Canadian born, a number of White students and students of colour are immigrants, each of whom were schooled to varying degrees in their country of origin before migrating to Canada.

Table 1

Racial, Ethnic and Cultural Heritages of Teacher Candidates

Caucasian (White) Candidates	Number of participants
Jewish	5
British (English, Scottish, Irish)	4
Polish-Austrian	1
Croatian	1
Greek	1
French Canadian	1
American	1
Canadian	4
	18
Candidates of Colour	
Jamaican/West Indian, Black Canadian	10
Indian (from India)	5
Pakistani	1
Guyanese	1
Egyptian	1
	18

It is important to note that although Table 1 positions the teacher candidates in broad racial, ethnic and cultural categories, the respondents are a complex group of individuals, with unique racial identities, who possessed a range of beliefs about social differences, and whose experiences as racialized persons in Canadian society greatly

varied. Indeed, when students were asked to self-select their racial identity, it was clear that interplay of racial, ethnic, cultural and national identities complicates the ability of students to define as either White or Person of Colour: the process of racialization in the Canadian context constructs Whiteness as the invisible norm against which difference is determined. For example, some of the self-identified White Candidates, who identified as non-hyphenated Canadians and claimed 5th and 6th generation status, tended to see themselves as "raceless." One asserted:

> *I don't think of White as a race. I would have to think of it as a cultural identity. I just don't think that White means anything; it has no context to me; it is like saying you are Canadian. It doesn't mean anything to me.*

Unlike the previous respondents, who did not identify racially, culturally or religiously with any particular social groups, some of the candidates who self-identified as Jewish, explained why it was that they self-identified culturally and religiously with their Jewish heritage more so than identifying as White Canadians. The following excerpts reflect this sentiment:

> *I see myself as a Jewish more than a White Canadian because it is what I practice.*

> *I don't think of myself as White, to be honest. I never think of people as white or dark coloured skin; this time is the first time I'm thinking as White. If someone said to me, 'Describe yourself;' I'd say I'm a Jewish woman.*

Although some White Candidates identified with Whiteness, they seemed reluctant to acknowledge the advantages and privileges afforded by dominant White groups in Canadian society. For example, in the following passage, a candidate made a distinction between the category of White, and his perceptions of meanings ascribed to Whiteness:

> *I don't think it's [advantage] a White thing; I think it's what comes with being White. Educationally, I think I got more attention than the Black kids do; I think teachers went out of their way to help me and I don't think that some of my friends [of colour] got that so I think because of that educationally I am sort of better off intellectually than the average person. All my teachers were White, all the kids in the gifted program were White.*

Many of the White candidates, who identified strongly with "racelessness," reported that they spent their formative years in homogeneous, White neighbourhoods and did not have personal experience with racial differences. These participants explained that their own racist attitudes, stereotypes, and intolerance for social groups such as Natives and Blacks, were learned through association with relatives and peers. Moreover, their responses suggest that some of these respondents selectively chose from lived experiences to reinforce stereotypes:

> *While driving taxi you see the drug dealers who were Black and you see the underbelly of society and a lot of it is black and it's really hard. Like sometimes I have to catch myself because especially with the robberies, it 'pissed' me off and expanded it to the whole Black community.*

The narratives of the participants suggest that some of the White candidates are located at the lower end of Helms' (1995) White Racial Identity Ego Status and Information-processing Strategies (Appendices B & C). Interviews with White Candidates reveal their lack of awareness of White privilege, fear of Blacks based on

selective experiences, and little more than curiosity about the racial "other". Paradoxically, these same candidates placed themselves at a high racial identity ego status (Table 2). Almost half of the White respondents rated themselves at the highest status: Autonomy. At this stage candidates are expected to internalize a newly defined sense of oneself as White, confront racism, and engage in an ongoing process, continually open to new information and new ways of thinking (Helms, 1995). At this early stage of their teacher education and with little or no prior exposure to antiracist education, candidates were not ready to make an informed commitment to challenge racism in their environments. As will be shown later, their growth plans revealed that they were in fact, at the initial stage of acquiring ethno-specific knowledge and awareness of the ethno-cultural diversity around them. Why then do candidates engage in the practice of "status inflation" in this exercise? Commentators speculate that respondents do not want to be perceived as ignorant, intolerant or even racist, so they locate themselves at "favourable" positions on the scale.

Notably, the majority of candidates of colour placed themselves at "Status 4" – *Internalization* At this stage, individuals tend to feel secure in their own racial identity, and are willing to establish meaningful relationships with Whites and other groups.

> *My best friend is from England, that is, she is White. My other good friends are of Sri Lankan, Indian, Jamaican, Hong Kong and Vietnamese backgrounds. Our little group is a very big mixture, we actually Pride ourselves on that; we always say when we go out, we are the 'United Nation'.*

One candidate of colour located herself in the status of *Ambivalence*. In terms of her self-definition and associations, this respondent indicated that she was ambivalent about her status with both Whites and Blacks. She explained in a follow-up interview, *"I've had racism, I guess from both sides. You know, for some I'm not Black enough; for others I'm too Black…"*

Noteworthy as well, two candidates of colour placed themselves at "Status 3" – *Immersion/Emersion Status* – whereby own-group idealization and commitment are strong. Individuals located within this stage sometimes accentuate their ethno-racial identity by way of their dress, language codes and own-group formations.

Table 2

**White Racial Identity Ego Statuses and
Information-Processing Strategies (IPS)***

Statuses and Strategies	% of Teacher Candidates
1. Contact Status: satisfaction with racial status quo, obliviousness to racism and one's participation in it. If racial factors influence life decisions, they do so in a simplistic fashion. **IPS: Obliviousness.**	0.0
2. Disintegration Status: disorientation and anxiety provoked by unresolvable racial moral dilemmas that force one to choose between own-group loyalty and humanism. May be stymied by life situations that arouse racial dilemmas. **IPS: Suppression and ambivalence**	0.0
3. Reintegration Status: idealisation of one's socioracial group, denigration of and intolerance for other groups. Racial factors may strongly influence life decisions. **IPS: Selective perception and negative out-group distortion.**	0.0
4. Pseudoindependence Status: intellectualised commitment to one's own socioracial group and deceptive tolerance of other groups. May make life decisions to "help" other racial groups. **IPS: Reshaping reality and selective perception.**	27.7
5. Immersion/Emersion Status: search for an understanding of the personal meaning of racism and the way by which one benefits and a redefinition of Whiteness. Life choices may incorporate racial activism. **IPS: Hypervigilance and reshaping.**	16.6
6. Autonomy Status: informed positive socio-racial group commitment, use of internal standards for self-definition, capacity to relinquish the privileges of racism. May avoid life options that require participation in racial oppression. **IPS: Flexibility and complexity.**	44.4
No Response	11.0
No. of participants = 18	100.0

*An adaptation of Helms' (1995) Racial and Ethnic Identity Development model

The participants' narratives revealed that candidates' awareness of racial difference and development of a racial identity occurred at different stages in life, but in each case, the respondents explained that their awareness was often developed in response to their observations of differential treatment based on social differences.

Table 3

**People of Colour Racial Identity Ego Statuses
and Information-Processing Strategies (IPS)***

Statuses and Strategies	% of Teacher Candidates
1. Conformity (Pre-Encounter) Status: external self-definition that implies devaluing of own group and allegiance to White standards of merit. Probably is oblivious to socioracial groups' sociopolitical histories. **IPS: Selective perception and obliviousness to socioracial concerns.**	0.0
2. Dissonance (Encounter) Status: ambivalence and confusion concerning own socioracial group commitment and ambivalent socioracial self-definition. May be ambivalent about life decisions. **IPS: Repression of anxiety-provoking racial information.**	5.5
3. Immersion/Emersion Status: Idealization of one's group and denigration of that which is perceived as White. Use of own-group external standard to self-define, and own-group commitment and loyalty is valued. May make life decisions for the benefit of the group. **IPS: Hypervigilance toward racial stimuli and dichotomous thinking.**	11.0
4. Internalization Status: positive commitment to one's own socioracial group. Internally defined racial attributes, and capacity to assess and respond objectively to members of the dominant group. Can make life decisions by assessing and integrating socioracial group requirements and self-assessment. **IPS: Flexibility and analytic thinking.**	72.5
5. Integrative Awareness Status: capacity to value one's own collective identities as well as empathize and collaborate with members of other oppressed groups. Life decisions may be motivated by globally humanistic self-expression. **IPS: Flexibility and complexity.**	11.0
No. of participants=18	100.0

* An adaptation of Helms' (1995) Racial and Ethnic Identity Development Model

For example, one candidate, who self-identified as Black and grew up interacting with different racial groups, explained that his awareness of his own development of a racial identity occurred in his adolescence when his family moved to a predominantly black neighbourhood where he felt that he was different from many of his Black peers. Similarly, two other Black candidates explained that they first became aware of skin colour differences among their own racial groups rather than between racial groups. A common finding amongst the Black Candidates was the tendency to limit cross-race interactions to the workplace, and to have close friendships with people from their own racial group. Likewise, a teacher candidate, who identified as Jewish, noted that his earliest memory of

racial difference was, at once, an awareness of religious and/or cultural difference. In this regard, candidates identify themselves as having "multiple identities," and that certain aspects of their multi-faceted identity are more important than others. One Black Candidate commented, *"Your cultural identity is what's important, it's not your racial identity."* As an example, this candidate explained that she is *"more Jamaican than Black."* These findings underscore some of the complexities of racial identities and identifications: racial identity development is shifting and participants occupied various positions on the continuum.

Moreover, many of the candidates did not perceive that their own awareness of racial development proceeded in a linear way, rather some made specific associations with various elements within a range of the prescribed categories.

> *I am always growing and changing so it moves around a lot, I am always learning.*

> *The chart was fairly general and I fit in a number of places…*[The categories are] *somewhat helpful and it puts things in perspective but more discussion would have been beneficial.*

> *[The chart] seemed kind of American because the stages for people of cColour described them as 'Black' and not of different races, for example, 'Asian'.*

Although Helms' model is helpful as a guide, the stages tended to homogenize racial groups and as such did not adequately reflect the diversity both within and between racial groupings. For example, although many of the participants' comments suggest that the Racial Identity Development Model was instrumental in helping them to think critically about their own racial identity, not unsurprising, many students had difficulty identifying with the prescribed stages of development outlined in Helms' model. As an example, after the program, candidates were asked to comment on where they had placed themselves according to the categories proposed in Helms' model, and where in retrospect, they would have placed themselves. Some of the participants' responses are as follows:

> *When I filled this out at the beginning I was really confused just because I didn't know where I fell. I don't call myself White and I don't call myself a person of colour. But I mean I did check off things, don't know how to identify myself that way. I usually identify myself through my experiences . . . I think these stages are good in terms of growing like being able to be your own person and not accepting the stereotypes and things like that.*

> *Nobody can fit exactly into any one level so picking [status] 5 was basically the best of what was there, but not necessarily who I am. I do acknowledge and I do understand the impact of racism in my life. I have been fortunate that the levels of racism I have experienced are very low or minimal compared to others. My parents did spend a great deal of time educating me on what has happened, what could happen and what will happen to somebody who is Black. The realization that Whites will not view you as equal – I have seen that more than once and it's a matter that you just have to fight against it or do what you have to do.*

> I really don't feel I fit anywhere on it . . . For me, when I think of who I am and what my culture is and who I represent being White is not first and foremost and so I had a lot of trouble with this whole system of placing myself. I felt like I was placing myself on like some scale having to do with only being White. . . .I just checked off what I checked off just to almost please everybody.

The "Discovering Diversity Profile" instrument, provided a group profile that program instructors could utilize to develop curriculum. In addition, candidates could use their individual assessments to develop plans for personal and professional growth. Table 4 provides a baseline profile of candidates' comfort level in working with diversity: Level 1 indicates "a low comfort with diversity"; Level 2 represents a "medium comfort with diversity"; and Level 3 is indicative of "high comfort with diversity." The overall profile of the candidates is representative of a group with a distribution of low, medium and high levels of comfort (Table 4).

Table 4

Discovering Diversity Profile

CATEGORIES*	% of Teacher Candidates at each Level (n=36)		
	1	**2**	**3**
1. Knowledge The extent to which an individual possesses information about others from diverse backgrounds and cultures.			
(a) Stereotypes	11.2	44.4	44.4
(b) Information	19.4	72.2	8.4
2. Understanding The extent to which an individual comprehends how others feel and why they behave as they do.			
(a) Awareness	16.6	63.8	19.6
(b) Empathy	8.4	69.4	22.2
3. Acceptance The extent to which an individual respects and values diverse characteristics and behaviours of others.			
(a) Tolerance	11.1	36.1	52.8
(b) Respect	5.5	58.3	36.2
4. Behaviour The extent to which an individual is able to interact effectively with others different from herself/himself.			
(a) Self-awareness			
(b) Interpersonal Skills	11.1	50.0	38.9
	30.5	52.8	16.7

*Adapted from Carlson Learning Company (1994)

Knowledge

Only 8.4% of teacher candidates possessed a high level of information about others from diverse backgrounds and cultures. The general lack of awareness suggests that many candidates may be using stereotypes circulating in Canadian culture to ground their understanding of various racial, ethnic and cultural groups. Educational pedagogies and classroom practices based on stereotypical information and generalizations about cultural backgrounds and lived experiences reproduce social inequities. Candidates should therefore set themselves the task of including knowledge development as a part of their personal and professional growth plan.

Understanding

The majority of the candidates were positioned in Level 2 (*medium comfort with diversity*) in terms of their awareness and empathy for those "different" than themselves (i.e., cultural diversity). This level of awareness may prevent them from fully appreciating perceptions of reality in opposition to their own (e.g., variations of lived experiences as racialized subjects). Without such awareness candidates may not be able to make emotional or empathetic connections with students and families who are racially, ethnically and culturally different to them. To move to a higher level of understanding of cultural diversity, candidates must consciously work to bracket their own assumptions and personal biases, become more exposed to, and gain a better understanding of perspectives that may be culturally determined.

Acceptance

With regard to tolerance, more than half of the candidates were at the high comfort level with diversity. Such an acceptance of difference may be a result of Canada's national policies and practices of multiculturalism that have been in effect for the past 25 years. However, while more than half the candidates were at Level 3 in terms of tolerance, they were at the middle level in terms of respecting social differences. The variation in levels may be reflective of the negative characterizations of some racial/ethnic groups that circulate in Canadian society. The findings suggest that candidates must develop strategies for analysing personal attitudes about groups in an effort to be more accepting of these groups.

Behaviour

Although, approximately 90% of the candidates were moderately or highly comfortable with their self-awareness, as many as 30.5% showed interpersonal skills deficits when interacting with people who are "different" than themselves. Such deficits may surface in some inability to develop a trusting and respectful relationship with those culturally "different" to them. Conversely, harmonious inter-group relationships may increase academic productivity in the classroom, and may foster some of the conditions for equitable pedagogical practices.

PRE-PROGRAM PERSPECTIVES ON ANTIRACISM EDUCATION

In this section, we discuss findings that emerged from a survey of the knowledge, beliefs and attitudes about various aspects of antiracism held by candidates prior to the teacher education program. Follow-up interviews

further clarified and elaborated upon the positions taken by them on the survey items. Tables 5 and 6 provide candidates' perspectives on a range of aspects engendered in antiracism education (ARE).

As outlined in Table 5, candidates expressed overwhelming support for the goals of antiracist education, and moreover, these participants articulated the belief that antiracism pedagogy should be integrated into all subjects. For example, one respondent remarked:

I don't like the idea of having like Black history and Chinese New Year, I think you have to incorporate it so it's not just a special event. I think it's a good start to make it an everyday thing.

Table 5

Pre-Program Responses to Goals and Practices of Antiracism Education

Survey Item	Valid Percent (%)			
	Agree	Disagree	Ambivalent	n
The goal of Antiracist Education (ARE) is to change individual behaviours and attitudes that reinforce racism.	94.3	5.7	0	35
The goal of Antiracist Education (ARE) is to change Institutional policies and practices that perpetuate racism.	91.4	2.9	5.7	35
The term "antiracism" should be replaced because it is negative.	11.5	51.4	37.1	35
ARE should be integrated into all subjects.	88.2	3.0	8.8	34
I will teach that racial and ethnic diversity in the classroom is desirable	90.9	6.1	3.0	33

However, curricular innovations are often positively received by educators (Solomon & Levine-Rasky, 1994), and as such, these findings are not unusual. The participants' support of antiracist education when combined with some of the participants' ambivalence about the term "anti-racism" suggests that they did not have a well-developed understanding of the curricular innovations announced by antiracist pedagogies. For example, some of the candidates (37%) were ambivalent about replacing the term, "antiracist" because they perceived the term to have negative connotations. The following passages are illustrative of this sentiment:

Antiracism is 'being against race'.
Antiracism is a Black vs. White it sounds to me, and it must be stopped because that is wrong.

The first thing I don't even like the word antiracism, I think 'anti' is a negative connotation. It just doesn't seem positive, the whole point of antiracism is to educate people, not to look at people's differences; to look at their differences but to acknowledge them in a positive and not a negative light.

However, not all of the participants expressed ambivalence about the term "antiracism," or attributed negative connotations to the term. For example, one participant remarked, *"Antiracism is trying to prevent racist ideas, actions and doing something about it."* Another respondent commented:

I think antiracism ideally is supposed to make people in a sense more sensitive to each other and racial differences, or undermine the stereotypes that have been established by racism.

Teacher candidates' emotional and cognitive responses to the term, and the concept of antiracism, and the practices it suggests, are not surprising since there is an ongoing debate on the "racialization" of school policy (Troyna & Williams, 1986; Mansfield & Kehoe, 1994).

A review of the research on antiracism theory and practice within schools points to veteran teachers' inadequacies in implementing antiracist pedagogies in multiracial schools (Washington, 1981; Sleeter, 1992b; Solomon & Levine-Rasky, 1994). And yet, 84.7% of respondents in this current study claimed that they were "competent" to teach from an antiracist perspective. Such a high claim at the outset of learning to teach, invites questions about candidates' conceptualization of antiracist education. Moreover, when combined with the review of literature in the area, these results suggest that pre-service teachers should develop sophisticated conceptualizations of antiracist education, prior to attempting to develop their own competencies in its practice.

Table 6 records candidates' pre-program beliefs about antiracism education. Worthy of note is the relatively high percentage (38%) of respondents who believe that commitment to education varies across racial/ethnic groups. In contrast, other studies (e.g., Solomon & Levine-Rasky, 1994) have noted that among some teachers, including veteran teachers, there is a tendency to identify specific groups who are perceived to be committed or not to be committed to education.

Table 6

Pre- Program Beliefs about Antiracism Education

Survey Item	Valid Percent (%)			
	Agree	Disagree	Ambivalent	n
ARE lowers the quality of education.	2.9	97.1	0	34
Student commitment to education varies across racial/ethnic groups.	38.2	50.0	11.8	34
I have the competence to teach from an ARE perspective.	64.7	11.8	23.5	34
Multiculturalism and antiracism alienate the dominant (White) groups in society	9.1	72.7	18.2	33
I am "colour-blind" when it comes to working with students of diverse racial groups.	41.2	50.0	8.8	34

Such beliefs and stereotypes may have profound influence on the quality of educational opportunities to which students of various groups are exposed.

An overwhelming number of candidates expressed that they would like to see racism eradicated from schools. However, these participants had an underdeveloped notion of how racism is perpetrated in society, and were unable to conceptualize how they might implement antiracist pedagogies in their own practice of schooling. Said one participant:

> *I don't even know where to start, I don't know where the resources are, I don't know what skills I would need in the classroom, or how to talk to the children. . . . I am sure there is a whole list of things that I need to learn. I don't know where to start.*

Another remarked:

> *In the school I don't know much; I know there are the programs, but I am not really sure what they consist of.*

Additionally, many of the students worked from uncritical understandings of multiculturalism and social equity, and did not have insight into both systemic and institutional forms of racism.

When the responses of White candidates were compared with the responses of teacher candidates of colour, there was no significant difference between the way each group perceived the goals and practices of antiracist education. Similarly, candidates of colour and White candidates disagreed with the statement: "Antiracist Education lowers the quality of education." However, both groups agreed with the statement, "Teaching racial and ethnic diversity in the classroom is desirable."

It is interesting to note that candidates of colour and White candidates respond differently to their level of competence in teaching from an antiracism perspective: White candidates felt that they were competent to teach from an anti-racism perspective whereas candidates of colour were ambivalent about their competence. Given the systemic nature of racism within the educational system, variations about beliefs of self-competency among them are not surprising.

UNDERSTANDING "COLOURBLINDNESS"

The concept of "colourblindness" in relation to racial diversity, divided respondents almost evenly, with strong positions taken on either side of the issue. For example, some felt that "colourblindness" would lead to less hatred. Said one respondent*: "I wish we were all colourblind so that would get rid of a lot of hatred in the world."* Another explained*: "If this [colourblindness] could be applied, we could solve lots of problems."* These participants did not examine the implications of their perspective regarding "colourblindness." For example, one candidate described "colourblindness" as an asset:

> *Well, it's wise and prudent to be colourblind because you are not making a person feel uncomfortable or centre of attention. You are allowing the person the freedom to be himself or*

herself and depends if there is an extreme behaviour people would suddenly look back and pass comments.

However, some suggested that the "colourblind" perspective is a "misrepresentation of reality" (Schofield, 1997), and believed that such an approach has negative consequences for minoritized youth in the schooling process. The following excerpts from candidates illustrate this latter perspective:

It's not a matter of being colourblind, because that's saying you disregard certain aspects of people and you shouldn't have to take them for what they are. That's the worst term I have ever heard in my entire life.

Colourblindness is . . .a denial that does disservice to racial minority; a child's colour determines how she relates to others; to curriculum.

People see colour. There is no colourblindness. You have to respect that your class is made up of a diverse group of people.

With regard to "colourblindness", when the responses of White candidates were compared with candidates of colour, the White participants were more apt to state that they were "colourblind" when they worked with diverse racial groups. Interestingly, most of the candidates of colour who claimed to be "colourblind" were recent immigrants to Canada. Nevertheless, the results of the pre-program interview data suggest that prior to programmatic interventions, some students possess a fairly good understanding of "colourblindness" and its implications; it is important to note that their definitions of "colourblindness" were recorded after the first two months of pre-service instruction. The differences that were detected between survey data and interview data may be a result of this time lag. Subsequently, the participants' understandings of some of the distinctions between "colourblindness" and "colour-consciousness" might have been an effect of programmatic interventions.

RACIAL IDENTITY AND ITS IMPACT ON TEACHING

Although all of the candidates interviewed held the view that a teacher's awareness of his or her racial identity can impact on classroom practice, not unsurprisingly, the respondents had differing views about how this impact could manifest itself. For example, some candidates believed that the impact could be both negative and positive, depending on the individual teacher. One candidate, expressing the prevailing shared sentiment, stated, *"People should not necessarily be divided along their differences, but I think differences should be recognized and appreciated."*

The majority of the candidates spoke of diversity in reference to the "other". That is, Whiteness was normalized and diversity and multiculturalism meant focusing on those not in the "dominant" culture. For example, one candidate did not question her own Eurocentric teaching practices, as she assumed them to be "normalized." She explained,

I feel the most comfortable with the way that I've been taught and brought up, and the way that I have been taught and brought up is from an European perspective . . . and that's what I am going to largely bring into the classroom.

Many candidates felt it extremely important to focus on "difference": *" . . . we should take notice of the difference so that we can again enhance; let people know about the differences."* These respondents believe that speaking of "difference" in the classroom will ensure that everyone has equal opportunity and is treated fairly. One candidate stated that a *"celebration of cultural festivals is a good idea in schools . . ."*

The perspectives that candidates held about multicultural education and antiracist education varied drastically. Some saw multicultural education as superficial, whereas antiracist education might be a more effective tool in combating racism. These candidates acknowledged the systemic nature of racial oppression in Canadian society. They suggested that the feeling that "everybody must get along," something they attributed to one of the goals of multicultural education, could not help children in their classrooms to confront racism. However, most of the candidates believed the "celebration of difference" to be the most positive way to address diversity in the classroom. Some believed that good multicultural teachings were happening if they did not see overt racism: *"The school that I am in is a very multicultural school and because it is very multicultural I see people treating each other as equals. Everybody plays with each other. People are friends with each other . . ."* These candidates did not acknowledge the need to confront institutional racism with their students. One stated, *"ARE is appreciating difference."* Another stated: *"I think it is supposed to open people's eyes to people's differences and similarities and the past about certain things, . . . that not everybody from one background is the exact same. . . ."*

From the preliminary analysis of the pre-program data and candidates' early experiences within practicum schools, the following areas of concern were identified and referred to course directors to be taken up in their Foundations of Education and Practicum Seminar courses:

- Distinctions between race, ethnicity, culture and nationality.

- Definition of antiracist and multicultural education.

- Definition of 'colourblindness'.

- The shifting nature of the social category of race and implications for teaching and learning.

- Power and privilege in relation to the social construction of Whiteness.

- Addressing the specific needs of Candidates of Colour in their exposure to racism in practicum school placements and at the Yvonne Teacher Education Site.

- Strategies that teacher candidates might use when responding to host teachers' racist, classist, sexist and homophobic comments and behaviours.

- Connections between race, class, gender and sexuality identity.

SUMMARY

This chapter has attempted to provide a baseline profile of the research participants prior to the programmatic interventions by the Urban Diversity Teacher Education Program. In summary, the candidates in our study represented a broad range of racial, ethnic and cultural heritages. While they demonstrated limited awareness and critical self-analysis of the ways in which their racial identity is articulated in Canadian society, they did insist

that racial identity is intertwined with ethnic and cultural heritage. Candidates had a tendency to rate themselves highly with regard to Helms' Racial Identity Ego Status and Information-Processing Strategies, yet these scores were not reflected in the interview data. It is clear that these candidates are just beginning to develop an awareness of themselves as racialized persons.

The Discovering Diversity Profile gave us some indication of respondents' levels of Knowledge, Understanding, Acceptance and Behaviour, with regard to issues of race and racialization. From this information, candidates were able to target areas for their own development through personal "growth" strategies. At the end of the research term, these growth strategies were used to help students reflect in a concrete way on whether the program had helped them to achieve their goals.

Pre-program findings indicated that candidates were unable to discriminate between the goals of multicultural and antiracist education, however, they did have a good grasp on the concept of "colourblindness". In general, teacher candidates demonstrated an underdeveloped notion of racial identity and its impact on learning to teach.

CHAPTER 3

FROM GROWTH PLANS TO PRACTICUM CLASSROOMS: MID-PROGRAM FINDINGS

GOAL SETTING

At the mid-point of this one-year teacher education program, the researchers met with the participants. As well as observing their teaching practices in the host schools, researchers conducted personal interviews with each participant. Observation sessions were conducted to determine the extent to which candidates were implementing their growth plans. Two observation guides were used: The Generic (Appendix F) to record candidates' competence level in implementing an inclusive antiracism curriculum and interacting cross-racially.   The Individualized Observation Guide (Appendix G) documented the extent to which candidates were achieving their growth plan objectives.   Follow-up interviews provided clarifying or/and additional data to the researcher's classroom observation. A school cohort focus group discussion provided the opportunity for candidates to share their teaching experiences with the researcher re: factors facilitating or hindering the objectives of their growth plans.

The interview data were collated according to the following themes:

- Personal and professional growth, in relation to the growth plans that research participants completed at the beginning of the research.
- Personal/Institutional/Programmatic obstacles to achieving growth.
- Plans to overcome obstacles.

INITIAL EXPECTATIONS/GOALS FOR PERSONAL GROWTH

What follows are some of the many goals that the teacher candidates had set for themselves:

- Learn about other people's cultures
- Improve questioning skills
- become more tolerant
- increase self-awareness
- be less judgmental
- identify biases
- "break down" stereotypes
- have access to resources/materials for ARE/multicultural curricula
- obtain a list of correct vocabulary to discuss racism
- build coalitions with other oppressed groups
- gain strategies on how to detect racism and how to deal with racism
- obtain more information about racism
- work on interpersonal skills: how to communicate, deal with conflicts, how to deal with fears around making mistakes
- gain information about non-eurocentric curriculum
- be more open to discuss issues of race.

Gaining a clearer self-understanding of their own racial identity was a top priority for most candidates. They noted that practices of personal reflection helped them to define their own identity struggles.

I'm just trying to figure out for myself where do I want to be. . . . I think I am a little in between still, where I am trying to define where I would like to be, but just taking an outside perspective right now I would like to try and get a mix of both and I'm not sure if that's really possible, I'm sure it is, but I don't know how yet.

Several respondents outlined strategies that might increase their understanding of racial groups. Some of the strategies they suggested included: *"reflecting on the ways that they felt during different cultural events;"* observing new immigrants and reflecting on how new immigrants might feel; setting aside personal biases; interviewing people from different backgrounds; learning about cultures histories; and/or accepting other people's ideas. Similarly, several candidates outlined strategies that they might use in order to improve their acceptance of diverse racial groups. Again, "improvement through reflection" was the main strategy proposed by participants. Alongside the practice of reflection, they noted that they would *"be careful not to pass judgement;" "write about positive or negative experiences;"* continue to show respect for others; and/or create opportunities to interact with people from different groups.

To increase their knowledge of diversity, candidates planned to engage one or more of the following methods: read about other cultures; ask questions; attend guest lectures; attend cultural events; participate in open discussion with friends, classmates or family; make a list of stereotypes and try to avoid them; watch videos or find out about different cultural lifestyles; visit ethnic communities and learn the proper terminology for addressing people from different cultural groups respectfully.

In terms of their professional growth, candidates were most concerned to develop skills in the area of diversity initiatives within the classroom, including knowledge of curricular materials and hands-on activities. They also noted the importance of professional support from other staff members and school administration, in the implementation of diversity initiatives within their schools and classrooms.

Researchers conducted focus groups with research participants at the mid-point of the program to determine whether or not they felt that they had achieved the growth that they had set out for themselves at the beginning of the year. A significant finding emerging from the focus groups was that candidates did not feel that they had grown very much. They attributed their limited growth to time limitations, both programmatic and personal (e.g., single parent family, part-time jobs, etc.).

When the participants expressed that they had grown (to some extent) they attributed their growth to the instruction offered at the Yvonne Site. These participants explained that course directors, activities and course readings had helped them to interact more easily with people from different backgrounds than their own, and with asking questions about different racial groups. However, many of the candidates perceived a distinction between the theoretical frameworks with which they had been asked to engage and the pedagogical practices within which these frameworks were presented. Some participants suggested that the teacher education program should offer them prescriptions which focus on how to work with diverse races in the classroom; that these prescriptive suggestions should be in harmony with the pedagogical styles of course directors at the university. For example, some participants remarked that some of the course directors did not *"practise what they preached."*

OBSTACLES TO ACHIEVING GROWTH

As researchers, we were very interested in the respondents' perceptions of obstacles which prevented the achievement of growth. The following discussion outlines some of the obstacles identified by the respondents:

Programmatic Obstacles to Achieving Growth

One teacher candidate commented:

> *I think that the way that the diversity issue was brought into class wasn't productive; we weren't ready for that and the emotions that got stirred up, and there was no chance to debrief or talk through everything. . . . You can't do it with 80 people in the class, I just felt that we should have been warned that this would stir up emotions. It is an excellent topic, but I am not pleased with the way it was handled in the course. . . . Some White people in the course have bonded even more to talk about how pissed off we are, and created a bigger rift between certain people, and there is no resources on the faculty to talk to about these feelings, I am worried about bringing things up because I will be evaluated as well. Our livelihood depends on getting through this course - so I don't want to rock the boat.*

Other respondents were unclear about what was meant by the term "diversity," and suggested that the term needed to be further defined and explained.

Interestingly, some of the participants questioned why other pre-service education programs within the Faculty of Education did not incorporate urban diversity issues. Consistent with this observation, it was noted by the participants that the resources offered at the York Education Resource Centre were "*not very helpful*," and that the Resource Centre was difficult to access since the hours of operation were limited and the location was not easily accessible from the Yvonne Site. Moreover, for some of the candidates, the Urban Diversity Program had a particular "stigma" attached, which according to these respondents, other teaching sites did not.[3]

Candidates in the program were placed in cross-race dyads for their teaching component. This meant that White candidates were placed in classroom settings with candidates of colour, assuming that they would work together and learn from each other's perspectives. Some of the participants reported that they felt limited in terms of approaching staff members (e.g., Adjunct Professors) to discuss experiences in their dyads. Among the various concerns articulated, fear of negative evaluations by staff members figured prominently. Also noted was the fact that candidates needed different types of support in the program, and racial differences were seen as a contributing factor to the variations of support required. The following passages explore some of the difficulties regarding cross-race dyad relationships and programmatic support.

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[3] This "stigma" comes from the commonly held belief that the high visibility of racialized minority candidates at the Yvonne site was a result of the Faculty's Access Initiative Program that actively seeks groups that are under-represented in the teaching profession. Candidates of colour are perceived to be "affirmative action students." More realistically, the concentration of candidates of colour at this Centre may well have to do with the fact that Yvonne is the catchment site for the Metropolitan Toronto area where the population is more racially diverse than its adjacent geographical areas where other teacher education sites are located.

Dyad partnerships set up a big expectation [for us] to grow together. If it doesn't work out, it also gives a lot of opportunity to be reflected upon. This will also cause growth. It is too much burden to expect right away that we will give support to each other, and also we don't have much time together. Also, when things don't work out then it gives me chance to reflect on my shortcomings.

I didn't think that the cross-race dyad thing worked out. What is happening in the classroom is also representative of what is happening in the outside world. It is not a surprise for me. I could have easily said that I didn't want to work with my dyad when things got tough.

I don't think that the experience of conflict with my dyad has helped with my teaching. I find the dyad partnership lends itself to competition; the host teacher compares the two; perhaps if our personalities matched [things would have worked better]. It is not a cultural thing; most people say that they can't wait to be on their own. It is an artificial set-up as a dyad even to work out conflict, because as a student I am not in a power position to really address the issues. It doesn't allow us to be free in the way that we deal with things. It is positive in that we might work through some personality differences, but it was limiting in a lot of ways too.

Some participants felt that the course had provided a framework to think about diversity issues and examine them more clearly, while fostering pedagogical conditions whereby candidates had opportunities to examine their own reactions to, and learn from, their own social conditioning. Some of their observations are as follows:

For the minorities in the class, it might be the first experience of a kind of pro-minority environment, so things keep rushing out unchecked. I also am a blunt person so that sometimes becomes an issue, and I need to find ways to express my anger. I also learn from the way that other people hear me.

I have become more defensive being a White person in this program, which is very pro-minority, antiracist . . . like the White person was given the shaft in this course and discussed in stereotypical ways and viewed as the reason for all of the oppression. Historically it is true, but I got defensive as a White person in the class, that everything was anti-white, I felt that way. Any anger that was expressed was directed at the White person.

Institutional Obstacles to Achieving Growth

Some teacher candidates were worried that if there was not an established routine set out by the host teacher to work with diversity issues, then what they do in their lesson plans would appear as an "add-on." Remarked one participant: "*I am not sure how much is enough diversity in the classroom, what kind of activity and how many times a day.*" Another candidate commented:

Some of the curriculum subjects, like science, there is so much that the kids have to learn, it is so hard to incorporate diversity in the class as well, there is already so much to do. . . . I don't want to treat the diversity as an add-on either.

Similarly, another participant stated:

The host teacher often has a long term plan for the year, our host teacher had a unit on celebrations and that limited our ability to do different events around diversity. I wouldn't do it that way, and I don't have that freedom until I have my own classroom. It should be talked about on a regular ongoing basis, part of everyday life, and not just celebrations, getting across to the

children, working together, through the group work and problem solving skills, without having a specific unit or lesson, incorporating it into everything that they do.

Notably, there was a general consensus amongst the participants that in the future when they get in their own classrooms, "diversity would become a more everyday thing."

Some observed that the initiatives they tried to implement in their classrooms were mediated by other influences, such as their students' peers and parents. The following comments illustrate these participants' observations:

Recess is a big part of where school life happens. Here things happen in their social life and this is often where things come out, how they interact with each other, so it needs to be incorporated into the development of their social skills.

You also have to mediate what they learn in school against what they learn at home, they come to school already with lots of ideas about diversity and social life.

This is difficult with religion and differences between what parents want their children to learn and what we might teach them. We have to try and blend with what they do at home. Sometimes the parents' attitudes are completely opposite to what you are doing in school and you have to deal with that as a teacher.

Although most of the candidates agreed that it was important to do diversity work even if their school environment was not diverse, many mentioned that it might take time to introduce these ideas into the school and the school community.

Personal Obstacles to Achieving Growth

Teacher candidates were very reluctant in the focus group interview and conversations with the researcher to bring personal items forward which addressed their own obstacles towards growth. Some issues raised focused on commitments such as child-care and single parent families, which they explained, made it difficult to take "risks" in the classroom because their careers might be jeopardized. Other candidates were overwhelmed with the perceived "challenges" of the task of working from a diverse perspective:

I don't even know where to start, I don't know where the resources are, I don't know what skills I would need in the classroom, or how to talk to the children. I mean just my tone, one child, maybe I need a certain tone or word things differently, I'm sure there is a whole list of things that I need to learn. I don't know where to start.

Plans to Overcome Obstacles

Participants were very limited with their ideas about how they might overcome the obstacles that they had mentioned. Some of their suggestions included: observing the host teacher for clues on how to incorporate diversity, or asking the parents to come in and act as guest speakers. Some participants also suggested that other teachers, with different social locations than their own (e.g., cultural backgrounds) might serve as resources.

Many candidates mentioned that they required a sense of institutional support in order to feel "safe" about implementing their ideas with regard to diversity. For example, they would be more apt to initiate such practices if the principal of the school, or the school ethic supported diversity initiatives.

PRACTICUM OBSERVATIONS

Researchers spent time in the classroom observing candidates. From this experience we were able to determine if they were implementing equity and diversity initiatives in their teaching practice. Very few candidates demonstrated that they utilized inclusive curricular content in their own teaching practices. Of the 32 candidates observed, 25 showed no evidence of inclusive curriculum content, 7 showed some evidence of inclusive curriculum content, while only 2 of the participants exhibited committed attention to diversity issues in curriculum content. Candidates commented that it was difficult to find support materials that addressed diversity issues. Others who did incorporate some diversity material into their teaching did so minimally. For example, some candidates had a small display of books about different cultures, others read books about different cultures and/or played music from around the world. Those who included such materials believed that they were successfully incorporating inclusive content into their classroom.

Of the 32 candidates observed in their practicum placements, 17 showed some evidence of inclusive educational strategies. Some stated that they were not aware of and/or did not know how to implement inclusive educational strategies. Some inclusive educational strategies that were observed included: reading materials in different languages, the use of dialects in the classroom as a teaching aid; drawing on student experience in the classroom; grouping of students according to gender and/or ability. There was little evidence of candidates using inclusive language. For example, they often used the words "all" and/or "everyone" in their lessons. Moreover, they did not implement inclusive language into their units of study or their activities.

It was observed that candidates had minimal involvement in the grouping of students in the classroom. They stated that their host teachers decided student grouping, and seating arrangements in the classroom. When candidates initiated student groupings it was within the parameters of small groups, and within a limited time frame (e.g., for ten or fifteen minutes of a lesson). Noteworthy, though, these self-selected groupings tended to be based on ability or gender, as opposed to "cross-race."

There were no instances observed where candidates marginalized students in their classes because of race. There were two types of dyad-partner interaction observed: the first might be termed as a "close-relationship," whereby dyad partners were involved in each other's lives both inside and outside the classroom. A few of the dyad partners shared in each other's ethnic events and experiences about race. The second interaction involved a "distant-relationship" whereby dyad partners interacted for lesson-planning purposes only and for short lesson debriefing sessions. Most candidates observed engaged in this type of interaction with their dyad partners because they did not feel that they had mutual interests outside of the teacher education program.

In general, candidates were reluctant to speak negatively about interactions with their host teachers or adjunct professors for fear of reprisals in their evaluation. Most candidates indicated that they had good interactions with their APs; however, they stated that they did not have sufficient time to meet with and plan with their APs. Most indicated that they had positive interactions with the HTs and that these interactions were also limited by time constraints. Candidates who indicated that they had negative interactions attributed this to the possibility that their HTs were from the "old school". They also suggested that their HTs were not accepting the new strategies and ideas being taught in pre-service teacher education, which included strategies about race in the classroom environment.

SUMMARY

This chapter has provided an overview of the mid-term research findings in three main areas: candidate growth plans; obstacles to achieving growth on the basis of programmatic, institutional and personal considerations; and plans for overcoming obstacles.

In terms of their own professional growth, candidates were most interested in learning practical, hands-on methods for incorporating equity and diversity into their classrooms. They also noted the need for institutional supports for these initiatives in schools and classrooms. On a more personal level, they recognized the need to expose themselves to cultures different from their own, through personal interactions, reading literature and books, attending cultural events, and generally developing an awareness of their own biases and privileges.

Candidates were able to cite many obstacles to achieving their growth. On a programmatic level, the major obstacle was the time constraints of the Program. They felt that there was not adequate class time to deal with the emotional and/or controversial nature of learning for diversity. In addition, the cross-race dyad teaching system was often a challenge in learning to work across differences. The major institutional obstacle cited was a difficulty in fitting diversity work into the classroom coursework schedules imposed by host teachers. On a personal note, candidates remarked that outside commitments of family and part-time work limited the amount of extra-curricular time that they might devote to developing their skills in the area of teaching for diversity. At the mid-point of the research term, participants were fully aware of the obstacles to achieving growth, but were not able to articulate concrete plans for overcoming some of these same obstacles.

CHAPTER 4

REFLECTIONS ON THEORY AND PRACTICE: POST-PROGRAM FINDINGS

At the end of the one-year Urban Diversity Teacher Education Program, the researchers again met with participants. As well as observing their teaching practices in the host schools, researchers conducted personal interviews with each participant (Appendix E). The findings from these interviews and observations made of candidates in practicum teaching blocks follow this introduction. Researchers also asked participants to repeat the Multicultural/Antiracist Education Survey (Appendix D) that each had completed at the beginning of the research period. The comparisons of the survey results (pre- and post-program) offer some interesting findings, which are summarized in Tables 7 and 8.

While at the beginning of the program candidates overwhelmingly agreed that the goals of antiracist education are to change individual behaviours and attitudes that reinforce racism, the post-program results indicate that respondents were more ambivalent in this regard. However, post-program results indicate that fewer students were ambivalent about the term "antiracism." Findings from the interviews elaborated on candidates' definitions of antiracist education. Whereas 6.1% of respondents in the pre-program survey disagreed that talking about racial and ethnic diversity in the classroom is desirable, this percentage dropped to zero in the post-program survey. Post-program results indicate that respondents were more ambivalent in thinking that ARE lowers the quality of education. About ninety percent of candidates in the post-program survey felt competent to teach from an ARE perspective, compared to 64.7% in pre-program.

Table 7

Post-Program Responses to Goals and Practices of Antiracism Education

Survey Item	Valid Percent (%)			
	Agree	Disagree	Ambivalent	n
The goal of Antiracist Education (ARE) is to change individual behaviours and attitudes that reinforce racism.	82.4	8.8	8.8	34
The goal of Antiracist Education (ARE) is to change institutional policies and practices that perpetuate racism.	91.2	2.9	2.9	34
The term "antiracism" should be replaced because it is negative.	9.2	63.6	27.2	33
ARE should be integrated into all subjects.	93.9	0	6.1	33
I will teach that racial and ethnic diversity in the classroom is desirable.	96.9	0	3.1	33

Table 8

Post-program Beliefs about Antiracism Education

Survey Items	Valid Percent (%)			
	Agree	Disagree	Ambivalent	n
ARE lowers the quality of education.	3.0	88.2	8.8	34
Student commitment to education varies across racial/ethnic groups.	33.3	54.5	12.2	33
I have the competence to teach from an ARE perspective.	90.6	0	9.4	32
Multiculturalism and anti-racism alienate the dominant (White) groups in society.	6.3	75.0	18.7	32
I am "colour-blind" when it comes to working with students of diverse racial groups.	12.5	78.1	9.3	32

In addition, post-program results indicate that more students disagree that they are "colourblind" when it comes to working with students of diverse racial group.

DEFINITIONS OF THE TERM "ANTIRACISM"

From the post-program interviews that researchers completed, we found that candidates were ready to provide examples of antiracist educational practices, but that they had little critical analysis with regard to the goals of antiracist education, such as, addressing inequitable power relations amongst different racial groups.

Many candidates' definitions of antiracist education fell within what might be termed as the "multicultural stream", which is characterized by an emphasis on "celebrating" diversity and difference as opposed to promoting critical analysis of issues of systemic and institutional racism within schools. A candidate, illustrated an example of the multicultural emphasis:

> *Antiracist education is not making assumptions or stereotypes about individuals belonging to certain cultural groups, everyone is an individual; children should be involved in the teaching process and teach each other, as well as using the parents as a resource in the classroom.*

Other candidates who demonstrated an understanding of the multicultural approach to education, highlighted interventions that involved bringing "different cultures" into the classroom through curricular materials; saying hello and goodbye in different languages; making 'everyone' feel welcome by ensuring that their cultural group is represented in the classroom; and promoting 'respect' for others. One White candidate, who identified as Jewish, revealed:

> *I think antiracist education just means respect. If you don't have respect you can't teach antiracist education. The way I practice it is, I don't believe in "put-downs" and a lot of it is kids just making comments about other people, just somebody that is different from them. I hate using the word different.*

Much of multicultural education adopts a "psychologically informed" approach to education: racism is a problem of low self-esteem, a point of view demonstrated by this student who insisted that antiracist education is about developing in children a positive self-image,

> *to teach each other how to value themselves and their culture, to see their culture reflected in the teaching materials. . . . Antiracist education includes multicultural education.*

While antiracist education might include some of the goals of multicultural education, many candidates were unable to relay a sophisticated definition of antiracist education, or even distinguish between the two educational approaches. However, this was not always the case. For example, candidates of colour were often able to provide well thought out examples of both institutional and systemic forms of inequities in education, and strategies for combating these inequities in the school system. One Black candidate revealed:

> *The main thing that sticks out for me for antiracist education is that all cultural groups in Canada are not on the same level playing field and it is so evident when you go into inner-city schools and see the resources that they have and what they are exposed to.*

Susan[4], a self-identified Black candidate, who, like the previous respondent, holds a more developed understanding, explained:

> *[Antiracist Education] means getting rid of racism through the curriculum, through the community, through social services within the school or within the community itself. It means looking at all aspects of the education system and critically analyzing everything else that you do including the curriculum because there is racism in the curriculum as well, I think it is promoting the middle class culture. So, just making sure that you are achieving equity for all different groups.*

Other candidates suggested that antiracist education is linked to the concept of social change. These participants were concerned with trying to find ways to empower their students and get them to be 'social change agents'. Dave, another Black Candidate, commented:

> *[I] would look at the issue of power in terms of the dominant society and how they achieved it and how it's maintained and then examine the idea of surrounding cultures and how direct and indirect practices of the dominant culture might overtly or covertly hold back or suppress their ethnicity, race, gender.*

Some mentioned that antiracist education should be connected to other forms of oppression in society, such as those focused around disability issues, gender or sexual orientation. In general, they showed a level of superficiality in their definitions of antiracist education. Most tended to focus on the personal rather than institutional levels of racism. Candidates of colour were more likely to have a better understanding of systemic racism, and how it played out in both the educational system and their school culture.

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[4] All teacher candidate names are pseudonymns.

DEFINTIONS OF "COLOURBLINDNESS"

At the end of their teacher education program, candidates were able to articulate definitions of "colourblindness" in a more theoretically grounded fashion than demonstrated in the first round of interviews. The following excerpts illustrate their levels of understanding:

> *Colourblindness means that you are ignoring an important part of a person's identity . . . when you ignore something as important as a person's colour which has connection to their race and their culture and their identity as a whole you are ignoring that person and an essential part of her. . . . I would never want to alienate my students that way. So, colourblindness in my classroom will never play a part because I want to recognize the differences in my students and celebrate it. I don't see how anybody could be colourblind- it's not possible unless you are blind.*

> *It's impossible, you have to see a child's colour because that's part of the totality of what she or he is . . . to be colourblind and try to treat everyone equal is not equality, it's wrong.*

Candidates showed little patience with those who insisted that they are "colourblind" in their approach to teaching. One student suggested:

> *[Colourblindness] is a way of fooling yourself to say you don't see colour, I believe everybody sees colour and with that colour there are assumptions.*

> *I think it is a form of not wanting to deal with the issue, just wanting to sweep things under the rug. It is a frustrating term and also I remember at the equity conference - going to a whole workshop on the construct of colourblindness . . .*

> *People are saying there is no difference in a classroom. . . . There are differences in your classroom; you must accommodate those differences. Colourblindness, I think, is a premise that is extremely flawed.*

Some candidates still insisted on using the term "colourblindness" to describe a liberal approach in education, where all students are treated the same. As this quote illustrates, her thoughts belie a certain belief in the myth of meritocracy in school culture:

> *Colourblindness means that you don't see what the person is outside, you only look at the person inside and that's why when you are teaching you have to affirm . . . as a teacher I know my philosophy is to affirm, to value and to hear every child's voice.*

TRANSFORMATIONAL EDUCATION: TEACHERS' GROWTH PLANS

An important aspect of our post-program research was to discover if candidates had transformed both themselves and their teaching practices, regarding issues of equity and diversity in education. To gain an understanding of how these candidates reflected on their individual growth in these areas, we provided each student with a copy of their individual growth plan from the beginning of the research term. We asked for their comments on whether or not they had achieved the goals that they had set for themselves. What follows are some of those findings:

Although all participants noted that they were more aware of the stereotyping of cultures different from their own, White candidates and candidates of colour often described their growth in different directions. Alice, a White candidate, revealed that she had become more aware of her Whiteness and the privileges of being White, but also acknowledged the difficulties she faced as a single mother. She related:

> *I definitely see that I am a White person in the mainstream society. I am sort of on the fringes because I am a female and I am a widow and a single parent.*

Another candidate, Cheryl, revisited painful experiences as a youth when rethinking her identity as a White woman:

> *Due in part to this program I have re-connected with my family and started the healing process, learning who they are and their histories, I feel more comfortable around White people now . . . I feel a self-empowerment, that I have expanded beyond the hurt and pain that I had held onto for years . . . it was a racist environment and it was an abusive environment.*

White participants in the program developed a clearer understanding of the intersections of race with gender, ethnicity and class. They demonstrated a more sophisticated analysis of their own internalised racism and of the ways in which it had remained hidden from their view. For example, Barbara, who self-identified as Jewish explained:

> *Whenever I think of what my nationality is or race I always see myself as Jewish. I never really said I am White, not for any particular reason until I really got involved in the program. I have always been open to new information but there is no doubt in my mind that I have grown in that way since September because no matter what I had then, I definitely have a lot more of the knowledge-base now.*

Candidates of colour told a different kind of story about their transformation and growth throughout the program. Tired of being responsible for "representing" racial issues in classroom dialogues, many had learned to "shut down" in such situations. Deborah, a Black candidate, related the story of her growth in this way:

> *You could open up a whole racial discussion and I really wouldn't want to participate in it. I felt I was really the mouth piece for every single Black person in the world . . . and I felt at the time that I just didn't want to always be defending that position . . . now I am more willing to sit back and just listen to this person and find out where exactly where they are coming from, and that has been an eye opening experience in itself. Sometimes when you hear things that you don't like you kind of shut down and you don't hear what the person is saying, but now I am now more open.*

Whereas Deborah defined her growth in terms of learning how to listen to the perspectives of others, Kathy, a recent immigrant to Canada, related a different kind of growth. She revealed how she became much more aware of her own racial identity both through the Urban Diversity Program, and through participating in the research:

> *I was shocked the first time I participated in the research because I didn't know what group I belonged to. I am not coloured, but if I tell you that I am African Canadian . . . the only way that you will know that I am different is from my accent. I didn't know where I belonged. I had a problem, especially when there were separate handouts for 'White people' and 'people of colour.'. . . I didn't know what sheet to take. I think I asked my partner to get me a 'coloured' sheet and she was shocked. This was a kind of confusion and I thought that I was the only one but I found other people with the same problem . . . so I knew more about myself and where I belong. . . . I am an ethnic woman, I am not White. . . now I would pick the 'people of colour' sheet with no hesitation.*

Sandra, a South-Asian candidate who had grown up as both a racial and an ethnic minority in a small Northern Ontario town, explained that she had become more aware of issues of racism in her life, and felt prepared to face them head on:

> Something that I really have learned this year, throughout my life, maybe part of you, [is that] it is easier to live with yourself in this society if you explain racism and things away as something else. Because if you have to face it, even little bits, and I'm sometimes very sensitive and take things to heart and it stays with me for a long time. Going through this, I reflected a lot on my past experiences and see them in a different way now. I think it hurts to be called a racist name, but now I look back on things differently. When we started doing this I would say that 'no, I haven't really encountered a lot of racism', but I think what I did was to explain it away as something else, because to accept it as racism would have been more hurtful. But now I have realized to call racism for what it is, and to admit to myself that I have encountered it, and to admit to myself that I have also probably felt things that would be termed racist. Not that I am hateful, but even the [Course Director] talks about going through all these years of education, that no one can say that they are 100% antiracist. I am more willing to examine my life and find the racism that exists in it.

Participants of all racial groups learned to deal more effectively with conflict situations in school culture. Aruna, a South Asian candidate, told the following story about learning to deal with racial conflict within the program:

> After the first round of interviews at the end of March for the Toronto Board I got a call that I was hired. I was the only one at Yvonne who had heard. . . . A person in our program asked, 'Good news?' and I said, 'Yes, I was just hired', and she said, 'Oh well, it's because of affirmative action and you are a minority'. Another person was trying to justify it saying that it was because I spoke Punjabi. . . . I felt very angry inside. . . . This is the first time in my life that anyone had said to me, you got the job because you are Indian and I felt very angry and I spent the afternoon, I actually cried at Yvonne. . . . When someone says these kind of things to you I feel myself retreating at that point, like it is 'us and them'; that she sees me as something other, and I see her at this moment as someone who is different from me. . . . I thought I am not going to let this go and I went to the person and told her that she doesn't know what I have gone through to get to this point, and she said, 'Oh, I'm not like that, I said it to empower you,' and I thought how in the world can that empower me? . . . Even with my host teacher, she has yet to say congratulations. She told me that it was very unfair that I was hired, she even asked me if I mailed the [application] form myself. . . . I am feeling very angry that I can say, maybe I got the job because I was qualified [respondent starts to cry]. Everyone is looking for these reasons— it has to be because I am Indian, because I speak Punjabi, or because I know someone in the Board. It is supposed to be the happiest time, but I have never had anyone say this to me. Now I am stronger and more confident, maybe because of readings and hearing other people discuss things.

Candidates also measured their growth in learning how to use more inclusive language in the classroom. Most felt that they had grown by learning about racial groups different from their own. One student said, *"By choosing a Native story for my novel study, in that regard I was able to grow*." They became more comfortable in asking questions about cultures different from their own.

When asked what specific supports had helped them to achieve their goals, candidates most often noted the literature and required readings provided by course directors in the program. In some cases the cross-race dyad proved an effective resource for learning about different cultures. One candidate said, *"The makeup of the school made it easy for me. I did more interacting with people from different backgrounds."* They also noted that the ethnic diversity of the program helped in learning about differences.

OBSTACLES TO TRANSFORMATION

As researchers, we were very interested in finding out what candidates saw as obstacles in the path to achieving their goals as effective antiracist educators. Their words spoke for themselves, but for reading comprehension, responses have been divided into three areas: personal; programmatic (i.e., Teacher Education Program); and institutional (i.e., School Culture) obstacles to transformation.

Personal Obstacles to Growth

One teacher candidate mentioned that their confusion over their own racial identity was hampering their growth as an antiracist educator. In addition, students found that outside commitments, such as part-time employment and parenting responsibilities, interfered with their abilities to focus on personal transformation during the program.

Programmatic Obstacles to Growth

Conflicts within the dyad partnerships, such as competition within the practicum setting and personality differences, were cited as programmatic obstacles to growth. Candidates of colour experienced little structural support in dealing with the daily occurrences of racism by colleagues and staff both inside and outside of the program. One Black candidate felt that there was a lack of peer support for speaking out against racism. She related:

> *I was excluded from everything. When I did discuss the issues with other Black teacher candidates no one was comfortable with speaking out about it so it was just play the game, get your certificate and get out. I didn't have anybody backing me.*

White candidates tended to be skeptical of minority course directors and their message. One student explained:

> *Because the antiracist education was coming from 'minority teachers', the White candidates didn't take too well to it. Perhaps if there was a White teacher that was very vocal about it, I think that would have been helpful. So it is also who is delivering the information.*

Candidates found the large class size (80) a difficult forum to engage in productive discussions around issues of race and racism in urban schools. Emotional tensions in the lecture room were often high and the course directors required good facilitation skills. Some felt silenced because they were afraid to say the *"wrong thing."*

Time was cited as a major obstacle to growth. Since candidates often perceived diversity issues as an "add-on" to the work of learning to teach, they were reluctant to focus on developing their skills as effective antiracist educators. One remarked:

> *In terms of having responsibilities academically at the site and then having to take care of your responsibilities here whether it's lesson plans or club responsibilities and meetings . . . so it became so difficult because there is just so many things you have got to do and you have to decide where your focus lies . . . usually it was the thing that was most immediate.*

Several candidates noted the Program's homophobic atmosphere as hampering the development of their growth as a teacher. For example, Sharlene, who identified as a lesbian, who chose to keep her sexual orientation private in the program setting, remarked:

> *This program is very homophobic . . . at the [Yvonne] site and in my classroom. One of the teacher candidates here [at host school] was going to integrate a discussion into the block plans and that candidate was told in no uncertain terms that was not allowed; that the parents wouldn't accept it. At the [Yvonne] site everything is talked about except for diversity for people with disabilities, or differently abled individuals. [One course director] did the most to incorporate sexual diversity. It was wonderful, she brought in that panel of individuals, one of the most memorable experiences of the year, it was so positive. Even afterward, a lot of the teacher candidates remarked that, 'You can't get away with that in schools no matter what theory you want to use', that they would never teach that. I heard several people say that it was against their beliefs and their religion and we don't condone it. I heard one person say, 'People like that are just going to rot in hell.' It was so backward in many cases. . . I guess you knew from the atmosphere and from the tone that was said that it just wasn't okay. It is the same way with the teachers in the schools.*

Institutional Obstacles to Growth

Candidates expressed a concern about their host teachers' real commitments to the goals of antiracist education. Those who did not have supportive host teachers or adjunct professors found it difficult to implement the practices that they had learned in the Urban Diversity Program. One student stated:

> *One of my problems with the whole teacher education program is that we come in [to the classroom] and it's expected that the host teacher will disappear for two weeks, but it is unrealistic because the kids know that you're not their real teacher, the teacher has things they need to get done, and to just come in . . . and a lot of what we are being taught is not how they are used to doing things, that is why they [host teachers] make suggestions to us on what topics that we should be covering.*

The racism exhibited by host teachers and other administrators in schools provided a major obstacle to candidates' growth as effective antiracist educators:

> *Host teachers are a mess . . . I think that York University should do some serious investigating of who the host teachers are, make sure that they support the Urban Diversity Program. . . .We are not just teachers, we are 'urban diversity specialists' so let's put us in classrooms where the teachers support that, at least they understand it. In each of my cases, three of my host teachers do not have a clue of what is going on and I cringe when I hear them say something that is blatantly racist. Then I get frustrated because I always feel like I am fighting, . . . I have learned more from my host teacher of things that I shouldn't do than things that I should do.*

Candidates' narratives provided evidence of the high prevalence of racism in school culture. One candidate of colour relayed an experience with her host teacher:

> *[My host teacher's] behaviour was more or less racist. Not only against me . . . this is something you can feel, what she is saying about her kids . . . we had twenty students in the class, nineteen from different backgrounds and only one student was White Canadian. . . . The way that she was dealing with me, if we were on one to one it was OK, but if I were with my (White) dyad partner, she always addressed her, she never addressed me . . . Her relationship with my dyad was*

completely different from her relationship with me. . . It was painful for a while.

Another candidate of colour shared a story about her experiences in her host teacher's classroom:

There is a little black girl in our classroom and one day my host teacher said, "Look at the little Black thundercloud today," and that sticks in my head. Things like, . . . there was a little Sikh boy who has his hair up and covered with what is called a turban, and the father approached me and told me that there was another little boy in the class who was making fun of his son for having his hair up and covered. He asked me to talk to this little boy and I did. I kept it short since he is four or five, I just explained about his religious belief . . . but I just thought, this is March, and this is still going on and why did the parent approach me, someone he has seen only for the second or third time, and not the host teacher.

Candidates of colour felt that they had high expectations placed upon them by minority parents. One explained:

They [minority parents] are glad that you are here and there is a lot of expectation on your shoulders, a lot of responsibility, and I am seeing that now. Minority parents expect you to be perfect; that you know everything and that you are the answer to the problems that the child might be having. You have to prove that 'yes, I am competent.' You have to prove yourself that you are a teacher.

PRACTICUM SETTINGS

In order to evaluate the extent to which candidates were incorporating diversity planning in their final teaching block curriculum, researchers conducted field visits to classrooms and followed up with interviews. While many of the candidates were able to articulate an awareness of racism and inequity in their surrounding school culture, we found that relatively few candidates demonstrated a thorough integration of diversity into their block plans. Diversity planning was often limited to the inclusion of different racial groups in books, literature and other visually oriented classroom materials, or perhaps the candidate would have all the children say, "good morning" in their native language to encourage cross-cultural learning. One candidate, who was leading a kindergarten class, brought in snacks from different cultural backgrounds to share with the children. The initiatives of some candidates could be described as efforts towards creating a "multicultural"curriculum: one that celebrates diversity and difference rather than critically engaging systemic barriers to racial inequality in school life. This reality was demonstrated in the venues that candidates sought to express their diversity initiatives, including "cultural pavilion", a lunch program for students to explore different cultures and religious traditions. Many of these initiatives were confined to "special" times of the year, such as Black History Month. Most candidates used their own cultural background as a resource, especially in describing special events such as Passover, but little effort was made to teach outside of one's own experience. Several candidates brought in parents as a resource to facilitate a broader exchange of cultural role models in the classroom.

Though the researchers found little evidence of diversity initiatives in classroom teaching, one White male candidate insisted that integrating equity into his teaching had become 'normal'. He noted:

As I sort of lived through this last year, it's become more, I guess, second nature and it's not a conscious effort. I find I am writing lesson plans, and when I look at them, I have addressed

certain things and I didn't even intend to do it. I guess it changed the way I attack problems.

When asked specifically about these changes, he explained:

> I am making conscious sort of modifications. I used grouping for the students and they are all mixed ethnically, ability grouping . . . We are always mixing them up; every month or so we switched the kids around so that they are always in different groups.

Though we asked the candidates specifically about initiatives to incorporate racial diversity into their classrooms, there was a tendency to interpret diversity as "multiple intelligences", learning styles and the needs of "English as a second language" learners. For example, one candidate commented, "*I think I am taking into consideration diversity, not just race but different learning styles.*"

Candidates' most often cite restrictions placed by curriculum requirements and host teachers as the major obstacle to integrating diversity into their practice teaching. Some are given little freedom to choose classroom materials. A common remark was, "A*s a teacher candidate I don't have the power to do what I want in the classroom.*" The structure of the practice teaching program ensures that candidates are allowed little continuity in planning teaching blocks in advance of their three-week assignments with a particular classroom. Often the host teacher had already decided what unit the students should be working on and how the unit should be taught. Many candidates were working on units such as "plants" given by the host teachers, "*I try to bring in vegetables that they might use in their homes and ask the children to talk about it to the class*, for example, "medieval times", "fairy tales," etc. The candidates have little control over setting curriculum. Since these host teachers were evaluating them, not unsurprisingly, candidates were reluctant to move outside of the prescribed teaching portfolio. One candidate remarked:

> I don't really have all that much freedom. . . . I don't feel like it is my classroom and I feel like I have to do things a certain way because the bottom line is evaluation.

Other candidates talked about the differences between primary and junior grades in terms of integration of equity issues. They generally felt that it was easier to discuss and integrate issues of equity in junior grades:

> Even though this is my block plan and my time, it is really not my time, especially with the kindergarten classes since they already have an established routine . . . also working in a kindergarten class I found that I had to bring everything down to a different level.

It is important to note that candidates of colour and White candidates found different obstacles to including equity and diversity initiatives in their block planning. It was a common experience for most White candidates to be congratulated on their efforts to include diversity, whereas candidates of colour were greeted with suspicion in their initiatives. Likewise, some candidates were actively discouraged, by school personnel, from integrating diversity equity issues into their classrooms. One candidate related:

> I wanted to start a Black History course, but I was <u>heavily</u> questioned on what the curriculum was going to be. They were concerned about what I was going to teach. I did say to them that I wouldn't fill slavery into it. The principal did not want me to have an after-four program. She said I could go around to different classes and teach something for Black History Month. What I ended up doing was reading 'Anancy' stories in the library because that's pretty much what was dictated to me.

THE CROSS-RACE DYAD SYSTEM

Researchers were interested in gaining an understanding of how candidates experienced the cross-race dyad system. Towards this goal, we asked participants what they had learned from their dyad. Due to the range of learning experiences shared, many of the participants' responses are offered below:

> We learned about all of our differences, age, ethnic background and educational background. My dyad provided me with support when the host teacher was treating us differently due to our race.

> We learned more about each other as individuals, not as representing a particular ethnic group, we learned a lot about each other's families and each other's religious groups.

> It helped me break my stereotypes of different people.

> It taught me more about inter-personal skills more than about diversity issues although my dyad saw me as being White so that made me think about whiteness a lot more.

> I learned that racial identity is in flux whether you are White or of a different race.

> I think I helped her to see some aspects of diversity that she never considered before, she helped me to see aspects of diversity. Working with her and talking about certain experiences that we both had in our lives just really opened up a lot of avenues that we never considered before – we had the best experience as dyad partners.

> The fact that she was Jewish made a difference because that's the culture that I haven't had a lot of exposure to. During our block she had a lot of holidays that I had no idea what they were and where they came from so I was able to learn a lot in that regard. The partnership helped me develop as an individual.

Not all experiences in the cross-race dyad were positive. Several candidates experienced conflict within their partnership. Here are some of their stories:

> My dyad was very blunt about what he believed. . . . I felt they are racist and he felt that I was exercising reverse discrimination. So we had a lot of conflict, we managed to get through the term but we didn't talk much.

> We discussed child abuse and my dyad said, "Statistics proved that Blacks hit their kids more." I had a problem with that, I stated my problem and he felt that I was watching him for his every wrong move with a Black student and perhaps I was. I felt he was looking for that Black child to do something wrong.

> I made the initiative to work with my [White] dyad partner and she went and complained that I was not being outgoing and sharing. . . . I think she felt badly because I was the one making the initiative, she would always laugh and pretend like everything was cool. She would go and plan with these other girls while she was my partner.

While not all cross-race dyad partnerships are without conflict, participants learned how to effectively work with differences when they arose. However, it was apparent in some cases that the needs of candidates of colour were sacrificed somewhat to the educational needs of White candidates.

SUMMARY

At the end of their program candidates indicated that they developed a better understanding of such concepts as "colourblindness" and "antiracism education." They were able to articulate examples of both institutional forms of inequities in education, and even suggest strategies for combatting these in schools. More specifically, they reported growth in dealing with conflicts in the classroom and competence in the use of inclusive language.

Despite the conceptual and theoretical knowledge they acquired over the year of learning to teach, its application in practicum classrooms remained marginal. They reverted to the practise of celebratory multiculturalism in the name of antiracism pedagogy, and continued to offer these as special events instead of integrating them into the curriculum. The persistence of school culture as obstacle plus candidates' own underdeveloped skills will continue to stall antiracism as transformative education within schools.

While the cross-race dyad system provided the opportunity for candidates of different racial backgrounds to share perspectives and experiences in a positive interdependent manner, factors such as personality conflicts, own-group cleavages, personal and institutional racism limited this learning opportunity.

CHAPTER 5

SUMMARY AND RECOMMENDATIONS

To conclude this study we will summarize its major findings, discuss the limitations of the major theories and concepts utilized in developing a framework for the study, and last, recommend ways to transform teacher education programs to make them more relevant to the teaching of antiracism and other diversity and social justice issues.

SUMMARY OF FINDINGS

1. Racial identity awareness

What was most apparent in our initial attempts to have teacher candidates define their racial identity was how ethnic, cultural and national identity complicates their ability to categorize themselves as either White or person of colour. While most candidates were cognizant of their racial identity and its potential impact on their relationship with the "other", a few who preferred to remain "raceless" claimed that "race doesn't matter." This finding supports the theory of racialization in White dominant societies that construct Whiteness as the invisible norm against which racial difference is determined.

The complexities of racialization and candidates' own unwillingness to locate racially, made it difficult for some to identify with prescribed stages of development outlined in one of the research instruments (Helms,1995) used in the study. White candidates generally claimed higher status/stage than their colleagues of colour (but interview findings revealed that their placements were highly inflated). Such misrepresentation led to a very superficial development of growth plans to become more competent at working for racial equity and diversity. Most candidates of colour, on the other hand, were more realistic in their appraisal of self and competencies, and drew selectively on their experiences in a racist culture to develop personal and professional growth plans that would challenge racism in schools and communities.

1. Readiness to work with diversity

Pre-program findings indicated that candidates possessed limited knowledge, understanding, acceptance and interpersonal skills for working with diverse school and community populations. The awareness of their limitations prompted candidates' development of plans to learn about other cultural groups by visits to ethnic communities and involvement with their cultural institutions. However, at the end of the program, very few candidates had realized the "outreach" goals outlined in their growth plans. Instead, most of their exposure to diversity came from their interactions and relationships with colleagues who are racially different, their cross-race dyad partners, racially and ethnically heterogeneous student populations in practicum schools, and learning materials and experiences provided by course directors and practicum school personnel.

3. **Antiracism concept and competence**

Although candidates agreed overwhelmingly with the goals of ARE and claimed competence in teaching from this critical perspective, they showed much ambivalence over the term and concept of "antiracism." Antiracism was often conceptualized in terms of harmonious and celebratory multiculturalism and perceived good multicultural teaching to be happening if racism is not overtly expressed in classrooms and schools. White candidates felt that they were competent to teach from an antiracism perspective whereas candidates of colour were ambivalent about their competence. With regard to colourblindness, White candidates claimed to be more colourblind than candidates of colour when working with diverse racial groups. Most candidates of colour who claimed to be colourblind were recent immigrants to Canada.

4. **Obstacles to growth**

Candidates identified obstacles to growth as personal, programmatic and institutional.

a) *Personal*

Candidates' goals for personal growth included gaining a clearer understanding of their own racial identity as well as those of unfamiliar cultural groups. This would be achieved through self-reflection and visits to ethno-cultural communities and events, readings, discussions and reflecting on these experiences. But in the end, they identified part-time work, single parenthood and other family commitments as the major obstacles to achieving these goals.

b) *Programmatic*

The Urban Diversity Program design, content and resources appeared to be counter productive to the needs of some individuals and sub-groups. Candidates found curriculum resources at their off-campus site and access to York's Education Resource Centre rather limiting. Cohort size of over 80 candidates restricted discourse on the sensitive equity and social justice issues of race ethnicity, gender, sexual orientation, etc. In addition, the intensity of the program left very little time for reflection. Lastly, the dyad partnerships, designed to be collaborative, were practised in a very competitive manner by some partners, thus defeating its purpose.

c) *Institutional (school culture)*

The culture of schools as conservative, competitive and hierarchical was an obstacle to the movement of progressive theories and ideas from the teacher education lecture-room to practicum classrooms. The prevalence of racism in school culture and the curriculum restraints imposed by host teachers created restrictions for candidates integrating equity and diversity into their pedagogy. The tendency for teachers to marginalize these issues in the curriculum is well documented in other research on teachers and their responses to multiculturalism and antiracism in Ontario and other Canadian schools (Dei, 1996b; Solomon & Levine-Rasky, 1996; Carr & Klassen, 1997). Candidates experienced the new Ontario curriculum as restricting their practise of antiracism pedagogy. While the new curriculum appeared more prescriptive in its return to "the basics", some candidates often used this as an excuse for not engaging in equity and diversity work.

The competitive culture of the schools continued to use the dyad system as competitive rather than collaborative entities, leaving many partners of colour to feel victimized in this environment. Finally, candidates perceived the school structure to be very hierarchical and their positions within this structure rather powerless. As a result, they reluctantly suspended their roles as change agents until they get their own classrooms.

5. **Post-program evidence of candidate's growth**

Post-program reflections revealed several areas of growth in awareness, knowledge and skills.
Candidates experienced growth in:

(a) awareness of cultural stereotyping;

(b) awareness of "Whiteness" as privilege in Canadian society. Some candidates developed a clearer understanding of the intersections of race, ethnic, gender, and social class inequalities in the schooling process;

(c) skills in dealing with conflict situations in school;

(d) use of more inclusive language in the classroom. Such a learning was aided by required and supplementary course readings, the ethnic and racial diversity of the cohort group and association with dyad partners who are racial/ethnically different;

(e) understanding and theoretical grounding of the term "colourblindness". However, some candidates insisted on using the term to describe a liberal approach to race and education and to demonstrate equal treatment for all racial groups; and

(f) awareness of how race mediates life. Some candidates of colour felt more prepared to deal with this reality.

6. **Differential needs and expectations of candidates of colour and Whites**

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

THEORETICAL AND CONCEPTUAL ISSUES

This research utilized Helms' model of Racial Identity Development (RID) as a means to identify and interrogate teacher candidates in order to establish their stage of racial identity development and ascertain their attitude, knowledge and behaviour toward racialized minorities in Canadian society. It also used a commercially designed instrument, Discovering Diversity Profile (DDP), as a means to measure candidates' knowledge, understanding, acceptance and behaviour in those key areas that are expected to influence how they respond to

diversity. The model provided suggestions for growth on these categories.   Finally, it utilized a survey instrument to solicit candidates' perspectives on multicultural and antiracist education.

From the beginning stages of this research, several limitations with these models surfaced. First, there were some serious difficulties with some candidates who were unable to categorize their race and ethnic backgrounds. For example, the Jewish, Egyptian and the Iranian candidates had difficulty identifying themselves either as Whites or people of colour. As one Jewish candidate explained:

I see myself as a Jewish rather than a White Canadian because it is what I practise.

Another candidate stated:

I don't think of myself as White, to be honest. I never think of people as white or dark coloured skin; this time is the first time I'm thinking as White. If someone said to me, "Describe yourself." I'd say I'm a Jewish woman.

One Egyptian-Canadian candidate stated:

I was shocked the first time I participated in the research because I didn't know what group I belonged to. I am not coloured, but if I tell you that I am African-Canadian the only way that you will know that I am different is from my accent. I didn't know where I belonged. I had a problem.

This is just one of the critiques directed to racial identity development models. It is argued that it constructs race as an objective condition.

Omi and Winant (1993: 6) discuss why this is problematic and how the geography of race is becoming more complex with the increasing processes of globalization. They assert:

Many people don't fit anywhere. Into what categories should we place Arab Americans, for example? Brazilians? South Asians? Such a list could be extended almost indefinitely. Objectivism treatment, lacking a critique of the constructed character of racial meanings, also clashes with experiential dimensions of the issue.

Another common issue raised by candidates in relation to the racial identity development model was the confusion and difficulty with the prescribed stages of development as outlined in Helms' model. Many candidates commented on the difficulties they had identifying themselves with any one stage; some even argued that they could relate to all of the stages of this instrument:

I didn't really like it. It was kind of hard to get myself into any category.

I had a difficult time placing myself on this.

I really don't feel I fit anywhere on it.

I just checked off what I checked off just to almost please everybody.

As mentioned earlier in this report, the stages tended to homogenize racial groups and did not adequately reflect the diversity of differences both within and between racial groupings. There is a tendency in this model towards essentialization of various groups and communities. This is problematic on two grounds:

1. The groups and communities are treated as stable and homogeneous entities. "Racial groups such as "Asians," "Latinos," or "Blacks" are therefore discussed as though members of these groups possessed some innate and

invariant set of characteristics that set them apart from each other and from "Whites." (McCarthy and Crichlow, 1993, xviii)

2. Racial inequality is perceived only as a result of stable and objective notion of race; the articulation of race with other important issues such as gender, social class and issues of sexuality remains unexamined. As McCarthy and Crichlow (1993) argue, this approach to racial inequality ignores the fact that the experiences of minority women and girls are substantially different from their male counterparts (xix).

We caution to any future researchers who intend to use Helms' model of racial identity development to be aware of these limitations.

The second instrument used in this research, "Discovering Diversity Profile" (DDP), also had some serious limitations. This instrument primarily focused on individuals accessing knowledge, understanding, and acceptance and moving towards a greater understanding of diversity issues through a self-designed growth plan. The limitations of this instrument are the result of it being conceptually influenced by a multicultural perspective and a psychological model of change. The focus on knowledge, skills and understanding seems too descriptive and it perpetuates the multicultural understanding that more knowledge of diverse cultures will bring greater understanding and ultimately solve the problem of racial inequality in education. This instrument, we believe, reinforced the idea of ethnic essentialism and like the Helms' racial identity development, it perceived racial groups as homogeneous, undifferentiated and stable. Candidates mostly perceived that in order to grow and become more competent to deal with an increasingly diverse student population, they have to go out and find out more about other cultures. Furthermore, these instruments did not provide a space that enabled candidates to interrogate the institutional and social context within which racial inequality operates. There was little discussion of power relations and its every day working at the school level, as well as little focus on critical thinking which should be the focus of a more progressive and empowering education.

The third instrument, the "Teacher Candidate Survey: Responses to Multicultural and Antiracist Education," may have driven respondents to select "ideal" or most desirable answers that reflected them in the best light as professionals in training. Discrepancies between survey responses and those of more in-depth interview probes often revealed disingenuous responses on survey questions. This pattern was also very evident in researching veteran teachers (Solomon & Levine-Rasky,1994). In addition, we feel strongly that any serious antiracism work in teacher education should pay attention and look for ways to include "Whites" and racial minorities in the discussion of racial oppression. It was observed and discussed in the interviews with candidates that there was a widespread "White defensiveness" among White candidates and increasing polarization among participants based on their racial and ethnic backgrounds. The challenge ahead is to look for sound strategies which may work with both groups for a better understanding of systemic racism and to overcome the unproductive "White defensiveness."

As Roman (1993) suggests:

> *If White students and educators are to become empowered critical analysts of their/our own claims to know the privileged world in which their racial interests function, then such privileges and injustices they reap for others would necessarily become the objects of analyses of structural racism. This would allow White students and educators, for example, to move from White defensiveness and appropriative speech to*

stances in which we/they take effective responsibility and action for "disinvesting" in racial privilege (p. 84).

RECOMMENDATIONS

Recommendations for Teacher Educators

1. **Selection of teacher candidates**

    Teacher education institutions should develop better approaches to screen out applicants with entrenched racial attitudes and behaviours that are potentially damaging to racialized minorities in education. The research has shown that one year of teacher education does not change significantly attitudes that could perpetuate racism in schools and society. In addition, teacher education as currently structured, does not sufficiently interrogate race and racism, and consequently, does not significantly impact candidates' racial attitudes and behaviours. Selection process and personnel must be critically reviewed.

2. **Selection of teacher educators**

    What are the credentials of those who guide the development of teachers for diversity, equity and social justice? Those engaged in the teacher education enterprise must have a critical appreciation of what it means to educate for equity and diversity, and can engage in critical reflective practice. They must be able to operate on a clear understanding of antiracism and how this pedagogy relates to other forms of pedagogical and socio-political movements that deconstruct inequities based on ethnicity, gender, sexual orientation, social class, disabilities, and others. In addition to theoretical considerations, selection of teacher educators must also be based on their ability to collaborate with team members in implementing a program with a strong social justice theme. Such commitment is key since teacher candidates have the potential to exploit cracks in personnel differences and the organizational structure of programs.

3. **Programmatic interventions**

    Teacher education program restructuring is key to advancing an antiracism pedagogy. Any such initiative must consider the following:

    (a) *Theory-practice continuity*

    Candidates need to build a strong theoretical and conceptual base for successful implementation in field-based practicum. From the findings of the study it became apparent that candidates lack of theoretical grounding in antiracism pedagogy led to the implementation of the less critical, celebratory and harmonious multiculturalism. Candidates revealed a superficial understanding of antiracism pedagogy. It is therefore recommended that candidates spend most of the initial stages of their program understanding theory and gradually move to field-based practice.

    Beyond theory, candidates must be provided with practical suggestions, resources and guidance on how to integrate antiracism pedagogy into regular classroom practice. Practicum evaluation matrixes might be used to

make candidates accountable for integrating equity and diversity issues into the curriculum.

(b) Integrate the study of race, racism, antiracism into the mainstream teacher education scholarship.
Foundations of education courses should include a history of racialized minority groups in Canada to correct the popular beliefs that personal and institutional racism began with the post-World War II immigration of peoples from Africa, Asia and Central and South America. Then utilize those minorities who experience racism in their everyday lives to convey to dominant group candidates the debilitating effect of racial oppression (excerpts of candidates of colour voices from this study would be quite telling). Learning about race and racism is made more permanent when candidates' cognitive and affective domains are engaged.

(c) Integrate the study of candidates' racial identities in the process of learning to teach and teaching.
Candidates' critical reflection on their own racial identity development will provide them with sharper lenses through which to view the racialized world of students and their parents. This study revealed the tendency of White Candidates toward "racelessness" and the belief that "race doesn't matter." There was a serious lack of awareness of "White privilege" and "racial oppression." This placed such candidates at a disadvantage in developing useful information processing strategies for their interaction with the "racial other." Teacher education must therefore engage its candidates in a critical analysis of their racial identities and their potential impact on the teaching-learning process in multiracial classrooms.

(d) *Make provision for safe spaces for candidates to explore race and other unpopular things*. Candidates enter teacher education with expectations and develop individual and group needs as the program unfolds. The structural arrangements of the dyad system provide the opportunity for positive interdependent growth across the racial divide. Programs must also structure in safe places for candidates to explore difficult knowledge without fear of censorship. Here, candidates must be given space and analytic tools to disassemble popular misconceptions about social difference, and build instead, more equitable structures for the study of race, ethnicity, social class, gender, sexual orientation, disabilities, religion, etc.

4. The selection and development of practicum environment and personnel

Candidates have come to see field-based practicum as the most important dimension of learning to teach. Teacher educators reinforce this belief by placing candidates in the field for over 60 percent of their program. This study reveals the need for extensive work in the selection of practicum sites and the professional development of their personnel. Candidates describe the culture of some sites as extremely conservative, hierarchical in their power structure, and preoccupied with provincial academic standards to the detriment of equity and diversity issues. The "hidden curriculum" of these schools reinforces a formal curriculum that rejects the exploration of such issues as schooling and marginalization. These are sites where learning materials and lesson plans that deal with sensitive issues of race are censored. The International Day for the Elimination of Racism (March 21st) is not acknowledged, and Black History Month is critiqued for favouring Blacks. "Why not White History Month?" is often asked. There are serious discontinuities from progressive theorizing in teacher education lecture-room to practicum classrooms. What develops in the classrooms is what Menter (1989) terms "teaching practice stasis": a strong tendency for those involved in the practicum enterprise to avoid conflict and confrontation. Teacher candidates, host teachers and the practicum supervisors "seek to

minimize, counteract or negate any influence or innovation which might upset the stability of the triad" (p. 40). To transcend "stasis" teacher educators need to develop criteria for the selection of practicum schools and the supervisory personnel within them. Schools must have: a proven track record for integrating equity and diversity issues into the formal and informal curriculum; enlightened leadership, and host teachers who are:

- committed to critical approaches to teaching and learning; and
- willing to engage in ongoing professional development by joining a "community of learners" with teacher candidates and teacher educators. Models of this progressive approach to teacher development are well documented in the teacher education literature (Cochran-Smith & Lytle, 1993; Norquay, 1996). School site meetings provide participants with learning opportunities on a variety of themes, using a variety of strategies for inquiry (e.g., case studies, literature study, journals [individual and collaborative], critical discussions and collaborative analysis of classroom data.

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

Teacher education must locate the struggle for race equity and social justice within the larger context of social, political and economic structures that marginalize racialized groups. Teacher education must necessarily move beyond the walls of the school to engage marginalized groups in the schooling process. An example of such an initiative would be to seek the involvement of racial minority parents in school councils. This community outreach would necessitate candidates identifying ethno-racial groups that are under-represented on school councils and providing them with the necessary civic awareness and political skills to become active participants in their children's schooling. Teacher educators must be aware of the potential resistance of schools to what they may perceive as the politicization of schooling, and be prepared to support candidates in this endeavour.

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DISCOVERING DIVERSITY PROFILE

Name _____

CATEGORIES	LEVEL		
1. Knowledge The extent to which an individual possesses information about others from diverse backgrounds and cultures			
a. Stereotypes	1	2	3
b. Information	1	2	3
2. Understanding The extent to which an individual comprehends how others feel and why they behave as they do.			
a. Awareness	1	2	3
b. Empathy	1	2	3
3. Acceptance The extent to which an individual respects and values diverse characteristics and behaviors of others.			
a. Tolerance	1	2	3
b. Respect	1	2	3
4. Behavior The extent to which an individual is able to interact effectively with others different from herself/himself.			
a. Self-awareness	1	2	3
b. Interpersonal Skills	1	2	3

Adapted from Carlson Learning Company (1994)

Personal Development Plan

Name: _____

White Racial Identity Ego Statuses and
Information-Processing Strategies (IPS)

1. *Contact Status*: satisfaction with racial status quo, obliviousness to racism and one's participation in it. If racial factors influence life decisions, they do so in a simplistic fashion. IPS: Obliviousness.

- Lack of awareness of cultural and institutional racism, and of one's own White privilege
- Naïve curiosity about or fear of people of colour based on stereotypes learned from family, friends, and media.

2. *Disintegration Status*: disorientation and anxiety provoked by unresolvable racial moral dilemmas that force one to choose between own-group loyalty and humanism. May be stymied by life situations that arouse racial dilemmas. IPS: Suppression and ambivalence.

- New understanding of cultural and institutional racism
- Ignorance is replaced by the discomfort of guilt, shame & sometimes anger at the recognition of one's own advantage by maintaining a racist system
- Attempts to reduce discomfort include denial (fault of the victim), withdrawal, or trying to make others aware.

3. *Reintegration Status*: idealization of one's socioracial group, denigration and intolerance for other groups. Racial factors may strongly influence life decisions. IPS: Selective perception and negative out-group distortion.

- Societal pressure to accept the status quo creates the desire to be accepted by one's own racial group
- Fear and anger are directed toward people of colour who are now blamed as the source of discomfort
- Easy to become stuck at this stage particularly if not in contact with people of colour.

4. *Pseudoindependence Status*: intellectualized commitment to one's own socioracial group and deceptive tolerance of other groups. May make life decisions to "help" other racial groups. IPS: Reshaping reality and selective perception.

- Abandoning beliefs in White superiority, but may still behave in ways that unintentionally perpetuate the system
- Try to deny own Whiteness through active affiliation with people of colour
- Alienation: a) from Whites who have not examined their own racism
- Alienation: b) from people of colour who are suspicious of motives.

5. *Immersion/Emersion Status*: search for an understanding of the personal meaning of racism and the way by which one benefits and a redefinition of whiteness. Life choices may incorporate racial activism. IPS: Hypervigilance and reshaping.

- The White individual seeks to replace racially related myths and stereotypes with accurate information about what it means and has meant to be White
- Learning about Whites who have been antiracist allies to people of colour.

6. *Autonomy Status*: informed positive socioracial-group commitment, use of internal standards for self-definition, capacity to relinquish the privileges of racism. May avoid life options that require participation in racial oppression. IPS: Flexibility and complexity.

- The internalization of a newly defined sense of oneself as White
- Confronting racism
- Racial self-actualization
- An ongoing process-continually open to new information and new ways of thinking.

_____

NOTE: Descriptions of racial identity statuses are adapted from Helms (1995).

APPENDIX C

Name: _____

People of Colour Racial Identity Ego Statuses and
Information-Processing Strategies (IPS)

_____

1. *Conformity (Pre-Encounter) Status*: external self-definition that implies devaluing of own group and allegiance to White standards of merit. Probably is oblivious to socioracial groups' sociopolitical histories. IPS: Selective perception and obliviousness to socioracial concerns.

- Absorbed beliefs and values of the dominant white culture (White is right, colour is wrong")
- Distance self from other people of colour.

2. *Dissonance (Encounter) Status*: ambivalence and confusion concerning own socioracial group commitment and ambivalent socioracial self-definition. May be ambivalent about life decisions. IPS: Repression of anxiety-provoking racial information.

- Acknowledge the impact of racism in one's life (e.g. social rejection by White friends)
- Realization that Whites will not view him/her as equal.

3. *Immersion/Emersion Status*: idealization of one's group and denigration of that which is perceived as White. Use of own-group external standard to self-define, and own-group commitment and loyalty is valued. May make life decisions for the benefit of the group. IPS: Hypervigilance toward racial stimuli and dichotomous thinking.

- Develop an affirmed sense of self through self-exploration of one's racial identity
- Desire to surround oneself with visible symbols and explore own history and culture while avoiding symbols of Whiteness
- A tendency to denigrate White people, simultaneously glorifying people of colour
- Easy to become stuck at this stage.

4. *Internalization Status*: positive commitment to one's own socioracial group. Internally defined racial attributes, and capacity to assess and respond objectively to members of the dominant group. Can make life decisions by assessing and integrating socioracial group requirements and self-assessment. IPS: Flexibility and analytic thinking.

- Secure in one's own sense of racial identity: "pro-colour attitudes become more expansive, open, and less defensive"
- Willing to establish meaningful relationships with Whites who acknowledge and are respectful of his/her self-definition
- Ready to build coalitions with other oppressed groups.

5. *Integrative Awareness Status*: capacity to value one's own collective identities as well as empathize and collaborate with members of other oppressed groups. Life decisions may be motivated by globally humanistic self-expression. IPS: Flexibility and complexity.

- Positive sense of racial identity
- Translate personal sense of Blackness into a plan of action or a general sense of commitment
- Proactively perceive and transcend race in place of mistaking people of colour as the universe itself

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NOTE: Descriptions of racial identity statuses are adapted from Helms (1995).

TEACHER CANDIDATE SURVEY

RESPONSES TO MULTICULTURAL AND ANTI-RACIST EDUCATION

Racial and ethnocultural diversity is a challenging reality within the Canadian educational system. This survey seeks teacher candidates' perspectives on multicultural (MCE) and anti-racist education (ARE) policy and practice in schools and classrooms, particularly regarding the extent of their acceptance. *Teacher candidate perspectives in these areas are essential in the development and improvement of teacher pre-service educational programs.*

Respondents are requested to circle the number most closely corresponding to their views for each statement that follows.

The categories of choice are:

1	2	3	4	5
Agree Strongly	Agree	Ambivalent	Disagree	Disagree Strongly

General Information:

Sex: M   F

Heritage/Ethnicity (e.g. Italian-Canadian): _____

Grade levels preparing to teach: _____

Subject/s preparing to teach (if applicable): _____

1	2	3	4	5
Agree Strongly	**Agree**	**Ambivalent**	**Disagree**	**Disagree Strongly**

1. The goal of multicultural education (MCE) is to encourage respect for a diversity of cultural traditions.　　1　2　3　4　5

2. The goal of multicultural education (MCE) is to include diverse cultural norms, values and traditions as part of the mainstream curriculum.　　1　2　3　4　5

3. The goal of anti-racist education (ARE) is to change individual behaviours and attitudes that reinforce racism.　　1　2　3　4　5

4. The goal of anti-racist education (ARE) is to change institutional policies and practices that perpetuate racism.　　1　2　3　4　5

5. MCE is necessary only in schools in which there is great racial/ethnic diversity.　　1　2　3　4　5

6. I provide ways for students of diverse racial and ethnic groups to connect their lives and personal experiences to classroom topics.　　1　2　3　4　5

7. MCE and ARE policies are too expensive to implement.　　1　2　3　4　5

8. Classroom experience is more crucial than pre-service training in gaining an understanding of racial/ethnic diversity.　　1　2　3　4　5

9. I have the competence to teach from an MCE perspective.　　1　2　3　4　5

10. The term "anti-racism" should be replaced because it is negative.　　1　2　3　4　5

11. It is important to ensure that school symbols, songs, decorations, logos and celebrations reflect the racial/ethnic diversity of the school population.　　1　2　3　4　5

12. ARE lowers the quality of education.　　1　2　3　4　5

13. I encourage input from parents even when I anticipate that disagreement is possible in my interactions with them.　　1　2　3　4　5

14. My approach to MCE will be to enrich my curriculum with units about racially/ethnically diverse groups.　　1　2　3　4　5

1	2	3	4	5
Agree Strongly	Agree	Ambivalent	Disagree	Disagree Strongly

15. It is important to ensure that teachers involve parents or guardians from racial/ethnic minority groups in school-related activities and the life of the classroom.		1 2 3 4 5
16. ARE should be integrated into all subjects.		1 2 3 4 5
17. Assessment procedures should emphasize the evaluation of students' general performance, interests and teacher observations, rather than single test scores.		1 2 3 4 5
18. The school system functions successfully as it is; there is no need for MCE nor ARE.		1 2 3 4 5
19. MCE and ARE do not address the realities of school life such as classroom management.		1 2 3 4 5
20. A teacher is powerless in influencing the way that Board policies on MCE or ARE are implemented in his/her school.		1 2 3 4 5
21. Pre-service training is achieving its goal of providing awareness, knowledge and skills to work effectively in MCE and ARE.		1 2 3 4 5
22. It is important to empower students to become activists in working for social justice in their school and community.		1 2 3 4 5
23. Student commitment to education varies across racial/ethnic groups.		1 2 3 4 5
24. Faculties of education in their pre-service programs should take more responsibility for changing teacher behaviours and attitudes that reinforce racism.		1 2 3 4 5
25. MCE and ARE policies should require the teaching force to reflect the race and ethnic diversity of the community it serves.		1 2 3 4 5
26. I have the competence to teach from an ARE perspective.		1 2 3 4 5
27. ARE elicits issues that are too sensitive for the classroom.		1 2 3 4 5
28. Multiculturalism and anti-racism alienate the dominant (white) groups in society.		1 2 3 4 5

1 Agree Strongly	2 Agree	3 Ambivalent	4 Disagree	5 Disagree Strongly

29. ARE over-emphasizes student differences at the expense of their similarities.	1 2 3 4 5
30. I believe it is important to integrate into the curriculum a variety of resources which are multicultural and multiracial.	1 2 3 4 5
31. I will teach that racial and ethnic diversity in the classroom is desirable.	1 2 3 4 5
32. Faculties of education should prepare their pre-service and in-service teachers to change institutional policies and practices which are discriminatory.	1 2 3 4 5
33. MCE and ARE school reforms are a threat to job security and seniority rights.	1 2 3 4 5
34. Resistance to MCE and ARE policies is evident among my colleagues.	1 2 3 4 5
35. MCE and ARE are just another fashionable curriculum initiative.	1 2 3 4 5
36. Christmas celebrations are threatened by other cultural traditions.	1 2 3 4 5
37. Students of racial/ethnic minority groups need literacy and numeracy skills more than they need MCE and ARE.	1 2 3 4 5
38. I believe some students are given limited educational opportunity because of their race/ethnicity.	1 2 3 4 5
39. MCE and ARE usually result in "reverse discrimination."	1 2 3 4 5
40. I am "colour-blind" when it comes to working with students of diverse racial groups.	1 2 3 4 5
41. It is important to me to receive recognition from administration if I carry out MCE and ARE practices.	1 2 3 4 5
42. MCE lowers the quality of education.	1 2 3 4 5

4

Responses to Multicultural and Anti-Racist Education Survey by R. P. Solomon ©1993

	1 Agree Strongly	2 Agree	3 Ambivalent	4 Disagree	5 Disagree Strongly

43. Faculties of education should be doing more to prepare pre-service and in-service teachers for the realities of racial/ethnic diversity in the classroom.	1 2 3 4 5
44. Resistance to MCE and ARE practices is evident among my colleagues.	1 2 3 4 5
45. Racism is not evident at my practicum schools.	1 2 3 4 5
46. ARE is necessary only in schools in which there is great racial/ethnic diversity.	1 2 3 4 5
47. There is nothing to gain by distinguishing ARE from MCE.	1 2 3 4 5
48. MCE and ARE in-service training should be mandatory in school Boards.	1 2 3 4 5
49. ARE strengthens Canada.	1 2 3 4 5

Is there any additional information you would like to add?

_____

_____

_____

_____

5

Interview Guide

<u>Racial Identity Development</u>

1. Tell me about your racial identity and what it is like to belong to your racial group in Canadian society.

2. What are your early memories or awareness of racial difference? How have these shaped your present understanding of racial difference?

3. How much exposure or interaction have you had over the years with people from other racial groups? Elaborate on the nature of your interactions.

4. Why do you think it is important for teachers to be aware of their own racial identity?

5. In what ways may teachers' racial identity impact their work in racially diverse classrooms, schools and communities?

6. What is your position on "colourblindness" in schools and society?

7. How widespread do you think racism is in Canadian schools? What are some of your personal experiences with racism? If you have no personal experiences, what have you witnessed or heard from friends/family?

8. What is your understanding of antiracism? What do you think antiracism is supposed to accomplish?

9. As a teacher candidate, what awareness, knowledge and skills do you think you need to function competently in a racially diverse school environment?

10. From the needs assessment materials you have worked with so far, what has emerged as the most important way you need to grow personally and professionally?

Thank you very much.

Observation Guide: Generic

Name: _____ Interviewer: _____
School: _____ Date: _____
Grade: _____
Subject: _____

Categories	Out-standing	Evident	Not Evident	Comments
1. Inclusive curriculum content				
2. Inclusive instructional strategies				
3. Use of inclusive language				
4. Grouping of students				
5. Interactions with students				
6. Interactions with dyad partner				
7. Cross-race interactions with other TCs				
8. Interactions with HTs and APs				
Additional Categories				
9.				
10.				

Follow-up and additional comments:

_____
_____
_____
_____
_____
_____
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_____
_____
_____

APPENDIX G

Observation Guide: Individualized

Name: _____   Interviewer: _____
School: _____   Date: _____
Grade: _____
Subject: _____

Categories	Out-standin	Evident	Not Evident	Comments
1.				
2.				
3.				
4.				
5.				
6.				
7.				
8.				

Follow-up and additional comments:

_____
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