

**What Happened to Antiracist Education?
The 1993 Antiracism and Ethnocultural Equity Educational Reform
in
Ontario School Boards**

Douglas Tateishi

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Abstract

This research uses an antiracism theoretical framework, arising from Stanley's (2011, 2014) anti-essentialist antiracism and Dei's (1996) anti-racism praxis, to focus on the four documents that comprised the Ontario Ministry of Education's 1993 Antiracism and Ethnocultural Equity initiative (the initiative). The initiative required school boards to develop and implement policies to identify and eliminate racisms within their systems and schools. I used a methodology of constructivist grounded theory to trace the origins and content of the initiative through the lens of my 44-years of lived experience, during which I was a teacher, principal, superintendent, associate director of education, and ministry education officer.

This thesis poses the overarching question: What happened to antiracism and ethnocultural equity? I find that although the initiative was a genuine antiracism project, it was destined to fail due to certain deficiencies. I conclude it had two critical deficiencies. First, it did not consider the four discrete cultures located in school boards (made up of supervisory officers, trustees, principals and teachers). Second, it did not provide these cultures with suitable pressures and supports to generate the individual and organizational changes envisioned.

Finally I consider what the Ministry would need to do for such an antiracism reform to succeed? I argue systemic policy reform must be based on what I call strategic antiracist education. It would provide the members of the culture of supervisory officers with the necessary knowledge, authority, resources and supports, including professional development, to enable them to lead the members of the other school cultures in antiracist educational reform.

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Chapter One

Introduction

Racism is real in Ontario classrooms. I have encountered racism as both a student and an educator. These experiences motivated me to take action against the systemic and individual racisms that I confronted. For the past 25 years I have self-identified as an antiracist educator. My interest and dedication to antiracist education has led me to work in a variety of positions in three Ontario school boards: special assignment teacher, principal, superintendent, and associate director of education. In addition, the expertise and profile I developed in antiracist education prompted the Ministry of Education to second me to work on equity policy at Queen's Park and subsequently to hire me as an education officer in the Ottawa Regional office. Thus, I have acquired a unique perspective from which to review antiracist education policy development and implementation. In particular, I bring both an insider and outsider point of view to this analysis, having worked within the bureaucracy at the Ministry of Education as well as out in the field at schools and boards in three districts of the Ontario public school system. My involvement with antiracist education began with the launch of the Ministry's ambitious 1993 antiracism and ethnocultural equity policy reforms. They included requirements for developing comprehensive school board policies and implementation plans.

In this thesis I examine the 1993 reforms to determine whether they comprised a genuine antiracist project, based on antiracism theory, as well as whether they were designed to successfully stimulate and facilitate the necessary system-wide changes to school board policies, programs and practices. My research examines how the Ministry

of Education could have better exercised its authority to provide suitable context, content and processes for such school board policy development and implementation and, thereby, better achieved the desired antiracist educational reform in school boards. This analysis highlights the intricacy of the organization and operations of school boards and schools, along with the challenges involved in significantly changing individual and systemic knowledge and practices. Despite the complexity and difficulty of successfully implementing such educational reform, it remains imperative to do so, as Indigenous and racialized minority students are experiencing racisms, exclusions, and negative consequences in the school system today, just as they were at the time of the 1993 reforms, and just as I did almost 60 years ago starting in my first week of school and continuing thereafter.

I began school in Nova Scotia in 1961 on the Shearwater naval base. During my first outdoor recess I formed my first school memory of being racially different. A group of older students approached me on the playground to ask what I was. I responded with my name, which only encouraged them to continue asking the same question. In retrospect, I believe they were curious about my identity and ethnicity because very few people looked like me in Nova Scotia in the 1960s. Three years later, at another school in Nova Scotia, a classmate brought in a newspaper article about the races of the world. My teacher, in leading the class' discussion of the article, used me as an example of the "mongoloid" race. During the six decades I have spent in schools and education I was identified by others, due to my physical appearance, as Chinese, Japanese, mongoloid, yellow, oriental, Asian, east Asian, southeast Asian, visible minority, person of colour, racial minority, model minority, and Japanese-Canadian. Along with these labels, came

various expectations, biases and perceptions about my culture, ethnicity, language, family, intellect, interests, hobbies, diet, behaviours, academic and career aspirations. Inevitably, my experiences with race and racializations in schools influenced my own teaching practices as I attempted to provide what I recognize now, having considered Stanley's (2011, 2014) anti-essentialist antiracism framework, were deracialized inclusions for all the students in my classroom. As my career progressed, I was continually confronted with the realization that certain children were being racialized and treated differently and, thus, were experiencing the consequences of racism. I concluded that the practice of antiracist education had the greatest potential to identify and eliminate the various expressions of individual and systemic racism in schools. Although I was unaware of it at the time, I was transforming into Dei's (1996) conception of an antiracist educator, which he described in his theory of anti-racism praxis as a teacher who is "a theorist and practitioner for social change" (p. 26). My commitment to antiracist education theory and practice influenced my career path and in my Ph.D. research it prompted the following question: What happened to antiracist education?

Although the focus of this research is on the practice of antiracist education, a praxis of antiracism provides the basis for my theoretical framework. "The development of a theoretical framework underlying anti-racism," as Henry and Tator (2010) suggest, "focuses on an integrative and critical approach to the examination of the discourses of race and racism and an analysis of the systems of differential and unequal treatment" (p. 30). I find that Henry and Tator support Dei's theory of anti-racism praxis, which is especially relevant to my theoretical framework as it connects antiracism theory to the practice of antiracist education.

Dei (1996) contends that for an anti-racist educator “theory and political practice are inseparable” (p. 127), which reflects my professional journey. The way that Dei connects antiracism theory to educational reform, institutional change, race and racializations in schools is also important to this study:

Anti-racism education may be defined as an action-oriented strategy for institutional, systemic change to address racism and the interlocking systems of social oppression. Anti-racism is a critical discourse of race and racism in society and of the continuing racializing of social groups for differential and unequal treatment. (p. 25)

My experiences, first as a student and then as a teacher, confirm Dei’s (1996) contention that the exclusions and inclusions constructed by racializations are systematic: “Through the process of racializing society, social groups are,” as he makes clear, “distinguished and subjected to differential and unequal treatment on the basis of supposedly biological, phenotypical and cultural characteristics” (p. 25).

Stanley’s (2011, 2014) framework of anti-essentialist antiracism expands upon the concept of racializations by contending they are continually being recreated and re-enacted. I draw on Stanley’s framework to develop the antiracism theoretical framework employed in this research and connect it to my personal and professional experiences.

The framework proposes that racisms exist in the plural; that all racisms involve racialization, exclusion and consequences; and that the conditions for racism point to antiracist strategies or challenging racialization, fostering deracialized inclusions and mitigating consequences. (Stanley, 2014, p. 4)

Over my 44-year career as an educator in Ontario I have found that Indigenous and racialized minority students routinely face individual and institutional racism in school board policies, programs and practices. At the same time, I have become convinced that the theory and practice of antiracist education based on anti-racism praxis and anti-essentialist antiracism could reform Ontario education and identify and eliminate racism in school boards.

Since the early 1990s, my educational career has been connected to antiracist education. I worked on the Ontario government's two major reforms to combat racism in schools, first in 1993 and later in 2009. The first of these two reforms was the Ontario government's most comprehensive and promising policy commitment to antiracist education. Despite the Ministry's commitment to antiracist education, as our history here in Ontario illustrates, the 1993 reforms did not result in the elimination of individual and systemic racism in school board policies, programs in practices.

On July 13, 1993, the Ministry acknowledged for the first time in a policy directive issued to school boards that Indigenous, racial and ethnocultural minority students experience racism in schools. *Policy Program Memorandum No. 119: Development and Implementation of School Board Policies on Antiracism and Ethnocultural Equity (PPM #119)* (Ontario Ministry of Education/OMOE, 1993a) required school boards to develop and implement ethnocultural and antiracism policies to identify and eliminate racist policies, procedures, practices and behaviours in their schools. A legislative amendment (*Education Amendment Act (Education Authorities and the Minister's Powers)*, 1992, Statutes of Ontario 1992, c. 16, s. 2), referred to as the *Education Amendment Act 1992*, provided the Minister of Education with the legislated

authority to require boards to develop and implement equity and antiracism policies and to issue the *PPM #119* directive. The Ministry initially introduced the idea of antiracism and ethnocultural equity in 1992 in the curriculum resource document titled *Changing Perspectives - A Resource Guide for Antiracist and Ethnocultural-Equity Education (Changing Perspectives)* (Ontario Ministry of Education/OMOE, 1992). Subsequently, the Ministry released its fully developed conceptualization of antiracism in *Antiracism and Ethnocultural Equity in School Boards: Guidelines for Policy Development and Implementation, 1993 (Guidelines)* (Ontario Ministry of Education/OMOE, 1993b). These three Ministry documents, along with the *Education Amendment Act 1992*, articulated the Ministry's conceptualization of antiracism and ethnocultural equity, which I refer to in this study as the initiative.

My introduction to antiracist education occurred after I was hired as the antiracism and ethnocultural equity special assignment teacher in 1993 for the Carleton Board of Education in Ottawa. At the time I was an advocate and practitioner of multicultural education. Soon I learned, however, that antiracist education was a more effective way to identify and address the individual and systemic inequities and barriers that racialized students confront in Ontario schools. As the Carleton Board's antiracism special assignment teacher, I was responsible for developing and implementing an antiracism policy in consultation with the community. Concurrently, I became an executive member of the Antiracist and Multicultural Education Network of Ontario (AMENO). A few years later after the 1995 election, the Harris-led Conservative government dissolved the Ministry's Antiracism Secretariat and the Ministry no longer required school boards to develop and implement antiracism and ethnocultural equity

policies. Although my position in the Carleton Board changed, I continued to promote antiracist education as a school principal, as superintendent of schools, and later as an associate director of education. In 2007, I left my position as the Associate Director of the Simcoe County District School Board for a secondment with the Ministry to work on matters of equity for the Literacy and Numeracy Secretariat. Within months, I was asked to work on a new project, which would become the Ministry's second major policy reform targeted at combatting systemic racism within the public school system. Kathleen Wynne, who then was the Minister of Education (later to become Premier), appointed co-chairs Avis Glaze and Karen Mock to lead this equity policy reform project.

In 2009 Minister Wynne led changes to revise the legislative authority created in 1992, which had required boards to develop and implement ethnocultural equity and antiracism policies. The changes required boards to develop and implement equity and inclusive education policies, which were later outlined in *Realizing the Promise of Diversity: Ontario's Equity and Inclusive Education Strategy (Strategy)* (Ontario Ministry of Education/OMOE, 2009a). The *Strategy* responded to the ongoing “[r]acism, religious intolerance, homophobia, and gender-based violence ... in our communities and – unfortunately – in our schools” (OMOE, 2009a, p. 7). To support the *Strategy*, *PPM #119* was revised and released on June 24, 2009, as *Policy/Program Memorandum No. 119: Developing and Implementing Equity and Inclusive Education Policies in Ontario (PPM #119, 2009)* (Ontario Ministry of Education/OMOE, 2009b). It outlined and updated the Ministry's expectations regarding the development and implementation of equity and inclusive education policies and programs for school boards. The revised *PPM #119, 2009*, substituted the term “equity and inclusive education policies” for

“ethnocultural equity and antiracism policy” which was the language initially used in the *Education Amendment Act 1992*. The Ministry stated *PPM #119, 2009* was broadening the scope of the 1993 *PPM #119*, to include all prohibited grounds of discrimination under the Ontario *Human Rights Code*, while maintaining its commitment to antiracism. It noted the 2009 “memorandum fully supports and expands on the principles of antiracism and ethnocultural equity that were outlined in No. 119 (1993), and does not reflect a weakened or reduced commitment to antiracism or ethnocultural equity” (OMOE, 2009b, p. 3). Despite asserting a continuing commitment to antiracist education, the significantly expanded scope of the *Strategy*, which required school boards to address all prohibited grounds of discrimination including homophobia and transphobia, meant less focus and fewer resources would be available for the issues of racism confronting Indigenous and racialized minority students.

I was part of the small team formed in 2008 to realize the vision and direction of the Minister in the *Strategy*. The team was comprised of co-chairs Avis Glaze and Karen Mock, Trevor Ludski, a retired Toronto District School Board (TDSB) equity superintendent, and me. We all had extensive histories in antiracist education. We worked hard within short timelines on the project, which culminated in the release of the *Strategy*, including surveying the province on the status of antiracist education and other related equity policies and initiatives still in force in school boards. In retrospect, although we organized focus groups to obtain input, ideally more time and effort should have been devoted to considering the lessons learned from the 1993 initiative. Personally, I was so busy meeting tight deadlines that only after receiving a copy of the *Strategy* was I able to notice that some of the deficiencies of the 1993 initiative had been

replicated in the *Strategy*. I now realize and regret the lost opportunity to identify and bring forward these issues at the time of policy development.

Our small team transformed into the Ministry's Equity and Inclusive Education and Parent Engagement Branch, which subsequently launched the *Strategy* in 2009. Prior to its release, I retired from my school board role and ended my secondment to the Ministry. I returned to Ottawa and assumed a position as an education officer with the Ottawa Field Services Branch of the Ministry. In this role I became the Field Services lead for the Inclusive Education Branch and worked to implement the *Strategy* with school boards across the province, particularly the nine district equity superintendent leads who were responsible for implementing the *Strategy* in Eastern Ontario school boards. I used my school board experience to continue to work on the *Strategy* and assist in its implementation. I observed, despite school boards' commitment to the tenets of the *Strategy*, its expanded scope forced them to make difficult decisions about policy and training priorities. I saw, firsthand, school boards concurrently developing new board policies on gender identity while designing training and allocating limited resources to address all forms of discrimination.

As Portelli and Koneeny (2018) argue, successful implementation of “inclusive education” policies and the necessary changes in reforming teaching practice to achieve inclusion are problematic because inclusivity has multiple meanings and adding to this complexity is the fact this term is routinely employed as “a panacea for all issues related to equity and inclusivity” (p. 134). When antiracist education was placed under the broad umbrella of inclusive education, with its expansive interpretations and ambitious mandate, it was lost to this new context rather than invigorated. It was not able to receive

the same attention as part of inclusive education under the 2009 *Strategy* that it had under the 1993 antiracism initiative. Rezai-Rashti, Segeren and Martino (2017) also took issue with the expanded inclusive focus of the 2009 *Strategy*. “Rather than focusing on racial and ethnocultural minorities,” as these authors make clear, “the Ministry draws upon notions of *inclusivity* of many different identity groups. These particular groups of students become the formal policy targets of the equity policy” (p. 165).

A short time after my return to Ottawa I began my Ph.D. studies. Simultaneously, through my Field Services’ duties and my studies, I confirmed the 1993 initiative was better suited than the *Strategy* to address the societal and institutional racisms confronting Indigenous and other racialized students. In 2016 Charles Pascal, who was the Deputy Minister of Education responsible for the 1993 antiracism initiative, expressed a similar view: “Ontario was on its way to a major generational change to education equity.... Since then, nothing significant, nothing with the depth of purpose has come close to this 1993 framework for change” (Pascal, 2016, para. 14). My past professional experiences, and current studies, led me to ask the following research question: **What happened to antiracist education?**

In response to this overarching research question, I seek to address the following four complementary research questions:

1. **Was the 1993 antiracism and ethnocultural equity initiative a genuine antiracist education project?**
2. **Where did the 1993 initiative come from?**
3. **Why did the 1993 initiative not succeed?**
4. **What would need to change for the 1993 initiative to succeed?**

Using antiracism as my theoretical framework, specifically antiracism praxis focusing on combining antiracist theory and practice, the study employs a grounded theory methodology to analyse the text of the initiative's documents. By doing so I determine how the Ontario Ministry of Education (the Ministry) conceptualized antiracist education in the documents of the 1993 initiative and answer the first complementary question. For example Stanley's (2011, 2014) anti-essentialist antiracism framework contends that antiracist strategies are required to address the racisms that are continually being recreated and re-enacted in Ontario schools and Dei's (1996) anti-racism praxis asserts that antiracist education and anti-racist educators are necessary to address the institutional and systemic racisms facing racialized students in Ontario schools. My analysis of how antiracist education was conceptualized in key government documents of the 1970s to the early 1990s assists in answering the second complementary question of where the initiative came from. An analysis of whether the initiative was a genuine antiracist project (i.e., consistent with antiracist education theory) assists in responding to the third and fourth complementary research questions, as it influences the discussion of why the initiative was not successful (question 3) and how it could be revised to succeed (question four). The analyses of the first three complementary questions inform the discussion of question four in proposing the context, text, and consequences (plans of action) for achieving antiracist education reform in school boards.

My personal and professional experiences with race, racism and antiracism are major components of this study. Two noteworthy experiences, which I recount next, can situate my personal perspective in this research.

I identify as a student, a teacher, a Japanese-Canadian, and a lifelong learner. My journey in the education system began fifty-eight years ago. My first recollection of being a student of different ethnicity goes back to the day before I started school. My father sat me down for a brief but memorable conversation. He said, “You will be starting school tomorrow. You must remember to be good and work hard otherwise people will think that Japanese people are bad and not very smart.” I nodded my head in acknowledgement and the lesson was complete. The next evening at dinner I proudly reported to my father that I had been good at school. I had not cried like many of the other children when their mothers left.

My father and mother along with their families were interned during the Second World War. I believe this traumatic exclusion prompted my parents to encourage me to assimilate in Canadian society. Before I was born my mother surveyed her Halifax friends on an appropriate name for a Nova Scotian boy. Douglas Ross was suggested. Despite being given a good Scottish name, I was teased at school. Asians were rare in Nova Scotia in the late 1950s and early 1960s. Yet some of my classmates had seen Hollywood war movies, so they taunted me about being a “Jap”. I remember one teacher instructed another child not to call me a Jap, explaining that I should be referred to as Japanese. The taunts didn’t bother me a great deal because I knew I wasn’t like the Japs in the movies. I despised those Hollywood depictions and mentally catalogued the many ways they were different from people in my family. Another lesson I learned early as a student of different ethnicity was that being a Japanese student was preferable to being Indigenous or Black in Nova Scotia. This was because inside and outside of the schools I attended there existed what might be called a social and racialized hierarchy. The

children identified with these latter groups received much harsher treatment in school and on the playground than I did. Race and racism were connected to my family long before I entered my first classroom and carried on throughout my public school experiences. Such racializations, as Portelli and Campbell-Stephens (2009) confirm, continue to happen with “minoritized” students. “[P]art of the hidden curriculum of the current system that we have,” as they remind us, “is the deficit stereotyping that happens of certain communities and the children of those communities” (p. 41).

A second noteworthy experience took place many years later. In 1995, I had a conversation at Logan airport in Boston with Ron Coleman, the principal of curriculum for the Carleton Board of Education, and Enid Lee, an antiracist educator.. We had been at Harvard’s Lesley College in Cambridge to present on the process of developing antiracism and ethnocultural equity policy in collaboration with the community. Enid Lee asked my colleague how many visible minority principals were in our board and how many would there be in the near future. Ron Coleman answered “none” and added that he wasn’t sure it would change in the near future. She then asked him whether I could be the first visible minority principal in the board. He said I could be, but he knew I didn’t want to be one. She turned to me for an explanation and I added that my board didn’t need more male principals. She suggested I should reconsider because for some reason my ethnicity was “palatable” to my board. She also said, “For some reason they seem to be open to conferring this privilege on you, so what are you going to do with this ‘power’?” Within 18 months I had acquired my qualifications to be a school principal. My first appointment to the role was at a school within the “Chinatown” catchment area of Ottawa. As a new principal I completed my supervisory officer training under the

mentorship of Avis Glaze. Six years after the airport conversation with Lee and Coleman, I accepted an appointment as a superintendent in the York Region District School Board. I initially applied to this advertised school board position because of that board's leadership and commitment to antiracist education. After working in York Region, I subsequently became the Associate Director of the Simcoe County District School Board. In 2008, while I was working for the Simcoe County Board, Avis Glaze, then Chief Education Officer of Ontario, invited me to join her at the Ministry of Education to collaborate on equity policy matters.

My personal and professional educational experiences -- as a student, a classroom teacher, antiracist consultant, school principal, superintendent, associate director, secondee to the Ministry of Education, and finally a Field Services education officer -- all inform my theoretical and analytical perspectives in this thesis. Consequently, I will draw on this lived experience, existing antiracist literature, and my conceptual framework to review how the Ministry of Education identified the problem of racism in schools, articulated the dimensions and manifestations of the problem, and used the Minister's powers under the *Education Act* (Revised Statutes of Ontario 1990, c. E.2, as amended Statutes of Ontario 1991, Vol. 2, c. 10 and 15, Statutes of Ontario 1992, c. 15, ss. 85-89 and c.16) to require school boards to develop comprehensive antiracism and ethnocultural equity policies and plans to address it. Moreover, this study includes an analysis of the four key documents leading up to and comprising the 1993 initiative. In particular, Chapters Five and Six trace how the Ministry developed a conceptualization of antiracism and ethnocultural equity and examines how the four key documents are consistent with my theoretical framework, which takes up four key premises of antiracist

education. I describe these theoretical premises in Chapter Three and explain the methods I used to establish their formulation, including how I derived them from my review of literature, the four key documents of the initiative, and lived experience. The development of my theory of the four premises of antiracist education began with, Stanley's (2011, 2014) framework for racisms and antiracisms. Stanley proposes the three conditions of racisms include: racializations; the organization of racializations into exclusions; and significant consequences for those racialized and excluded. In his framework, Stanley provides two other associated perspectives. One perspective is that racisms are multiple and include the previously mentioned conditions of racism. The other perspective is that just as there are racisms, there are anti-racisms that can also be applied to the conditions of racisms. "If racisms racialize, anti-racisms trouble racializations. If racisms organize racialized exclusions, anti-racisms promote deracialized exclusions. If racisms have negative consequences, anti-racisms try to mitigate these consequences" (Stanley, 2011, p. 14). I formulate my theory of strategic antiracist education, ultimately, using the four premises of antiracist education, which are set out in Chapter Three, Figure 3.1.

The study shows that the 1993 initiative effectively provided a compelling rationale for and gave urgency to antiracism and ethnocultural equity, appropriately identified both systemic and individual manifestations of racism in schools and school boards, and ambitiously required a wide scope of policies for development and extensive implementation plans for identifying and eliminating racisms in schools. On the other hand, significant deficiencies in the text and process provided to school boards compromised, from inception, the potential for the initiative to succeed. Although the

change in Ontario government in 1995, from New Democratic under Premier Bob Rae to Conservative under Premier Mike Harris, in effect ended the initiative, it already was destined to fail. The most significant omissions I found in the initiative derived from the Ministry's failure to provide the appropriate pressures and necessary supports to enable the initiative to succeed. Most notably, the initiative could not initiate and motivate individual and organizational change in school boards because it did not address the ethos embedded in the cultures of educators who work in school boards and how they operate. I contend that school boards actually are comprised of four different cultures, each one with discrete membership, norms, and traditions. The initiative should have strategically targeted each of these cultures with pressures and supports to prompt the necessary individual change in their members' knowledge, attitudes and practices and the associated systemic changes in policies, programs and procedures.

I conclude that for an antiracist education initiative to produce educational reform, it has to strategically engage the members of the discrete cultures of school boards by connecting the problem of individual and systemic racism to their own knowledge and practices. Once racism is found to be excluding students and creating negative consequences for them in a board, then the board's cultures are motivated to consider strategic antiracist education for identifying and eliminating this racism and to design strategic antiracist education policies suited to their local needs. The Ministry has to provide boards with strategic, compelling and effective pressures, as well as the necessary supports, such as training, funding and leadership, for them to implement an antiracism policy. As well, boards have to conduct comprehensive and ongoing analysis to ensure antiracist education is effectively engaging the cultures of school boards and

changing individual knowledge and systemic practices in support of the necessary educational reform. My study, thus, not only explains what happened to antiracist education but also highlights what should inform future efforts to successfully achieve antiracist educational reforms in Ontario school boards.

Progression of the Study from Chapters Two to Nine

Chapter Two, “Literature Review and Conceptual Framework,” presents the academic literature that underpinned this research project and the antiracism theoretical framework that organized the study. The literature review is organized under the following themes instrumental in developing my knowledge and in providing a theoretical foundation for the research: race and racism; antiracism and antiracist education in Ontario; educational policy in Ontario; analysis of educational policy in Ontario; policy implementation in school boards; and the organization of the public school system of Ontario. The literature review leads me to develop an antiracism theoretical foundation for my research and builds my knowledge to respond to the research questions. The conceptual framework describes and outlines how I organized and constructed my study.

Chapter Three, “Methodology and Methods” outlines my rationale for the selection of antiracism as a theoretical framework and grounded theory as the methodology to guide the research. The selected methods, including document analysis, historical analysis, my framework of policy analysis, and the grounded theory methods of coding and memo writing, observations and interviews, are used to develop my theories to answer the four complementary research questions. The four theories I develop and

explain in this chapter are: strategic antiracist education; three phases of government policy on race and antiracism; the four cultures of school boards; and a framework of educational reform.

Chapter Four, “The Development of Government Policy on Racism and Antiracism,” traces the policy phases that led up to the 1993 initiative. I apply a combination of antiracism historical document analysis, my framework for policy analysis, and my grounded theory of the four premises of strategic antiracist education mainly to provincial policies but also to one key federal report to identify the sources of the conceptualization of strategic antiracist education in the initiative. The analysis traces the development of the context and text that comprised the initiative through three discrete policy phases in Ontario, beginning with multiculturalism, moving into race relations and culminating with antiracism and ethnocultural equity. I apply my grounded theory of strategic antiracist education and the grounded theory methods of coding and theoretical sampling, supported by my framework for policy analysis to the context, text and consequences of the identified policies. This analysis leads me to develop my grounded theory of the three phases of government policy on racism and antiracism and to answer the second complementary research question, which asked where the initiative came from.

Chapter Five, “The Ministry’s Conceptualization of Antiracism and Ethnocultural Equity in School Boards,” examines how the Ministry introduced the initiative and its expectations to school boards. I use the grounded theory methods of coding, theoretical sampling supported by my framework for policy analysis and my grounded theory of the four premises of strategic antiracist education to analyze the context, text and

consequences of the *Education Amendment Act 1992, Changing Perspectives* and *PPM #119*. This policy analysis confirms the 1993 conceptualization of antiracist and ethnocultural equity education to be a genuine antiracist education project, which begins to respond to the first complementary research question.

Chapter Six, “The Ministry’s Guidelines for School Boards to Implement Antiracism and Ethnocultural Equity Policies and Implementation Plans,” considers how the *Guidelines* clarified the Ministry’s expectations for school boards. I apply the grounded theory methods of coding, memo-writing and theoretical sampling supported by my framework for policy analysis to analyze the context, text, and consequences of the *Guidelines*, which was the most comprehensive document of the initiative. This analysis advances my theory of the four premises of antiracist education and confirms the *Guidelines* were the fullest expression of the components and expectations of the initiative. It shows that the text significantly expands the conceptualization of antiracist education of the initiative to an expression of strategic antiracist education. Consequently, this analysis fully answers the first complementary research question and completes my formulation of premise four by adding a clearly strategic character as an essential component of a genuine antiracist education project.

Chapter Seven, “The Cultures of School Boards and Why the Initiative Did Not Achieve Real Change,” focuses on how the initiative was designed to prompt and sustain organizational and individual change in school boards. By applying the grounded theory methods of coding, selective coding, and memo-writing, supported by my framework for policy analysis and my own lived experience, I identify deficiencies in the context, text and consequences of these documents. My analysis leads to the development of a

grounded theory hypothesis that a fundamental flaw in the initiative was the Ministry's failure to address how school boards are organized and how they operate. Applying this hypothesis to the documents, I find the consequence is the Ministry was unable to initiate and to effectively and strategically prompt both the necessary organizational change and individual change in school boards. By adding antiracism as a qualitative ethnographic methodology, in particular my observations and professional experiences, to supplement the developing grounded theory, I identify the most critical flaw in the initiative: the Ministry did not separately acknowledge and address the four cultures of school boards, which each have their own history, traditions and operating norms. As a result, it did not engage them as effectively and strategically as possible. Therefore, using grounded theory and antiracism as an ethnographic methodology, I develop and apply my theory of the four cultures of school boards to answer the third complementary research question, which asked why the 1993 initiative had not succeeded.

Chapter Eight, "Prompting Change in School Boards," focuses on what the initiative could have done to prompt and support all the school board cultures to successfully identify and eliminate racism in schools and to implement strategic antiracist education. Applying my grounded theories of strategic antiracist education and the four cultures of school boards, in combination with my own experiences and observations using antiracism as a qualitative ethnographic methodology, I develop my framework of educational reform in school boards, that is, how organizational and individual change is best facilitated in school board cultures. This theory leads me to consider how the language, concepts, tenets and strategies of the initiative could have been refined to respect the organization and operations of school boards and to facilitate organizational

and individual change more effectively among the four cultures of boards. I thereby answer the fourth complementary question, which asked what would be needed for the initiative to achieve its vision and succeed.

Chapter Nine, “Final Observations,” revisits my grounded theories and relies on my lived experience to recall observations, conversations and interviews from when I worked in the four cultures of school boards and with the Ministry of Education. My purpose is to consider how the initiative could be revitalized to adopt a more strategic antiracist education model, that is, to have more tactical pressures and more pragmatic supports so it could more effectively achieve the organizational and individual changes essential to identify and eliminate racism in policies, procedures, programs, practices and behaviours and to reform the knowledge and practices of the four discrete cultures of school boards in Ontario. In this final chapter, I focus on the fourth complementary research question and present my vision of the most effective pathway to ensure the success of strategic antiracist education in Ontario school boards in the future.

Chapter Two

Literature Review and Conceptual Framework

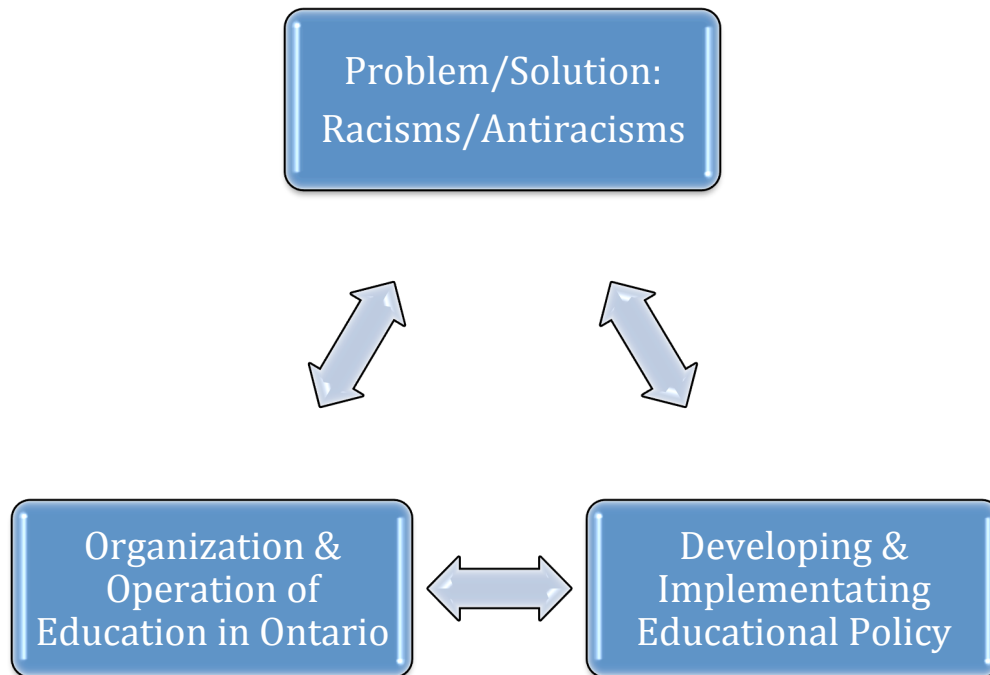
My review of the academic literature in this chapter was instrumental in developing my antiracism theoretical framework and ensuring knowledge to design the research to respond to my research questions. It is organized according to the following five themes: (1) race and racism; (2) antiracism and antiracist education in Ontario; (3) education policy in Ontario; (4) policy implementation in school boards; and (5) the organization and operations of the public school system in Ontario. I have arranged the five themes in an order that mirrors the progression in my thinking and allows for discussion of the concepts underlying my conceptual framework.

Conceptual Framework

The conceptual framework outlines how I organized and constructed my study of antiracist education policy development and implementation in Ontario. The three components of my conceptual framework represented in Figure 2.1 correspond with how the Ministry traditionally promotes reform in school board policies, programs and practices. In my experience, in school boards and the Ministry policy reforms: (1) are initiated by the identification of a problem with a suggested solution; (2) are followed by a requirement for the development and implementation of a policy to address the problem; and (3) culminate in reforming the organization and operations of schools in accordance with the new policy. The conceptual framework in Figure 2.1 represents these three components and they correspond to the themes of the literature review as follows: the first one, Problem/Solution: Racisms/Antiracism, embodies the first two themes of the literature reviewed (race and racism; antiracism and antiracist education); the second

one, Developing and Implementing Educational Policy, captures the third and fourth themes (educational policy in Ontario; policy implementation in school boards); and the third one, Organization and Operation of Education in Ontario is derived from the fifth theme (the organization and operations of the public school system).

Figure 2.1. **Conceptual Framework for Strategic Antiracist Education**



Part one of my conceptual framework and the corresponding literature provide context to the problem of racism in Ontario schools and develop the antiracism theoretical framework guiding the research. Part two and the corresponding literature develop a rationale for using a grounded theory methodology and methods for exploring and analyzing antiracist education policy development and implementation in Ontario schools, including the complex relationship between school boards and the Ministry of Education. Part three and the associated literature consider the legislated, professional and practical roles and responsibilities of the Ministry and school boards and their

respective opportunities and challenges in promoting and implementing individual and organizational changes in educational reforms like antiracist education. The five themes of the literature review advanced my knowledge and assisted me in developing the antiracism theoretical framework, establishing the constructivist grounded theory methodology, rationalizing the framework for policy analysis, and proposing the grounded theory methods for exploring, analyzing the developing theories on the development and implementation of policy and individual and organizational change in Ontario school boards.

Race and Racism

Under the first theme, race and racism, I examined three areas: race and racializations; racisms as systems; and racisms in the Canadian context. In my readings, I started by believing that race is not biologically real but came to recognize that both socially defined races and racism are real and exist in society and in its institutions, including schools.

Race and racializations.

Scientific explanations were advanced in the West to establish the idea of race and prove its existence. Banton (2009) reported the theories of race were organized around specific phases. The first was “race as descent” which noted, “since the differences between Europeans, Africans and Asians were repeated in successive generations they must have had separate ancestors” (Banton, 2009, p. 57). The second phase “race as type” is linked to Linnaeus’ 18th century classification system and the work of Cuvier who divided human beings into “three main subspecies (which he called

racess): Caucasian, Mongolian and Ethiopian, which were further subdivided” (Banton, 2009, p. 60). Banton attributed the third phase “race as subspecies” to Darwin who proposed that species “adapted to their environment by natural selection, so that people of one racial type who migrated to a new habitat would there undergo change” (Banton, 2009, p. 61). According to Banton, Darwin’s science invalidated “race as type.” Banton also found, however, that race was still important to Europeans in the nineteenth century. For example, as Banton illustrated, it was used to rationalize “the success of the European powers sprang from the qualities inherent in the white race, or races, and these promised continuing European supremacy” (p. 62).

Barzun’s 1937 publication *Race a Study in Superstition* proposed “race-thinking” was a concept not based on facts. Moreover, it did not have a satisfactory definition. Instead it was a superstition based on “vulgar errors,” which were renewed in the histories of countries like France and Germany where it was charged with hatred and hypocrisy (Barzun, 1937/1965, 2nd ed., p. 219). He found the history of conflict in Europe was connected to a false belief in the inherent superiority of one group over another.

Arendt (1944) built upon Barzun’s race-thinking as a superstition. She proposed race-thinking was not a German invention rather it was created and developed in all Western countries in the 19th century and later became an ideology employed as the major political weapon of the 20th century. She argued that race-thinking was used to prompt the ideological division that led to civil war in France, whereas in Germany it was used to unite people against a perceived domination of foreigners.

Benedict (1943) claimed race was not a superstition but rather an “ism” of the

modern world (p. 97). Benedict found the history of racism was based on political dogma that claimed the congenital inferiority of one group and the congenital superiority of another, which was never supported by science. She believed education was needed to combat racial persecution, which always was connected to racism (p. 162). She warned that the United States had to learn from the history of racism in Europe to keep the same thing from happening in America (p. 164).

In 1949 after the experience of the Second World War, the United Nations (UN) took on the concept of race, bringing together anthropologists, psychologists and sociologists to develop a statement on race. The United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization (UNESCO) published *The Race Concept*, which presented 15 points that included: “all men living today belong to a single species”; there is no evidence of pure races; and the term race was used incorrectly to define cultural, national, linguistic, religious and geographic groups” (UNESCO, 1952, pp. 11-15). UNESCO (1952) recommended using the term ethnic groups instead of race because of the historically egregious uses of the term race. The goal of the UN statement was to lead a campaign against “the pseudo-scientific race conceptions which have been used as excuses for many injustices and even shocking crimes” (p. 18).

Montagu (1964) contributed to the UNESCO statement that opposed using the term race. He noted anthropologists no longer accepted the idea of the superiority or inferiority of races (p. xi) and biologists were beginning to refute the biological concepts of race (p. xi). Montagu concluded conceptions of race were artificial and did not agree with the facts and, therefore, he advised, as did the statement on race, that the term race be replaced with the term ethnic groups (p. 26).

Despite repeated scientific, anthropological and sociological evidence refuting the existence of the concept of race, the recent history of Europe and the Americas was characterized by racism including Banton's (2009) "race as descent" whereby the "white European race" benefited from power and privilege over "African and Asian races" (pp. 56-57).

Racisms as systems.

The review of literature on race provided me with a deeper understanding of how race was conceptualized and constructed to provide power and privilege to those of white European ancestry in western societies through faulty biological, anthropological and sociological science. The literature around racism helped me to better understand where racism comes from and how it is expressed in Western society and led me to consider racism as systems. Writing on "Race and Racism" in Back and Solomos (2009), Todorov noted that racism generally concerns two different but not necessarily linked concepts. One is a matter of behavior, most often expressed as hatred or contempt for those individuals who are identified with different physical characteristics. The other is a matter of ideology, a doctrine concerning human races, which he refers to as racialism (Todorov, 2009, p. 68). He proposed that racism is an ancient behavior that historically has been observed worldwide. Racialism on the other hand, he said is a Western European ideology that developed in the mid-eighteenth century to the mid-twentieth century. He stated "where racialism rejoins racism: the theory is put into practice" (p. 71). The resulting racialist doctrine proposes: the existence of races; races look and act differently; a hierarchy of races; and a rationale for empowering superior and

subordinating inferior races (p. 71).

Foucault (2004 version) in his 1975 lectures at the Collège de France proposed that racism has two primary functions. The first one was to fragment the groups within a population through biopower (biological control as political power) by creating a hierarchy where some races are described as better than others. The second was to create a relationship, not based on war or confrontation but a biological-type relationship, so that “the death of the bad race, of the inferior race (or the degenerate, or the abnormal) is something that will make life in general healthier: healthier and purer” (p. 255). Foucault did not necessarily mean death in a literal sense but the exercising of biopower over the inferior subspecies (p. 256).

Hall (2007) declared that discourse is implicated in power because it produces knowledge through language. “Discourses are ways of talking, thinking, or representing a particular subject or topic. They produce meaningful knowledge about that subject” (Hall, 2007, p. 58). The knowledge discourse produced then provides power over those who are “known”: “When the knowledge is exercised in practice, those who are ‘known’ will be subject (i.e. subjected) to it” (p. 58). He used the example of discursive knowledge to explain how Europeans represented the differences between themselves and the others they encountered when they colonized the New World. Hall (2007) referred to Said’s 1979 discourse on Orientalism as an example of how European culture produced this discourse to understand the Middle East as surrogate and inferior cultures (p. 58). Hall’s interpretation provided a historical explanation of how the power, practices and perceptions of the European West were projected on others and informed the knowledge and “the languages of racial inferiority and ethnic superiority which still

operate so powerfully across the globe today” (Hall, 2007, p. 60).

Hannaford (1996) used historical methodology to provide a history of the idea of race that did not accept the history of Western thought as a history of racial thought. Hannaford asserted that race and racialization were modern inventions as he observed: “it was not until after the French and American Revolutions and the social upheavals which followed that the idea of race was fully conceptualized and became deeply embedded in our understandings and explanations of the world” (p. 6). He maintained race was not everywhere and opposed the 1952 UNESCO statement on race because this approach had “outlived its purpose” (p. 397).

Like Hannaford, Back and Solomos (2009) in “Introduction: Theories of race and racism” recounted the debate around race relations but they provided a wide range of proposals to respond to the racism that was prevalent in the West and throughout its institutions (pp. 1-30). Back and Solomos (2009) noted the similarity of Dubois’ assertion “the problem of the twentieth century is the problem of colour” and Hall’s observation that “the capacity to live with difference is, in my view, the coming question of the twenty-first century” (p. 4). Back and Solomos’ (2009) book, *Theories of Race and Racism: A Reader*, is an edited collection of works, including the authors Hall, Goldberg, Banton, Bhabba, Gilroy, and Winant, which provided me with a balanced overview of scholarship related to race and racism. These works helped to develop my conceptualization of racializations and their effects on those racialized, which I employed in this study.

Bonilla-Silva (2010) proposed that color-blind racism, which had emerged in America in the 1960s as a new racial ideology with a new racial structure, was the “new

racism” (p. 16). He introduced three key terms to explain this idea: social reality, racial structures, and racial ideology. Social reality was the notion that race was socially constructed but it had a social reality that produced real effects on those who are racialized. Racial structure referred to a racialized social system that awarded privileges to Europeans over non-Europeans, which they benefited from as the dominant race and which confirmed their existence. Racial ideology referred to the frameworks that justified and explained the domination of one group and subordinated others by maintaining the status quo.

Graves (2015) claimed that colour-blind racism is an ideology that permits members of the dominant socially constructed White-European race to deny the existence of racism because the idea of biological races had been dispelled (p. 1474). Graves noted, however, being members of socially constructed races has consequences. His observation led me to refine my contention that race is not biologically real and to consider his idea that socially defined races are real with specific membership implications, predominantly exclusions and negative consequences for some and power and privilege for others.

Omi and Winant (1994) introduced their theory of racial formation in the context of politics and the history of the United States from the 1960s to 1990s. Their theory of racial formation proposed a sociohistorical process in which racial meaning and categories were created, inhabited, transformed and destroyed. Their theory of racial formation shows that race is used to rationalize and justify how American society is organized. It helped form my conception of racialization that I further developed through Miles, Goldberg and Stanley. Omi and Winant recounted the context from which modern

racial politics emerged and the role of the state in racial formation. They concluded the United States had not transformed from the 1960s to the 1990s into a colour-blind society but rather a colour-conscious society.

Miles and Brown (2003) held racism was an ideology that represents human beings and social relations in a distorted way. This ideology was created historically and was interdependent with the ideology of nationalism. Racism was characterized by a process of racialization that presumed a plurality of races, which were produced in a context of inequality and based on relations of domination and subordination. Racism, therefore, “must be represented as inducing negative consequences for (an)other group(s)” (Miles and Brown, 2003, p. 104). Miles and Brown theorized that the content of racism “should be expected to change temporally and contextually” (p. 170), which allowed it to be reconstituted in new contexts. They also connected it to exclusions: “Racism and related exclusionary practices have their own specificity and give rise to particular, exclusive experiences. But the material consequence or outcome, the face of exclusion, may be shared with others” (p. 171). This work certainly built on the idea of racisms as systems, which Bonilla-Silva, Graves, Omi and Winant suggested in describing how racism, in practices and ideology, efficiently transforms to maintain the power and privilege for some while producing racializations, exclusions and negative consequences for others.

Goldberg (1993) contributed to the idea of race as a set of conceptions and racisms as sets of conditions building on my concept of racializations by connecting racisms to exclusions. Goldberg discussed racists as those who ascribe racial characteristics to others who are different from them. Racist institutions were those

whose principles prompted and perpetuated racist beliefs and acts. Racisms involved patterns of prompting exclusions or actually excluding others for being members of different racial groups, which Goldberg summarized as: “racism excludes racially defined others, or promotes, or secures, or sustains such exclusion” (p. 101). Goldberg found that “Racist exclusions have tended severely to restrict the opportunities of the excluded from developing their potentials fully” (p. 232) and concluded “the history of exclusions is tied in inextricable ways to the emergence of and transformations in racialized discourse, to the changes in use and meanings of ‘race’ ” (p. 209). Specifically, with respect to race, Goldberg said, “Race has fashioned and continues to mold personal and social identity, the bounds of who one is and can be, of where one chooses to be or is placed, what social and private spaces one can dare not enter or penetrate” (p. 206).

All this literature helped me to understand and appreciate racism as a system inherent to North American society, which systematically racializes and excludes those who are members of, as Graves contended, “socially defined races”. The literature consistently confirmed these members of socially defined races were racialized, excluded, and suffered negative consequences while those who were members of the socially defined White European race were provided with privilege and power. The system of racism was structured to allow it to be redefined and re-invented to maintain social, political and economic advantages for members of the socially defined dominant race. I recognized this system in my own education and my observations as both a student and educator of Indigenous and racial minority students in schools.

All the previous literature formed my understanding of racializations and exclusions in European and North American societies and in schools. However, it was

Miles and Brown and Goldberg, in particular, whose conceptions of racialized exclusions and their associated negative consequences, as well as Stanley (2011, 2014) who builds on them with his anti-essentialist antiracism framework, that connected the most with my research and my antiracism theoretical framework. Stanley's anti-essentialist antiracism framework contends there are multiple forms of racisms with no fixed essences but they all involve three conditions: racialization, exclusion and consequence. He contends that using this framework for analyzing racisms can identify opportunities for developing antiracist strategies to eliminate them. Stanley's anti-essentialist antiracism framework also provides the basis for my theory of the four premises of antiracist education, which I elaborate in Chapter Three.

Racisms in the Canadian context.

The anthology of Das Gupta, et al. (2007) *Race and Racialization: Essential Readings* provided an overview, with contributions from many of the same authors in Back and Solomos (2009) speaking on race and racializations in Western societies. But this anthology provided a specifically Canadian context for racism.

I found considerable relevant Canadian literature on both individual and institutional racism in Canadian society and its institutions, which often connected or contrasted to a Canadian idea of national identity. Henry and Tator, et al. (2009) spoke of an ideology of racism in Canada that provided: "the foundation for understanding the racist attitudes and behaviours of individuals, the maintenance of racist policies and practices in Canadian institutions, and the promulgation of racist doctrines and laws by the state" (p. 108). This ideology manifested in several discourses in Canadian culture and society, including the discourse of democratic racism reflected in the dominant White

culture's control of Canadian institutions, such as schools, media, law enforcement, courts, and government, and the unwillingness of the dominant culture to acknowledge or question its beliefs, value systems, organizations, professions, powers and privileges. Another discourse, the discourse of denial, found to exist in the liberal democracy of Canada was: "a refusal to accept the reality of racism, despite the evidence of racial prejudice and discrimination in, and the effects of racism on, the lives of people of colour" (Henry and Tator, et al., 2009, p. 116). Additionally, this discourse denied that racism was systemic and present in Canadian society and its institutions. A classic Canadian discourse, the discourse of national identity, has portrayed two identities as constituting Canada: English Canada and French Canada. From its inception at Confederation this national identity discourse, however, has excluded Indigenous and "ethno-racial" minorities (p. 118). "Aboriginal and other cultures were omitted from the national discourse and thereby rendered invisible" (p. 118).

Wallis and Fleras (2009) addressed systemic racism, describing it as "racial biases so deeply embedded within institutional structures, principles, and processes that their controlling power often goes undetected except as consequences or effects" (p. 85). They concluded that in order to uncover and understand systemic patterns of exclusion in Canadian society and its institutions: "one must examine the patterns and/or 'common sense' understanding of lived experiences, and must also interrogate certain silences in society" (p. 85). Fleras (2010) distinguished, in addition, that racism has different faces in Canada: individual racism, institutional racism and ideological racism. Individual racism is expressed in three ways: as "hate racism" which is overt and explicit; "polite racism" which masks outward expressions of racism and hostility; and "subliminal

racism” which reflects “an unconscious dislike of others that cloaks its dislike behind principled statements” (p. 75). Fleras (2010) explained institutional racism includes “systematic racism” and “systemic racism” (p. 76). Systematic racism directly and deliberately excludes through institution-sanctioned practices, whereas “systemic racism” is characterized by universally applicable and seemingly neutral policies and procedures, which appear to be impersonal and unconscious but are not to those who are victimized and excluded by those with power and privilege. Ideological racism according to Fleras (2010) includes “everyday racism” occurring in unconscious language and practices, which advances dominant interests and marginalizes and renders inferior others, and “normative racism”, which perpetuates racism through prevailing norms, values, standards and beliefs (pp. 78-79).

Wallis, Sunseri and Galabuzi (2010) claimed racialization and colonialism have always been in Canadian society: “Both colonialism and racialization exist in Canada’s history and present an acknowledged continuity that defines its dominant and structural social, economic, political, and cultural orders” (p. 1). They found Indigenous and racialized immigrants both have experienced exclusions specifically constructed and reconstructed to maintain the power and privilege of White Canadians at the top of the racial hierarchy.

Francis (1997) confronted some of the myths, images and stories contributing to the national history of Canada and expressing fundamental beliefs that Canadians hold about themselves. He described a nation as a “group of people who share the same illusions about themselves” (p. 10) and observed “Canadians depend upon this habit of ‘consensual hallucination’ more than any other people” (p. 10). Francis maintained

Canada's core myths are "the property of elites who use them to reinforce the status quo and to further their claims to privilege" (p. 12). As a result, these core myths have been very effective in excluding or marginalizing those who are not part of the "master narrative" (p. 12), that is, those people who are not part of the group Francis identified as the White Euro-Canadian mainstream.

Other authors also have confronted these Canadian myths by introducing experiences beyond those of the White mainstream and, thereby, expanding the history of Canada. For example Paul (2006) identified an urgent need for First Nations people to retell First Nations' history. LaRoque (2010) held that because the "Native-White" relationship is rooted in a colonizer-colonized power relationship, which dehumanized Indigenous people, the colonizer's historical texts cannot be understood without the counterpoint of the colonized experience. Milloy (1999) provided a history of residential schools from a "non-Aboriginal" point of view because those who conceived, designed and managed the schools controlled their history. "Non-Aboriginals" developed, enacted and implemented the assimilation policies "designed to move Aboriginal communities from their 'savage' state to that of 'civilization' and thus to make in Canada but one community—a non-Aboriginal one" (p. 3). Authors, including Sunahara (1981), Stanley (2011, 2014) and Gilmour, et al. (2012) have confronted Canada's history of racism by examining Asian-Canadian experiences such as the internment of Japanese-Canadians during the Second World War and racist policies and practices Canada used against Chinese-Canadians. Authors including Brand (1991), Dei (1996, 2000), Ibrahim (2004, 2017), James, et al. (2010), and Nelson (2008) examined racism Canadians applied to African-Canadians, which included historical and contemporary incidents of anti-Black

racism. In my view a major component of the discourse of national identity in Canada is based on an understanding that the identifier of “Canadian” implies the identity of White Canadians, whereas using Graves’ (2015) terminology, Canadians who are members of “socially defined races,” are identified as “hyphenated-Canadian” and are not only socially constructed but also located in physical places in Canadian history that were shaped by race.

Razack (2002) and Nelson and Nelson (2004) also recounted the history of racism against Indigenous and racialized minority groups in Canada, confronting the myths of Canadian history and society and illustrating the troubling range of exclusions, including physical relocations. In the previously mentioned anthologies edited by Wallis and Fleras (2009), Fleras (2010), Henry and Tator, et al. (2010) and Das Gupta, et al. (2007), some authors also connected the history of Canada’s racism to exclusions and racializations based on religion, including anti-Semitism and Islamophobia.

Despite having a Canadian national identity, traditionally based on a perception that racism in North America is and has always been more of an American than Canadian problem, Canada has a history replete with individual and systemic racism. In Canada, like America and Europe, racism is systemic and our society and its institutions have been structured to allow racism to be redefined and re-invented to maintain the social, political and economic advantages bestowed on members of the socially defined White European race.

Antiracism and Antiracist Education in Ontario

Under the second theme, I examined literature addressing how antiracist education was conceptualized in Ontario educational policy and the origin of this

conceptualization of antiracism. Through my reading I was able to conclude that the 1993 initiative of the Ontario Ministry of Education acknowledged racism was real in schools, individual and systemic racism was excluding and producing negative consequences for Indigenous and racial and ethnocultural minority students, and the Ministry's policy response was a genuine antiracist education project.

Antiracism theory and practice.

Beginning this study I focused on a review of relevant antiracism theory mostly from the Ontario context, which helped me to deduce what likely formed the Ministry's conception of antiracist education and to develop a lexicon and identify themes as I conducted my textual analysis. Antiracism theory originated in Britain (Dei, 1996 & 2000; Skerrett 2008). The two major sites for antiracist education in Canada were British Columbia and Ontario (Dei 1996; Carrington & Bonnett 1997). Skerrett (2008) contended that although BC, Ontario, and the United States all began to consider antiracism in the 1970s, the United States never "fully adopted a distinct antiracist approach to education" (p. 270). She noted that some of the themes, however, were contained in multicultural or culturally responsive pedagogy and she referenced Ladson-Billings. Ladson-Billings (2009, 2011) positioned her work within critical race theory. Therefore, in addition to focusing on antiracist education in Ontario, I found it was important to trace antiracism theory internationally, as well as critical race theory, to draw their connections to antiracist education in Ontario. The research of British antiracists and British and American critical race theorists in education, as a result, also informed and contributed to my understanding of systemic racism in society and schools

(Ladson-Billings, 2011; Dixon & Rousseau, 2005, 2006; Miles, 2009; Cole, 2009; Gillborn, 2006a, 2006b, 2008, 2009; Tate IV, 2006; Taylor, 2009; Taylor, Gillborn & Ladson-Billings, 2009).

George Dei was prominent in antiracism and antiracist education in Ontario at the time of the release of the 1993 initiative. Dei's research consistently was included in my training as an antiracist consultant and educator in the 1990s. Dei (1994, 1996, 2000 & 2003) acknowledged the work in Ontario of Enid Lee and Barb Thomas. Lee (1994 & 1995) and Thomas (1984) were involved in antiracist education in Ontario and contributed to school boards' antiracist training in support of the initiative. Many of the themes, language and concepts used to describe the Ministry's conception of antiracist education in the 1993 initiative can be traced to the work of Dei, Lee and Thomas.

In addition to the strong influence of antiracism on the study, the literature I read on critical race theory, particularly Ladson-Billings (2009 & 2011) was significant in Ontario. During my tenure in the Ministry of Education I noted the emergence of culturally relevant and responsive pedagogy (CRRP). The Ontario Institute for Studies in Education (OISE), through its Centre for Urban Studies, promoted CRRP derived from critical race theory. Both the Ministry and many Ontario school boards were using CRRP to train teachers and principals to provide equitable and inclusive education in Ontario schools, which may explain partly what happened to antiracism and ethnocultural equity.

Ibrahim (2015), in the Ontario context, notes a tenet of critical race theory is that racism is an organism "that is so much absorbed and naturalised that it is not aberrant any more, at least in North America. 'It is so enmeshed in the fabric of our social order',

Ladson-Billings (1998) contends, it appears normal and natural to people in this culture” (p. 19). Ibrahim highlights the importance of scrutinizing what appears to be natural, however, warning there is nothing natural about social order and social phenomena that benefit those who naturalise the organism of racism. Most significantly Ibrahim (2015) proposes the identified racism in North American society requires a systemic response: “Our strategy is to de-skin, destratify, unmask and expose the organism (racism) in its various forms, shapes and permutations” (p. 20).

Although the literature on antiracism and critical race theory informed my understanding of antiracism theory and antiracist education, I agree with Ibrahim that educational reform strategies must draw out racisms that we as educators know are embedded in our society and specifically in our schools. My particular interest is in addressing the racisms in school boards, so I was drawn to Dei’s (1996) anti-racism praxis. Anti-racism praxis makes the crucial connection between anti-racism theory and anti-racism practice: “Theory is about knowledge production while practice is about “practical politics” (p. 127). Dei connects anti-racism praxis to educational reform: “Anti-racism, as a practice of educational change, is concerned with what education ought to, and can look like” (p. 134). This vision of education is based on Dei’s contention that antiracist educators must be both theorists and practitioners for this educational change: “the anti-racist educator must always practice what is preached and, conversely, preach what is practiced. It is important to fuse the theoretical discourse of anti-racism organizational change” (p. 26).

Another Ontario antiracist education theorist, Stanley contributed significantly to the antiracism theoretical framework of this study. Stanley’s (2011, 2014) anti-

essentialist antiracism framework builds upon Dei's (1996) concept of racializations and Miles (2003) and Goldberg's (1993) concepts of racializations and exclusions. Stanley's (2014) theory, which is also based on his teaching practice, proposes that racisms are fluid and exist in the plural: "all racisms involve racialization, exclusion and consequences; and that the conditions for racism point to antiracist strategies of challenging racialization, fostering deracialized inclusions and mitigating consequences" (p. 4).

The antiracism theoretical framework for my study therefore comes from Dei's theory of anti-racism praxis and Stanley's anti-essentialist antiracism framework, which were both developed in Ontario. They both are based on strong connections between antiracism theory and antiracist education practice and together allowed me to develop my knowledge to answer the research question: Was the 1993 antiracism and ethnocultural equity initiative a genuine antiracist education project?

Educational Policy in Ontario

Under the third theme, the selected literature allowed me to examine the history and context of antiracist education in Ontario that led to the conceptualization of antiracist education in the 1993 antiracism and ethnocultural equity initiative. This literature also helped me to determine the key policy documents that would be essential for me to answer my research question where did the 1993 initiative come from, as well as to develop the analytical process I would apply to the context, text and consequences of the initiative's documents.

Context and history of the antiracism and ethnocultural equity initiative.

In June 1995 in Ontario the Harris-led Conservatives defeated the NDP government that had identified racism as a problem. Although the Conservative campaign paid little attention to education, when the new government began to implement its “Common Sense Revolution” education became a focus (Pinto, 2012). As Gidney (1999) made clear, “Between June 1995 and the spring of 1998, the ‘Mike Harris government’ imposed changes on Ontario schools that were remarkable in scope, in the sheer speed of execution, and in the turmoil they engendered” (p. 234). Gidney also reported the orientation of the new government regarding equity policy: “The government was equally quick to jettison a decade’s worth of equity initiatives, repealing, among other things, the provisions of the Education Act designed to improve the representation of women in positions of administrative responsibility” (p. 237).

Other scholars referred to the “Common Sense Revolution” and its impact on antiracism and equity, including Harney (1996), Bedard and Lawton (2000), Rezai-Rashti (2003), McCaskell (2005) and Paquette (2001). These authors provided important historical and political context for the years when the Ministry of Education essentially ignored antiracist education, which prompted advocates to edit collections, including Dei (2003) and Smith (2010), encouraging a renewed commitment to antiracism and ethnocultural equity.

Analysis of educational policy in Ontario.

I developed my process for analyzing the policy documents, which I refer to as my framework for policy analysis, leading up to and including the 1993 initiative from

the work of Taylor, Rizvi, Lingard, and Henry (1997), Bell and Stevenson (2006), Ball (1994), and Harman (1984).

The policy analysis framework of Taylor, et al. (1997) was based on three components: context, text and consequences. Context referred to the factors that led to the development of the policy, which may have included political or sociological factors and previous policy. Text referred to the content of the policy itself. The framework recommended careful examination for the articulated messages as well as silent or unstated messages because both could be open to interpretation. The third component, consequences, considered how the policy was implemented, including differences in interpretation that can be expected. Building on the framework of Taylor, et al., Bell and Stevenson (2006) added a fourth component comprised of socio-political environment, strategic direction, organizational principles and operational practices. The latter component contributed to how I analyzed the context and consequences components.

To analyze the context of the initiative, I relied on Taylor, et al. (1997) to organize my analysis of the how the policy was developed and its policy origins. Introducing Bell and Stevenson's (2006) socio-political environment allowed me to incorporate considerations relevant to policy formation including my own lived experiences.

To analyze text, the second component of the Taylor, et al. (1997) framework, I found Ball's (1994) model of analyzing policy as text very helpful. For Ball policy as text "emphasizes the manner in which policies are presented and interpreted—in literary terms, how the policy is written and read" (p. 17). He acknowledges that the text of policies have an interpretational and representational history. I also found interpretations

of content analysis helpful in analyzing the text of the policies. For example, the qualitative content analysis of Titscher, et al. (2000) allows for categories to analyze the text consistent with a grounded theory methodological strategy and the grounded theory method of coding. In addition, I found Leavy's (2007) contention that content analysis can be employed qualitatively from a number of theoretical positions, including feminism, useful. From Leavy, I extrapolated content analysis would provide an opportunity to uncover the presence or absence of antiracism in educational policy documents. An example of broad content analysis of equity-related policies that I considered was Segeren and Kutsyurauba's (2012) *Twenty Years and Counting: An Examination of Equity and Inclusive Education Policy in Ontario (1990-2010)*. The authors of this study employed document analysis to examine over one hundred documents. The content analysis of the documents described tensions between federal and provincial governments, between the Ministry of Education and school boards, and between school boards and schools, which all affected the development of educational policy in Ontario. Based on this content analysis they concluded that: "Further research is needed to explore the content development and implementation of equity and inclusive education policies in school boards across Ontario" (p. 32).

To analyze consequences, the third component of the Taylor, et al. (1997) framework, Bell and Stevenson's (2006) conception of policy as both product and process was useful for my considering how to approach the implementation of policy. They observed that "policy as product and process is continuous and that policy is being made, and re-made, as it is being implemented" (p. 17). They also observed "the dual nature of policy as both product (a textual statement of values and principles) and process

(the power to formulate textual statements into operational practices)” (p. 160). Ball’s (2006) model of policy effects was also relevant to analyzing consequences, in particular his discussion of first and second order effects: “First order effects are changes in practice and structure... And second order effects are the impact of these changes on patterns of social access and opportunity and social justice” (p. 51).

Harman’s (1984) description of policy also informed my analysis of policy consequences in this study. Similar to Bell and Stevenson’s conception of policy as product and process, Harman distinguished between policy as statements of intent and policy representing plans of action. Harmon contended that policy is comprised of courses of action to deal with a recognized problem intended to accomplish a desired set of goals. “Policy can be thought of as a position or stance developed in response to a problem or issue of conflict and directed towards a particular objective” (p. 13).

When I apply Harman’s conception to the Ministry’s 1993 initiative, the “problem” the Ministry of Education identified was that racism was an individual and systemic issue in Ontario schools. The “objective” was the elimination of racism confronting racialized, ethnocultural and Aboriginal students. The Ministry undertook several courses of action, in Harmon’s words “positions or stances,” to deal with this problem. The first course of action was to amend the Act to require boards to develop and implement an ethnocultural equity and antiracism policy. The second was to issue direction with *PPM #119* (OMOE, 1993a). The third was to provide additional direction in the form of a curriculum resource, *Changing Perspectives* (OMOE, 1992), and the final course of action was to add specific pressure and support with the *Guidelines* (OMOE, 1993b).

Policy Implementation in School Boards

Echols and Fisher (1992) addressed the history and implementation of race relations' policies in various districts across Canada. They studied one large unnamed school board over several years, which had developed a comprehensive race relations policy focused on 19 points. They found the policy's implementation was inconsistent and more likely to be partially implemented in elementary schools than in secondary schools with diverse student populations (p. 75). Their conclusions were based on data provided in school action plans, which were the predominant assessment strategy for determining implementation at the school level. They found despite the support of district leadership, which included resources for in-service training and consultants, these pressures and support did not result in district-wide implementation. For example, in one year almost 70% of schools did not even submit action plans: "The lowest number of submissions, 28 (30.4%) occurred in 1987-1988" (Echols and Fisher, 1992, p. 65). This study confirmed, even with a school board's commitment to race relations, successful implementation depends on a strategic plan for changing behaviours and practices.

Calliste (1994) described antiracist policy development and implementation in the Halifax County-Bedford and Halifax District School Boards of Nova Scotia. These school boards had developed their policies focusing on curriculum, racial harassment, student assessment and placement, professional development, employment policies and practices, and school and community relations (p. 49). In the case of the Halifax County-Bedford school board, Calliste was not optimistic about successful implementation because rather than taking an antiracist approach, with a focus on systemic and institutional practices, they had adopted a "cross cultural understanding." Although, the

Halifax District School Board did adopt an antiracist approach, Calliste believed that its implementation also was at risk of failing due to a lack of commitment to institutional change and funding for antiracist programming.

In the Ontario context, Gonzalez (1984), who later also served as the primary consultant for the Ministry's *Guidelines*, described the development and implementation of the race relations policy for the Metropolitan Separate School Board (MSSB). MSSB, located in Toronto, was the first Ontario Catholic school board to "approve a policy aimed at combating racism"(p. 27). Development of the policy began in 1979 and the MSSB approved it in 1984. The implementation was scheduled to take place over three years, focusing on the schools, the central board office, parents, and the larger community. The project, by design, was led by the MSSB team of superintendents and included all school board staff, as well as the various groups of teachers and administrators in schools. Three stages of implementation were identified: the first was to target all groups with timelines; the second was to develop implementation teams made up of principals, teachers, and resource teachers and provide two on-site trainers and leaders at each school; and the third was to enable implementation teams in each school to develop their process to best lead the implementation in order to have "implementation rooted in each school and department" (Gonzalez, 1984, p. 28). This plan was well-conceived in that it allowed for the development of the implementation strategy and the delivery of the training to come from members of each school or department and it relied on the leadership and support of the superintendents. On the other hand, it did not identify the MSSB trustees, who had passed the policy, as a target group for ongoing training. Also, while Gonzalez (1984) described a promising policy development and

implementation plan, at the time of writing, the results of its implementation were not yet available.

McCaskell (2005) provided a comprehensive and compelling history of equity policy and its implementation in the Toronto District School Board (TDSB). McCaskell's history of equity in the TDSB began in the mid 1970s with a *Draft Report of the Subcommittee of Race Relations*, which underwent many revisions and was finally passed in 1979 and "became the Board's first race relations policy" (p. 22). While describing the history of the role of the TDSB's race relations advisors McCaskell was able to show how race relations evolved in the 1980s. The collaboration of the first advisor, Tony Souza, with antiracist educator Barb Thomas resulted in equity training programs and recommendations for systemic strategies to deal with racism in school boards (p. 66). The second advisor, Alok Mukherjee, was appointed in 1984 and was a proponent and advocate for antiracist education. He also collaborated with antiracist educator Barb Thomas. During this time McCaskell recounts the successes and challenges of making progress in the areas of equity, including the roles of TDSB educators such as Ouida Wright, Superintendent; Nora Allingham, teacher and facilitator; and Pat Case, a former trustee who became the third TDSB race relations advisor. On December 15, the TDSB's adoption of its new equity policy marked the "the climax of almost thirty years of struggle" (McCaskell, 2005, p. 272). It was titled "Commitment to Equity Policy Implementation: Anti-Racism and Ethnocultural Equity, Anti-Semitism and Gender Equity, Anti-Homophobia, Sexual Orientation and Equity, Anti-Classism and Socio-Economic Equity and Equity for Persons with Disabilities" and was released together with the "Equity Foundation Statement" (p. 271). This TDSB policy was the

most comprehensive example of an antiracism policy produced in the province, which I learned while preparing for the *Strategy* (OMOE, 2009a) because all school boards submitted their antiracism or equity policies to me for review in 2008 to assist the Ministry. The lack of comprehensive policies from most other boards can be linked, as McCaskell (2005) noted, to the election of the Harris Conservatives, which “was a catastrophe in the evolution of equity” (p. 285). When I reviewed Ontario school boards’ equity policies in 2008, it was evident the Harris government had delayed the development and implementation of antiracist education in Toronto and stopped it completely in most other boards across the province.

Dei (2003) edited a special edition of *Orbit*, entitled “Anti-Racism Practices and Inclusive Schooling”, which focused on antiracist education almost ten years after a 1994 edition of *Orbit* was published in support of the initiative. In it Dei asked what happened to antiracist education, noting that *PPM #119* was still in place although “most boards abandoned these efforts when the Tories repealed the legislation [on employment equity] in 1995” (p. 3). Keren Brathwaite (2003) provided recommendations for action. Brathwaite also underlined the fact that *PPM #119* was still in place and therefore “we need an audit of all that we lost from our agenda of antiracist and equity education. We need to reiterate our goals and provide a map for their achievement” (p. 11). Teresa Gonzalez (2003) observed how the Harris Conservative government rationalized the move from antiracist education: “the current Ontario government dismantled all the policies that existed in the area of anti-racism in the name of equality” (p. 17). She also noted, “Racism cannot be dealt with unless it is named and confronted” (p. 17).

Smith (2010) edited *Anti-racism in Education: Missing in Action*, which included

McCaskell's article "Whatever Happened to Anti-Racist Education?" proposing that the antiracist education for the 21st century must be different from the versions of the 1980s and 1990s (2010, p. 42). Agyepong (2010) considered *PPM #119* and its replacement *PPM #119, 2009*, and concluded: "like the previous one, this policy [direction] is a mere shadow of what was intended. Anti-racism and equity policies continue to suffer a deliberate setback because the school system has not found a systematic way to enforce anti-racism and equity policies" (p. 78). She also recommended reinstatement of antiracist education particularly curricular reform to address racism. "The challenges that Aboriginal, racialized and ethnic minority students face in school will be properly addressed when antiracism education is introduced, infused and reinforced at all levels of education in Ontario" (p. 79).

This literature on antiracist educational policy across Canada but particularly Ontario recounted how momentum began to develop in the mid-1980s and reached its high point in 1993 with the initiative. Its energy and impetus began to decline in the mid-1990s to a point in the early 2000s where many antiracists were asking what happened to antiracist education.

The Organization and Operations of the Public School System in Ontario

Under the fifth theme, the selected literature allowed me to examine the organization of school boards in Ontario and the relationship between school boards and the Ministry of Education through a particular policy initiative. The literature assisted me in responding to the research question of what would need to change for the 1993 initiative to succeed.

In Canada, education is a provincial government responsibility. In Ontario, the

organization of school boards and the roles of school boards and the Ministry of Education are articulated in legislation, in particular the *Education Act* and its associated regulations. My primary source of information on the governance, structure and administration of the education system in Ontario, including the powers of the Minister, the qualifications of trustees, duties of supervisory officers, principals and teachers was this legislation. Relevant aspects of this legislation are addressed later in my study. With respect to scholarly sources, Sattler's (2012) work on educational governance reform in the 1990s provided me with important context because it paralleled the time frame of *PPM #119* and provided additional insights into the changing relationship between school boards and the Ministry. Sattler found the relationship between the Ministry and school boards during the implementation of the initiative was an example of "policy tutelage," which "involves the central determination of policy goals and sets clear guidelines for implementation, but offers flexibility for school boards to adapt policies to fit local circumstances, and envisages a role for the centre in supporting local decision-makers" (p. 7). Sattler compared policy tutelage to "administrative agency", which was used to characterize the Conservative government's expectation of school boards dutifully implementing central mandates with non-compliance holding significant consequences. This history was well supported by Gidney (1999).

I first considered the term *pressure and support* in reading Michael Fullan's (2001) work on how some leaders negotiate the tensions of internal and external commitment in leading change (p. 9). In my experience, this term also aptly applies to the relationship between the Ministry and school boards, particularly in the context of policy development and implementation. Therefore, pressures and supports figure in my

textual analysis of the initiative and in the analysis of its consequences for policy development and implementation. My analysis determined whether the pressures and supports were effective, strategic, and consistent with the roles and responsibilities described in the Act. Pressures and supports, thus, were instrumental in my analysis of why the initiative had not succeeded and what would need to change for it to succeed.

Fullan's (1993, 2001) work on change as well as Hargraves and Fullan's (1991, 1998) *What's worth fighting for in schools?* and *What's worth fighting for out there?* helped develop my understanding of how change may be initiated in schools and school boards. On the other hand, Fullan's work on educational leadership did not always concur with my experiential knowledge of how school boards are organized and operate. Hargreaves' work, however, did demonstrate an understanding of teaching and schools, as he was originally a teacher. Neither Fullan nor Hargreaves was a school board administrator or supervisory officer, which I found was a limitation to their knowledge of the processes and practices of schools and school boards.

As mentioned the organization and operation of school boards as well as the roles and responsibilities of school boards and the Ministry are legislated in the *Education Act*. Consequently, the Ministry has the authority to provide pressures and supports to school boards to prompt educational reform. However this authority is only one part of the complex process required to engage and motivate school boards to develop, implement and monitor policy and large-scale educational reform.

Summary

Organizing the literature review under five main themes—(1) race and racism, (2) antiracism and antiracist education, (3) education policy in Ontario, (4) policy

implementation in school boards, and (5) the organization and operations of the public school system in Ontario—helped me develop my knowledge and the theoretical foundations for my study. Reviewing the literature on race and racism, I came to understand that socially constructed race and racism is real and exists in society and its institutions, including schools. The literature on race and racializations, racism as systems, and racisms in the Canadian context clarified the components of racism and verified their existence in Ontario schools. I found my conceptualization of racism aligns closely with Stanley's (2011, 2014) anti-essentialist antiracism framework, which contends racisms exist in the plural and all racisms involve racializations, exclusions and negative consequences. Also, Stanley (2011, 2014) proposes that conditions for racism point to antiracist strategies, which led me to the literature on antiracism and antiracist education in Ontario. Under that theme, I found Dei's (1996) anti-racist praxis most closely aligns with my lived experience. Consequently, I combined it with Stanley's anti-essentialist antiracisms to develop the antiracism theoretical framework that guided my study. Since my research centered around the policy documents comprising the initiative, my literature review also focused on educational policy in Ontario. Under this theme, I adapted the Taylor, et al. (1997) framework for policy analysis, based on considering policy in terms of context, text, and consequences, to develop my framework for analyzing the policy documents relevant to my study. I used Bell and Stevenson's (2006) conception of policy as product and process to expand my policy analysis framework to concentrate mainly on both policy development and policy implementation. This specific focus led me to examine the literature under the theme of the organization and operation of school boards, including the history of race related education policy

development in both the Canadian and Ontario context. Finally, I found the themes of the literature review also connected to my conceptual framework for strategic antiracist education (Figure 2.1), which I based on my experience of how the Ministry encourages reform in school board policies, programs and practices. Usually Ministry policy reforms have three components. They are initiated by a problem with a proposed solution (for the initiative it was racism/antiracist education). Secondly, policy development and implementation requirements follow (for the initiative it was antiracism and ethnocultural equity policy development and implementation). Finally they culminate in reforming the organization and operations of schools (for the initiative it was identification and elimination of racisms in school board policies, programs and practices). The literature under the first two themes informed my analysis of the first component (the problem) of my conceptual framework. Under the third and fourth themes, the literature contributed to my analysis of the second component (developing and implementing policy). Lastly, the literature under the fifth theme assisted my analysis of the third component (organization and operation of education in Ontario).

Chapter Three

Methodology and Methods

Methodology

Antiracism theories, specifically Stanley's (2011, 2014) anti-essentialist antiracism framework and Dei's (1996) anti-racism praxis, provide the theoretical framework that informed and influenced this qualitative research project. This antiracism theoretical framework, which combines antiracism theory with antiracist educational practice, supported the philosophical assumptions that shaped my approach to this study, generated the themes for my literature review, and guided the formulation of my research questions. It did not lead directly to my methodology, however, for examining the policy initiative's documents and responding to the research questions. Instead this theoretical framework invited me to take a journey, which I describe in this chapter, to find a suitable methodology.

I first selected several possibilities through an investigation of the various approaches of qualitative research. Applying my research questions and sources of data to those methodological approaches and their associated methods, I narrowed them down to the most promising designs by a process of elimination.

When I began this study, I thought the most appropriate approach would be an intrinsic case study (Stake, 2005, p. 445) focusing on the 1993 initiative. This approach would view the initiative as a bounded system (a case) in its specific context (Creswell, 2013, p. 97). As I proceeded, however, I found this approach would be appropriate for addressing only some of my research questions and too restrictive for the others. So I then considered the possibilities of Kincheloe's (2001, 2005) conception of the

researcher-as-bricoleur and Denzin and Lincoln's (2005) notion of "the qualitative researcher as bricoleur" (p. 4). Kincheloe's (2005) vision of bricoleurs having the freedom to employ the "methodological strategies needed in the unfolding context of the research situation" (p. 324) combined with Denzin and Lincoln's (2005) conception of the five dimensions of the bricolage (p. 4) would provide both the flexibility and structure to allow the methodology to lead me to answers for all the research questions. I found two dimensions to be particularly suitable. First, the dimension of theoretical bricoleur would provide the potential to apply antiracism as a both a theoretical framework and methodology. Second, the dimension of interpretive bricolage would allow for the synthesis of my personal and professional history, autobiography, race, class, and gender into the research. Yet, as I became more immersed in the research, I realized that I was basing my understanding and conceptualization of both antiracist education and the organization and operation of school boards on my own experiences and perceptions because I had not found them precisely articulated as theories in the existing academic literature. Since I found myself developing new theories in conducting my research, a methodology of researcher as bricoleur was no longer my best option.

In revisiting my methodological options, I considered Creswell (2013) and grounded theory: "the intent of a grounded theory study is to move beyond description and to generate or discover a theory, a 'unified theoretical explanation'" (p. 83). While I did not begin my study intending to develop a theory, as I progressed I had to draw on my extensive experience dealing with *PPM #119*, from a variety of cultural and professional perspectives, to form theories that would answer why the 1993 initiative, which I determined was a genuine antiracism project, nevertheless, had not succeeded

and what would be needed for antiracist education to succeed. I found that Charmaz (2016) captured the essence of my journey in describing constructivist grounded theory:

When a grounded theorist encounters a surprising finding while engaging in research, he or she (1) considers all conceivable theoretical ideas that could account for the finding, (2) returns to the field and gathers more data to put these ideas to test, and (3) subsequently, adopts the most plausible theoretical interpretation. Abductive reasoning arises from experience, leads to logical but creative inferences, and invokes testing these inferences with hypotheses to arrive at a plausible theoretical explanation of experience. (p. 137)

Similarly Creswell's (2013) description of a grounded theory study captured what occurred in my study:

Thus, a grounded theory study has "movement" or some action that the researcher is attempting to explainthe researcher ... seeks, in the end to develop a theory of this process or action. There are many definitions of a theory available in the literature, but, in general, a theory is an explanation of something or an understanding the researcher develops. (p. 85)

In addition, Charmaz (2011), citing Clarke's uses of constructivist grounded theory, described precisely how I applied it to the inquiry of school board organizations and cultures in my study: "researchers can use it to study organizations, social worlds, and policies beyond the individual level of analysis" (p. 169).

In deciding grounded theory is the predominant methodology for my study, I also considered Charmaz's (2017) observations in light of my research questions and my ultimate findings: "Grounded theory is a systematic method consisting of several flexible

strategies for constructing theory through analyzing qualitative data... . Most qualitative research asks ‘what’ and ‘how’ questions. Grounded theory leads to ‘why’ questions and can locate the answers in the conditions of their production” (p. 299). Furthermore, she noted “constructivist grounded theory would be useful for developing social policy/policy analysis, but it has not been used in that area much. I leave that to the third generation!” (Charmaz, 2016, p. 238)

From my reading of grounded theory, I determined that constructivist grounded theory, in particular, would give me the flexibility to introduce complementary methodologies to the research strategy, including lived experience. Charmaz and Crotty captured the potential of this methodological flexibility. Charmaz (1996) described the possibilities in constructivist grounded theory in the mid-1990s noting that “most grounded theory researchers have aimed to develop rich conceptual analyses of lived experience and social worlds instead of intending to create substantive or formal theory” (p. 48). Crotty (2011) subsequently noted:

Grounded theory can be viewed as a specific form of ethnographic inquiry that, through a series of carefully planned steps, develops theoretical ideas.

Throughout the process, it seeks to ensure that the theory emerging arises from the data and not from some other source. (p. 78)

Crotty’s connection of grounded theory to ethnography led me to Creswell (2013) who contends the focus of ethnography is “Describing and interpreting a culture-sharing group” (p. 104). The flexibility to integrate lived experience and the study of cultures into a constructivist grounded theory methodology made the strategy more attractive and

appropriate to my research. In considering other methodologies to enhance my work I returned to Stanley (2012) who proposes antiracism is more than a theory:

Anti-racism as historical methodology promises a richer reading of sources, a better understanding of context, and leads to better and more interesting questions and lines of inquiry. It should be able to play a similar role for contemporary methodologies, especially for qualitative studies including ethnographies, interviews and critical discourse analysis. (p. 326)

To sum up, employing an antiracism theoretical framework based on anti-racism praxis and an anti-essentialist antiracism framework, I found the methodology that would best suit my study was constructivist grounded theory, with its flexibility to introduce my lived experience, to formulate research questions seeking answers around not only what happened to antiracist education in Ontario education policy but also why.

Methodology and Methods

The theoretical framework, methods and grounded theories I use to structure the research and analysis of the study is summarized in Figure 3.1. This summary shows antiracism is the theoretical framework and constructivist grounded theory is the methodology. It identifies (in the second column) the grounded theory methods that I used (i.e., open and selective coding, memo-writing, theoretical sampling, and comparing theory to literature) to construct my grounded theories (in the third column) to respond to the study's four complementary research questions (in the first column). In addition, (in the third column) it identifies the frameworks that guided how I used the grounded theory methods to construct the grounded theories that I employed to answer each complementary research question and, ultimately, the main question.

Figure 3.1. **Methodology and Methods of the Study**

Theoretical Framework: Antiracism (anti-racism praxis & anti-essentialist antiracism)
 Methodology: Constructivist Grounded Theory

Research Question	Grounded Theory Methods	Construction of the Grounded Theories
1. Was the 1993 antiracism and ethnocultural equity initiative a genuine antiracist education project?	Constructivist grounded theory methods used for collecting and analyzing data to construct theory: -open coding (line by line analysis of the documents); -selective coding (constructing categories to analyze data); -memo-writing & theoretical sampling (collecting, recording and reworking data to construct theory); -comparing theory to literature (refining strategic antiracism theory by integrating my lived experience).	Antiracism as a theoretical framework, based on Stanley's anti-essentialist antiracism and Dei's anti-racist praxis, was used with my lived experiences and my framework of policy analysis, based on Taylor, et al.'s (1997) policy analysis framework, to guide the grounded theory methods for collecting and analysing the context, text and consequences of the documents of the initiative. These methods led to the construction of my theory of strategic antiracist education with its 4 premises . This grounded theory determines whether the Ministry's 1993 conceptualization of antiracism and ethnocultural equity comprised a genuine antiracist education project.
2. Where did the 1993 initiative come from?	Constructivist grounded theory methods for collecting and analyzing data to construct theory: -open and selective coding (line by line analysis to identify origins of concepts and themes in the documents); -memo-writing and theoretical sampling (constructing theory of phases); -comparing theory to literature and government policies.	Antiracism as a theoretical framework and antiracism as a historical methodology was used with my lived experiences and my framework of policy analysis to guide the grounded theory methods for collecting and analysing the context, text and consequences of the documents of the initiative to determine their policy origins. These methods traced the origins of the initiative to previous provincial and federal policies and reports that I analyzed in the same way, which led to the construction of my theory of the three phases of government policy from the 1970s to the early 1990s . This grounded theory determines where the text of the documents of the initiative came from.
3. Would the 1993 initiative have succeeded if the government had not changed?	Constructivist grounded theory methods used for collecting and analyzing data to construct theory: -open & selective coding (line by line analysis to identify pressures and supports in the documents); - theoretical sampling (applying my lived experience to construct theory of school board cultures); -comparing theory to literature (revising and testing theory through conversations with members of cultures).	Antiracism as a theoretical framework was used with my lived experiences and my framework of policy analysis to guide the grounded theory methods for collecting and analysing the context, text and consequences of the documents of the initiative. These methods focused on the pressures and supports contained in the text of the documents of the initiative and whether they would prompt organizational and individual change in school boards and led to the construction of my theory of the four cultures of school boards . This grounded theory determines whether the 1993 initiative would have succeeded if the government had not changed.
4. What does an antiracism education initiative need to be successful?	Grounded theory methods used for collecting and analyzing data to construct theory: -open & selective coding (line by line analysis to identify concepts and categories of educational reform); -theoretical sampling (applying my lived experience to construct my theory of educational reform); -comparing theory to literature (revising theory with my lived experiences with educational reforms).	Antiracism as a theoretical framework was used with my lived experiences and my framework of policy analysis to guide the grounded theory methods for collecting and analysing the context, text and consequences of the documents of the initiative. These methods focussed on whether the text of the documents of the initiative was designed to engage, motivate, monitor and sustain antiracist education in school boards and led to my theory of the framework of educational reform . This grounded theory determines what is required for successful implementation of antiracist education reform in Ontario school boards.

Next I elaborate in the context of each one of the four research questions on the grounded theory methods and methodology, summarized in Figure 3.1. above. I do so to explain how I constructed each of the grounded theories that I applied to analyse the context, text and consequences of the documents of the 1993 antiracism and ethnocultural equity initiative.

Question one: Was the 1993 antiracism and ethnocultural equity initiative a genuine antiracist education project?

I employed antiracism as a theoretical framework based on Stanley's anti-essentialist antiracism and Dei's anti-racist praxis in combination with my framework of policy analysis and my lived experience to guide the grounded theory methods for data collection and analysis. The grounded theory methods analysis led to the construction of a grounded theory for determining whether the text of the documents of the initiative constituted a genuine antiracism project consistent with my antiracism theoretical framework.

I used the grounded theory methods of coding, memo-writing, theoretical sampling and comparing theory to literature to conduct a document analysis focusing on the context, text and consequences of the four documents of the initiative. Undertaking several readings of these documents, I first analyzed the text through open coding, which allowed me to select the initiative as a process with distinct steps, developed over time. One specific example of open coding was the identification of text that signified racializations, racializations resulting in exclusions, and the negative consequences of these racializations and exclusions in school board programs and practices. I then began to organize the data into what Creswell (2013) identified as the six components of axial

coding: the central phenomenon; causal conditions; strategies; context; intervening conditions; and consequences (p. 89). The central phenomenon refers to the text and themes central to expression and the dimensions of the key issue or problem. The antiracism theoretical framework, particularly Stanley's (2011, 2014) anti-essentialist antiracism framework, was useful in reviewing the open coding categories and determining how the documents of the initiative defined and identified racism in school board policies, programs and practices as the central phenomenon. The axial coding then moved to the causal conditions, which in this case refers to conditions that influenced the central phenomenon of racism in school boards. The causal conditions uncovered the systemic and individual expressions of racializations, exclusions and the resulting negative consequences in school board policies, programs and practices limiting the potential of Indigenous and racialized and ethnocultural minority students. This led to the axial coding components of strategies, context and intervening conditions which were used to analyse both the central phenomenon of racism in school systems and how the documents of the initiative organized the antiracism and ethnocultural equity strategies for identifying and eliminating these racisms. Context also influenced these strategies. Context included historical and political influences, as well as, intervening conditions also affecting the strategies. At this phase, the antiracism theoretical framework, particularly Dei's (1996) theory of anti-racism praxis, was helpful in organizing and analysing the strategies in determining whether they reflect antiracism theory and encourage antiracist education practice. The final component of axial coding was consequences, which Creswell (2013) proposes allow for assembling and organizing the outcomes of the strategies (p. 89). This component enabled me to pinpoint, identify and

organize how the documents of the initiative were designed to monitor whether racism was being identified and eliminated in school boards. The final phase of axial coding encouraged the connecting of all the components of the axial coding into the grounded theory method of selective coding. Selective coding refers to the development of what Creswell (2013) refers to as a story line that develops from connecting the categories and proposing hypothesis to explain them.

After applying open, axial and selective coding to the documents of the initiative, I used the grounded theory method of memo-writing to guide me in understanding the processes of the initiative. Charmaz (1996) explains memo-writing helps to identify and define processes from coding, which “leads to theoretical sampling, that is, collecting more data to clarify your ideas and to plan to fit them together” (p. 45). Memo-writing then took me to the next step of theoretical sampling. It allowed me to fill out my categories and develop hypotheses consistent with my antiracism theoretical framework which led me to develop each of the four premises, which I saw reflected in the text and discourses of the documents in the initiative.

I then used the grounded theory methods of returning to the academic literature on antiracist education and integrating my lived experience, to consider various hypotheses and interpretations around these premises. Ultimately, I was able to construct my theory of strategic antiracist education, founded on four interrelated premises, set out below in Figure 3.2, which is consistent with both academic antiracism theory and my antiracism theoretical framework based on Stanley’s (2011, 2014) anti-essentialist antiracism and Dei’s (1996) anti-racism praxis.

Figure 3.2. **My Strategic Antiracist Education Theory**

Premise	Statement of Premise
One	Racism is real and is both systemic and individual in the school system.
Two	Racist exclusions coming from racist policies, practices, and structures in the school system exclude Indigenous, racial and ethnocultural minority students.
Three	Negative consequences prevent Indigenous, racial and ethnocultural minority students from reaching their potential in the school system.
Four	Strategic antiracist education must be the basis of comprehensive policies and procedures designed to identify and eliminate systemic and individual racisms in Ontario school board policies, programs, structures and practices.

In Chapter Five, I apply my strategic antiracist education theory to the text of the first three documents (*Education Amendment Act 1992*, *Changing Perspectives* and *PPM #119*) and in Chapter Six I apply the theory to the fourth document of the initiative, the *Guidelines*, to determine whether and how they confirm the premises of my grounded theory. This analysis determines whether the context, text and consequences in each document reflect strategic antiracist education and if the initiative is a genuine antiracist education project.

Question two: Where did the 1993 antiracism and ethnocultural equity initiative come from?

I employed antiracism as a theoretical framework in combination with my framework of policy analysis and my lived experience to guide the grounded theory methods I used for data collection and analysis. I constructed a process and theory using grounded theory methods to determine where the context and text underlying the 1993

conceptualization of antiracism and ethnocultural equity originated and how they developed historically in Ontario education policy. I initiated the investigation of this research question using my grounded theory of strategic antiracist education to identify the text fundamental to the conceptualization of the four premises.

Using open coding, I conducted a line-by-line analysis of the four documents, which resulted in the identification of the text including culture, race, racial discrimination, racism, race relations, antiracism, and antiracist education. Axial coding allowed for the identification of the central phenomenon the Ministry's conceptualization of antiracist education for identifying and eliminating these racisms. Selective coding resulted in a storyline, which established the text fundamental to the Ministry's conceptualization of antiracist education and the context component of my policy analysis framework to determine policy origins. For example *PPM #119* provided policy context by specifically identifying "The Development of a Policy on Race and Ethnocultural Equity" for its "present policy directions and requirements" (OMOE, 1993a, p. 2). I then applied selective coding to each of the newly identified policy documents to determine context (their policy origins) and to the text that they used to represent their conceptualization of educational practice most appropriate for Indigenous, racial and ethnocultural minority students. Concurrent with the context analysis of any identified policy source documents, I reviewed other Ontario policy documents using selective coding, including Policy Program Memoranda and curriculum documents to determine whether they contained the text connected to the four premises in my theory of strategic antiracist education. Through the application and analysis of grounded theory methods, to the context and text of a number of government policies

ranging from the 1970s to the initiative in 1993, I was able to develop hypotheses and through theoretical sampling was able to begin to construct a grounded theory. I then used the grounded theory methods of returning to the academic literature on race and antiracism and integrating my own lived experience to analyse these documents in constructing my grounded theory of the three phases of government policy as set out in Figure 3.3.

Figure 3.3. **Theory of the Three Phases of Government Policy on Race and Antiracism**

Policy Phase	Description
Multiculturalism 1970s to early 1980s	Focus on minority cultures while identifying exclusions and negative consequences but not confirming racism is real or strategic antiracist education.
Race Relations early 1980s to early 1990s	Focus on race while confirming racism is real, racist exclusions, and negative consequences, but proposing race relations or racial and ethnocultural equity as measures to address the problem rather than strategic antiracist education.
Strategic Antiracism early 1990s	Focus on race and ethnocultural equity, confirming racism is real, racist exclusions and negative consequences occur, and strategic antiracist education is necessary to address the problem.

In Chapter Four I apply my grounded theory of the three phases of government policy on race and antiracism to the context and text of a number of policies, which were mostly provincial documents but included one that was federal. The analysis determines whether the context and text of the selected policy documents reflect strategic antiracist education aimed at identifying and eliminating racism that racializes, excludes and creates negative consequences for Indigenous, racial and ethnocultural minority students

in schools. The analysis of the text and context of these documents, which came before the initiative, enables me also to group them according to the three phases by establishing the text and context representative of each phase and identifying the significant differences in how issues of race and culture were presented, problematized and addressed from the 1970s to the early 1990s when the conceptualization of antiracism and ethnocultural equity was being developed for the documents of the 1993 initiative.

Question three: Would the 1993 initiative have succeeded if the government had not changed?

I employed antiracism as a theoretical framework in combination with my framework of policy analysis and my lived experience to guide my use of the grounded theory methods for data collection and analysis. I constructed a process for using the grounded theory methods to focus on the text and the consequences (implementation strategies) and to apply my grounded theory of strategic antiracist education to determine whether the pressures and supports, including the direction provided for the proposed plans of actions, would prompt the necessary organizational and individual changes in school board policies, programs and practices.

I used open and selective coding to identify the context, text and consequences of the documents of the initiative, which through my lived experience were identified as pressures and supports. These pressures and supports were identified as the central phenomenon and the coding identified strategies and the intervening conditions the Ministry employed as pressures, such as amplifying the Minister's authority in the *Education Act Amendment 1992* and using prescriptive language in *PPM #119* ("shall"), as well as what the Ministry employed as supports, such as the curriculum resource

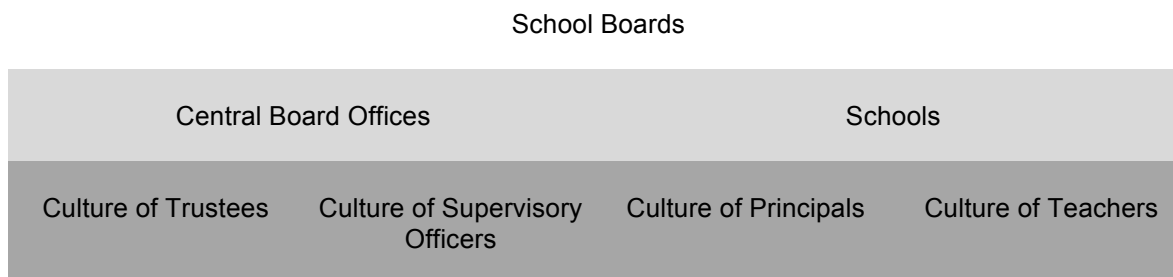
document *Changing Perspectives*. The coding led to memo-writing and theoretical sampling through which I began to develop hypotheses about how the Ministry's context, text and consequences were designed to change school board policies, programs and practices. The first hypothesis I developed was that the documents did contain pressures and supports but they were not appropriate to ensure school board compliance and the development and implementation of antiracism policies. My lived experience led to another hypothesis that the documents did not reflect a practical understanding of the daily operations and organization of school boards. My lived experience also led to a third hypothesis that one's daily organization and operations in school board is dependent on your role. I recalled though my experience that school boards are not a single culture but are comprised of four distinct cultures — trustees, supervisory officers, principals and teachers — that are split between boards' two principle locations of central board offices and schools. Finally, my lived experience also led to a fourth hypothesis that policies not only must address and engage school boards as organizations but also the individual cultures, which comprise them.

From these four hypotheses I began to form a new theory, which was that for the Ministry to encourage and ensure the organizational and individual change necessary for this major educational reform to achieve antiracist education, the Ministry should provide the pressures and supports in the text and consequences of the documents of the initiative that would engage all the cultures that comprise school boards.

Further theoretical sampling in combination with my lived experience allowed me to construct my theory of the four cultures of school boards. To develop my emerging theory, I used the grounded theory method of comparison to examine my new theory

against the literature. The literature on cultures in education focuses primarily on the cultures of schools so I tested my theory through personal recollections of my membership in the cultures and informal conversations with educators. The latter conversations consisted of opportunities I took to discuss my theory with practicing or retired teachers, principals and superintendents. These conversations combined with others I recalled from the past allowed me to compare my theory based on my lived experience in each of the cultures with other lived experiences and helped me to construct, validate, and refine this theory. The theory of school board cultures that I developed contends that school boards are comprised of four distinct cultures in two separate locations. Two of these cultures, made up of supervisory officers (directors and superintendents) and trustees (elected members of the boards), operate from their base in central board offices. The other two, the interdependent cultures of teachers and principals, operate and are located in schools. These four cultures are each distinguished by their members' shared experiences, perspectives, generalized knowledge and practices, which are unique to and shaped by their members' interactions in the specific locations or contexts where each culture operates. Grounded theory supplemented by antiracism as a qualitative methodology led to my theory of the four cultures of school boards represented in Figure 3.4.

Figure 3.4. **My Theory of the Four Cultures of School Boards**



In Chapter Seven, I develop and expand on my theory of the four cultures of school boards and apply it to the text and consequences (strategies/plans of action) of the four documents of the initiative (*Education Amendment Act 1992, Changing Perspectives, PPM #119* and the *Guidelines*). This analysis determines whether the Ministry provided the necessary pressures and supports for the four cultures of school boards to prompt both individual and organizational change in policies, programs and practices. Through my analysis of whether the initiative's text and consequences could ensure changes in the knowledge, daily operations and practices of the four cultures of school boards, I identify significant deficiencies and, based on those deficiencies, I consider whether the initiative was so flawed that it was destined to fail anyhow, regardless of the shift to a Conservative government in 1995 and not because of that change.

Question four: What does an antiracism education initiative need to be successful?

Once again, I employed antiracism as a theoretical framework based on Stanley's anti-essentialist antiracism and Dei's anti-racist praxis in combination with my framework of policy analysis and my lived experience to guide the grounded theory methods for data collection and analysis. Using the grounded methods my analysis led to the construction of my grounded theory of the framework of educational reform to show how the initiative, as an antiracist education reform focused on identifying and eliminating existing racism in school board policies, programs and practices, could have

been and should be strategically developed and successfully implemented in Ontario school boards.

I applied my theories of strategic antiracist education and the four cultures of school boards to conduct a detailed analysis and coding of the initiative's documents. Through this coding, supplemented by my own experience, I first explored how the initiative was designed to engage, motivate, implement, monitor and sustain strategic antiracist education in the cultures of school boards. I used the professional experience I had acquired as a policymaker, staff developer and antiracist advocate when I worked in my roles within the various cultures of school boards and at the Ministry of Education. I used these methods to develop a theoretical sampling of the way that the initiative was constructed to determine whether the context, text, and consequences of the initiative, by design, could engage, motivate and support the discrete cultures of school boards to achieve the necessary organizational and individual change envisioned in the initiative. For example, my professional experience had taught me that teachers' art of teaching will provoke them to consider and revise their practices if they are confronted with a compelling problem of practice that effects their own students. As well, the antiracism theoretical framework of the study was based on anti-racism praxis because I contend like Dei: "To be an anti-racism educator is to be a theorist and a practitioner for social change"(1996, p. 26).

In combining the theoretical sampling with my lived experiences I was able to develop and test my hypotheses of how effectively the initiative's context, text and consequences could engage the members of the cultures working in school boards to change their individual actions and their organizational practices. This led to the

construction of a final grounded theory, my framework of educational reform in school boards, as follows: for major educational reform to happen, a compelling problem must be strategically positioned and combined with strategic pressures and supports designed to change the knowledge and practices of the discrete cultures of school boards. In the case of the initiative to achieve antiracist educational reform, that is for it to empower school boards to develop strategic antiracist education policies and assure their implementation, the context, text and consequences of the documents needed to provide appropriate and strategic pressures and supports, as well as to demonstrate a practical understanding of the organization and operations of school boards and experiential knowledge of how organizational and individual change is systematically facilitated in school board cultures.

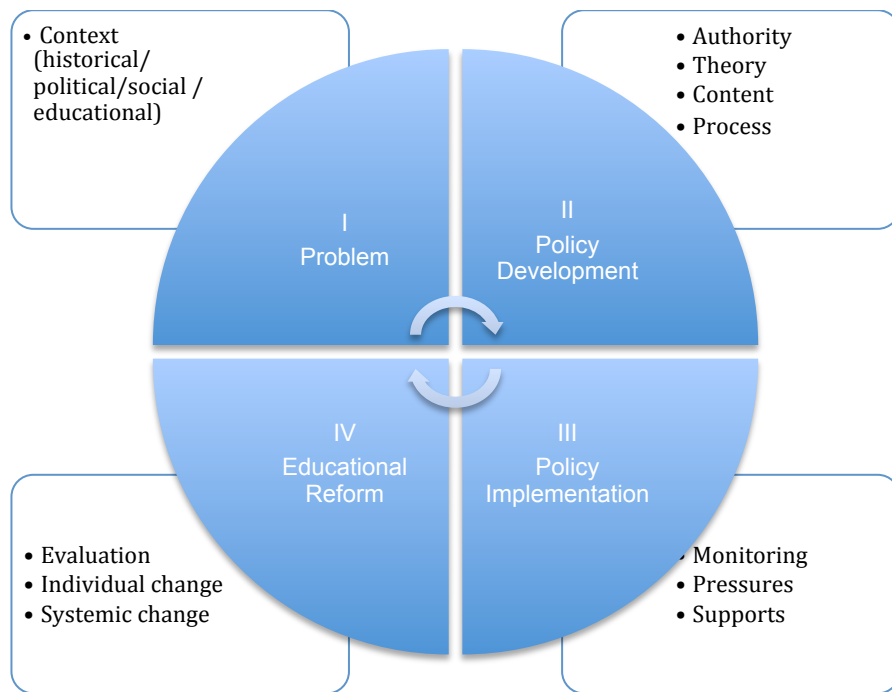
I adapted the problem solving processes that are familiar to the four cultures of school boards, to use them as the basis for my framework for educational reform. Teachers are professional problem solvers. Over the course of a day they solve hundreds of problems, some small and some very complex. When confronted with a problem they quickly make an assessment of the issue, generally by considering context, urgency and the consequences of responding or not. When teachers decide to address a problem they quickly generate a plan to resolve it, based on available data, implement it, and then assess the impact of their chosen actions. If the problem was resolved, they store this knowledge for future reference. If the problem was not resolved or partly resolved, they reassess, devise a new plan, implement it and further assess the results. Principals employ the same process in school improvement planning. Also, this process is similar to the one I used as a superintendent for curriculum reform, called the Curriculum

Review, Development and Implementation (CRDI) cycle. Using CRDI I reviewed the issue or problem, developed a curriculum, implemented it and then reviewed the results.

Grounded theory methodology and methods, combined with my lived experience, allowed me to construct my grounded theory of the framework of educational reform in school boards, that is, how organizational and individual change is systematically facilitated in school board cultures. It is illustrated in Figure 3.4. My framework is comprised of four main parts. The first part considers the problem, in the relevant historical, political, societal, and/or educational contexts, and describes it with sufficient information and urgency to be able to engage school boards and motivate them to take action. In the initiative the problem was individual and systemic racism in school board policies, programs, practices and behaviours. The second part involves policy development, which includes articulating a plan, drawing on applicable theory and authority, producing a compelling rationale supported by foundational principles, and outlining a comprehensive and strategic process to address the problem. In the initiative this part involved giving new authority to the Minister in the *Education Act*, which required boards to generate antiracism and ethnocultural equity policy to identify and eliminate the individual and systemic racism that was described in the problem. The third part involves policy implementation, which must provide strategic, compelling and effective pressures, including mechanisms for monitoring, as well as the necessary supports, such as training, funding and leadership, to implement the plan and process created in policy development. In the initiative this part concerning policy implementation was enabled with the extraordinary new authority of the Minister (Ministry) to approve school boards' antiracist education policies and to direct changes to

be made to their policies. The final part of my framework is educational reform involving a comprehensive analysis of whether the policy development and policy implementation are producing the necessary individual and systemic changes to successfully address the problem. My research of the initiative examines how individual and systemic changes were to be achieved and explores whether to effect real change the four discrete cultures working in central school boards and schools must be engaged.

Figure 3.5. **Framework of Educational Reform**



In Chapter Eight I apply my framework of educational reform in combination with my three other grounded theories to the context, text and consequences of the documents of the initiative to determine what is necessary for antiracist educational reform to succeed in Ontario school boards. I develop a new hypothesis, however, as I apply my framework of educational reform to the initiative and reflect on my personal and cultural experiences in facilitating individual and systemic change in school boards.

Based on my theory of the four cultures of school boards and my educational reform framework, in Chapter Eight, I consider whether members of the culture of supervisory officers may be the best qualified and positioned to lead, plan, and implement the initiative's educational reform since they have been members of, or worked closely with, the other cultures in school boards and they are the most knowledgeable and experienced with the operations and organization of school boards. To maximize the potential for achieving a major educational reform, such as strategic antiracist education, I consider also whether strategies must be specifically designed to target, engage and empower the culture of supervisory officers with the knowledge, authority and resources to lead, plan and implement the project. Finally, I consider whether to optimize the success of the initiative the Ministry should prioritize engaging the culture of supervisory officers to take the lead on developing and implementing a plan appropriate to their school district and its cultures.

Summary

The constructivist grounded theory methodology of this study is designed to address the main research question of "What happened to antiracist education?" as well as, the four complementary research questions of: (1) Was the 1993 antiracism and ethnocultural equity initiative a genuine antiracist education project?; (2) Where did the 1993 antiracism and ethnocultural equity initiative come from?; (3) Why did the initiative not succeed?; and (4) What would need to change for the initiative to succeed?

Using antiracism as a theoretical framework based on Stanley's (2011, 2014) anti-essentialist antiracism and Dei's (1996) anti-racist praxis in combination with my framework of policy analysis, I employed grounded theory methods for data collection

and analysis, which led to the construction of my four grounded theories for addressing the research questions. These theories are as follows: (1) My theory of strategic antiracist education (represented in Figure 3.2); (2) My theory of the three phases of government policy on race and antiracism (represented in Figure 3.3); My theory of the four cultures of school boards (represented in Figure 3.4); and My framework of educational reform (represented in Figure 3.5). The four research questions, the grounded theory methods and the associated theories are summarized in Figure 3.1 Methodology and Methods of the Study. Another version of this table (Figure 9.1, Structure of the Study) is provided in Chapter Nine and shows the methodology and the findings.

I use the methods and methodology of this study, therefore, not only to answer the research questions but also to consider and propose the context, text and consequences of an antiracist educational policy reform initiative in Chapters Eight and Nine. My proposals consider how to effectively engage the cultures of school boards and how to best lead, engage and provide the pressures and supports for these cultures to produce the necessary organizational and individual change.

Chapter Four

Development of Government Policy on Race and Antiracism

Using my antiracism theoretical framework, based on Dei's (1996) anti-racism praxis and Stanley's (2011, 2014) anti-essentialist antiracism framework, I apply Stanley's (2012) antiracism historical document analysis and my framework for policy analysis to the documents of the initiative to begin my analysis of the history of government policy on race and antiracism. Using my framework of policy analysis based on Taylor, et al. (1997) to examine key government policies linked to or referred to in the documents of the initiative, I focus on context, text, and consequences (policy implementation). The government documents I select are mainly provincial but include one significant federal report. Bell and Stevenson (2006) and Ball (1994, 2006), who emphasize focusing on historical, political and social context and contents of policies, suggest other ways for me to connect the initiative to other government policies. I use Bell and Stevenson (2006) and Harman (1984) in my analysis of the third part of my policy framework, the consequences of the policy documents. Bell and Stevenson invite me to analyze them from the perspective of product and process, while Harmon turns my focus to policy as problem and response.

Each of these approaches allows me to begin to develop categories of text and context consistent with Titscher, et al.'s (2000) qualitative content policy analysis. Therefore, my framework for policy analysis leads to grounded theory methods, based on Charmaz (2016), Clarke (2011), and Creswell (2013). The grounded theory methods of coding, memo-writing and theoretical sampling, in combination with my framework for policy analysis allow me to develop my constructivist grounded theory of the phases of

government policy. I find three policy phases reflected in the text of the key government policies: (1) multiculturalism in the 1970s to early 1980s; (2) race relations in the early 1980s to the early 1990s; and (3) strategic antiracism, which emerged in the early 1990s. This theory supports my theory of strategic antiracist education. It also contributes to the first two parts of my framework of educational reform as the analysis of the documents situates the historical, political, social, and educational context of the problem (Harman, 1984) beginning in the 1970s and it traces the text and consequences underpinning the policy development and policy implementation requirements in the 1993 antiracism and ethnocultural equity initiative. The policy analysis process for the selected government policies, leading to my grounded theory of the three phases of government policy, allows me to answer the second complementary research question, which asks where the initiative came from.

Multiculturalism Policy Phase Documents

Multiculturalism was the first phase of policy leading up to and influencing aspects of antiracist education policy. Prime Minister Pierre Trudeau announced multiculturalism as a national policy in the House of Commons in October 1971. Trudeau remarked that a policy of multiculturalism would be “the most suitable means for assuring the cultural freedom of Canadians... and encourage the various cultures and ethnic groups that give structure and vitality to our society...to share their cultural expression and values” (House of Commons Hansard, October 8, 1971, p. 8545).

Multiculturalism policy concepts were introduced first in Ontario education in 1977 with *Multiculturalism in Action: Curriculum Ideas for Teachers (Multiculturalism in Action)* (Ontario Ministry of Education/OMOE, 1977/1981) and subsequently, in 1980,

with *Race, Religion and Culture in Ontario School Materials: Suggestions for Authors and Publishers (Race, Religion and Culture)* (Ontario Ministry of Education/OMOE, 1980). The document analysis of these two Ministry publications follows. It examines the text and concepts characterizing multiculturalism that developed during and this phase in the history of Ontario educational policy.

Multiculturalism in action: curriculum ideas for teachers.

Multiculturalism in Action was a 21-page curriculum support document, originally published in 1977 and revised in 1981 to add a resources list. *Multiculturalism in Action* was developed for teachers to be a support document for the 1975 official curriculum of the primary and junior division, titled *The Formative Years: Circular P1J1, Provincial Curriculum Policy for the Primary and Junior Divisions of the Public and Separate Schools of Ontario (The Formative Years)* (Ontario Ministry of Education/OMOE, 1975). *Multiculturalism in Action* provided the Ontario Ministry of Education's earliest policy conceptualization of multicultural curriculum. The document was designed to assist teachers in developing a program with multicultural activities appropriate for primary students (kindergarten to grade 3) and junior students (grades 4 to 6). It was mainly concerned with persuading teachers to consider multicultural curriculum ideas, universal themes, and associated activities to encourage children to learn about their own and others' cultures, to live harmoniously, and to participate in and contribute responsibly to society (OMOE, 1977, p. 2). It presented multiculturalism as good pedagogy and appropriate and necessary for all students: "...multiculturalism is not an additional subject, but an ethic that should permeate the whole curriculum" (OMOE, 1977, p. 2). It was the first Ontario Ministry of Education policy document that provided

multicultural curriculum support to teachers, but it did not specifically confirm the four premises of antiracism. It suggested to teachers, both through its activities and responses to cultural bias and stereotyping, that they should recognize the identities and better meet the needs of the diverse ethnic and cultural groups in their schools.

Multiculturalism in Action developed and organized its conceptualization of multiculturalism in six sections and encouraged teachers, throughout, to use “culturally diverse materials” and ideas to teach all subjects (OMOE, 1977, p 2). It often suggested teachers employ culturally diverse activities and themes that characterized the universality of human experience, for example: “food, dress, shelter, names, laws, work, greetings, friendship, conflict, festivals, ceremonies, art, dance, and music” (OMOE, 1977, p. 2). The latter example illustrates also that the text and activities of *Multiculturalism in Action* favoured the “3F” approach to multicultural education, so called for its focus on three themes beginning with the letter “F”: food, festivals and fashion. This document noted teachers should be wary of misrepresenting diverse cultures by stereotyping them and, therefore, recommended to teachers when choosing an activity to use the selection criteria: “Will this activity create or reinforce stereotyped images of an ethnic group? (OMOE, 1977, p. 2). For some activities, however, the text or the accompanying images did not actually meet the criteria the document suggested for teachers to ensure their material was accurate and current: “Is this a correct interpretation of the culture?” and “Is this activity relevant to contemporary experience?” (OMOE, 1977, p. 2). For instance the picture used in the “Ethnic Styles” section showed a contemporary girl of south-east Asian ancestry wearing a traditional kimono and looking at dolls dressed in clothing worn in Japan in the 19th century, neither illustrating the

modern fashion of that culture (OMOE, 1977, p. 17). Since the image did not accurately reflect the life experiences of a Japanese girl in contemporary Canada or Japan, it reinforced stereotypes.

Another contradiction in the document's text was that it did not follow through on advice that multiculturalism should permeate the entire curriculum. For instance the document suggested no multicultural activities to develop the skills referenced in important subjects such as science and mathematics.

On the other hand, *Multiculturalism in Action* did introduce to an Ontario curriculum support document, text and concepts associated with multiculturalism that would be foundational to future conceptualizations of antiracism and ethnocultural education. For example the document suggested the key to effective multicultural pedagogy was accepting all children's experiences and using them for their future learning (OMOE, 1977, p. 2), responded to historical exclusions and led the way to a curriculum integrating the identities of all students. The document advanced the concept of providing an expanded and more inclusive curriculum by noting such activities would not require extensive resources because the children and their families would be rich resources (OMOE, 1977, p. 2). Thus, it pointed out good multicultural teaching involved engaging the experiences of all children, which was a tenet that would carry through to antiracist education policy.

Another important concept in the document was its suggestion for teachers to analyze their own biases (OMOE, 1977, p. 2), which confirmed cultural bias in the knowledge and practices of teachers. Bias and stereotyping were recurring themes, particularly in Section A on the Role of Teachers where educators were cautioned against

exotic multicultural activities since they risked reinforcing stereotypes. Avoiding stereotyping was as close as this document came to naming negative consequences for minority groups resulting from exclusions. One of the most significant contributions of the text was to introduce the term *ethnocultural* to Ontario policy. This term would be used extensively in future policy and curriculum documents. *Multiculturalism in Action* used it for the first time in the section on Heroes and Heroines where it proposed using “the story of a hero or heroine from one of the ethnocultural groups present in the classroom, to motivate the children to develop a mural on national and popular heroes and heroines from different countries” (OMOE, 1977, p. 6).

To describe its conceptualization of multiculturalism, the document repeatedly used the terms *acceptance*, *harmony*, *co-operation*, and *ethnic and cultural diversity*, particularly to describe characteristics of Canadian society in the program objectives (OMOE, 1977, p. 2). Multicultural curriculum goals included understanding and appreciating others’ points of view and cultures, using culturally diverse materials, developing personal identities by learning about one’s own culture, as well as selecting universal themes and activities characterizing the human experience (OMOE, 1977, p. 2).

The language the document did not use in its conceptualization of multiculturalism, however, was most telling. This first document produced in the multiculturalism policy phase to conceptualize multiculturalism in schools made no reference to racism in schools and society. It made only one, bracketed reference to race in an activity about teasing: “Why do some people use insulting names (or racial slurs) for other people?” (OMOE, 1977, p. 4).

Multiculturalism in Action did not specifically support or engage the four premises of antiracism. It did not name racism in the school system at all. Instead its terms and themes implied exclusions (ethnocultural groups, exotic manifestations of culture) (OMOE, 1977, p. 2) and implied negative consequences (teachers looking for bias in their knowledge and practices, others' use of racial slurs) (OMOE, 1977, p. 2). Yet, it pointed out systemic responses to forms of bias and stereotyping (culturally diverse parents and students being rich curriculum resources) (OMOE, 1977, p. 2). Its suggestions for teachers to focus on the experiences of all students in programming and to engage with culturally diverse students and parents to provide more appropriate curriculum are themes that continue to be important components in the development of antiracism curriculum in later years. Therefore, it began to identify some future components of premise four (strategic antiracist education).

Race, religion and culture in Ontario school materials: suggestions for authors and publishers.

Race, Religion and Culture was the second Ministry document from the multiculturalism policy phase developed “in keeping with the Ministry’s policy of multicultural education” (OMOE, 1980, p. 7). Whereas the first document predominantly focused on bias and stereotyping, this one included race and religion. Its conceptualization of multiculturalism built on the exclusions that only had been implied in *Multiculturalism in Action*.

The Minister of Education, Thomas Wells, formed a committee in 1977 to write *Race, Religion and Culture* in conjunction with a Ministry writing team. The Minister established the committee following a 1976 report of the Toronto Board of Education,

which supported concerns of organizations, including the Ontario Human Rights Commission, the Canadian Society of Muslims, and the Black Liaison Committee, regarding criteria the Ministry used to evaluate and select learning materials for “Circular 14, the annual list of textbooks approved for schools by the Minister of Education” (OMOE, 1980, p. 5). *Race, Religion and Culture* responded to these and other community concerns about the content of learning materials. Its recommendations reflected “that the Ministry of Education is fully aware of its responsibility to all Ontario students to ensure that the learning materials used in the province’s schools reflect fairly and accurately the reality of Canada’s multicultural society and the world view necessary to contemporary life” (OMOE, 1980, p. 3).

The Minister’s committee was comprised of members of the organizations that had raised concerns about learning materials. The preface of *Race, Religion and Culture* explained the purpose of the document was “to improve the quality and broaden the perspective of materials by helping authors and publishers to identify and avoid racial, religious and cultural bias and prejudice” (OMOE, 1980, p. 3). This objective problematized, for the first time in a Ministry document, an ethnocentric and discriminatory viewpoint and called for systematic processes and practices to evaluate learning materials.

Since *Race, Religion and Culture* was aimed at publishers, its message was more directive than *Multiculturalism in Action*. In the curriculum resource *Multiculturalism in Action*, the Minister’s authority limited the focus of concepts, themes and tenets to the parameters of the school curriculum and could only suggest but not dictate teacher practice. As a result, the document invited rather than mandated teachers to consider

multicultural activities. On the other hand, the Minister did have the power under section 8(1) of the *Education Act* to select and approve textbooks and other learning materials. Therefore, the Ministry's direction in *Race, Religion and Culture* could be and was more prescriptive and didactic in substance and tone.

Race, Religion and Culture was organized in 11 sections. Its conceptualization of multiculturalism, which was consolidated in the fifth section as four basic principles to provide a framework for developing learning materials, was consistent with *Multiculturalism in Action*'s expression. It said learning materials should: (1) contribute to students self-worth; (2) reflect Canada's racial, religious and cultural diversity; (3) facilitate mutual awareness, understanding and appreciation among all groups; and (4) recognize the universality and interdependence of all communities (OMOE, 1980, p. 12). The first principle envisioned producing learning resources to allow students to examine their own attitudes, behaviours and responsibilities, which not only would contribute to individual self-worth but also would enable all students to participate fully in Canadian society. The second principle acknowledged the broad scope of Canadians' diversity and admitted it needed to be reflected in learning materials. The third principle underscored the importance of developing learning materials that show minority groups are part of Canadian culture and that facilitate mutual awareness, understanding and appreciation among all groups in Canadian society. The fourth principle spoke to the importance of recognizing the universality and interdependence of all human beings and communities regardless of their race, colour, religious or cultural background.

Race, Religion and Culture further developed some of the multicultural themes *Multiculturalism in Action* had introduced. For instance, the theme of linking

multicultural education to positive societal outcomes continued: “The work undertaken by this committee is in keeping with the Ministry of Education’s policy of multicultural education, which recognizes that all members in our society are equal in dignity and worth” (OMOE, 1980, p. 7). Also the theme of meeting students’ needs and preparing students to live and participate in Canadian society was continued in text, as noted above, that committed the Ministry to using inclusive learning materials (OMOE, 1980, p. 3). The text also carried on the theme of shared human experiences: “People of all races, religions, and cultures should be shown as sharing in a common human experience” (OMOE, 1980, p. 25).

Race, Religion and Culture also introduced text and concepts that would be foundational to future conceptualizations of antiracism and ethnocultural education. For example, it built on the cultural bias discussed in *Multiculturalism in Action* by adding cautions against the concepts of racial and religious bias (OMOE, 1980, p. 11). It introduced the term impact, thereby implying negative consequences in noting: “Although the ability of younger students to deal explicitly with issues of prejudice and discrimination is limited by their lack of maturity, it should be recognized that the *impact* of biased material is critical in the formative years” (OMOE, 1980, p. 11, my own emphasis).

In addition, in perhaps the most important text of the document, the Ministry established the role of those developing learning materials not only to be to address bias and stereotyping but also prejudice: “This document urges authors and publishers to recognize and challenge inaccurate or unfounded assumptions in learning materials. Stereotypes depriving persons from racial, religious, and cultural groups of their

individuality and sense of self-worth should not be perpetuated” (OMOE, 1980, p. 11). One example it provided was the racial stereotype of “inscrutable Orientals” (OMOE, 1980, p. 19). Another example directed the elimination of exclusionary language: “replacing descriptive words and phrases that generate stereotypes of minority groups (e.g. ‘easy-going, fun-loving, rhythmic West Indians’; ‘studious, quiet, withdrawn Chinese’) that deny members of these groups individuality” (OMOE, 1980, p. 21). Thus, this document introduced the exclusions of specified groups and negative consequences from their loss of individuality and sense of self-worth.

Other text expanded the conceptualization of multiculturalism and foreshadowed tenets of antiracism. For example: “The choice of language, examples, and illustrations and the characterization of minorities should show sensitivity to diversity, rather than an ethnocentric viewpoint” (OMOE, 1980, p. 11). Here the document introduced the term *ethnocentric* to the Ministry’s policy on producing inclusive learning material. It acknowledged the negative impact of an ethnocentric viewpoint, which subsequent policy phases and documents would describe as a Eurocentric viewpoint.

In summary, *Race, Religion and Culture* was significant for a variety of reasons. Community organizations such as the Black Liaison Committee, representing marginalized racialized communities, participated in shaping this policy document. Their involvement was notable and provided an important precedent of including previously excluded perspectives. The document expanded on the concept of multiculturalism to include race and religion, focused on an ethnocentric viewpoint, and provided specific examples of racialized stereotyping in the context of learning resources. Since this document did not specifically identify racism in schools, it did not confirm premise one

(racism is real). However, it acknowledged the language and contents of learning materials were excluding students of minority cultures, races and religions. Thus, it confirmed premises two and three (racist exclusions and negative consequences). Although the document's articulation and examples of racial and religious bias and stereotyping did not name racism, they were expressions of racism that pointed toward premise one. The introduction of the term ethnocentric viewpoint identified, in a general way, the source of curricular exclusions inherent in premise two. The absence of the term Eurocentric indicated policy documents of this phase were not yet naming the more specific source of this exclusion and the concept was not yet shaping Ministry policy. As well, the document's introduction of the term impact only implied negative consequences. On the other hand, *Race, Religion and Culture* did acknowledge that learning resources were denying the individuality and sense of self-worth of minority students thereby confirming premises two and three. Finally, this document could not engage premise four (strategic antiracist education) because the purpose of this document was to address bias and stereotyping in publishers' and authors' learning materials. Nevertheless, this Ministry document had the potential indirectly to also inform the practices of school boards and, therefore, foreshadowed a more systemic response for boards. As a result, it pointed toward but did not yet engage premise four.

Race Relations Policy Phase Documents

Equality Now: Participation of Visible Minorities in Canadian Society (Equality Now) (Canada House of Commons, Special Committee/Can. Parl., 1984) was a federal report that signified a transition from the phase of multiculturalism to the phase of race relations. The Special Committee on Participation of Visible Minorities, which received

its mandate from the House of Commons on June 27, 1983, produced *Equality Now* without dissenting views and as a non-partisan report. The Special Committee, which consisted of members from all federal political parties, confirmed the problem of racism in Canadian society and its institutions including schools. Although *Equality Now* was a report prepared for Parliament, its focus on racism and suggestions for eliminating it also pertained to provincial policies and practices. The Special Committee's most significant recommendation concerning education suggested the federal Secretary of State should encourage all ministries of education across Canada and their associated school boards to develop race relations policies (Can. Parl., 1984, Recommendation 67, p. 118).

After *Equality Now*, the Ontario Ministry of Education produced three separate policy documents during the race relations phase of the mid-1980s to the early 1990s: (1) *The Development of a Policy on Race and Ethnocultural Equity (the Report)* (Provincial Advisory Committee on Race Relations/PACRR, 1987); (2) *A Synopsis of Public Responses to the Report of the Provincial Advisory Committee on Race Relations (Synopsis)* (Ontario Ministry of Education/OMOE, 1988); and (3) *Implementing Race and Ethnocultural Equity Policy in Ontario School Boards (Implementing Race)* (Mock & Masemann, 1990). All three documents addressed the development and text of school board policies on race relations and implementation plans. These documents, as well as the board policies and plans related to them, were based on a conceptualization of race and ethnocultural equity that was dynamic and developing at the time. It significantly expanded on the Ministry's previous conceptualization of multicultural education. Given that *Equality Now* clearly influenced the Ontario Ministry of Education to develop educational policy on the race relations, it will be analysed first.

Equality now!: participation of visible minorities in Canadian society.

The Special Committee's mandate included seeking a broad spectrum of views, including those of public and private institutions, community and minority groups, and individuals. Its goal was "to recommend the development of positive programs that the Committee finds necessary to promote racial understanding, tolerance and harmony in Canadian society" (Can. Parl., 1984, p. vi). Based on hundreds of letters, over 330 briefs, testimony from 130 witnesses and input from other private and public sources, the Committee made 80 recommendations (Can. Parl., 1984, pp. 135-141).

The Special Committee kept four basic principles in mind during its investigations and while drafting *Equality Now* (Can. Parl., 1984, p. 6). The first was that the Canadian government must accept and state that racism will not be tolerated. The second was that the government must be aware of its obligation to protect visible minorities from discrimination. The third was that Canadian society must adjust its institutional and individual practices to ensure equality of opportunity for all Canadians including visible minorities. The last one was for Parliament to seek consensus from all Canadians on the justness of these principles.

The Committee presented its report as a blueprint for realizing the following vision: "that Canadian life should embrace all Canadians equally, an ideal first spelled out as formal government policy on October 8, 1971" (Can. Parl., 1984, p. 2), when Prime Minister Trudeau announced multiculturalism as a national policy. *Equality Now* introduced the term *visible minority* and observed that despite a national policy on multiculturalism "[m]ost visible minorities are not participating fully in Canadian society" (Can. Parl., 1984, p. 1). It expanded the conceptualization of multiculturalism to

shift it toward a new conceptualization of race relations that defined visible minorities by race and racist exclusions. First it stated: “For the purpose of this report, visible minorities have been defined as non-whites who are not participating fully in Canadian society” (Can. Parl., 1984, p. 2). Then it linked the exclusions of visible minorities to individual and systemic racism:

Research has shown that as many as 15 per cent of the population exhibit blatantly racist attitudes, while another 20-25 per cent have some racist tendencies. Moreover, even those individuals who are very tolerant can, with the best of intentions, engage in racism without knowing it or meaning to do so. Similarly, institutions can unintentionally restrict the life chances of non-white individuals through a variety of seemingly neutral rules, regulations and procedures. (Can. Parl., 1984, p. 3)

Individual racism was presented as both intentional and unintentional while institutional racism was characterized simply as unintentional.

The glossary built on and clarified several components of *Equality Now's* expanded conceptualization of multiculturalism. The glossary defined and explained systemic discrimination as: “unintentional, institutionalized discrimination. For instance, hiring procedures or entrance requirements may have the unintentional effect of excluding various minority groups. Also referred to as ‘institutional racism’” (Can. Parl., 1984, p. 144). In comparison, the glossary described discrimination clearly as intentional and connected it to prejudice: “The conscious act of dealing with a person or persons on the basis of prejudicial attitudes or beliefs (rather than on the basis of individual merit). This prejudice is a state of mind, while discrimination is an action” (Can. Parl., 1984, p.

143). Finally, the glossary definition of “Multiculturalism Policy” was notable, since it added the element of race to such policy:

one which promotes the integration, not the assimilation, of minority groups into society while at the same time assisting those who so wish to maintain their distinctive cultural identities (e.g. Canadian “cultural mosaic”). In this report, the term is understood to include a multiracial element. (Can. Parl., 1984, p. 143)

References to race and racism in *Equality Now* expanded the conceptualization of multiculturalism articulated in the two Ministry of Education documents from the multiculturalism phase and, thus, *Equality Now* marked a shift to a new phase of policy, the phase of race relations.

Equality Now was organized in six chapters, which identified specific subject areas with related recommendations. The six chapters were followed with a checklist, that was simply a compilation of all 80 recommendations, followed next with a glossary, and finally with three appendices. All six chapters considered race relations. However, my document analysis concentrates on Chapter Six, the chapter about education, and its 14 specific recommendations, since they are most relevant to my study. Chapter Six’s first recommendation on education (Recommendation 67), as previously noted, proposed incorporating race relations in school board policies: “The Secretary of State should encourage the provincial governments to urge their various school boards to develop and implement a race relations policy” (Can. Parl., 1984, p. 118). Most of the other educational recommendations in Chapter Six supported school boards developing and implementing race relations policies to identify and address racism, exclusions and

negative consequences experienced by visible minorities in Canadian educational institutions including public schools.

The Chapter Six recommendations specified important concepts and actions for education, which developed *Equality Now*'s conceptualization of race relations in that context. Recommendation 67, in recommending race relations policies for school boards, also suggested "community involvement" in developing these policies as had been done with ethnic communities in Toronto and Vancouver (Can. Parl., 1984, pp. 117-118). Recommendation 68 suggested "curricular reform" in addressing the "hidden curriculum" defined as "the teaching of social and economic norms and expectations to students. These norms and expectations are so much a part of schooling that they are seldom questioned or consciously examined" (Can. Parl., 1984, p. 118) to provide "equality of opportunity" for all students. Recommendation 71 encouraged race relations "professional development" for both teachers and students in developing leadership programs. Recommendation 72 confirmed racism as it reported racial harassment in 11 Canadian communities (Can. Parl., 1984, p. 123). Recommendation 73 encouraged the investigation of "inappropriate placement" of culturally different and immigrant students, as revealed in studies done in Toronto and Montreal (Can. Parl., 1984, p. 124). Recommendation 74 encouraged the evaluation of teaching and resource materials for cultural and racial bias to address the bias and stereotyping identified in *Race, Religion and Culture*, which the document described as a "most impressive and comprehensive effort" (Can. Parl., 1984, p. 126). Recommendation 79 encouraged increased visible minority participation in post secondary institutions because research indicated that barriers included teachers' "low expectations" and lack of respect for minority students

(Can. Parl., 1984, p. 133). The key concepts for race relations policy in education articulated in these recommendations all combined to present a significantly new and deeper understanding of race relations.

Another important concept in this document was the term *vertical mosaic*, dating back to 1965 and attributed to John Porter. It was explained as follows:

A tension exists in Canadian society between the original European partners in Confederation, who dominate Canadian institutions, and the other peoples who wish to share fully in the institutional life of the country. Inherent in the notion of the diversity of Canadian society as a mosaic is the equal participation of the pieces making it up, yet Canadian society is in reality a “vertical mosaic”, with some pieces raised above the others; the surface is uneven. (Can. Parl., 1984, p. 5)

This concept advanced the discussion of ethnocentricity, which had been introduced in *Race, Religion and Culture*. The glossary definition further developed the notion:

“Ethnocentric: Regarding one’s own race and culture as the most important and judging other cultures as wrong or inferior simply because they do things differently” (Can. Parl., 1984, p. 143). *Equality Now* recognized both the concept of ethnocentricity and the tension between the original European partners in the Confederation of Canada and all others wishing to participate fully. As a result, even though the document did not use the term Eurocentric, it clearly made the connection between the dominance of the founding colonial cultures and the exclusions of others.

The terms and concepts, which developed the conceptualization of race relations in *Equality Now*, also supported the four premises of antiracism. In developing the notion that visible minorities were not fully participating in Canadian society, *Equality Now*,

provided evidence of racism in Canadian communities; provided data on the percentage of Canadians who expressed blatantly racist attitudes and racist tendencies; characterized racism as both individual and institutional but noted these later manifestations were generally unintentional (thereby connecting the idea of *intent* to racism); and connected racism and discrimination to individual and institutional attitudes, behaviours and practices. Thus, the document confirmed premise one (racism is real), in society and schools. In developing its discussion around visible minorities *Equality Now* contended that private and public institutions were denying opportunities and restricting the life chances of visible minorities. In making this observation, the document presented a number of important terms and concepts such as describing Canadian society as a vertical mosaic diverse in terms of people but uneven in terms of equality of opportunity; an ethnocentric Canadian society and institutions, including school boards, which created tensions between the dominant, original European partners and other peoples who wish to participate and share fully (Can. Parl., 1984. p. 5). These concepts involved exclusions and, thus, confirmed premise two (racist exclusions). *Equality Now* specified individual and institutional actions that produced negative consequences for visible minorities in Canadian schools, such as teachers' low expectations and lack of respect for minority students, minority students' high drop out rates, minorities' under representation in teaching and administrative positions, the bias and stereotyping in learning materials used in classrooms, schools' poor communications with minority culture parents, and boards' ignoring special days of celebration and other minority culture practices. These adverse impacts confirmed premise three (negative consequences). To address the racisms, exclusions and negative consequences, *Equality Now* recommended: developing and

implementing race relations policies to change behaviours and practices; engaging the community in developing race relations policies; developing teacher education programs to train teachers in race relations; developing staff development programs for both teachers and students to change attitudes and practices; developing and supporting research on multicultural and race issues; and identifying the best methods for responding to harassment and racism. These recommended solutions were components of a systematic response, which confirmed premise four (strategic antiracist education).

Revisiting the Committee's four guiding principles in undertaking its study and producing *Equality Now* reveals a noteworthy connection between the four principles and the four premises of antiracism. The first principle was that the Canadian government must accept and state that racism will not be tolerated, which confirmed premise one (racism is real). The second principle was that the government must be aware of its obligation to protect visible minorities from discrimination, which confirmed premises two and three for these minorities (racist exclusions and negative consequences). The third principle was that Canadian society must adjust its institutional and individual practices to ensure equality of opportunity for all Canadians including visible minorities, which involved a societal and systemic response and confirmed premise four (strategic antiracist education). The final principle, which was for Parliament to seek consensus of all Canadians on the justness of these principles, recognized the need to be strategic and remove barriers to equality, consistent with premise four (strategic antiracist education).

Although *Equality Now* traced its roots back to Trudeau's national policy of multiculturalism, my analysis reveals a conceptualization so fundamentally enlarged from the two Ministry of Education documents reviewed from the multiculturalism phase that I

am convinced it was a turning point for educational policy. In fact, *Equality Now*'s conceptualization of race relations and its associated recommendations for action by provincial ministries of education and others would prompt a new and important period in Ontario education policy, a phase where the Ministry produced three key educational policy documents that, like *Equality Now*, built on and shifted away from previous conceptualizations of multiculturalism toward race relations.

Ontario documents of the race relations phase.

Following the release of *Equality Now*, in Ontario between 1987 and 1990, three documents were produced in the race relations phase, which focussed on race and ethnocultural equity policies for schools. The first document was the *Report* by the Provincial Advisory Committee on Race Relations that found: "conscious and active anti-racist educational efforts are now necessary if all our students are to develop to their full human potential in an equitable Ontario" (PACRR, 1987, p. 2). This Committee's *Report* proposed a process and guidelines for school boards to develop race and ethnocultural equity policies, which were then presented to school boards to receive their feedback (PACRR, 1987, p. 2). The second document was the *Synopsis* that compiled, analyzed and presented the input received from the respondents to the 1987 *Report* (OMOE, 1988, p. 1). The third document was *Implementing Race*, a Ministry sponsored research project designed to assist it in forming a strategy to develop and implement race and ethnocultural equity policies for school boards (Mock & Masemann, 1990). Through surveys and interviews the project sought to determine: the number of boards with policies; the stage others boards' policies were at; the similarities and differences among policies; board needs at the various stages of policy development and implementation,

and how they vary in different regions across the province (Mock & Masemann, 1990, p. 4).

These three documents expanded the Ministry's previous conceptualization of multiculturalism. They embodied the Ministry's attempts during the race relations phase to identify how best to support schools boards in developing race and ethnocultural equity policies, as well as to determine whether these policies should be based on the principles of anti-racist education.

Report of the Provincial Advisory Committee on Race Relations.

The "Overview" of the *Report* described its genesis. Premier David Peterson, in a letter welcoming 800 educators, students, and community members to a March 1986 provincial conference on race and ethnocultural relations in Ontario schools, said he hoped that the gathering would "be a catalyst for all school boards to take a visible leadership role in actively developing and implementing a race relations policy" (PACRR, 1987, p. 1). At the end of the conference, Sean Conway, then the Minister of Education, announced the Provincial Advisory Committee on Race Relations would be formed to provide input for a provincial race relations policy. This Advisory Committee consisted of 25 people, mainly from the Toronto area, who represented community and cultural organizations, associations of teachers, principals, supervisory officers and trustees, local school boards, the Ontario's Human Rights Commission, the Ministry of Education, as well as one consultant, Carol Tator.¹ The Advisory Committee produced the *Report* as "draft guidelines" distributed to school boards for validation and feedback.

¹ Carol Tator is a scholar, educator and social advocate who has worked with many organizations seeking to dismantle racialized structures and systems including, in the 1980s, the Urban Alliance on Race Relations, one of the first such organizations in Canada (Henry & Tator, 2010, p. xix).

The *Report* was organized in four main parts: (1) “Overview”; (2) “Developing Race and Ethnocultural Equity Policy: Nine Areas of Concern”; (3) “Implementing Race and Ethnocultural Equity Policy”; and (4) “Toward Anti-racism: the Case for Equity Policy”. Part I, the “Overview,” described the formation of the Advisory Committee and outlined its four part mandate: to promote the development of race and ethnocultural equity policy by all school boards in Ontario; to advise the Ministry on guidelines for policy development and areas of priority; to identify strategies to assist boards in developing and implementing policies; and to place concepts such as multiculturalism, race and ethnocultural relations, and anti-racist education in their historical context to aid in their use in policy development (PACRR, 1987, p. 2). The Committee proposed a continuous circular process of development, implementation and review. It suggested policy objectives including: eliminating racism; challenging prejudice and discrimination; building on the strengths of Ontario’s cultural and racial diversity; ensuring equality of opportunity for all students; promoting an environment that treats students, staff, and school communities fairly and justly; and meeting the needs of all people with due regard to their race, ethnicity, culture, language, gender and religion (PACRR, 1987, p. 4).

In Part II, “Developing Race and Ethnocultural Equity Policy: Nine Areas of Concern,” the Committee suggested contents for the policies should be organized around the following themes: leadership; school community relations; research; curriculum; personnel policies and practices; staff development, assessment and placement; support service in guidance; and racial harassment. The Committee recommended that each area be approached from “two angles” (PACRR, 1987, p. 5). The first angle was to have a “mission statement” for each area to guide the process to identify who should participate

in developing the policy and to set out the specific challenges for that area (PACRR, 1987, p. 5). The second angle was to establish “area priorities” to assist boards in drafting a policy responsive to important local circumstances (PACRR, 1987, p. 2). The *Report* gave priority to school boards’ autonomy in developing policy because: “equity policy and antiracist commitment developed within each school board with Ministry assistance will be far more effective than an imposed provincial policy” (PACRR, 1987, p. 2).

I will analyze the *Report’s* text and concepts for developing mission statements and determining the area priorities for each area of concern, to show how they established important components of the Advisory Committee’s conceptualization of race relations. “Area One: Leadership” acknowledged the importance of “*informed leadership*” (PACRR, 1987, p 6, my own emphasis) and antiracist education in policy development, while the mission statement encouraged board leaders: “to take the lead in the development of anti-racist education by involving all of the Board’s diverse constituencies in the development of Race and Ethnocultural Equity Policies” (PACRR, 1987, p. 6). The area priorities included increasing the representation of visible minorities and women in leadership and requiring antiracist knowledge in selection and promotion processes (PACRR, 1987, p. 6).

“Area Two: School and Community Relations” recognized school boards’ capacity for *active participation* with parents and the school community and the mission statement encouraged boards: “to ensure the active participation of racial and ethnocultural minorities in the development of equitable educational policies and practices” (PACRR, 1987, p. 7). The area priorities included community participation in

race relations and curriculum policy development and implementation and other aspects of schooling including student placement and assessment.

“Area Three: Research” recognized the need for race-related research. The mission statement encouraged boards to undertake and examine race relations and antiracist education research (PACRR, 1987, p. 8) because racism was an issue not acknowledged by most Canadians and because the national focus on “celebratory multiculturalism” was taking precedence over action on racism (PACRR, 1987, p. 9). The area priorities called for research and data collection on the racial composition of the community, employees and students, and to examine promotion, placement and assessment practices.

“Area Four: Curriculum” confirmed but also expanded on concerns over the European focussed curriculum. It introduced the term *Eurocentric* in the context of curricular reform, observing that “the restructuring process must explain how often unconscious transmission of Eurocentric, social and economic norms and expectations to students takes place” (PACRR, 1987, p. 11). The mission statement encouraged boards to develop and implement equity policy criteria for curriculum, instructional materials and resources, while the area priorities included professional development and community input in revising the curriculum to include the experiences of all students.

“Area Five: Personnel Policies and Practices” recognized the importance of equitable employment policies and the mission statement encouraged boards to: “develop equitable criteria in the areas of employee evaluation, hiring and promotion, with a view to ensuring the removal of all institutional barriers to equal employment opportunity” (PACRR, 1987, p. 14). The area priorities recommended an affirmative action program

for all women, particularly visible minority women, establishing a committee including parents to monitor implementation, and assigning a supervisory officer to monitor and review all employment policies and practices.

“Area Six: Staff Development” acknowledged the necessity of professional development to train staff and trustees to combat individual and institutional racism and the mission statement suggested: “to include criteria for appropriate staff training in the area of race and ethnocultural equity” (PACRR, 1987, p. 16). The area priorities included hiring antiracist education experts to design and implement programs for the training of all staff and involving racial and ethnocultural communities in the assessment of staff development needs and the design of programs.

“Area Seven: Assessment and Placement” observed that although all students should enjoy equal opportunity, some racial and ethnocultural minority students were being streamed into inappropriate programs. The mission statement suggested policies to monitor the assessment and placement of students and to facilitate parental involvement. The area priorities included addressing existing barriers, improving communications with parents, and acquiring data on the placement of all students to document their race/ethnicity and to measure *streaming* by race and ethnicity (PACRR, 1987, p. 18).

“Area Eight: Support Services in Guidance” acknowledged the importance of guidance counsellors’ student placements, assessments, educational and career planning in allowing minority students to reach their potential. The mission statement promoted cross-cultural counselling skills and the development of equity criteria to review student streaming, assessment, career guidance, and placement. The area priorities included providing antiracist staff development to all guidance counsellors, increasing the racial

and cultural diversity of guidance counsellors, and utilizing the expertise of community members to meet the needs of all students (PACRR, 1987, p 22).

“Area Nine: Racial/Ethnocultural Harassment,” described racial/ethnocultural harassment in schools as: “racist name-calling, jokes and slurs, graffiti, insults, threats, discourteous treatment, intimidation, and written or physical abuse. Such harassment may be of a subtle nature or it may be overt” (PACRR, 1987, p. 23). The mission statement suggested boards must be enabled to deal decisively and quickly with any incident of racial/ethnocultural harassment. The area priorities included having a policy and procedures for reporting and dealing with harassment, and providing training so all staff understand their responsibilities and have increased facility in dealing with these issues.

In Part III, “Implementing a Race and Ethnocultural Equity Policy,” the Advisory Committee suggested a process, with a diagram, for boards to implement a policy. The first section delineated the responsibilities of all the major stakeholders, specifically identifying the following groups: school board senior staff and trustees; principals; teachers, counsellors, librarians and support staff; curriculum writers; special services personnel; and parents, community organizations or associations, and students. The greatest focus was on senior staff and trustees. The *Report* recommended this group provide leadership in: identifying staff development needs; defining, designating and monitoring accountability; revising the curriculum; defining the impacts of racism on instruction and student outcomes; establishing priorities and presenting them to the various constituencies for clarification, discussion and endorsement. Part III next proposed a plan and process for developing a policy, then provided an implementation

plan comprised of strategies and results/outcomes, and concluded with a monitoring and evaluation checklist. The checklist asked boards to consider whether their policies and plans included: long and short term objectives; appropriate timelines; individuals responsible for implementation; leaders (including trustees, senior staff and principals) accountable for implementation; reporting mechanisms for leaders and community; research mechanisms for monitoring; procedures in place to measure progress across the system; and resources in place for implementation (PACRR, 1987, p. 29).

In Part IV of the *Report*, “Toward Anti-racism: The Case for Equity Policy,” the Advisory Committee provided historical, political and theoretical context as well as reasons for the development and implementation of race and ethnocultural equity policy in seven sections. The first section, Culture, Ethnicity and Race, specifically mentioned *Equality Now* and its recommendations designed to remove barriers preventing the full participation of all Canadian citizens including visible minorities. The second section, Historical Background, described Canada’s history of racism including: slavery, racial segregation of children of African descent, discrimination against Indigenous peoples based on White supremacy and dominance, anti-Semitism and discrimination and racist policies historically applied to racialized Canadian minorities including those of Chinese, Japanese, and South Asian ancestry. It explained: “Understanding the racism in Canada’s historical experience helps us better understand the nature of racism in our society today” (PACRR, 1987, p. 31). The third section, Toward Multiculturalism, detailed international and domestic calls for action, which eventually prompted the Canadian government to establish a policy of multiculturalism in 1971 (PACRR, 1987, p. 36). The fourth section, Multicultural Education, explained how the federal policy of multiculturalism led to

multicultural education, which had a limited focus “on such material and exotic dimensions of culture as food, dress and holidays, instead of linking these to the values and belief systems which undergird cultural diversity” (PACRR, 1987, p. 37). The fifth section, The Need to Address Racism, considered other significant limitations of multiculturalism including its failure “to address problems rooted not in cultural differences but in racial inequities of power and privilege” (PACRR, 1987, p. 38). It noted organizations, such as human rights commissions, universities, school boards, and various levels of government, increasingly were taking measures to specifically address racism. The sixth section, Anti-Racist Education, also referred to *Equality Now* while it developed a case for anti-racist education: “School boards can play a central role in eliminating racism in society, if anti-racist educational policies are developed and implemented” (PACRR, 1987, p. 39). It recognized the crucial role of board leaders in districts with existing race relations policies: “Fundamental to that experience has been the commitment of trustees and senior staff to the development of policy in the area of race and ethnocultural equity” (PACRR, 1987, p. 39). In the last section, Anti-racist Education: Conclusion, the *Report* argued a “policy on race and ethnocultural equity is crucial in preparing all children for the world of the 21st century which they will inherit at the local, national, and global levels” (PACRR, 1987, p. 41) and it underscored, again, the significant role of school board leaders: “Ontario’s educational leaders must commit their efforts to providing schooling that responds to the deepest aspirations of parents and of all society itself, while attending to the well-being of all our students” (PACRR, 1987, p. 41).

The *Report* used terminology and concepts new to Ontario policy to develop a conceptualization of race relations beyond that of *Equality Now* and, in doing so, it supported the four premises of antiracism. The *Report* not only confirmed racism in contemporary Canadian society and schools but also provided numerous historical and contemporary examples to support racism is real (premise one) and to show racist exclusions (premise two). It documented exclusions in school board employment and promotion processes that resulted in negative consequences for women, in general, and visible minority women, in particular (premise three). Students were reported to suffer from exclusions and negative consequences, which prevented them from reaching their potential because of Eurocentric curriculum and discriminatory assessment, placement, and counselling practices (premises two and three). To address these manifestations of racism, exclusions and negative consequences, the *Report* proposed an approach involving strategic development of comprehensive race relations policies addressing the nine areas of concern, supporting premise four (strategic antiracist education). It emphasized the crucial role of informed leadership to develop and implement policies including having a designated supervisory officer; called on boards to engage the active participation of community, including a committee of stakeholders; recommended comprehensive staff development training designed and implemented by antiracist education experts for all staff but particularly board leaders; and also recommended providing the necessary funding and resources.

Since the report confirmed the four premises of anti-racism, why then have I presented it as a document from the race relations policy phase and not the phase of antiracism and ethnocultural equity? The *Report* favoured antiracist education, however,

it is important to remember its text was prepared as draft guidelines for validation by school boards. Therefore, it only proposed the development of race and ethnocultural equity policies for school boards and was not a Ministry directive to boards to actually develop such policies. On the other hand, the *Report* did develop themes that emerged from and characterized the phase of race relations. The first theme was that racism exists in schools and was preventing racial and ethnocultural minority students from achieving their potential. The second was that multicultural education does not address the origins, growth and consequences of racism in schools. The third was the Ministry must encourage and support school boards to develop their own policies on race and ethnocultural equity rather than imposing a provincial policy on them. The fourth was to propose a school board process to develop these policies with community involvement and monitoring. The fifth was staff development would be necessary for all groups, but particularly trustees and supervisory officers, as their informed leadership and commitment would be necessary to ensure the development and implementation of the policies. The sixth and final theme was that suitable funding should be provided to support the development, implementation and monitoring of the policies.

Since the Advisory Committee presented these potentially controversial themes as a draft document to receive responses from boards and the public, the *Report* in effect served as a “trial balloon” for the Ministry. The *Report* invited comprehensive feedback on the themes and issues it had raised, prompting an inevitably wide range of school board responses. The two documents produced for the Ministry in 1988 and 1990 as follow-up to the *Report*, which like the *Report* are documents of the race relations phase, constituted the input provided to the Ministry and the Ministry’s reaction to it.

Synopsis of public responses to the report of the Provincial Advisory Committee on Race Relations: the development of a policy on race and ethnocultural equity.

The *Synopsis* summarized the responses of individuals, groups, and organizations as well as the discussions of seven regional Ministry-sponsored working conferences held to consider the *Report* (OMOE, 1988). The *Synopsis* was called a Ministry working paper, and like the *Report* did not prescribe Ministry policy. Following a brief introduction, the *Synopsis* was organized into four sections. The first section, “General Trends and Themes” provided a brief overview of the respondents and their responses. In total, 137 individuals, groups and organizations responded. The four largest groups by percentage were school boards (29%), interest groups (26%), schools and educators, including teachers and principals (18%), and education associations (10%). The majority of responses were in the form of a respondent’s report (55%), the rest were mostly letters (33%) and notations added to copies of the *Report* (12%) (OMOE, 1988, p. 2). Next this section summarized feedback from the written responses and focussed on recurring trends and themes. It found respondents supported the *Report*: “Overall comments reflected a positive view of implementing a race and ethnocultural equity policy in the school system” (OMOE, 1988, p. 4). Most respondents also supported community involvement and felt that “a policy could not be effectively implemented without major input from racial and ethnocultural minority groups” (OMOE, 1988, p. 4). The *Synopsis* found that the two most repeated themes were funding and leadership, as the majority of respondents: “focused on the need for financial support from the ministry to support this project, as well as the need for ministry direction and leadership in all aspects of the development, implementation, and monitoring of the policy” (OMOE, 1988, p. 5). The

first section of the *Synopsis* also identified omissions of specific groups whose experiences were either excluded or not given adequate consideration: “This is especially true of Native groups and groups who do not fall within the category of ‘visible minority’ (e.g., francophones, Jews, Germans)” (OMOE, 1988, p. 6). This section reported a criticism of the *Report’s* text and terminology was that they were “too complex, occasionally vague, and laden with jargon and terms which needed to be defined. Many respondents also indicated a need to expand the Report’s glossary and bibliography” (OMOE, 1988, p. 6). The *Synopsis* indicated a minority of respondents disapproved of the terms ‘anti-racism’ and ‘visible minorities’: “15% of respondents viewed the Report’s emphasis on anti-racism and visible minorities as being negative and counterproductive, and suggested that positive strategies emphasizing multiculturalism groups be adopted” (OMOE, 1988, p. 5). It noted as well some respondents suggested the *Report* should have provided more examples and nine said that “a ‘model’ policy, encompassing all of the priorities in the Report, should be developed and distributed to all boards” (OMOE, 1988, p. 6).

The last part of the first section and the second section summarized respondents’ feedback on each of the nine areas of concern and indicated the percentage of respondents. In the Leadership area 43% responded and agreed on the importance of: “informed leadership” to support the development and implementation of policies and plans; providing training to these leaders; and the Ministry taking leadership “in establishing timelines and monitoring boards’ progress” (OMOE, 1988, p. 7). In the School and Community Relations area 52% responded. They supported community collaboration in the development of equity policies and suggested the Ministry “should

develop models and strategies to ensure the involvement of minority groups” (OMOE, 1988, p. 7). Some raised concerns about the difficulty of obtaining minority group involvement, about ensuring truly representative participation and the costs and resources associated with providing literature and communications to all parents in their first language (OMOE, 1988, p. 8). In the Research area, 44% responded and gave general support for research into the impact of race and ethnicity on education but commented on the need for the Ministry to provide a “centralized focus” for this research (OMOE, 1988, p. 8). In the Curriculum area, 52% responded with general support for the idea that “students must learn about issues of racism and inequity” and “all curriculum should be restructured to reflect an ‘unbiased’ view of society” (OMOE, 1988, p. 8). Respondents were in favour of parental, community, staff and student involvement in identifying bias in the curriculum. In the Personnel Policies and Practices area 44% responded that having role models for racial and ethnocultural minority students was key to this policy (OMOE, 1988, p. 9). One board qualified its support, however, by stressing “the need to hire the ‘best’ people for the positions, regardless of gender, race or ethnocultural backgrounds”(OMOE, 1988, p. 34). In the Staff Development area 44% responded with support for improved staff development on race and ethnocultural equity and for providing training to all new teachers prior to their professional certification (OMOE, 1988, p. 9). In the Assessment and Placement area 44% of respondents “positively” supported ensuring appropriate placements for “racial and ethnocultural minority” students (OMOE, 1988, p. 9). A small number of these respondents, six of 57, expressed concern over the feasibility of translating standardized tests into student’s first languages (OMOE, 1988, pp. 46, 51). Earlier in the text seven respondents were reported to have

said this (OMOE, 1988, p. 9). All these respondents generally did not support a moratorium period on testing for immigrant children (OMOE, 1988, p. 10). In the Support Services in Guidance area 37% viewed the idea of having guidance counsellors reflecting the composition of the racial and ethnocultural community as: “impractical and unrealistic” (OMOE, 1988, p. 10). In the Racial/Ethnocultural Harassment area, 34% confirmed combatting racial harassment was an important issue and policy should include establishing a clear reporting structure and ensuring that the policy is well understood by all (OMOE, 1988, p. 10).

The third section of the *Synopsis*, “Responses to Part I, Part III and Part IV of the Report” provided a summary of the respondents’ feedback on these three parts of the *Report*. I will consider a sampling of the comments with a caution that it was not clear in this section whether some responses came from a single respondent or multiple respondents.

The summary of Part I of the *Report* titled “Overview” confirmed race relations was a concern for everyone, including those in small towns, medium sized cities, and regions with no multicultural mosaic. It said rural Ontario would be critically important to implementation of the proposed policy (OMOE, 1988, p. 66). Most comments on the Role of the Advisory Committee agreed that giving school boards autonomy to develop their own policies would be more effective than imposing a uniform provincial policy and that it would be advisable to involve all stakeholders, including parents and community organizations in policy development (OMOE, 1988, p. 66). Responses to the Equity Policy Development Cycle concluded school boards were familiar with the policy development cycle and one association recognized the importance to involve all

interested parties in the process (OMOE, 1988, p. 67). Comments provided on the School Board Role in Development of Policy included: the objectives of an equity policy should be limited to those matters over which school boards have reasonable control; the *Report's* identified issues are societal not simply related to education; and criteria for equity policies should consider age and lifestyle (OMOE, 1988, p. 67).

The summary of the feedback on Part III, "Implementing a Race and Ethnocultural Equity Policy" related mostly to board leaders and noted the significant differences in their policy roles, since supervisory officers develop and implement policy whereas trustees approve policy and related funds (OMOE, 1988, p. 68). Respondents suggested parents, community organizations, and students should play a greater role in policy and in day-to-day issues in high schools. Comments also included a caution that some interest groups are more aggressive than others, which could lead to unequal representation among minority groups (OMOE, 1988, p. 69). In this section, the researchers noted they received no comment on the role of principals and also none on the role of special services personnel. Comments on An Initial Plan supported: the plan for policy development; the proposal to establish clear timelines for implementation; the Minister's approval of goals and timelines; the implementation of plans at the school, region and board levels; and community collaboration (OMOE, 1988, p. 69). Comments on Implementation: Strategies and Results suggested staff training and development should have more emphasis and teachers should have clearer direction and role models to emulate (OMOE, 1988, p. 70). Feedback on Monitoring and Evaluation included questions regarding who would be responsible for policy enforcement and monitoring, as well as suggestions that the Ministry could be responsible for those two functions or a

provincial ombudsman could be assigned to monitor and survey valuable school board information (OMOE, 1988, p. 70). Respondents' overall comments on Part III included adding a budget process section to the area dealing with implementation; asking how to deal with staff who disagree with the proposed initiatives; asking how this policy process would affect boards with existing race relations policies; and a recommendation to have guidelines for those boards with existing policies (OMOE, 1988, p. 70).

The summary of Part IV, "Toward Anti-racism: The Case for Equity Policy," included comments on Culture, Ethnicity and Race, which focussed on Indigenous peoples and asked why the *Report* paid so little attention to "Native Indians" (OMOE, 1988, p. 69). Respondents' feedback on Multicultural Education made assertions, such as, the text was assuming all Ontario school boards practice racial discrimination; multicultural education should be an integral part of the curriculum because it can reduce prejudice and change attitudes; and multicultural curriculum development is a way of illustrating Canada's unique social structure (OMOE, 1988, p. 72). Comments on Anti-Racist Education included the following: one of the *Report's* most meaningful statements was that anti-racist education is just good education; anti-racist education had failed to touch the adult segment of society; anti-racist education policies should be implemented throughout Canada; multicultural and anti-racist education are not mutually exclusive and should be bound together in the *Report*; and more explicit attention needed to be paid to the basic principles on which antiracism and education equity are based (OMOE, 1988, p. 72).

"The Summary of Regional Conferences" highlighted feedback from seven regional conferences that the Ministry organized. Generalized feedback from all

conferences advised the Ministry to provide financial support including staff advice and resource commitments in the areas of curriculum and assessment tools. All seven conferences also noted “while the report concentrated on in-service training, pre-service teacher education was also very important” (OMOE, 1988, p. 73). Each conference raised the concern that Indigenous and other major ethnocultural and religious groups were excluded or not adequately considered.

I will not summarize all these comments so that the importance of isolated comments will not be inadvertently magnified. On the other hand, some common themes raised at several conferences are important to highlight. One such theme was a criticism of the use of the term anti-racist education. In Sudbury it was noted that although there was an acknowledgement that some prejudice exists: “the term ‘anti-racist’ unfairly depicted the entire system as racist” (OMOE, 1988, p. 75). In North Bay the “term ‘anti-racist’ was also seen as too negative. ‘Proactive race relations policy’ was preferred” (OMOE, 1988, p. 76). In Ottawa, “As well as being too limiting, participants commented that concentrating on ‘anti-racism’ as opposed to multiculturalism gave the document a negative tone” (OMOE, 1988, p. 77).

Overall the *Synopsis* provided an extensive digest of comments made on the *Report*. The document’s text contributed to the *Report*’s conceptualization of race relations. The *Synopsis* found the respondents’ major concerns to be objections related to the *Report*’s use of the term antiracist education and its suggestions for affirmative action initiatives. Respondents also found the focus on race and ethnocultural equity did not sufficiently address concerns of Indigenous people, as well as some religious and minority cultural communities.

The *Synopsis* did not introduce any new terminology or concepts to the *Report's* conceptualization of race relations because its purpose was restricted to collecting and digesting feedback. Nevertheless, my analysis of the feedback in the *Synopsis* document does establish support for the first three premises. Since the majority of respondents acknowledged the need for systematic race and ethnocultural equity policies, overall they confirmed premise one (racism is real). No respondents denied the existence of racism. However some – for example, those noted above who objected to applying the term anti-racist to the entire school system – did not consider it to be system-wide. Respondents' concerns around the *Report* failing to specifically identify Indigenous students as experiencing racism in schools suggested the Ministry needed to consider an expanded definition or understanding of racism in Ontario schools. Respondents accepted that women, visible minorities, and Indigenous people were being excluded in school boards. Thus, they confirmed premise two (racist exclusions). As well the respondents also did not deny these exclusions resulted in negative consequences thereby confirming premise three. The exclusions respondents accepted to be part of school board practices included: the Eurocentric orientation in school curriculum and practices; bias in selection and promotion processes; inappropriate assessments and placements of racial minority students; and racial harassment. While respondents' comments generally supported the first three premises, some respondents resisted the term antiracist education as well as the *Report's* attempt to move away from a focus on principles of multiculturalism toward antiracism and equity principles in developing policies and implementing plans. For example, a small number of respondents raised concerns about affirmative action

programs, concluding that they would preclude the best people from succeeding and some respondents did not support using antiracist consultants for training.

Examining the major themes and proposals addressed in the *Synopsis*, one finds for the most part respondents favoured the *Report's* proposal for active community participation in developing and monitoring policies. On the other hand, the *Report's* proposal that the policies should be based on antiracist education was not universally accepted since some constituencies considered only multicultural education policies were needed. The major themes and concepts of this document from the race relations policy phase carried over into the next document, *Implementing Race*.

Implementing race and ethnocultural equity in Ontario school boards.

The Ministry of Education commissioned Karen Mock and Vandra L. Masemann to complete *Implementing Race* (Mock & Masemann, 1990). The study was a 107-page research project designed “to gather existing policy documents, to identify the barriers to and key factors in success of policy development and implementation, and to make recommendations to the ministry to facilitate the process for school boards across Ontario” (Mock & Masemann, 1990, p. 5). The project was based on data from an initial survey, a follow-up questionnaire and interviews to determine whether Ontario’s school boards had developed policies on race and ethnocultural equity. At the time, from the total of 124 school boards in Ontario, 100 responded by submitting their policies and completing the survey questionnaire and some were interviewed. The study, therefore, found: “This high response rate (80.6%) provides a reliable overview of the ‘state of the art’ of race and ethnocultural equity policy development and implementation in school boards across the province” (Mock & Masemann, 1990, p. ix).

The study presented its finding in its first 65 pages. These parts of *Implementing Race* included a list of tables, list of figures, acknowledgements, abstract, executive summary, introduction, background and purpose of the study, method, results, summary and conclusions, and recommendations for action. The remainder of the document included a resource bibliography and two appendices.

The section, “Background and Purpose of the Study,” connected both to the preceding *Report* and the *Synopsis* documents. It provided context and a history of school board initiatives in the late 1970s and the 1980s that had responded to changes in demographics including multiculturalism, heritage languages, English as a Second language, and race relations. With regard to the latter, it noted incidents had occurred in school boards confirming “the need to have effective race relations policies in place to prevent discrimination against individuals and groups that result in inequalities in both education and employment” (Mock & Masemann, 1990, p. 3). In terms of history it recounted that the Ministry had organized the 1986 conference on race relations and established the Race Relations Advisory Committee; the Committee drafted the *Report*, which in turn generated feedback from stakeholders compiled in the *Synopsis*; and then the Ministry commissioned the *Implementing Race* project to expand on the respondents feedback provided in the *Synopsis*.

Implementing Race reported six major findings and ten recommendations for action, designed to consolidate information gathered from participating boards and inform the Ministry on next steps and supports the boards required. The study’s six major findings were summarized as follows: (1) 39 boards had policies on race and ethnocultural equity, 3 had drafts near completion, and over 20 boards were in the

process of developing a policy (Mock & Masemann, 1990, p. vii); (2) the contents and format of their policies varied widely, from a one-page policy statement to a 40-page policy document with accompanying administrative procedures (Mock & Masemann, 1990, p. vii); (3) boards with these policies generally often had related policies or procedures to address matters like harassment and curriculum (Mock & Masemann, 1990, p. vii); (4) the large urban boards of southern Ontario with more resources were more likely to have policies (Mock & Masemann, 1990, p. vii); (5) the key factors for successful policy development and implementation included (in the order presented): support and commitment from the senior administration; the political will of decision makers; school board recognition that racism exists and a commitment to eradicate it; adequate internal and external resources; community involvement for input, validation and monitoring; responsibility and accountability outlined clearly in the policy and procedures; and effective in-service training at all levels (Mock & Masemann, 1990, pp. vii-viii); (6) boards wanted the Ministry to provide leadership and modelling for their policy development and implementation by “mandating policy and providing both financial and human resources and guidelines for boards in keeping with their needs and situations” (Mock & Masemann, 1990, p. viii).

In addition to these six major findings, the study presented other policy development and implementation findings including: the process was lengthy and complex but boards who took the time needed were: “far more likely to develop a policy and process to maximize the likelihood of effective implementation” (Mock & Masemann, 1990, p. 9); tremendous resistance needed to be overcome in the policy development process and the resistance was both obvious and “covert” (Mock &

Masemann, 1990, p. 59); the attitudes and values of the school board, including trustees and senior staff, were key factors in successful policy development but also one of the greatest barriers to successful implementation (Mock & Masemann, 1990, p. 55); the board committee responsible for the policy should include the director or a senior superintendent and committee chairs should report directly to the director, if not, then to a superintendent (Mock & Masemann, 1990, p. 53); some level of standardization of content, format, structure and language of policies would be necessary to ensure equity for all Ontarians, regardless of location or demographics (Mock & Masemann, 1990, p. 63); and all school boards needed to address Indigenous students in their policies (Mock & Masemann, 1990, p. 65).

The study's 10 recommendations to the Ministry were provided to ensure success in developing policies and implementation plans. The first two advised the Ministry to mandate the development and implementation of policies and procedures for race and ethnocultural equity, including responsibilities for accountability (Mock & Masemann, 1990, p. xii) but also to supply clear guidelines and allocate sufficient resources to enable all boards to effectively develop and implement compliant policies with flexibility to meet local needs and context (Mock & Masemann, 1990, p. xii). Two recommendations suggested various supports to assist school boards with policy development. They included providing a policy development manual to present various models of policy development and practical step-by-step guidelines on implementation, as well as sections on Native and francophone issues and effectively engaging the community (Mock & Masemann, 1990, p. xii), and also providing boards with existing policies and support documents in a format easily accessible to them (Mock & Masemann, 1990, p. xii). Two

recommendations focused on regional supports including the establishment of resource centres in each region to provide a local clearinghouse of information, specialized resource collections, and local speakers and resource persons for workshops, committees and task forces (Mock & Masemann, 1990, p. xii) and providing assistance to set up networks of personnel involved in policy development and implementation to share information and resources and provide support (Mock & Masemann, 1990, p. xii). Two other recommendations addressed funding. They suggested the Ministry allocate funds to assist boards through a system of grants to develop their policy and implementation procedures “since effective policy development requires sufficient time and the commitment (and release time) of various staff members, as well as a level of support for the process that can put a strain on smaller boards with fewer resources” (Mock & Masemann, 1990, p. xiii). They added that funds should be provided to conduct research on the efficacy of policy and procedures in effecting change in social attitudes and behaviour in children in schools, as well as research on employment practices in school boards (Mock & Masemann, 1990, p. xiii). The ninth recommendation was that the Ministry should practice the tenets of race and ethnocultural equity to provide leadership and guidance for school boards (Mock & Masemann, 1990, p. xiii). The tenth recommendation was to pay particular attention to the interests and concerns of school boards serving Indigenous and francophone populations (Mock & Masemann, 1990, p. xiii).

In summary *Implementing Race* confirmed the respondents’ feedback provided in the *Synopsis*. For instance the generalized support of respondents for policies and plans continued in *Implementing Race* with specific suggestions on how to develop them.

Concerns over adequate funding and appropriate levels of ministry support and leadership continued in *Implementing Race's* findings and recommendations. As well respondents support for community involvement in the development, implementation and monitoring of policies and plans in the *Synopsis* continued, with a specific request for practical guidelines on how to effectively involve the community.

Concerns with antiracist terminology also carried over from the *Synopsis*. The study's researchers reported the "term 'anti-racist education' was used spontaneously only by people who also happened to have served on the provincial advisory committee. Most others consistently used the term 'race relations' or 'multiculturalism' in addition to 'race and ethnocultural equity' "(Mock & Masemann, 1990, p. 61). This observation, while purportedly based on documents and interviews does not accord with my experience at the time. My school board colleagues were using the terms multiculturalism and race relations but many also used the term antiracist education. Since I find the researchers' observation on the use of the term anti-racist education to be questionable, it casts some doubt on the related finding regarding terminology preferences. The study found: "The documents themselves and later follow-up interviews revealed that most school board personnel clearly prefer positive, pro-active language in the policy document and in most boards there is a reluctance to use the term anti-racist education, especially in the title" (Mock & Masemann, 1990, p. 8).

My analysis of *Implementing Race* shows it clearly supported the concepts and processes of developing and implementing race and ethnocultural equity policies proposed in the *Report*. The *Implementing Race* study found the bulk of the feedback concerned the need for the Ministry to provide the necessary resources and funding to

enable school boards to successfully develop and implement the policies. From my review of the feedback participants provided to the study's researchers, it was informed by the participants' significant operational knowledge and experience with successfully developing and implementing policy in school boards. Their comments identified a number of valid concerns about the implementation of what would be a complex policy and in many cases they presented well-conceived and pragmatic suggestions to help ensure the success of the project. Having reviewed the study's text, I find the researchers' interpretations of information the boards submitted and their observations drawn from it were sometimes dubious, as illustrated by the findings above related to the use of anti-racist education terminology. Another example was the study's finding that longer policies are preferable to shorter policies. In my view, this finding reflected a failure on the part of the researchers to accurately interpret material the boards submitted. I have never seen and do not believe any board's trustees or senior administration would aspire to have a 40-page policy. Based on my experience with board policies, I suspect that along with the trustee-approved board policy the board had submitted the related procedures that the director produced and, altogether, these materials constituted 40 pages. If indeed that was the case, then their findings in this study may have erroneously conflated board policies and procedures.

Despite the concerns raised over the terms antiracism and antiracist education that the researchers noted in the study, the text of *Implementing Race* confirmed all four premises. For instance the "Introduction" clearly confirmed premise one (racism is real) and the need for policies and plans to combat racism. The section on Interviews on Policy Development and Implementation confirmed premise two (racist exclusions) and

premise three (negative consequences) while emphasizing the requirement to address the exclusions and consequences confronting Indigenous students when developing race and ethnocultural equity policies. Finally, the “Summary and Conclusions” and “Recommendations for Action” strongly supported premise four (strategic antiracist education). Many of the themes and concepts addressed in the last two parts of *Implementing Race* will be found to carry over and be reflected in the Ministry’s subsequent documents, namely, *PPM #119, Changing Perspectives*, and the *Guidelines*.

The First Strategic Antiracism Policy Phase Document

The first document in the phase of strategic antiracism policy is the *Report of the Advisor on Race Relations to the Premier of Ontario, Bob Rae, June 9 1992* (the *Lewis Report*) (Lewis, 1992). The *Lewis Report* was prompted by two protests, which later became known as the *Yonge Street Riots*. They took place on May 4th and 5th, 1992. On the first evening over 1,000 protesters attended a rally, organized by the Black Action Defense Committee (BADC), to march from the United States consulate to the intersection of Yonge and Bloor Streets for a sit-in. It was organized to protest both the acquittal of the American police officers who had beaten Rodney King as well as the fatal police shooting of Raymond Lawrence in Toronto two days earlier for allegedly brandishing a knife. When police blocked the protestors’ access to Toronto City Hall, looting and vandalism erupted on Yonge Street. Police arrested 32 protestors while 37 police officers and three police horses suffered minor injuries. The next evening, another riot took place where 100 youth and 22 adults were arrested (Godfrey, 2016).

Premier Bob Rae appointed Stephen Lewis to be his Advisor on Race Relations and prepare a report for him. The *Lewis Report* made 23 recommendations to address

anti-Black racism in Ontario society and institutions, including schools. It encouraged swift movement on “ the commentary, which surrounds the recommendations, and the opportunity which the government can seize to make a real breakthrough on anti-racism in Ontario” (Lewis, 1992, p. 37). With regard to schools, the *Lewis Report* expressly called for implementing “multicultural and anti-racism policies in the School Boards of Ontario” (p. 25). The *Lewis Report* was the impetus for the Ministry to move out of the race relations policy phase and into the antiracism and ethnocultural equity policy phase. It prompted the Ministry of Education afterward to shift its focus, which had been predominantly on encouraging boards to develop policies on race and ethnocultural equity, to mandating all boards in the 1993 antiracist education initiative to develop and implement antiracism and ethnocultural equity policies. Therefore, just as *Equality Now*, which was not a Ministry of Education document, had influenced the Ministry’s transition away from the phase of multiculturalism and toward the phase of race relations, the *Lewis Report*, which also was not a Ministry document, prompted the Ministry’s next major policy shift, a movement toward strategic antiracism. It expanded the conceptualization of antiracism and ethnocultural equity with important new text, definitions and concepts, which confirmed all four premises and particularly the first premise that racism was real in Ontario.

The 37-page *Lewis Report* was written in the form of a letter and began with the salutation: “To Bob” (Premier Bob Rae). The opening paragraph provided its context: “It was a month ago, in the immediate aftermath of the riots in Toronto, that you asked me to take on a brief role as your Advisor on Race Relations, consult widely, and get back to you with recommendations” (Lewis, 1992, p. 1).

Lewis completed his assignment in only one month. The *Lewis Report* provided recommendations in the following eight areas: the criminal justice system (the largest part of the report), education (the second largest part but with the most recommendations), employment equity, access to trades and professions, the Ontario Training and Adjustment Board, the Ontario Anti-Racism Secretariat, the Cabinet Committee on Race Relations, and community development. Lewis held consultations across the province with groups, individuals, and representatives of visible minority community organizations, politicians, educators, members of policing organizations, parents and students before making his recommendations.

Based on these consultations, Lewis made four initial observations. First, anti-Black racism is the most pervasive manifestation of racism in Ontario: “While it is obviously true that every visible minority community experiences the indignities and wounds of systemic discrimination throughout Southern Ontario, it is the Black community which is the focus” (Lewis, 1992, p. 2). Second, the meetings were helpful but were “suffused with intensity. There is a great deal of anger, anxiety, frustration and impatience amongst those with whom I talked in visible minority communities” (p. 3). Third, “there is another emotion that was palpable, and it was fear” (p. 3). Mothers of the Black community were very afraid: “Mothers see their sons walk out the door; they never sleep until they see their sons walk back in” (p. 3). Fourth, it was good that the project lasted only one month because “absolutely everyone, wants to see speedy action on a whole variety of fronts” (p. 3) and those actions “must come soon, and they must be pretty fundamental” (p. 3).

Lewis (1992) provided nine specific recommendations regarding education. Five were dedicated to elementary and secondary education in Ontario and the other four were specific to colleges and universities. My analysis considers the five recommendations for elementary and secondary education. The first one proposed that: “The Minister of Education, through his new Assistant Deputy Minister, establish a strong monitoring mechanism to follow-up the implementation of multicultural and anti-racism policies in the School Boards of Ontario” (Lewis, 1992, p. 25). This recommendation built on the recommendation of the 1987 *Report* urging race and ethnocultural equity policies for all Ontario school boards. Significantly, it advised that the Minister of Education establish a strong monitoring mechanism, which would be accomplished quickly that same year through an amendment to the *Education Act*. The *Lewis Report* noted: “Every single school board must put elaborate policies in place, but the crucial thing is to monitor the performance of superintendents, principals and individual teachers” (Lewis, 1992, p. 22).

Second, Lewis (1992) recommended that: “The Minister of Education must monitor the implementation of Employment Equity in the Schools of Ontario, as closely as he monitors the implementation of his own Ministry” (p. 25). Again his recommendation built on the *Advisory Committee’s Report*, which had recommended more equitable personnel practices and an affirmative action program for visible minority women, but it did not actually address the topic of employment equity. The *Lewis Report* cited individual cases of exclusions and called for employment equity to address the disparity. One example came from a student in a Peel high school “who described her school as overwhelmingly multiracial, and then added that she and her fellow students

had white teachers, white counsellors, a white principal, and were taught black history by a white teacher who didn't like them." (Lewis, 1992, p. 21)

Third, Lewis (1992) recommended that:

The Parliamentary Assistant to the Premier, Ms. Zanana Akande, continue to pursue, with unrelenting tenacity, the revision of curriculum at every level of education, so that it fully reflects the profound multicultural changes in Ontario society. She might also pursue, as a logical accompanying reform vital to minority students, the elimination of streaming in the school system. (p. 25)

This recommendation linked to several areas of concern in the *Report* specifically the areas of Assessment and Placement, Curriculum, and Support Services in Guidance. The *Lewis Report* called for an end to Black students "being inappropriately streamed" and "disproportionately dropping-out" (Lewis, 1992, p. 2). It indicated that action was overdue to "reform and expand the curriculum" (p. 24) to include multicultural and antiracist education and that action was needed to change the knowledge and attitudes of educators who provide career counselling and place students: "Why do our white guidance counsellors know so little of different cultural backgrounds? (p. 20). Lewis (1992) advised the Premier as well that accomplishing these recommended changes in knowledge and practices would require the Ministry to supply "those Boards and those educators who labour in the vineyards of change, more and more support." (p. 24)

Lewis' fourth recommendation advised:

The Minister of Education begin a series of urgent round-table meetings with principals' associations, area superintendents and community groups. Both school and Board officials should account to community groups for their anti-

racism and multicultural curricula, and cooperate with them, school by school, in immediate implementation. (Lewis, 1992, p. 25)

The Advisory Committee's *Report* had addressed the involvement of local communities in four areas of concern, specifically the areas of School and Community Relations, Curriculum, Assessment and Placement, and Support Services in Guidance. The *Lewis Report* expanded on community participation. For example, it recounted the advice of a principal who noted: "It's also a matter of working with the community, and recognizing that the parents of these impressive and engaging students can help effect the change." (Lewis, 1992, p. 24)

The fifth recommendation advised that: "The Minister of Education must work with School Boards to ensure that the level of support for ESL and FSL programs is not permitted to decline in the face of growing needs" (Lewis, 1992, p. 25). Student languages, which had not been identified as an area of concern in the Advisory Committee *Report*, were identified as an issue in the *Lewis Report*. This theme would carry over to become a new area of focus in 1993 initiative.

In summary, the *Lewis Report*, prompted the Ministry to act on proposals that had been made previously in the Advisory Committee's *Report*, the *Synopsis*, and *Implementing Race*, specifically their recommendations for school boards to develop and implement race relations policies and implementation plans, by shifting the policy focus away from race relations and toward anti-racism, thereby strongly supporting premise one (racism is real). It named the Black community as experiencing the most profound racism in Canadian society and schools, further confirming premise one. It supported and expanded on the need for community involvement, to address racist exclusions and

negative consequences for racial and ethnocultural minority students. It introduced student languages as a new area of concern. It expanded on the themes of revising the Eurocentric orientation of the curriculum, reforming assessment and placement practices for racial and ethnocultural minority students, and emphasized the need for employment equity measures thereby confirming premises two (racist exclusions), three (negative consequences), and four (strategic antiracist education). As well, the *Lewis Report*, amplified certain strategic components, for example monitoring, by not only requiring community involvement in the review process but also by recommending that the Minister be given strong authority to review policies further supporting premise four. Therefore, the *Lewis Report* confirmed all four premises of antiracism.

Summary: The Significance of the Three Phases

The process I used to analyze the key government policies, based on Taylor, et al. (1997), Bell and Stevenson (2006), Ball (1994, 2006) and Titscher, et al. (2000), as well as grounded theory methods derived using Charmaz (2016), Clarke (2011) and Creswell (2013), led to my grounded theory of the three phases of government policy and combined to answer the question of where the 1993 antiracism and ethnocultural equity initiative came from. The phase of multiculturalism began with *Multiculturalism in Action* (OMOE, 1977), which did not name or confirm racism in the school system and only implied exclusions and negative consequences. But it did suggest some systemic responses to bias and stereotyping, including working with culturally diverse parents to reform curriculum. *Race, Religion and Culture in Ontario School Materials* (OMOE, 1980) expanded the previous document's conceptualization of multiculturalism, which focused predominantly on bias and stereotyping, to include race and religion. It

introduced the term ethnocentric viewpoint and, although it did not acknowledge racism is real in schools, it highlighted examples of racialized stereotyping in learning resources. In so doing it confirmed exclusions and negative consequences for students of minority cultures, races and religions.

The federal document *Equality Now* (Can. Parl., 1984) marked a transition from the phase of multiculturalism to the phase of race relations. *Equality Now* launched the phase of race relations, which was characterized by the confirmation that racism is real in Canadian society and its institutions and policies were required to address it. *Equality Now* identified schools among the Canadian institutions where racism exists and suggested that provincial governments should urge school boards to develop and implement race relations policies. *Equality Now*'s considerable influence on Ontario educational policy was reflected in three Ontario policy documents produced in the mid-1980s and early 1990s. *The Development of a Policy on Race and Ethnocultural Equity* (PACRR, 1987) suggested that antiracist education was required to allow Ontario students to reach their potential and proposed a process and guidelines for school boards to develop and implement race and ethnocultural equity policies organized around nine areas of concern. *A Synopsis of Public Responses to the Report of the Provincial Advisory Committee on Race Relations* (OMOE, 1988) followed and compiled, analyzed and presented the input received from all respondents to the 1987 *Report. Implementing Race and Ethnocultural Equity Policy in Ontario School Boards* (Mock & Masemann, 1990) was the third and final document of the phase of race relations. It was designed to assist the Ministry in forming a strategy to develop and implement race and ethnocultural equity policies for school boards. These three documents were based on the

conceptualization of race relations articulated in *Equality Now* but developed it into a conceptualization of race and ethnocultural equity. These documents confirmed racism in society and schools, racist exclusions and negative consequences, but did not yet articulate strategic antiracist education as the solution.

The *Lewis Report* (Lewis, 1992) signalled the transition to the phase of strategic antiracism. Its 23 recommendations to address racism in Ontario society and institutions, including schools, expanded on the conceptualization of race and ethnocultural equity to antiracism and ethnocultural equity. This document provided significant new text that confirmed the four premises and provided important context for the first part of my framework of educational reform, the problem. In particular it confirmed the presence and extent of racism, particularly anti-Black racism, called for multicultural and anti-racism policies as solutions and then recommended additional context (authority), text (theory), and consequences (plans of action) for the second part of my framework, policy development. For example it expanded on the revising the Eurocentric orientation of the curriculum, reforming assessment and placement practices for racial and ethnocultural minority students, and emphasized the need for employment equity measures. It also emphasized community involvement in policy development and monitoring, and called for strong Ministerial supervisory authority.

In effect, the *Lewis Report* (Lewis, 1992) prompted the Ministry of Education to move away from the race relations policy phase into the strategic antiracist policy phase and to produce the 1993 initiative. The documents that correspond with each of the policy phases are set out in Figure 4.1.

Figure 4.1. **Documents of the Three Phases of Government Policy on Race and Antiracism Leading up to the 1993 Initiative**

Policy Phase	Document
<p>Multiculturalism</p> <p>1970s to early 1980s</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Multiculturalism in Action: Curriculum Ideas for Teachers (OMOE, 1977/1981) • Race, Religion and Culture in Ontario School Materials: Suggestions for Authors and Publishers (OMOE, 1980)
<p>Race Relations</p> <p>early 1980s to early 1990s</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Equality Now: Participation of Visible Minorities in Canadian Society (Can. Parl., 1984) • The Development of a Policy on Race and Ethnocultural Equity (PACRR, 1987) • Synopsis of Public Responses to the Report of the Provincial Advisory Committee on Race Relations (OMOE, 1988) • Implementing Race and Ethnocultural Equity Policy in Ontario School Boards (Mock & Masemann, 1990)
<p>Strategic Antiracism</p> <p>early 1990s</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Report of the Advisor on Race Relations to the Premier of Ontario, Bob Rae, June 9 1992 (Lewis, 1992)

In the chapters that follow, my analysis of the initiative's documents builds on the first two parts of my framework for educational reform and develops the third part, policy implementation. While examining how the initiative documents articulated Ontario's conceptualization of antiracism and whether they fitted within the phase of strategic antiracism, I will also answer whether the 1993 antiracism and ethnocultural equity initiative was a genuine antiracist education project.

Chapter Five

The Ministry of Education's Conceptualization of Antiracism and Ethnocultural Equity in School Boards 1992-1993

Changing Perspectives (OMOE, 1992), the *Education Amendment Act 1992*, and *PPM #119* (OMOE, 1993a) were the first three documents that comprised the total of four documents of the initiative. In this chapter I analyse these first three documents in the order in which they developed, to illustrate how the Ministry's conceptualization of antiracism and ethnocultural equity changed and advanced over time as it formulated the 1993 antiracism education initiative. This analysis uses my framework of policy analysis, based Taylor, et al. (1997), to focus on context, text and consequences (policy implementation) and it is supplemented by applying Harman's (1984) approach to policy as an identified problem, a set of desired goals, and plans of action designed to meet the goals and resolve the problem. Additionally, it is structured to relate to my framework of educational reform and is organized to analyze in each policy: how the Ministry of Education identified the problem of racism in schools and articulated the context of that problem; how the policy document (including the Minister's authority) expressed the goals, expectations and requirements for school board antiracism and ethnocultural equity policy development; and how the Ministry set out its expectations and requirements for policy implementation, including monitoring, pressures and supports, to ensure school board plans of action meet the goals of policy development in addressing the problem. Finally, I apply my antiracism theoretical framework, based on Dei's (1996) anti-racism praxis and Stanley's (2011, 2014) anti-essentialist antiracism, to my analysis of *Changing Perspectives*, the *Education Amendment Act 1992*, and *PPM #119* to discuss how the

Ministry's conceptualization of antiracism and ethnocultural equity, at this time, was developing with respect to the four fundamental premises of antiracist education (abbreviated): 1. Racism is real; 2. Racist exclusions come from the racisms; 3. Negative consequences arise for those excluded; and 4. Strategic antiracist education is required to address the racisms.

Changing Perspectives - A Resource Guide for Antiracist and Ethnocultural-Equity Education

Changing Perspectives (OMOE, 1992) was the first document produced in relation to the 1993 antiracism education initiative. It is noteworthy for introducing the term *antiracism and ethnocultural equity*. My policy analysis of *Changing Perspectives* shows its text conceptualizing antiracist education are both different from and less developed than those in the subsequent documents of the initiative.

Changing Perspectives was a 37-page curriculum resource document, "designed to help Ontario educators create a learning environment and learning opportunities that are permeated by the principles of equity" (OMOE, 1992, p. 2). The purpose of "curriculum resource documents," as indicated on the Ministry's website, is to "support implementation of policy and their use is a local decision". "Curriculum policy documents," in contrast, "identify what students must know and be able to do at the end of every grade or course in every subject in Ontario publicly funded schools" (OMOE, Ontario Curriculum, Frequently asked questions, August 16, 2017, paras. 2 & 3).

The Ministry's process for writing both curriculum policy and resource documents generally includes consultation. The "Acknowledgements" section of *Changing Perspectives* confirms that to prepare this document a Ministry team led the

project and consultations, working with writing and advisory committees. The writing and advisory committees were comprised mostly of educators (who represented school boards, teachers' federations, and one Faculty of Education) as well as a few Ministry of Education representatives, several members of the Ontario Advisory Council on Multiculturalism and Citizenship, and one representative from a First Nations community (OMOE, 1992, pp. 35-36). It is also worth noting some of the specific publications used to prepare the document. For example, the "Glossary" is attributed to four sources, including works by Barb Thomas and Enid Lee (OMOE, 1992, p. 33) who I noted in my Chapter Two Literature Review, along with George Dei of OISE, were leaders in antiracist education in Ontario.

Changing Perspectives was published in 1992; however, it was only widely distributed to school boards in 1993 after the release of *PPM #119*. Most boards' copies of *Changing Perspectives* included the Ministry's one-page insert titled "Note on Changing Perspectives" and dated July 1993 (OMOE, July 1993). This insert explained the document had been under development for several years while Ontario also was involved in formal discussions on Indigenous self-government. Therefore, it further explained: "To avoid confusing the issues under discussion with the issue of racism, *Changing Perspectives* makes little reference to Aboriginal peoples" (OMOE, July 1993, para. 2). Producing curriculum and resource documents takes time as the project leaders, the writing and the advisory committees, work to generate, review and rewrite successive drafts until the text of the final document is achieved. Therefore, the document's long creation-period was not an unusual revelation for the Ministry to make. On the other hand, disclosing Ontario's contemporaneous discussions with First Nations on

governance issues sheds light on why this first document offers only a preliminary representation of antiracist education.

The Ministry's omission of references to Indigenous students in this first document is unusual and antithetical to the priority given to Indigenous students in its subsequent antiracism and ethnocultural equity documents. The Ministry's omission of Indigenous students from this first document provides one example of how the text and focus of the initiative advanced from the initial drafting of *Changing Perspectives* to the issuing in 1993 of *PPM #119*.

Changing Perspectives is organized in three parts. "Part 1: Principles of Antiracist and Ethnocultural-Equity Education" consists of an overview of the principles of antiracist and ethnocultural education, outcomes for student learners, characteristics of the learning environment, and concludes with the reception, assessment and evaluation of students (OMOE, 1992, p. 6). In "Part 1" the section addressing Characteristics of the Learning Environment describes suggestions for policy development and implementation, program expectations and individual educator responsibilities (OMOE, 1992, p. 7-14). In fact a total of 15 characteristics, with associated suggestions, are set out in this section. In the last section of "Part 1", about the Reception, Assessment and Evaluation of Students, three more characteristics surface (OMOE, 1992, p. 16-20). In total, "Part 1" of *Changing Perspectives* introduces key topics and strategies for 18 characteristics of the learning environment, which *PPM #119* later on consolidates and presents as 10 areas of focus.

"Part 2: Antiracist and Ethnocultural-Equity Education in the Classroom: Activities," offers a variety of antiracism and ethnocultural equity learning activities

organized according to developmental and curriculum levels (OMOE, 1992, p. 22-27). A section on learning outcomes, which is a feature of many curriculum documents, precedes these activities, providing goals and expectations (OMOE, 1992, p.22). The final section of “Part 2” describes specific activities for both elementary and secondary students, as well as separate sections for elementary and secondary classrooms (OMOE, 1992, p. 23-27). One example it provides for all levels is having students read versions of the same story from different countries (OMOE, 1992, p. 27).

“Part 3: Positive Responses to Misconceptions About Antiracist and Ethnocultural Equity Education,” anticipates frequently raised concerns and misconceptions about antiracist education and suggests positive responses (OMOE, 1992, pp. 30-32). For instance to address the misconception that antiracist education is important only in large urban areas, the suggested response is that regardless of where students are educated they need antiracist education to participate effectively in a broader, racially diverse society (OMOE, 1992, p. 30). This part includes the “Glossary,” which defines terms including *antiracist education* and *multicultural education* (OMOE, 1992, p. 33).

Changing Perspectives’ conceptualization of antiracist education is connected to the principles of multicultural education. For example, in the “Preface” it describes antiracist and ethnocultural equity education as “a broad term for an endeavour that includes both multicultural education and antiracist education” (OMOE, 1992, p. 2). As well, the two terms are used in combination to describe policies and goals for students: “The Ontario government’s policies on multiculturalism and antiracism taken together, are intended to ensure that students of all racial and ethnocultural heritages have equal opportunity to develop their individual potential” (OMOE, 1992, p. 2).

Multicultural education is described as having three objectives: (1) to include in the school environment and in curriculum practices, content that reflects diverse cultural backgrounds; (2) to incorporate a balanced perspective including diverse points of view; (3) to promote an awareness of various cultural groups and a recognition of their value and significance (OMOE, 1992, p. 2). In contrast, antiracist education “complements multicultural education by dealing with both intentional and systemic discrimination (the latter defined as attitudes and practices that are discriminatory in effect if not intent)” (OMOE, 1992, p. 2). Thus, applying my grounded theory of the three phases of government policy, I find that the text of *Changing Perspectives* are more consistent in context and contents with the phase of race relations rather than antiracist education.

Its conceptualization of antiracist education begins to address but does not yet confirm premise one. Most significantly, it fails to acknowledge racism is real. Conversely the definition of “racism” in the “Glossary” of *Changing Perspectives*, confirms individual and systemic racism, using language that will be employed in future initiative documents: “Racism is evident within organizational and institutional structures and programs as well as in individual thought and behaviour patterns” (OMOE, 1992, p. 34). Thus, this definition confirms premise one.

Curiously for an antiracism document, the term racism is used only four times in the entire text of *Changing Perspectives*. The first time is in the section “Outcomes for the Learner”: “Students from all racial and ethnocultural groups should be able to expect: a welcoming environment, free from prejudice and racism and equipped to relieve the linguistic, social and cultural disorientation faced by many students” (OMOE, 1992, p. 6). In this articulation racism’s consequences are limited to linguistic, social and cultural

disorientation, which situates this particular text of the document back in the previous phase of multiculturalism. Racism is used for the second and third times in the section on Characteristics of the Learning Environment, which deals with Guidance Counsellors. Here the text describes 14 ways guidance counsellors can play a pivotal role in antiracist and ethnocultural-equity education. But only two of the 14 proposed objectives use the term racism: “identifying students who need help in working out their feelings about racism; [and] assisting all staff who work with students with academic, emotional, and behavioural difficulties and who need to understand how racism interferes with students’ learning” (OMOE, 1992, p. 13). The first reference presents racism as an individual rather than a systemic issue. The second implies that racism adversely affects student learning but could also suggest the victims of racism (Indigenous, racial minority and ethnocultural students) have academic, emotional and behavioural issues. Racism is used for the fourth time in a response suggested to the question whether there is racial discrimination in Ontario. The response confirms some Canadians experience prejudice and discrimination, “but most Canadians want to do something about it. They believe that racism, prejudice, and discrimination are harmful to everyone in society” (OMOE, 1992, p. 30). In summary, all four references to racism in *Changing Perspectives* only identify the impact of racism on individuals. None of them acknowledge racism as being systemic and embedded in the organizational structures and programs of the education system. This conception of racism, which describes it as an individual and not a systemic failure, is inconsistent with the definition of racism in the “Glossary”.

In this document the Ministry uses the term racial discrimination rather than racism, which constitutes a serious flaw in a resource document that purportedly supports

antiracist education. Thus, applying my grounded theory of the three phases of policy to this text of the document places it in the phase of race relations. For example, *Changing Perspectives* refers to racial discrimination throughout and always in instances where the term racism would have been more suitable, according to the glossary definition. *Changing Perspectives'* explanation of antiracist education also only identifies intentional and systemic discrimination (OMOE, 1992, p. 2). Overall, my analysis shows *Changing Perspectives* does not confirm premise one since it consistently, and apparently deliberately, does not identify the existence of racism in schools.

On the other hand, *Changing Perspectives* introduces and identifies the sources of systemic exclusions suffered by racial and ethnocultural minority students thereby confirming premise two. The "Preface," which introduces the exclusions, is in keeping with Bonilla-Silva (2010) and Graves' (2015) colour-blind racism. It notes the education system provides privilege to White Europeans through a focus that is "primarily Western European in content and perspective... . As a result, some students of other than Western European background have not seen themselves represented in Canadian history or have not seen themselves represented positively" (OMOE, 1992, p. 2).

This acknowledgement of systemic discrimination arising from the Western European orientation of the Ontario school system, prompts *Changing Perspectives* to propose a systemic response: "Antiracist education calls for educators to recognize how discrimination, distortions and omissions occur; to correct distortions and remedy omissions and discriminatory conditions; and to establish practices and procedures consistent with the goals of equity education" (OMOE, 1992, p. 2). Since this language confirms exclusions and calls on educators to identify and eliminate them, it begins to

approach Dei's (1996) anti-racism praxis. However, it falls short because it cannot engage premise four (strategic antiracist education) without confirming premise one (racism is real).

Along with implicit and explicit acknowledgements of exclusions, the document introduces negative consequences related to these exclusions consistent with Omi and Winant (1994), as well as Lipsitz (2011). Thus, it confirms premise three. *Changing Perspectives'* text implies a variety of negative consequences flow from racial discrimination. For example, various forms of discrimination are implied when advising that schools' codes of behaviour should state: "that physical, verbal, and psychological abuse and discrimination, on the basis of race, culture, religion, gender, language, or any other attribute, are unacceptable" (OMOE, 1992, p. 10). In addition, a number of specific examples of discrimination are stipulated in text about the assessment and placement of students. "Educators now recognize that many assessment and placement procedures traditionally contain hidden biases that may have the effect of limiting the educational opportunities of ethnic minority and/or immigrant students" (OMOE, 1992, p. 17). "Many standardized tests (achievement, aptitude, and psychological) are culturally biased." (OMOE, 1992, p. 18). "At present, a disproportionately large number of newly arrived students are placed in programs at the basic level, and a disproportionately small number at the advanced level" (OMOE, 1992, p. 19). "Many newly arrived immigrant students encounter learning difficulties because of low levels of English skills. Such difficulties may be misinterpreted as indicating a need for special education placement" (OMOE, 1992, p. 20). All these examples highlight negative consequences mainly for newly arrived immigrant students, thereby confirming premise three.

On the other hand, by focussing on newly arrived immigrants and not including other minorities and by not explicitly identifying the sources or the perpetrators of these problems, the text does not really address eliminating the exclusions. Therefore, it does not confirm premise four.

So far my analysis of *Changing Perspectives* shows it introduces text and concepts supporting the antiracism education initiative; however, its conceptualization of antiracist education does not consistently confirm racism is real and exists in schools nor does it propose strategic antiracist education to address racist exclusions and negative consequences. Having only the status of a resource document, *Changing Perspectives* cannot mandate schools and school boards to comply with the ideas and strategies suggested in the document for eliminating exclusions. Consequently, this document only helps to move toward but does not engage premise four. It introduces the terminology for, as well as a preliminary conception of, antiracism and ethnocultural-equity education and it encourages school system administration to “provide a coherent and comprehensive policy with respect to antiracism and ethnocultural equity” (OMOE, 1992, p. 2) organized around and addressing discrimination in 18 areas associated with the school environment and curriculum.

My analysis of this document reveals also a stronger orientation toward multicultural education than antiracist education, which in turn affects the extent to which it can engage premise four. Its failure to confirm racism is real and its preference for multicultural education over antiracist education illustrates the historical context and theories that were prevalent when it was being written. A more detailed analysis of the

text of *Changing Perspectives*, which follows, demonstrates why its conceptualization of antiracist education is not consistent with the subsequent documents of the initiative.

This analysis begins with the “Glossary” definitions. The term *multicultural education* is described as a “philosophy integrated within the education system, or a set of structured learning activities and curricula designed to create and enhance understanding of and respect for cultural and racial diversity” (OMOE, 1992, p. 34). Whereas *antiracist education* is described as “the effort to counter forms of racism manifested in the education process. Antiracist education seeks to identify and change institutional policies and procedures and individual behaviours and practice that may foster racism” (OMOE, 1992, p. 33). The definition of antiracist education acknowledges the existence of racism and calls for a systemic response to identify and eliminate racism in individual behaviours but also in institutional policies, procedures and practices. This conceptualization of antiracist education is consistent with the expressions in subsequent documents confirming premise one (racism is real) and premise four (strategic antiracist education). Nonetheless, a textual analysis of *Changing Perspectives* reveals in this document, as a whole, a multicultural approach rooted in 1970s policy ideas rather than an antiracist approach. In fact it is difficult to find any examples in *Changing Perspectives* that are consistent with its own “Glossary” definition of antiracist education. For instance, in the section on “Outcomes for the Learner” all nine stated outcomes are consistent with the definition of multicultural education. One of these outcomes, for example, indicates that students should expect “opportunities to acquire the attitudes, skills and knowledge needed to live in a multicultural society” (OMOE, 1992, p. 6). Only one outcome approaches the definition of antiracist education, stating all students

should expect a welcoming learning environment, “free from prejudice and racism and equipped to relieve the linguistic, social, and cultural disorientation faced by many students” (OMOE, 1992, p. 6).

“Part 2: Antiracist and Ethnocultural-Equity Education in the Classroom: Activities” continues to emphasize multicultural education. The following example, which is representative of all six learning outcomes, illustrates: “learn about and respect cultures, races, religions, and languages other than their own” (OMOE, 1992, p. 22). The only outcome that approaches antiracist education is the one that aims to enable students to “think critically in order to recognize and avoid past and present inequities, stereotyping, and bias, and develop empathy with those who experience or have experienced injustice” (OMOE, 1992, p. 22).

All eleven activities set out in “Activities for Both Elementary and Secondary Students” are multicultural. For example “Students design and create bulletin boards, murals, and posters around a multicultural theme, such as family life or celebrations across cultures” (OMOE, 1992, p. 23). One activity leans toward an antiracist approach as it suggests an inclusive practice to address a systemic exclusion: “Students from all the racial and ethnocultural groups in the school take turns participating in opening exercises and making PA announcements” (OMOE, 1992, p. 23).

The 25 “Activities for Elementary Students” also have a multicultural focus, as the following example demonstrates: “The whole class sings songs from each child’s culture and/or from a variety of cultures.” (OMOE, 1992, p. 24). Only one example highlights exclusions, thereby approaching antiracist education. It would require a knowledgeable and skilled antiracist educator, however, to plan and facilitate it

effectively: “Students study the history of Native peoples. For example, students examine a map of Canada that shows the location of Indian reserves, to see how close their community is to a reserve” (OMOE, 1992, p. 25). Unless this activity were presented with an antiracist approach, it would not consider whose voice recounts this history or show the adverse systemic effect of colonization for “Native peoples” nor would it consider unresolved land claims, which could create the erroneous impression that reserves are the only territories “Native peoples” have ever inhabited. As well students would not learn whose traditional or unceded territory their schools and homes are on.

The 25 “Activities for Secondary Students” continue to have a multicultural orientation and only a few have the potential to be reconstructed by an antiracist educator to meet the goals of antiracist education. One example is in a facilitated discussion of whether Columbus discovered America, suggesting students analyse “critically the implications of the works used in many history texts ... [and] analyze news stories and images presented in the media. They can consider the following questions in their analyses: What countries/societies are portrayed positively? Negatively? ... How have words and pictures been selected to support stereotypes?” (OMOE, 1992, p. 27). In this lesson, as in the other examples, a teacher who has the knowledge, training and skills of an antiracist educator would be needed to appropriately tailor and facilitate the learning.

Therefore, although *Changing Perspectives* introduces the term antiracist education into the lexicon of Ontario education, which was of great consequence, the context and text underlying this document’s articulation of antiracist and ethnocultural equity education are overshadowed by multicultural education. One way to explain the multicultural orientation in *Changing Perspectives* would be the limits on the Ministry’s

authority over the work of teachers in classrooms. As mentioned, “Resource documents support implementation of policy and their use is a local decision.” (OMOE, Ontario Curriculum, Frequently asked questions, August 16, 2017, para. 3). By its definition the implementation of this resource document would be discretionary not mandatory. The legislated role of the Ministry and school boards with respect to curriculum is useful to elaborate on this observation. The *Education Act* in 1992 and today specifies the Minister of Education is responsible for developing curriculum (Revised Statutes of Ontario 1990, c. E.2, s. 8(1) para. 2), whereas school boards and principals are responsible for supervision of teachers and teachers are responsible for preparing lesson plans and teaching classes (Revised Regulations of Ontario 1990, Reg. 298, ss. 11(3) and 20). A direct reporting or supervisory relationship does not exist between the Ministry and teachers regarding their classroom practice. The Ministry’s curriculum documents describe overall and specific program expectations, however, in accordance with the *Education Act*, the specifics of program development and teaching in the classroom are left up to school boards and their teachers. Since the Ministry cannot directly dictate the lessons teachers present to their students the Ministry might have emphasized a multicultural focus in this document, knowing that it would be familiar and non-controversial for most teachers and so they likely would use it.

Given the respective, legislated roles and responsibilities of the Ministry, school boards, and teachers, the language employed in this document can only invite rather than direct educators to consider antiracist and ethnocultural equity education. For example, to impose legislated requirements on boards, in policy documents the Ministry generally uses verbs like “shall” and “will,” which emphasize the expectation of compliance. In

contrast in a resource document, such as *Changing Perspectives*, usually the verbs are invitational and permissive, although occasionally somewhat directive verbs like “should” are used. Throughout *Changing Perspectives*, the verbs and tone of the language it uses are mostly invitational and permissive. In the text of “Part 1” on The System Administration specific examples of such language include: “the school administration *should* provide a coherent and comprehensive policy with respect to antiracism and ethnocultural equity” (OMOE, 1992, p. 7, my own emphasis)² and “the school administration *should* ensure that policies are in harmony with the board’s policy on multiculturalism and antiracism” (OMOE, 1992, p. 7). Occasionally *Changing Perspectives* resorts to more directive language. Examples are: “the school administration *will* support professional development in antiracist and ethnocultural-equity education” (OMOE, 1992, p. 8) and “the school administration *will* develop with students, a school behaviour code consistent with the board’s antiracism policy” (OMOE, 1992, p. 8). The text about Teachers in “Part 1” also uses the verb “will”: for example, “teachers *will* recognize and work to eradicate racially or culturally biased language and behaviour in themselves, their colleagues, and their students” (OMOE, 1992, p. 9) and “teachers *will* be sensitive to racial and cultural biases in classroom materials and the media” (OMOE, 1992, p. 9). However, in each example, the Ministry’s expectation is constructed in such a general way that it would be difficult to establish whether schools, especially their teachers, were complying. Therefore, even in its most prescriptive moments *Changing Perspectives* respects the fact that supervision and performance of

² Throughout the remainder of this study in my discussions of the text of the documents of the initiative wherever a verb appears in italics I have added that emphasis.

teachers is exclusively the purview of school boards, specifically the school principal, and it does not seek to direct or impose antiracist practices on teachers.

In summary, my analysis of the document's context and text confirms the Ministry would like teachers to consider the ideas and strategies of *Changing Perspectives*, including the need for antiracist education. However, it also stays within the boundaries of what a resource document is designed to do in that it implicitly takes into account legislated limits on the Ministry's authority to direct teachers.

Despite the limits on the ability of *Changing Perspectives* to impose change on teacher practices, it introduces the term antiracist education, as I have already addressed, and other text, which I discuss next, that is important to the development of the antiracism education initiative. For example "Part 1: Principles of Antiracist and Ethnocultural-Equity Education" highlights some of the most notable components of antiracist education particularly those components that are further developed as text and consequences of antiracist education in subsequent documents of the initiative. The lengthy section on "Characteristics of the Learning Environment" introduces 15 characteristics, namely: (1) system administration; (2) the school administration: principals and vice-principals; (3) teachers; (4) support services personnel; (5) the school's code of behaviour; (6) the library resource centre; (7) visual displays; (8) expectations for interaction; (9) co-curricular activities; (10) student leadership development programs; (11) the curriculum materials committee; (12) bias in language; (13) school-community interaction; (14) guidance counsellors; and (15) student languages. The section on "Reception, Assessment and Evaluation of Students" introduces three additional characteristics, which are: (16) reception, (17) assessment,

and (18) evaluation of student performance. In total these 18 characteristics identify the major components and functions of schools and school boards that are important to address in developing comprehensive antiracist policies and implementation plans.

In “Part 1” the System Administration text is directed at both senior staff and trustees, as they are responsible for policy development and policy implementation. It begins to suggest strategic antiracist policy development including curriculum reform with community participation. It starts with the objective for school system administration to “provide a coherent and comprehensive policy with respect to antiracism and ethnocultural equity” (OMOE, 1992, p. 7). With respect to policy implementation, it sets out the objective for school system administration to “work with schools and the community to set up a committee to review curriculum materials; encourage meaningful participation in the life of the school by parents and students from all racial and ethnocultural groups” (OMOE, 1992, p. 7). This is followed by suggestions to provide training for all board staff.

The text of the characteristics of School Administration: Principals and Vice-Principals addresses the responsibilities of a school’s administration with respect to staff, students, the school environment and parents/community, suggesting reforms to school based practices and procedures. Under the heading of Responsibilities Towards Staff the text concerns hiring and promotion, stating principals will “ensure that candidates for employment and promotion know that it is school practice to affirm antiracism and ethnocultural equity in all areas of school life, including the composition of school staff” (OMOE, 1992, p. 8). It is followed by suggestions to support professional development in antiracism and ethnocultural equity and encourages the use in training of diverse

resources from the library, community, parents and students. Under the heading of Responsibilities Toward Students the text directs administration to “develop with students, a school behaviour code, consistent with the board’s antiracism policy” (OMOE, 1992, p. 8). The text under Responsibilities Towards the School Environment indicates the administration “will ensure that racial and ethnocultural diversity is reflected in school events” (OMOE, 1992, p. 8). This directive acknowledges and attempts to mitigate the traditional Western orientation of the school curriculum, environment and programming. Under Responsibilities Towards Parents and Community the text directs the administration to: “work with teachers, parents and community members to establish expectations for the school environment; work with teachers and parents to establish a network of resource persons and interpreters to assist teachers in shaping curriculum to meet the needs of a diverse student population” (OMOE, 1992, p. 8). It is followed by suggestions including to honour parents’ heritages and languages, encourage all parents to participate in school programs, provide a welcoming atmosphere for all parents while making special efforts to reach minority groups who are hesitant to come to the school, distribute announcements to parents in languages they will understand, and provide mechanisms to allow staff, students and parents to contribute to school policies and practices.

The text concerning The Curriculum Materials Committee recommends establishing this committee “at the board level” (OMOE, 1992, p. 11) to assist in reviewing learning materials and as a support to educators. The text for Guidance and Counsellors recognizes the role of counsellors in “identifying racism, helping to dismantle discriminatory barriers and providing strategies to ensure students who belong

to racial and ethnocultural minorities can achieve their potential” (OMOE, 1992, p. 13). The text for Students Languages acknowledges the importance of first language and the revision of teacher knowledge: “Teachers in all curriculum areas should recognize the importance of the language the student already speaks” (OMOE, 1992, p. 14). The text regarding the characteristic of Assessment acknowledges bias leads to inappropriate placements for minority and immigrant students: “Educators now recognize that many assessment procedures traditionally used contain hidden biases that may have the effect of limiting educational opportunities of ethnic minority and/or immigrant students” (OMOE, 1992, p. 17).

The 18 characteristics that “Part 1” introduces are important because they reflect and later are consolidated into 10 areas of focus in *PPM #119* (OMOE, 1993a). The ideas and suggestions which I have selected and highlighted from the 18 characteristics in “Part 1” could certainly be used as the basis for comprehensive policies and implementation plans particularly related to the areas of leadership, staff development, school community partnerships and curriculum. These ideas and suggestions go beyond the prevailing multicultural orientation of *Changing Perspectives* and move closer to those of antiracism. In addition, most of them will reappear in subsequent documents of the initiative.

Summary of Changing Perspectives

Overall *Changing Perspectives* fails to confirm that racism in school boards and schools is real and is both systemic and individual, which does not allow the document to fully engage the four premises. The document introduces a preliminary conceptualization of antiracist education, but it is discounted by an orientation toward multicultural

education. Importantly, it introduces 18 characteristics of the learning environment for attention in school boards and schools, which foreshadow areas of focus that emerge in subsequent documents of the initiative. It proposes a number of ideas and suggestions in outlining the characteristics that could be used to fully develop comprehensive antiracist policies and plans. Unfortunately, they are presented only as ideas and suggestions for schools and school boards to consider. Consequently, *Changing Perspectives* certainly would engage educators who already are using multicultural education in their classroom and who share the belief stated in the introduction: “Antiracist and ethnocultural education is a broad term for an endeavour that includes both multicultural and antiracist education” (OMOE, 1992, p. 2). On the other hand, it would be less likely to prompt antiracism policy and practices in schools and classrooms. Despite its title, *Changing Perspectives*, as a resource document does not have the authority to direct or prompt the individual and organizational change necessary for antiracist education to become established. In addition the text of the document does not present a conceptualization of strategic antiracist education because it does not confirm premises one and four.

The Education Amendment Act 1992

The Minister’s powers related to antiracism and ethnocultural equity were established in the *Education Amendment Act (Education Authorities and the Minister’s Powers), 1992* (Statutes of Ontario 1992, c. 16, s. 2), commonly referred to as the *Education Amendment Act 1992*. This Act came into force on July 27, 1992. It added to the Minister’s powers then set out under subsection 8(1) of the *Education Act* (Revised Statutes of Ontario 1990, c. E.2, as am. Statutes of Ontario 1990, Vol. 2, c. 10 and 15), which I refer to in this study as the *Education Act* of 1992, by repealing paragraph 29 of

subsection 8(1) and substituting three new paragraphs: 29, 29.1 and 29.2. The repealed s. 8(1) paragraph 29 read:

8(1) The Minister may, ...

affirmative action policy

29. require boards to establish and maintain a policy of affirmative action with respect to the employment and promotion of women.

The three new paragraphs, which replaced s. 8(1) para. 29, read as follows:

8 (1) The Minister may, ...

employment equity

29. require boards to develop and implement a policy on employment equity for women and other groups designated by the Minister, to submit the policy to the Minister for approval and to implement changes to the policy as directed by the Minister;

ethnocultural equity

29.1 require boards to develop and implement an ethnocultural equity and anti-racism policy, to submit the policy to the Minister for approval and to implement changes to the policy as directed by the Minister;

drug education

29.2 establish a drug education policy framework and require boards to develop and implement a policy on drug education in accordance with the framework.

At the time when the *Education Amendment Act 1992* came into force, the *Education Act* of 1992 already set out various powers of the Minister of Education (e.g. in ss. 8 – 11), as well as the duties and powers of school boards (e.g. in ss. 96, 170, 171, 176 -180), the duties of school board supervisory officers (e.g. in s. 286), principals (e.g. in s. 265), teachers (e.g. in s. 264), the parents of a child who is required to attend school (in s. 22(5)) and students (e.g. the requirements for pupils set out in Revised Regulations of Ontario 1990, Reg. 298, s. 23). Focussing on the main responsibilities of the Minister at that time, they included presiding over and having charge of the Ministry (s. 2(2)), which would involve representing the interests of the Ministry in the Ontario Cabinet and assisting in the development of education policy, as well as being responsible for the administration of the Act and the regulations (s. 2(3)). Among the Minister's powers specified in the Act and administered according to the legislation were those concerning the length of the school year (e.g., s. 11(7)), as well as those related to developing curriculum, setting requirements for student diplomas and certificates, preparing lists of approved textbooks and other learning materials (s. 8(1) paras.1 to 7). Most relevant to this study, the Minister was responsible under the *Education Act* of 1992 for setting policies and guidelines for school boards (e.g. s. 8(1) paras. 26 and 27).

The conventional policy-making relationship between school boards and the Ministry was reflected in the wording of the repealed s. 8(1) para. 29, which gave the Minister the power to “require boards to establish and maintain a policy” in that case one about affirmative action. This relationship also was confirmed in the wording of s. 8(1) para. 26, which required boards to “issue guidelines respecting the closing of schools and ...[to] develop policies therefrom”. The new subsection 8(1) para. 29.2, also reflected

the conventional policy-making relationship when it was added to the Act in 1992, as it simply required boards to develop and implement drug education policies. The Minister, under the *Education Act* then and to this day (Revised Statutes of Ontario 1990, c.E.2) normally only requires school boards to develop policies as directed by the Minister. The Minister is not usually additionally authorized to approve and direct changes to a board's policy.

The convention, which s. 8(1) paras. 26, 27, and 29.2 followed and which continues today, is confirmed on the Ontario Ministry of Education's website. It explains the Minister's role in education policy as being to represent "the interests of the ministry at the provincial cabinet and assist in the development of education policy. ... The Minister is also responsible for: ... setting policies and guidelines for school trustees, directors of education, principals and other school board officials" (Ontario Ministry of Education, Who's responsible ... n.d., paras. 1 & 2).

In applying my policy analysis framework, based upon Taylor, et al. (1997), I found the content analysis identifies text, which the *Education Amendment Act 1992* incorporated in s. 8(1) paras. 29 and 29.1, that was new to the *Education Act* of 1992 and a departure from the convention. By also establishing the obligation "to submit the policy to the Minister for approval and to implement changes to the policy as directed by the Minister," it required more than simply the development and implementation of these policies. The Minister's powers under both the employment equity and the ethnocultural equity and anti-racism policy provisions of the *Education Act Amendment 1992* specified additional ministerial controls apparently not needed in other policy areas, including the drug education policy requirement established at the same time. Thus, the *Education*

Amendment Act 1992, by expressly providing the Minister with the added powers to approve or direct changes to these two policies, enhanced ministerial authority in that context and changed the conventional policy relationship between the Ministry and school boards for those particular policy-making areas of boards.

Reviewing the debates in the legislature surrounding the bill that became the *Education Amendment Act 1992* helps to clarify both the policy context and tenets underlying the legislation (Bill 21, 1992). In introducing Bill 21 for second reading, the Minister of Education, Tony Silipo, identified the government's concern: "We must take firm action now to address the problem of racism at all levels in our education system" (Ontario Legislative Assembly, June 30, 1992, p.1826). This statement of the Minister, about the *Education Amendment Act 1992*, confirms the first premise of antiracist education and goes on to summarize why and how the government proposed to resolve the problem:

As a government we are deeply committed to eradicating racism from our education system. One of the measures in this bill will require school boards to develop and implement anti-racism and ethnocultural equity policies. A key part of this requirement for anti-racism policies is that these policies be approved by the ministry. (Ontario Legislative Assembly, June 30, 1992, p. 1826)

Thus, the Minister highlighted the additional accountability embedded in this part of the *Education Amendment Act 1992*. At the very least, the departure from the conventional policy-making relationship between school boards and the Ministry introduced by this bill signalled that the Minister of Education viewed antiracism and ethnocultural equity as different from other policy issues in Ontario education affecting students.

The responses to the comments of the Minister at both the second and third readings of the bill were brief. Notable were the comments from the North York Liberal opposition member, and former cabinet minister Charles Beer. At second reading Beer commented: “Clearly it is in the best interests of all members to ensure that we have clear policies and guidelines around the whole issue of anti-racism that express the views of this House and indeed the views of our society” (Ontario Legislative Assembly, June 30, 1992, p. 1826). At third reading Beer acknowledged the existence of racism in schools and the requirement for all government parties to address this racism:

It is very important because if we can have an impact on young people—particularly at the elementary level, I think the literature and experience will show—that is going to assist us in dealing with problems of racism that are in our society and in any modern society. They exist. To admit that is not to say that our society is fundamentally bad or any of those kind of comments, but simply to recognize it’s there. As legislators we have a responsibility to begin to deal with it. (Ontario Legislative Assembly, July 9, 1992, p. 1976)

The Minister expressed his gratitude for the support of the legislature. “I appreciate the cooperation of the members opposite in having the bill proceed expeditiously.” (Ontario Legislative Assembly, June 30 1992, p. 1826). In fact the timelines were remarkably short. The Bill was introduced on May 26th, received second reading on June 30th, third reading on July 9 and received Royal Ascent on July 27th. The rapidity and relative lack of debate about the amendments demonstrated that a high

degree of consensus existed in Ontario at the time with respect for the need to do something about racism.

I found that Bell and Stevenson's (2006) emphasis on socio-political environment enhanced Taylor's framework for policy analysis by encouraging greater attention to the context and text of the very brief policy enacted in the *Education Amendment Act 1992*. This emphasis allowed for the analysis to uncover that three of the premises are implied and the fourth is confirmed in the short text of this legislated policy. First, because the language of the amendment calls for antiracism policies in all boards, it suggests that racism is a system-wide problem in schools, which implies premise one (racism is real). Second, the requirement for boards to develop and implement anti-racism and ethnocultural equity policies suggests school boards' policies and practices in schools at the time were not providing the same benefits to children of all racial and ethnocultural backgrounds, which implies premises two (racist exclusions) and three (negative consequences). Third, the text of this legislative amendment not only empowers the Minister to require boards to develop and implement these policies but also gives the Minister the new, added authority to approve the boards' policies and direct changes to them. The text indicates the Ontario legislature understood racism was deeply embedded in existing policies and practices and, consequently, the Minister needed stronger powers than usual to ensure school boards would develop and put in place effective antiracism policies. Consequently, this aspect of the text of the *Education Amendment Act 1992* engages premise four (strategic antiracist education).

Policy Program Memorandum No. 119: Development and Implementation of School Board Policies on Antiracism and Ethnocultural Equity

PPM #119 (OMOE, 1993a) was the third of the four documents produced as part of the 1993 initiative. The *Education Amendment Act 1992* sets the stage for the Ministry's conceptualization of the antiracism education initiative by creating stronger authority for the Minister to ensure the necessary policy changes. *Changing Perspectives* introduces the terms antiracism and ethnocultural equity, as well as identifying several characteristics of antiracist education. But *PPM #119* is crucial among this series of documents because it establishes the foundation, through its text, for the framework of the antiracism and ethnocultural equity initiative. My policy analysis of *PPM #119*, using Taylor, et al.'s (1997) framework, enhanced by Harman's (1984) conception of policy as problems, goals, and plans of action, establishes that this document incorporates and illustrates the first three parts of my framework of educational reform. It confirms the problem of racism in schools, requires antiracism and ethnocultural policy development, and then policy implementation "to identify and change institutional policies and procedures and individual behaviour and practices that are racist in their impact, if not intent" (OMOE, 1993a, p. 1).

As noted above, the *Education Amendment Act 1992* gave the Minister the power to require boards to make policies regarding employment equity, ethnocultural equity and drug education. As also mentioned above, the policy-making requirement for drug education was consistent with the conventional relationship between the Ministry and school boards; however, the requirements for making employment equity and ethnocultural equity policies were different. To support the latter new authorities, two

separate PPMs were produced: *PPM #119* (OMOE, 1993a) and *Policy Program Memorandum No. 111: “Employment Equity for Women in School Boards”* (PPM #111) (Ontario Ministry of Education/OMOE, 1990). Each PPM clarified the Minister’s authority as described in the *Education Amendment Act 1992*, while providing additional policy development direction and expectations.

Before discussing how these two PPMs advanced the legislature’s policy-making objectives for employment equity and for antiracism and ethnocultural equity, it is useful to discuss PPMs in general. Their functions are described in the 2010 Field Services Branch internal publication *Ministry of Education Policy Program Memoranda Process Guidelines* as including:

- setting out the application of a Regulation, section of the *Education Act* or other legislation
- setting out a standard that boards are expected to meet or a directive with which boards must comply
- providing an interpretation of legislation or regulation that may significantly affect board practice when implemented. (Ontario Ministry of Education/OMOE, 2010, p. 1)

The two PPMs serve all of these functions. In addition, *PPM #119* helps clarify the changes to the conventional policy-making relationship between the Ministry and school boards established with the text of the *Education Amendment Act 1992*.

The Ministry does not often issue PPMs. From their inception in the early 1980s up to 2017, altogether 161 PPMs were issued, as indicated on the Ministry website (Ontario Ministry of Education, *Policy / Program Memoranda*, December 4, 2017, para.

1). PPMs are periodically reviewed to ensure their currency and ongoing relevancy. This review process results in three possible outcomes. If PPMs are determined to still be current and applicable they are retained. If modifications are required due to changes in legislation or regulations, they are revised. If their content is obsolete, they are revoked. (OMOE, 2010, pp. 3-4). As of the end of 2017, 115 PPMs had been revoked leaving only 46 in place. The Ministry had determined through the PPM review process, therefore, that the majority had become obsolete and only 46 policy initiatives still required this heightened level of guidance. When conducting this study, the only PPM remaining, from the two introduced to support the *Education Amendment Act 1992*, was *PPM #119* (Ontario Ministry of Education, April 22, 2013).

PPM #111 was issued on February 2, 1990, to clarify the Minister of Education's March 30, 1989, announcement requiring all school boards to develop and implement employment equity policies incorporating specific goals: "it is expected that each board will develop and implement an employment equity program that includes strategies to increase the representation of women in certain occupational categories to 50 per cent or more by the year 2000" (OMOE, 1990, p. 1). *PPM #111* required school boards to develop a program designed to meet individual board needs and priorities. It required their program plans to include five components: a needs assessment; goals and timetables; strategies; monitoring and evaluation procedures; and resources (OMOE, 1990, pp. 1-2). *PPM #111* was issued before the *Education Amendment Act 1992* and referenced the upcoming changes to the Act.

PPM #119, in contrast, was issued on July 13, 1993 after the *Education Amendment Act 1992*. The Ministry released *PPM #119* to clarify specifically s. 8(1)

para. 29(1) of the *Education Amendment Act 1992*. “Boards’ implementation of their policies will entail reviewing their operations and making fundamental changes in many aspects of their operations. Some of the changes required will take place immediately; others will take place over time” (OMOE, 1993, p. 2). This portion of the document’s text serves the third function of PPMs, that is, providing an interpretation of legislation that may significantly affect board practice when implemented.

PPM #119 is pivotal in moving the Ministry’s antiracism education initiative from its preliminary form expressed in *Changing Perspectives*, fortified with the new ministerial powers established in the *Education Amendment Act 1992*, to its fulsome articulation in the fourth and final document of the initiative, *Antiracism and ethnocultural equity in school boards – Guidelines for policy development and implementation 1993 (Guidelines)* (OMOE, 1993b). The *Guidelines* were produced in tandem with *PPM #119* (OMOE, 1993a, p. 2) to assist school boards in the development of their policies and implementation plans. The *Guidelines* are discussed in the next chapter. Here my analysis focuses on the text of *PPM #119*, to show how it lays the foundation for a framework for the Ministry’s antiracism education initiative and, in so doing, fully engages and supports the four premises of antiracist education.

In terms of the textual analysis, the verbs used in *PPM #119* are important, as they clarify for school boards the Minister’s expectations with respect to the antiracism and ethnocultural equity policies required under the *Education Act*. The associated PPM text employs verbs like “shall” and “may” to differentiate between mandatory and discretionary requirements.

PPM #119 refers to the employment equity policy requirement in s. 8(1) para. 29 of the *Education Act* in its section titled “Employment Equity.” The *Education Amendment Act 1992* had linked antiracism and ethnocultural equity policy to employment equity policy by inserting the latter in s. 8(1) para. 29.1, immediately following para. 29. *PPM #119* further connects the two policies in the text it includes on employment equity:

Equitable employment practices form an integral part of boards’ antiracism and ethnocultural equity policies and practices. The work force in the school board should reflect and be capable of understanding and responding to the experiences of Ontario’s culturally and racially diverse population. (OMOE, 1993a, p. 5)

PPM #119 advised school boards to wait until the proposed *Employment Equity Act* (Bill 79) is passed for specific direction on developing and implementing plans, but in the interim boards were told they could begin identifying systemic barriers to employment and establishing equity principles (OMOE, 1993a, p. 5).

The *Employment Equity Act* was passed later in 1993 (Statutes of Ontario 1993, c. 35). The preamble of that Act began with:

The people of Ontario recognize that Aboriginal people, people with disabilities, members of racial minorities and women experience higher rates of unemployment than other people in Ontario. The people in Ontario also recognize that people in these groups experience more discrimination in finding employment and in being promoted. As a result, they are underrepresented in most areas of employment especially in

senior and management positions, and they are overrepresented in those areas of employment that provide low pay and little chance for advancement. The burden imposed on these people in these groups and on the communities in which they live is unacceptable. (before s.1)

This text resonates with the work of Goldberg (1993) and Stanley (2011, 2014) as it speaks of exclusions in management positions and identifies the negative consequences of unemployment and under employment, which confirms premises two (racist exclusions) and three (negative consequences).

The body of *PPM #119* is organized in the following nine sections: (1) Introduction; (2) Background; (3) Legislative Requirements; (4) Timelines for Development, Approval, and Implementation of Policies; (5) Requirements for Policies and Implementation Plans; (6) Approval of Policies and Implementation Plans; (7) Monitoring of Implementation; (8) Employment Equity; and (9) Ministry Assistance (OMOE, 1993a, pp. 1-5). They touch all aspects of school board operations. An important process feature of *PPM #119* is the requirement that policies and implementation plans must include 10 specific areas of focus (OMOE, 1993a, p. 3). In addition implementation plans are required to: (1) be five-year plans; (2) contain clearly stated annual objectives and outcomes for implementation at both the system and school levels; (3) contain a plan of action to identify and eliminate racial and ethnocultural biases and barriers in board policies and practices and in the planning and delivery of educational programs; (4) involve partnership activities with local communities, including Aboriginal groups, diverse racial and ethnocultural groups and other educational partners; and (5) contain mechanisms for evaluating progress, including an

accountability mechanism for all school board staff (OMOE, 1993a, p. 4). As a result, *PPM #119* indicates that compliant policies on antiracism and ethnocultural equity must cover all aspects of school board operations and it prescribes a clearly articulated process for developing, implementing, evaluating and monitoring these comprehensive antiracist education policies and implementation plans. The broad scope and comprehensive process, which the document sets out for compliant and comprehensive antiracism policies and plans, reflect premise four (strategic antiracist education).

PPM #119 articulates a conceptualization of antiracist and ethnocultural equity education that the *Education Amendment Act 1992* had foreshadowed and that is significantly different from the one expressed in *Changing Perspectives*. *PPM #119*, unlike *Changing Perspectives* places Indigenous students at the forefront (OMOE, 1993a, p. 1). As well, whereas *Changing Perspectives* uses the term racial discrimination in describing policies and practices not intentionally discriminatory, *PPM #119* employs the term racist to describe a wide range of institutional policies and practices, as well as individual behaviours and practices, that are “racist in their impact if not intent” (OMOE, 1993a, p. 1). Finally *Changing Perspectives* describes antiracist education as an endeavour “that includes both multicultural and antiracist education” (OMOE, 1992, p. 2), whereas *PPM #119* expresses a clear distinction explaining: “antiracist and ethnocultural equity education goes beyond multicultural education, which focuses on teaching about the cultures and traditions of diverse groups” (OMOE, 1993a, p. 1).

The “Introduction” of *PPM #119* not only confirms premise one (racism is real) but also reflects further developments in the Ministry’s conceptualization of antiracism and ethnocultural equity education consistent with premise two (racist exclusions) and

premise three (negative consequences). For instance, it pinpoints the source of the exclusions as Eurocentric board structures and practices consistent with Bonilla-Silva (2010) and Graves (2015). At the same time it acknowledges the marginalization of Indigenous and many racial and ethnocultural minority students, which identifies racist exclusions resonating with Omi and Winant (1994) and Lipsitz (2011). “There is growing recognition that educational structures, policies, and programs have been mainly European in perspective and have failed to take into account the viewpoints, experiences, and needs of Aboriginal peoples and many racial and ethnocultural minorities” (OMOE, 1993a, p. 1). PPM #119 then emphasizes the implications of these exclusions: “As a result, systemic inequities exist in the school system that limit opportunities for Aboriginal and other students and staff members of racial and ethnocultural minorities to fulfil their potential”(OMOE, 1993a, p. 1). By highlighting the longstanding impacts on Indigenous, racial and ethnocultural minority students, the text indicates these students experience negative consequences, making it compatible with the work of Goldberg (1993) and Miles and Brown (2003) as well as confirming premise three.

Two sections of *PPM #119* provide instructions on strict requirements for boards, as they explain how the Ministry will exercise the Minister’s authority fundamental to the conceptualization of antiracism and ethnocultural equity in the initiative. Consequently, this text is key to supporting and engaging premise four (strategic antiracist education). The first section, on “Requirements for Policies and Implementation Plans,” stipulates school boards’ policies and implementation plans *shall* be comprehensive and *shall* be designed to integrate the principles of antiracism and ethnocultural equity into all aspects of education programs and board operations. This section further requires the policies

and plans *shall* reflect a commitment by board administration and staff to identifying and addressing systemic inequities and barriers affecting Indigenous persons, as well as racial and ethnocultural minorities, in planning and delivering education programs and services (OMOE, 1993a, p. 3). It mandates that all school boards' policies and implementation plans *shall* address ten major areas of focus, which it specifies to be the following: (1) board policies, guidelines, and practices; (2) leadership; (3) school-community partnerships; (4) curriculum; (5) student languages; (6) student evaluation, assessment, and placement; (7) guidance and counselling; (8) racial and ethnocultural harassment; (9) employment practices; and (10) staff development (OMOE, 1993a, p. 3). As well, it establishes procedural requirements for implementation plans, such as partnerships with communities and evaluation mechanisms (OMOE, 1993a, p. 4). It underlines the high importance to be given to more inclusive curriculum, at all stages of the implementation process: "At all stages of implementation, a high priority *shall* be assigned to broadening the curriculum to include diverse perspectives and to eliminating stereotyping" (OMOE, 1993a, p. 4). It also highlights the need to provide staff development opportunities to deal with racism: "In the implementation of the policies, it is essential that staff members are made aware of the issues and are given opportunities to develop skills in dealing with racism" (OMOE, 1993a, p. 4). It describes details of how the Ministry will review the boards' policies and implementation plans to determine whether or not they satisfy the requirements for approval and indicates the Ministry will conduct cyclical audits of the policy implementation (OMOE, 1993a, p. 4). Finally, this section of *PPM #119* notes the office within the Ministry where the Minister's power to approve board policies, as specified in the *Education Amendment Act 1992*, will be exercised: "Board policies and

implementation plans are to be submitted for approval to the appropriate regional office of the Ministry of Education and Training within the specified timelines” (OMOE, 1993a, p. 4).

The second section of *PPM #119*, which contains text that is key to premise four, is “Legislative Requirements.” It delineates the statutory basis for boards having to develop and implement antiracism and ethnocultural equity policies and plans, as well as for the Ministry to monitor and approve them:

In accordance with an amendment made in 1992 to the *Education Act*, every school board *shall* develop a policy on antiracism and ethnocultural equity, as well as a plan for implementing its policy. Boards *shall* then submit their policies and plans to the Minister for approval, and implement changes as directed by the Minister. Boards’ implementation of their policies will entail reviewing their operations and making fundamental changes in many aspects of their operations. (OMOE, 1993a, p. 2)

By citing the legislative basis for the processes required for monitoring and approving the boards’ extensive and comprehensive antiracism and ethnocultural equity policies and implementation plans, this text points to the extraordinary legislative authority that supports and strengthens the process. Thus, it confirms premise four (strategic antiracist education).

To summarize, the two key sections of the PPM described above provide context, text and consequences that confirm premise four. These sections constitute a significant portion of *PPM #119*, emphasizing for boards the Ministry’s specific requirements that will apply to their systematic development of antiracism and ethnocultural policies and

implementation plans. They prescribe for boards the text and consequences for their policy and implementation plans encompassing ten areas of focus, for instance demanding community involvement in policy development and the monitoring of plans. As well, these sections of *PPM #119* clarify the significant departure in this policy development and implementation process from the conventional policy-making relationship between the Ministry and school boards.

Summary of Changing Perspectives, the Education Amendment Act 1992 and PPM #119

Using my framework for policy analysis I found these documents though their context, text and consequences confirmed the premises as summarized in Figure 5.1.

Figure 5.1. **Treatment of Each Premise in Three Initiative Documents**

Document	Premise One	Premise Two	Premise Three	Premise Four
<i>Changing Perspectives</i>	☒	✓	✓	☒
<i>Education Amendment Act 1992</i>	⊙	⊙	⊙	✓
<i>PPM #119</i>	✓	✓	✓	✓

Note. ☒ = absent; ⊙ = implied; ✓ = confirmed

In concluding my policy analysis of this series of three documents, I contend the third one, *PPM #119*, is the most crucial. It clarifies how the *Education Amendment Act 1992* conferred extraordinary policy related powers on the Minister to ensure boards would develop suitable antiracism and ethnocultural equity policies and marks a departure from the conventional policy-making relationship between school boards and

the Ministry. The text of *PPM #119* articulates a conceptualization of antiracist and ethnocultural equity centred on the antiracist tenets embodied in the four premises and distinguishes it from multicultural education, shifting away from that orientation in *Changing Perspectives*. *PPM #119* is the Ministry's first fully formed conceptualization for a truly antiracism education initiative. It is subsequently further developed and articulated in the *Guidelines*, the fourth and last document of the antiracism education initiative, which is analyzed in the next chapter.

Chapter Six

The Ministry of Education’s Guidelines for School Boards to Develop and Implement Antiracism and Ethnocultural Equity Policies and Implementation Plans

The Ministry took the unusual measure of issuing a separate document, the *Guidelines* (OMOE, 1993b), to supplement the expectations for the antiracism and ethnocultural equity initiative that it specified in *PPM #119* (OMOE, 1993a, p. 2). Using antiracism as the theoretical framework, based on Dei’s (1996) anti-racist praxis and Stanley’s (2011, 2014) anti-essentialist antiracism, I use my policy framework based on Taylor, et al. to analyze the context, text and consequences of the *Guidelines*. The analysis shows the *Guidelines* provide the most fully developed conceptualization of strategic antiracist education of all the documents of the initiative. The policy analysis also establishes that the *Guidelines* correspond to the four parts of my framework of educational reform and Harman’s (1984) conception of policy by providing further context for the problem of racism and delineating the text and consequences for school boards’ antiracism policy development and implementation. The analysis will focus on how the Ministry constructed the *Guidelines* to lead school boards to develop their own board policies and implementation plans to achieve its vision of antiracism and ethnocultural equity.

The *Guidelines* are a 54-page policy document. They begin with a two-page “Introduction,” which states the problem that *PPM #119* introduced (OMOE, 1993b, p.5). The *Guidelines*’ “Introduction” in combination with the “Glossary” illustrate how this document engages the four premises of my theory of strategic antiracist education in its conceptualization of antiracism and ethnocultural equity. Consistent with my antiracism

theoretical framework and my theory of strategic antiracist education, the “Introduction” confirms the first three premises: racism is real and exists in the plural; these racisms result in racialized exclusions; and these exclusions have negative consequences for those racialized and excluded. For instance the “Introduction” reflects premise one while describing the importance of antiracism policies for eliminating racism in schools: “Such policies are based on the recognition that some existing policies, procedures, and practices in the school system are racist in their impact, if not their intent...” (OMOE, 1993b, p. 5). The discussion of the European perspective of the school system confirms premise two: “Moreover, exclusion of the experiences, values and viewpoints of Aboriginal and racial and ethnocultural minority groups constitutes a systemic barrier to success for students from these groups and often produces inequitable outcomes for them” (OMOE, 1993b, p. 5). Premise three is confirmed in the discussion of the impact of racist policies which “limit the opportunity of students and staff belonging to Aboriginal and racial and ethnocultural minority groups” and in text referring to the previously noted exclusions as inequities “linked to students’ low self-esteem, placement in inappropriate academic programs, low career expectations, and a high drop-out rate” (OMOE, 1993b, p. 5).

The “Glossary” definition of antiracist education proposes antiracisms can strategically and effectively address racisms in the school system, thereby confirming premise four. It reads as follows:

An approach to education that integrates the perspectives of Aboriginal and racial minority groups into an educational system and its practices. The aim of antiracist education is the elimination of racism in all its forms. Antiracist

education seeks to identify and change educational policies, procedures, and practices that foster racism, as well as the racist attitudes and behaviour that underlie and reinforce such policies and practices. Antiracist education provides teachers and students with the knowledge and skills to examine racism critically in order to understand how it originates and to identify and challenge it. (OMOE, 1993b, p. 42)

Consequently, from the beginning, the text of the *Guidelines* establishes a conceptualization of antiracist education consistent with my antiracism theoretical framework and my theory of strategic antiracist education, thereby confirming that the initiative was a genuine antiracist project. The policy analysis of the *Guidelines* that follows, using my four grounded theories, shows how the Ministry developed this conceptualization of antiracist education, first with context and text to highlight the problem of racism in schools and then with text and consequences providing pressures and supports to school boards to encourage policy development and ensure policy implementation. The analysis of the context, text and consequences of the *Guidelines* will determine the strengths and deficiencies in engaging and promoting the educational reform of antiracist education in Ontario schools and school boards.

After establishing the Ministry authority and the context of the problem, the “Introduction” briefly outlines the expectations for policies and their implementation. The document then moves to a five-page “Process and Framework,” which presents a model that boards may use to develop their own antiracism and ethnocultural equity policy and implementation plans. These preliminary sections are followed by 44 pages that make up the heart of the document, organized in three parts: first, a section

addressing 10 areas of focus; second, a section about monitoring the implementation of boards' policies and plans; and, last, four appendices containing supplementary reference materials. In the Preface, the Minister of Education and Training, Dave Cooke, provides important context while explaining that the document's purpose is to guide comprehensive educational reform: "This policy document is intended to assist schools and school boards in ensuring that the principles of antiracism and ethnocultural equity are observed everywhere in Ontario's school system" (OMOE, 1993b, p. 2).

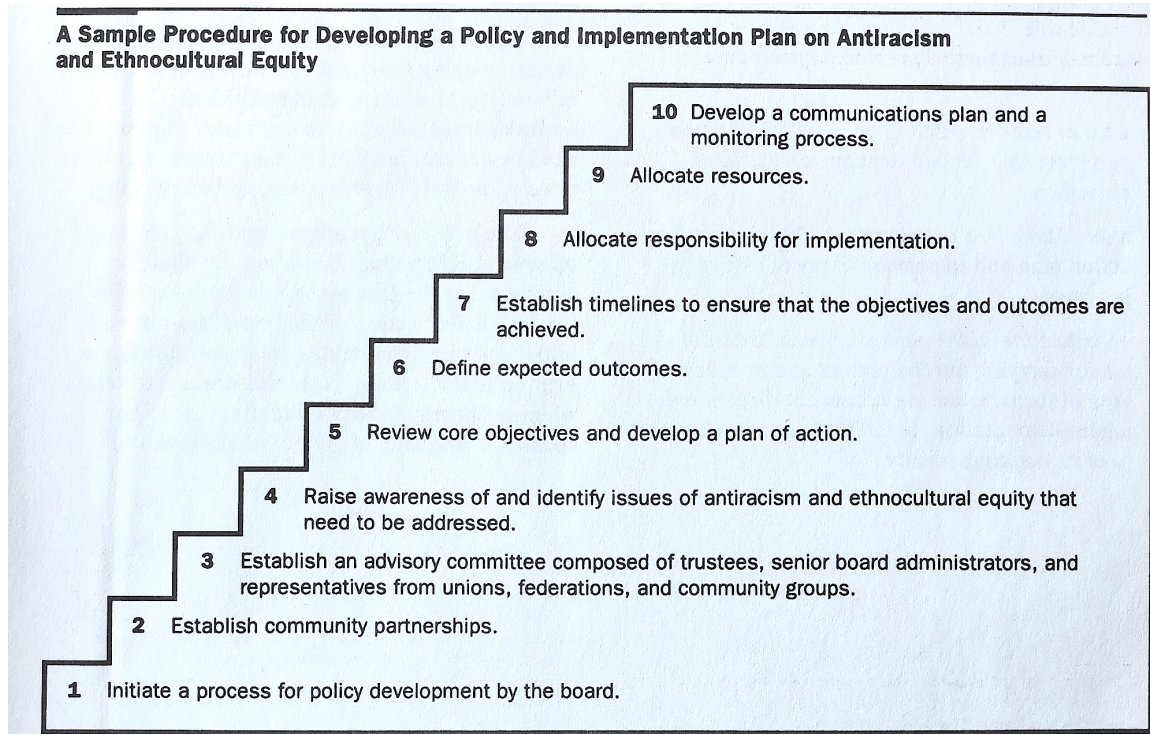
By Design Steering the Text and Consequences

As noted above, the *Guidelines* were designed to steer boards along a carefully mapped out path, leading them to policy development and policy implementation that meet the Ministry's approval and achieve the Ministry's vision for its antiracism and ethnocultural equity initiative (to address the problem of racism). To illustrate how clearly they do so, I describe the document's structure and design before I turn to my full analysis of the substance of the *Guidelines*. After the *Guidelines* briefly explain the problem in the "Introduction" that boards are to address with antiracism and ethnocultural equity policies and implementation plans, they propose a model process and framework in "Section 2." Next, the *Guidelines* systematically and comprehensively set out the most essential sections (the heart) of the document in: "Section 3 - Areas of Focus for Antiracism and Ethnocultural Equity Policy Development and Implementation" (OMOE, 1993b, pp. 12-17); "Section 4 - Considerations Related to the Monitoring of Implementation" (OMOE, 1993b, pp. 18-20); and the "Appendices," particularly "Appendix 1 - Checklists for Policy Implementation" (OMOE, 1993b, pp. 23-29) and "Appendix 2 - Worksheets for Developing a Policy on Antiracism and Ethnocultural

Equity and an Implementation Plan” (OMOE, 1993b, pp. 30-41). While the latter three sections constitute the heart of the *Guidelines*, the model process and framework in “Section 2,” by design, strategically control the substance of boards’ submissions.

Section 2: proposing the model.

“Section 2” outlines a process and proposes a framework for boards to develop their policies and implementation plans to be consistent with the Ministry’s 1993 conceptualization of antiracism and ethnocultural equity in *PPM #119* and in accordance with the Legislature’s 1992 amendment of the Act. “Section 2” summarizes this conceptualization, returning to concepts introduced in *PPM #119* and often using the same language. For example, it observes that antiracism and ethnocultural policies “go beyond a broad focus on multiculturalism and race relations,” says boards must identify and eliminate institutional policies and practices as well as individual behaviours “that may be racist in their impact,” and adds they must address inequities in the treatment of some who because of “inequities of power and privilege have often tended to be ignored” (OMOE, 1993b, p. 7). “Section 2” then provides a sample 10-step procedure for boards to develop their policies and plans (see Figure 6.1).

Figure 6.1. **Sample Procedure**

Source: *Guidelines* 1993, p. 7.

Section 2 notes this procedure is optional: “There are many variations on this model that a board may use, depending on its size, its history, the strength of its minority communities, and its past interaction with them” (OMOE, 1993b, pp. 7 - 8). Therefore, the Ministry honours the autonomy of school boards over their policy development process. On the other hand, as “Section 2” continues, it uses the Minister’s extraordinary powers, arising from the *Education Amendment Act 1992* in relation to these policies to dictate the substance of boards’ antiracism and ethnocultural equity policy development and policy implementation.

“Section 2” prescribes the components of compliant policies, building on the requirements introduced in *PPM #119*, and underlines the Minister’s authority to approve them, using the term *shall*. It directs that school board policy development and policy

implementation “*shall* address the following ten major areas of focus: board policies, guidelines and practices; leadership; school-community partnership; curriculum; student languages; student evaluation, assessment, and placement; guidance and counselling; racial and ethnocultural harassment; employment practices; and staff development” (OMOE, 1993b, p. 8). In addition, the Ministry imposes a framework on whatever model boards decide to use for policy development and policy implementation in the 10 areas of focus, by mandating that the model chosen “*shall* include the following components: a dedicated mission statement, a list of objectives, a plan of action, a list of outcomes, a list of resources, a set of timelines and an indication of the person(s) responsible for carrying out the plan (OMOE, 1993b, p. 8). In doing so, “Section 2” uses more directive (*shall*) language. For example, it dictates the duration and focus of policy implementation: “Implementation *shall* be based on five-year plans. At all stages of policy implementation, a high priority *shall* be assigned to broadening the curriculum to include diverse perspectives and to eliminate stereotyping” (OMOE, 1993b, p. 8). The broadening of the curriculum is in keeping with James (1995) who takes it a step further by connecting it to equality of educational outcomes: “To ensure equality of educational opportunities and outcomes in our diverse society, any education curriculum must address inequalities within the education system as well as in society as a whole” (p. 44). The concept of equality of educational outcomes is introduced in PPM #119 and again referenced in the *Guidelines*. As well, for monitoring boards’ progress, “Section 2” stipulates a wide scope and reach for accountability mechanisms: “All policies and implementation plans *shall* have mechanisms for evaluating progress, including an accountability mechanism for trustees and all board staff” (OMOE, 1993b, p.

8). “Section 2” uses directive language, lastly, to demand community involvement in all aspects of policy development and policy implementation by stating: “To ensure that the perspectives, needs, and aspirations of Aboriginal and various racial and ethnocultural minority communities are addressed, representatives from such communities *shall* be actively involved in the process of policy development, implementation and monitoring” (OMOE, 1993b, p. 8).

Section 2: explaining sections 3 & 4.

“Section 2” then explains the purpose of the next two sections of the *Guidelines* with respect to boards’ policy development and policy implementation. It says for “Section 3,” the purpose is to provide direction to boards on developing policies and plans in the 10 required areas of focus. For “Section 4,” the purpose is to provide criteria to assist both school boards and the Ministry in evaluating the implementation plans and progress. Next it addresses the organization of these two sections: “Section 3 of this document outlines key issues in each area of focus and a set of core objectives that *shall* be addressed in the policy” (OMOE, 1993b, p. 8). It proposes “they may serve as a starting point for the process of policy development and implementation” and notes “further objectives may be added, as appropriate, to reflect the particular needs of local communities” (OMOE, 1993b, p. 8). Thus, “Section 2” explains all school boards are required to develop plans of action to address all the core objectives stated in Section 3, while they may add other objectives at their discretion. “Section 2” then elaborates on the criteria the *Guidelines* provide for monitoring progress and compliance: “Section 4 of this document outlines criteria for monitoring policy implementation within the ten areas of focus. The criteria will be fundamental to future monitoring of the implementation of

school board antiracism and ethnocultural equity policies by the Ministry of Education and Training” (OMOE, 1993b, p. 8).

At the end of “Section 2,” the *Guidelines* provide a sample of the framework for policy development and implementation. It is based on the School-Community Partnership area of focus. The sample framework is a template that illustrates the format and process the Ministry suggests boards use to develop all their policy and implementation plans. It explains how “Section 3” connects to the sample framework, indicating that as a minimum expectation the core objectives for each area of focus must be addressed in each policy and implementation plan (OMOE, 1993b, p. 8). Examining the sample framework for the School-Community Partnership area of focus (reproduced in Figure 6.2) alongside the key issues and core objectives for this area (OMOE, 1993b, p.13) reveals the Ministry’s clear influence over the text and consequences that would flow from it.

Figure 6.2. **First Page of School-Community Partnership Sample Framework**

Sample Framework for Policy Development and Implementation, School-Community Partnership					
<i>Mission Statement:</i> The board recognizes the importance of effective school-community partnerships to ensure that perspectives, experiences, and needs of diverse racial and ethnocultural groups are taken into account.					
Core Objectives	Plan of Action	Expected Outcomes	Resources	Timelines	Responsibility
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> To identify Aboriginal and racial and ethnocultural minority communities within the school board’s jurisdiction, whether or not they are involved in school board activities. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Extend networks by consultation with: <ul style="list-style-type: none"> – known representatives of diverse groups; – multicultural centres, friendship centres, women’s groups, parents’ groups, student councils, etc. Use media (radio stations, community newspapers, newsletters, etc.) to invite participation from diverse groups. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Creation of a local community profile. Removal of barriers to involvement. Greater participation by traditionally disadvantaged groups. 			

Source: *Guidelines* 1993, p. 9.

When a board produces its framework for an area of focus, the Ministry expects the board's mission statement to come from the key issues and the board's wording for each core objective to be copied from "Section 3" of the *Guidelines* exactly into the framework for the area. In addition, the board has to use the text the *Guidelines* supplied in both the key issues and core objectives of "Section 3" to generate its dedicated plan of action, associated outcomes, resources, timelines, and person(s) responsible for each area of focus (OMOE, 1993b, pp. 9 - 11). Comparing the text of the columns of the sample framework for School-Community Partnership (OMOE, 1993b, pp. 9-11) with the wording of the criteria listed in "Section 4" as considerations to assist in monitoring the progress of policy implementation in this area (OMOE, 1993b, p. 19) shows that the monitoring criteria listed in "Section 4" for this area (OMOE, 1993b, p. 19) may be used to formulate the expected outcomes listed in that column of the framework. In addition, each listed outcome in turn is designed to link at least one core objective for this area from "Section 3" with an associated plan of action in the framework (OMOE, 1993b, pp. 9 - 11). Ultimately, if a board uses this framework, it would have little discretion remaining in the text and consequences that it would incorporate to develop the policies and plans for each of the 10 areas of focus. "Section 2," in concert with "Section 3" and "Section 4," in effect scripts the development and implementation of antiracism and ethnocultural equity policies and plans at the board level. In addition, the requirement that boards' policies and plans be submitted to the Minister for approval (*Education Amendment Act 1992*, s.8 (1) para. 29.1) provides a strong incentive for boards to adopt the framework and adhere closely to the *Guidelines* as they prepare their policies and plans.

Although “Section 2” only provides a sample framework for one area of focus, “Appendix 2: Worksheets for Developing a Policy on Antiracism and Ethnocultural Equity and an Implementation Plan,” contains templates for all 10 areas (see Figure 6.3). Each of these templates provides blank columns for all the required elements of the policies and plans, with the exception of the core objectives. The precise wording of the core objectives for each area of focus is the only text prepopulating all the worksheets. This format reinforces the *Guidelines*’ requirement that boards shall use the “Section 3” core objectives for development of their policies, even though the *Guidelines* give them some degree of autonomy to add other objectives to meet local needs.

Figure 6.3. **Sample Worksheet for Board Policies**

Appendix 2: Worksheets for Developing a Policy on Antiracism and Ethnocultural Equity and an Implementation Plan					
Board Policies, Guidelines, and Practices					
Mission Statement: _____					
Core Objectives	Plan of Action	Expected Outcomes	Resources	Timelines	Responsibility
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • To articulate clearly the board’s commitment to principles of antiracism and ethnocultural equity in all existing and new board policies, guidelines, operations, and practices. • To eliminate racial and ethnocultural biases in board policies, guidelines, and day-to-day practices. • To establish mechanisms for measuring progress towards antiracism and ethnocultural equity. • To develop clear criteria for French-language boards and sections to be used by their admissions committees. • • 					

Source: *Guidelines* 1993, p. 30.

As noted above, “Section 4” introduces considerations and lists criteria for

monitoring progress in each of the 10 areas of focus. The criteria assist boards by forming the basis for monitoring the implementation of school board policies on antiracism and ethnocultural equity. In the introduction to “Section 4” the Ministry emphasizes the importance of evaluating the progress of policies and plans to ensure the educational reform of school board practices. To this end, it uses directive language again to steer the monitoring process: “School boards *shall* establish clear mechanisms of accountability for implementation and effective monitoring to ensure that antiracism and ethnocultural equity principles are integrated into all aspects of education programs, services, and board operations” (OMOE, 1993b, p. 18). “Section 4” then sets out six mechanisms boards “shall” use to monitor their progress. But these requirements apply only to certain areas of focus, specifically those for Board Policies, Leadership, School-Community Partnership and Curriculum. For example, one of these requirements directs school boards to focus their monitoring on “outcomes that are both quantitative and qualitative” (OMOE, 1993b, p. 18).

The next part of “Section 4” presents monitoring criteria specific to each area that boards may use to measure progress, but does not mandate boards to use them like the six criteria described above. On the other hand, in describing these suggested criteria, it states these “criteria will also form the basis for monitoring the implementation of school board policies on antiracism and ethnocultural equity by the Ministry of Education and Training” (OMOE, 1993b, p. 18). Therefore school board autonomy is constrained because school board policy developers who omit these suggested criteria would risk not receiving approval for their policies and implementation plans.

Finally, it is important to note that the *Guidelines* also provide direction and

support in “Appendix 1: Checklists for Policy Implementation” (see Figure 6.4). The *Guidelines* introduce the 10 checklists as examples of what a board’s implementation plan should include in each of the areas of focus. Although the Ministry does not use the word “shall” to require boards to use these checklists their use is nevertheless encouraged: “Checklists can be useful in determining a school board’s progress in policy implementation. School boards are encouraged to develop their own checklists to reflect local realities” (OMOE, 1993b, p. 23).

Figure 6.4. Checklist for Board Policies Area of Focus

Appendix 1: Checklists for Policy Implementation

The following checklists provide an example of what the implementation of a school board antiracism and ethnocultural equity policy might look like. Checklists can be useful in determining a school board’s progress in policy implementation. School boards are encouraged to develop their own checklists to reflect local realities.

Focus: Board Policies, Guidelines, and Practices	Yes	No	Somewhat	Don’t Know
1. Principles of antiracism and ethnocultural equity are clearly articulated in the board’s mission statement and strategic plan, where applicable, and in all board policies, guidelines, and procedures.	_____	_____	_____	_____
2. Clear guidelines exist for the review of board policies and practices in terms of racial and ethnocultural biases.	_____	_____	_____	_____
3. Representatives of diverse Aboriginal and racial and ethnocultural groups participate in the development and review of policies and practices.	_____	_____	_____	_____
4. Mechanisms exist for monitoring board progress towards antiracism and ethnocultural equity.	_____	_____	_____	_____
5. Clear criteria exist to facilitate the admission of students whose parents do not hold rights under Section 23 of the Charter of Rights and Freedoms but who can show that it would be in the best interest of their children to receive their primary or secondary education in the French language.	_____	_____	_____	_____
6. Antiracism and ethnocultural equity policies and implementation plans for the board and the minority section are in harmony.	_____	_____	_____	_____

Source: *Guidelines* 1993, p. 23.

I find the process and model framework that “Section 2” proposes is closely linked to and integrated with the core objectives and monitoring criteria for the areas, which make up the heart and substance of the document. Therefore, the *Guidelines*, by design, in effect control the text and consequences of school boards’ antiracism and ethnocultural equity policies and prescribe how they develop and are implemented to enable these policies and plans to ultimately meet Ministry approval. While the *Guidelines* give school boards some discretion to generate submissions that reflect the needs of local communities, a careful reading of the *Guidelines* shows most of the text is neither truly discretionary nor unrestricted. Having shown generally how this document is designed to control the text of board policies and dictate the consequences for implementation plans, my analysis turns now to examine whether or not the 10 areas of focus support and advance the initiative’s conceptualization of antiracism and ethnocultural equity.

The 10 Areas of Focus Shaping School Board Policies and Plans

The *Guidelines* require school boards to develop policies and implementation plans in each of the 10 areas of focus. The topics of these areas of focus were first introduced as key concepts for race relations policy in the education recommendations of *Equality Now*. They developed into nine areas of concern in the *Report* of the Provincial Advisory Committee, the *Synopsis*, and *Implementing Race*. They increased to 18 characteristics in *Changing Perspectives* and revert to 10 areas of focus in the *Guidelines*.

The text and consequences for each area, set out in “Section 3” and “Section 4,” ask school boards to consider the outlined key issues, to address the core objectives in policy and plans (OMOE, 1993b, p. 8), and to produce criteria, some mandatory, for

monitoring progress (OMOE, 1993b, p. 18). In “Section 3,” for each area, the key issues are presented first followed by the core objectives. The key issues establish the context including the rationale for the Ministry’s selection of that area of focus. The key issues in combination with the core objectives provide: additional context for the problem including authority; additional text including the goals for policy development; and additional consequences including strategies for school board plans of action to address the problem and achieve the educational reform. In “Section 4” the compulsory and suggested criteria for monitoring and evaluating implementation of antiracism and ethnocultural equity policies provide additional text and consequences for developing and implementing policies and measuring progress in addressing the problem of racism in schools and in reforming school board policies, programs and practices.

My analysis of the 10 areas considers the compulsory core objectives, on which boards must base their plans of action, and explains how the key issues and core objectives combine to provide direction to boards on policy development and policy implementation through context, text and consequences. The criteria for monitoring progress in each area of focus highlight the suggested or mandatory accountability measures for school boards to include primarily in their policy implementation to achieve specific educational reform. “To ensure change, effective monitoring and evaluation of implementation is critical” (OMOE, 1993b, p. 18). My analysis of each area of focus concludes with a discussion of whether the particular core objectives and criteria for monitoring that area do address and support the key issues. Through this analysis I highlight the strengths and weaknesses of the area and consider whether its context, text, and consequences advance the initiative’s conceptualization of antiracism and

ethnocultural equity and can prompt the organizational and individual changes required in the educational reform.

To structure my analysis of the 10 areas, I arrange them under three core components of school boards' organizational structures and operations: (1) board policies and guidelines; (2) board programs; and (3) practices (OMOE, 1993b, p. 12). The *Guidelines* explain the inter-connection of these three core components as follows: "Board policies and guidelines are important because they define the principles and objectives that direct board activities [or programs] and day-to-day practices" (OMOE, 1993b, p. 12). The particular areas of focus, which I arrange and examine under a core component, are the ones that align with it most closely. Therefore, under each component, the areas of focus are as follows: (1) under board policies and guidelines, I provide a detailed examination of the area of Board Policies, Guidelines and Practices and summaries of the areas of Racial and Ethnocultural Harassment and Employment Practices; (2) under board programs is a detailed examination of the Leadership area and a summary of the School-Community Partnership area; and (3) under practices is a detailed examination of the Curriculum area and summaries of the Student Languages, the Student Evaluation, Assessment and Placement, and the Guidance and Counselling areas. I begin my analysis of the 10 areas of focus with the area for Staff Development, which is set apart because it aligns closely with all three components.

Staff development.

Staff Development is arguably the most critical area of focus in the *Guidelines* because it underscores the importance of boards providing specialized training for "changing organizational culture and practices" (OMOE, 1993b, p. 17). This area of

focus requires boards to prepare plans of action to allow all board staff to acquire the knowledge, skills, attitudes and behaviours to identify and eliminate systemic and individual racism.

The key issues section connects staff development to educational reform: “Staff development on antiracism and ethnocultural equity is an integral part of the process of changing organizational culture and practices” (OMOE, 1993b, p. 17). The key issues provide context and text by outlining what is needed and why in order for effective antiracism and ethnocultural equity staff development training to bring change. The first issue is engagement at all levels but especially school board leaders: “Such change requires trustees and all staff to take ownership and responsibility for promoting antiracism and ethnocultural equity” (OMOE, 1993b, p. 17). The other key issues provide text outlining goals to address the purpose of training, noting it “can help trustees and staff to change individual behaviour and institutional practices to eliminate barriers to equity” (OMOE, 1993b, p. 17); they provide a rationale for the training “trustees and school board staff *need to* acquire the knowledge skills, attitudes and behaviours to identify and eliminate racial and ethnocultural bias and discrimination” (OMOE, 1993b, p. 17) and indicate the training must be mandatory: “All staff *need to* participate in staff development activities” (OMOE, 1993b, p. 17). Although the key issues do not use “shall” to issue directions on staff development, they convey the Ministry’s expectations for boards to address these staff development matters in policy development and policy implementation by speaking of a “need to” do so.

Five of the six core objectives build on the key issues underlining the importance of staff development in changing organizational knowledge and practices by providing

text and consequences for policy development and implementation (OMOE, 1993b, p. 17). The first two core objectives require plans of action and prescribe a process for staff development, which first entails conducting a needs assessment and then based on the identified needs developing and implementing the staff development programs. The third core objective specifically requires a plan of action for addressing systemic racism: “To enable trustees and staff to deal confidently and effectively with issues of racism and discrimination” (OMOE, 1993b, p. 17). Other core objectives introduce outcomes for developing antiracist staff development programs with community groups to ensure trustees and staff acquire the knowledge and skills to identify and eliminate racism and bias. The core objectives also link staff development to the areas of Leadership, Board Policies, School-Community Partnership, Curriculum, and Harassment.

No mandatory monitoring criteria are set out for this area; however, four criteria are suggested for Staff Development, which are connected to the core objectives. They are designed to measure whether all school board employees including teachers, principals, supervisory officers and trustees have the knowledge to identify and address individual and systemic racism and bias in each of their respective roles (OMOE, 1993b, p. 20).

This area of focus provides the context, text and consequences to guide school boards in developing and implementing antiracism and ethnocultural equity policies in staff development. The key issues confirm antiracism staff development is required to change individual knowledge and behaviours, as well as to identify and eliminate racism in institutional practices of schools. The core objectives prescribe a comprehensive and well-designed process for developing and implementing a comprehensive antiracism

training plan for all staff based on their individual needs. The criteria for monitoring are closely aligned with the core objectives, which would enable school boards to assess whether the problem identified in the key issues and the plans prescribed in the core objectives are meeting the expected outcomes of identifying and eliminating individual and systemic racism and bias.

The Staff Development area of focus supports the four premises. Therefore, this area of focus is consistent with and builds on the Ministry's conceptualization of antiracism and ethnocultural equity. The core objectives acknowledge racism, discrimination and racial harassment in school boards and schools (premise one). This area of focus maintains training can help staff identify and eliminate systemic barriers in school boards' organizational culture and practices, which confirms exclusions (premise two). It also finds staff development is needed for staff to acquire the knowledge, skills, attitudes, and behaviours needed to eliminate barriers for Indigenous, racial and ethnocultural minority students and their parents, which implies negative consequences (premise three). It recommends mandatory antiracism staff development to change individual knowledge and behaviours and institutional practices to eliminate barriers to equity (premise four).

Despite its strengths, this area of focus has a number of significant deficiencies including: failing to use language mandating boards to address all the key issues; not requiring ongoing staff development training and continuous monitoring of all the training; not requiring compulsory staff development training in the Student Languages, Student Assessment and Evaluation, Guidance and Counselling and Employment Practices areas of focus; and failing to provide resources, both human and financial to

support the training.

Areas of Focus Concerning Board Policies and Guidelines

The Board Policies, Guidelines and Practices area of focus is considered here in detail and summaries are provided for the Racial and Ethnocultural Harassment and the Employment Practices areas. The Minister's extraordinary powers to require boards to develop equity policies and implementation plans under the *Education Amendment Act 1992* (s. 8(1) paras. 29 and 29.1) and elaborated in *PPM #119* are fully utilized in the three areas of focus that fall under the core component of board practices and guidelines, that is, the Board Policies, Guidelines and Practices area, as well as the Racial and Ethnocultural Harassment and the Employment Practices areas of focus. In addition, the Harassment and Employment Practices areas are reinforced with legislated authority and additional pressures to attain the educational reform in policy and practices.

Board policies, guidelines and practices.

Since the title of PPM #119 is "Development and Implementation of School Board Policies on Antiracism and Ethnocultural Equity," it is logical that the *Guidelines* begin with the Board Policies, Guidelines and Practices area of focus. It is an added area, one that was not previously included in the *Report* of the Provincial Advisory Committee.

In the key issues, the Ministry provides additional context as it uses directive language to exercise its authority to require that the "principles of antiracism and ethnocultural equity *shall* permeate aspects of the board's organizational structure" (OMOE, 1993b, p. 12). The reform is extensive applying to "all areas of the board's operations, policies, guidelines, programs and practices" (OMOE, 1993b, p. 12). The

Ministry also uses its authority to direct school board compliance with regard to three other key issues. One mandates boards to seek out and eliminate racism: “Barriers to equity *shall* be identified and addressed” (OMOE, 1993b, p. 12). The next requires the inclusion of the previously excluded perspectives of students, parents and the community: “Board policies, guidelines and practices *shall* ensure the needs of all students are addressed. They should reflect diverse viewpoints, needs and aspirations in the community, particularly of those groups that have traditionally been excluded” (OMOE, 1993b, p. 12). The final issue statement requires boards to measure and monitor progress on achieving inclusion by indicating boards “*shall* have an appropriate mechanism in place to ensure accountability for achieving that goal [of inclusion]” (OMOE, 1993b, p. 12).

The four core objectives for this area provide additional text and consequences, as it requires goals and plans of action to address the mandatory requirements set out in the key issues. The first two require boards to commit to the principles of antiracist education and then eliminate racism and bias in all existing and new policies, guidelines, operations and practices. The third one requires the development and implementation of mechanisms to measure progress toward antiracism and ethnocultural equity. (The last core objective and last criteria for monitoring are limited to French language school boards and since they are not pertinent to my analysis will not be discussed.)

One mandatory monitoring requirement applies to this area of focus: “Boards *shall* ... focus monitoring on outcomes that are both quantitative and qualitative” (OMOE, 1993b, p. 18). Four specific criteria for monitoring progress also are set out (OMOE, 1993b, pp. 18-19) but they only use discretionary language. The first three criteria are

designed to help boards measure whether the principles of antiracism are articulated in all board policies, to assess whether biases in board policies have been identified, and to monitor the board's progress in eliminating biases and barriers in board policies, programs and practices.

The key issues for this area provide additional context for the problem of racism in school boards by identifying where institutional racism is entrenched in policies and practices. They employ the Minister's authority over antiracism and ethnocultural equity policy to mandate comprehensive policies addressing bias and racism in all aspects of school boards' organization and operations in policy development. The key issues and core objectives provide appropriate text and consequences with a simple three step process for policy development, which is based on identifying where institutional racism exists in policies, committing to its elimination from policies and checking progress. The core objectives in combination with the monitoring criteria provide text and consequences in the form of pressures and support to guide policy implementation with ongoing monitoring, including both quantitative and qualitative measures, moving the initiative toward educational reform where the principles of antiracism and ethnocultural equity are reflected in all aspects of school boards' organization and operations.

This area of focus develops all four premises. The key issues confirm that racisms are real and biases exist in board policies, guidelines and practices (premise one). It also confirms the manifestations of racisms that have excluded viewpoints and experiences of Indigenous and racial minority students (premise two) and created negative consequences for them, their parents and their communities (premise three). Through the core objectives and criteria for monitoring, school boards are effectively

directed to generate strategic antiracist education policies and implementation plans (premise four) that identify and eliminate bias and racisms in all areas of boards' organizations and operations while ensuring the student, parent and community perspectives in monitoring.

Despite its strengths, this area of focus also has significant deficiencies, which will be elaborated later. They consist of the failure of the Ministry: to legislate community based advisory committees to ensure community partnerships and input; to extend the area of focus to include schools since they also have policies and guidelines that require review for racial bias and revision; to identify and allocate the resources needed for policy development, review and implementation; to provide adequate funding for the outcomes to be achieved; to acknowledge the significant commitment of time required for training and paying those responsible for the comprehensive policy review, development and implementation processes involved. This area of focus, therefore, provides an ambitious but flawed process for systematically changing school board practices, policies and programs.

Racial and ethnocultural harassment.

This area of focus provides additional context in connecting the initiative to the Ontario *Human Rights Code* by establishing that racial and ethnocultural harassment is a prohibited form of discrimination. The key issues establish context and text (goals) for policy development by informing school boards of their requirement under the *Human Rights Code* to identify and eliminate the forms of discrimination identified as harassment. Harassment is described as overt and covert, intentional and unintentional, systemic and individual. It consists of verbal or physical abuse or threats, unwelcome

remarks, jokes, innuendo, taunting about a person's race, ethnicity, national origin, faith, dress, or accent (OMOE, 1993b, p. 16). By describing the many actions and behaviours occurring in the school system that constitute racial and ethnocultural harassment and, therefore, which are prohibited by the Code (OMOE, 1993b, p. 16), the key issues confirm racism is real (premise one). The key issues also highlight and confirm that racial harassment results in specific exclusions (premise two) and leads to related negative consequences (premise three), corresponding with Miles and Brown (2003), Goldberg (2003) and Stanley (2011, 2014). For example, "exclusion, avoidance or condescension because of race" contributes to harassment, which "can have a profound impact on the victims' self-esteem and limit the ability of the individual or group to function effectively" (OMOE, 1993b, p. 16).

The core objectives provide text and consequences requiring policies and plans of action based on identifying harassment and providing strategies to address and eliminate harassment (OMOE, 1993b, p. 16). The first requires boards to review or develop policy guidelines and processes for dealing with harassment. The second requires boards to provide training to staff to allow them to identify and respond to harassment. The third requires boards to ensure they communicate their policy guidelines to all members of the education community. The fourth requires plans of action to monitor the process for eliminating harassment in schools.

While the *Guidelines* have no mandatory criteria for monitoring progress in this area of focus, the four specific criteria for this area are well conceived and connected well to the four core objectives (OMOE, 1993b, p. 20). These criteria suggest school board outcomes that include: putting in place a mechanism for reporting and responding to

harassment, as well as, a monitoring system to tracks these reports and responses; providing information on harassment processes to all staff, students and parents; and having school staff acquire the knowledge and skills to respond effectively to harassment (OMOE, 1993b, p 20).

The greatest strength of this area is its focus on both on the systemic and individual barriers students encounter due to the various forms of harassment and racism in the school system. Since this area of focus connects the initiative to discrimination prohibited by the *Human Rights Code*, it provides additional context to the problem in schools and society. By invoking the Ontario *Human Rights Code*, in particular its anti-discrimination goals, the *Guidelines* strategically augment the legislative authority that the *Education Amendment Act 1992* gives the Minister in this area of focus. Other strengths are the text and consequences of the four core objectives, which prescribe: a clear and precise process to develop policy guidelines and procedures to deal with harassment; a communications strategy to inform and engage the education community; a process for monitoring harassment; and the clearest requirement for staff development compared to other areas of focus.

This area is exemplary and should have been a model for context, text and consequences of the other areas of focus for how well its key issues and core objectives are integrated and linked to the criteria for monitoring and implementation. The key issues and core objectives align completely to provide a comprehensive and complementary process for policy development and policy implementation. In addition, the criteria for monitoring correspond precisely with the core objectives to have the strongest concurrence when compared with all other areas of focus. The exemplary

alignment in this area of the issues, the objectives and the monitoring criteria supports school boards in achieving well integrated policy development and policy implementation and enables boards to concretely assess whether the problem identified in the key issues and the policies and plans prescribed by the core objectives are meeting the outcomes in the criteria for monitoring and moving toward the educational reform.

Despite these strengths, this area of focus has significant deficiencies including: not incorporating staff development training in the mandatory monitoring criteria; not specifying that “all staff” require antiracism training; and not allocating the time, resources or facilitators for the training. For example, without suitable training, teachers will continue to recommend the same students for suspension without considering whether racism prompted the misconduct. Unless principals are trained, they will continue to suspend the students who teachers recommend for suspension also without considering the context of racism. And, finally, unless superintendents are trained they will not overturn the suspensions that did not deal appropriately with racial harassment.

Employment practices.

This area of focus underscores the importance of equitable employment practices to antiracism and ethnocultural equity. *PPM #119* added context for this area by highlighting additional authority that it identifies to be forthcoming in legislation for employment equity policies and plans (OMOE, 1993b, p. 5). The *Guidelines* confirm it with the following footnote: “8. Further guidance on this section will be provided when Bill 79, An Act to Provide for Employment Equity for Aboriginal People, People With Disabilities, Members of Racial Minorities and Women, becomes law” (OMOE, 1993b, p. 16).

This footnote signals that ministerial authority in this area will be increasing. The key issues provide additional text and consequences with a rationale for equitable employment practices while stating they are an integral part of antiracism and ethnocultural equity. The key issues also equate equitable employment practices to good employment and human resources practices, which ensure all qualified candidates are considered for and treated fairly in hiring and promotion processes (OMOE, 1993b, p. 16). Thus, the key issues identify exclusions and negative consequences in current employment practices and emphasize the significance of having a school board work force that is representative of the community and better able to understand and respond to the diversity of the community (OMOE, 1993b, p. 16).

The core objectives provide some text and consequences requiring policies and plans of action to ensure equitable outcomes, for example bias-free recruitment, interview, selection, promotion and training practices (OMOE, 1993b, p. 17). The first core objective requires boards to develop practices to ensure vacancies are advertised widely and include outreach to designated groups; the second requires boards to ensure all stages of employment from attracting candidates to hiring, training and promotion area equitable; and the third requires boards to ensure that interview teams reflect the diversity of the community.

The three criteria specified for monitoring this area of focus (OMOE, 1993b, p. 20), however, do not connect consistently to the related core objectives and the language only suggests and does not require they be used to measure compliance. The first criteria does align with the first core objective by suggesting monitoring of advertised vacancies; however, the second and third criteria are not mentioned in the key issues nor in any core

objectives. The second criteria suggests board-supported networks for racialized and ethnoculturally diverse employees to enable their full participation in employment opportunities. The third criteria suggests boards devise a mechanism to address workplace harassment and discrimination. In fact the third criteria for monitoring progress would have been more appropriately included in the area of focus for harassment.

A strength of this area is how the key issues provide additional context in developing a solid rationale, supported by examples of good employment practices, to help boards develop appropriate policies and plans of action. Another strength is the core objectives clearly articulate expectations using imperative language as boards are directed “*to ensure*” all the specified actions will be taken (OMOE, 1993b, p. 17). Combined, the text and consequences of the core objectives require school boards to take concrete actions to make traditional employment practices fairer and to identify barriers, biases and exclusions going forward.

A major deficiency of this area is that the existing text did not provide a complete version of the context, text and consequences as the Guidelines confirmed that further direction was pending after the legislation passed. Other deficiencies include the Ministry: not specifying in its text and consequences a comprehensive process for revising employment practices (because the core objectives and monitoring criteria are poorly coordinated with the key issues); not identifying the resources for the staff development necessary for boards to review employment practices and implement equitable practices and procedures; neither allocating nor requiring boards to allocate the necessary resources to support boards’ bias-free employment practices, including wider

advertising of vacancies and outreach to diverse communities; and not requiring boards to allocate the necessary resources to ensure members of interview teams receive the training and achieve the knowledge to hold bias-free interview and selection processes. It is important to acknowledge that pending employment equity legislation could have addressed some of these deficiencies. However, that legislation was abandoned and the anticipated additional legal authority in this area never materialized.

Areas of focus concerning board programs.

The board programs component of this analysis of the areas of focus will provide a detailed discussion of the Leadership area and a summary of the School-Community Partnership area, to highlight how the *Guidelines* prioritized informed school board leadership and the active involvement of community in achieving the educational reform of the antiracism and ethnocultural equity initiative.

Leadership.

This area of focus concerns board leaders responsible for board governance and administration, which generally includes trustees, directors and senior staff, but it is directed also at principals and teachers who operate in schools. It introduces context and text that focuses on developing the knowledge and skills of all school leaders to commit to and lead the development and implementation of antiracism and ethnocultural equity throughout the school system.

The key issues text and consequences are focused on boards establishing forms and practices of leadership that are consistent with the Ministry's conceptualization of antiracism and ethnocultural equity. They use text in the form of directive language

drawing upon the Minister's authority to require boards to comply. The first key issue requires *informed leadership*, (first introduced in the *Report*) along with a commitment by all staff, including trustees, directors of education, superintendents, principals and teachers, to identify and address systemic racism: "School boards *shall* provide informed leadership *at board and administration levels*, with a commitment by all staff to identify systemic inequities and barriers and support to enable them to do so" (OMOE, 1993b, p. 12). The second key issue requires leaders to share decision-making with previously excluded racial and ethnocultural equity communities, and others who support the educational system: "Leaders in the educational system *must* share responsibility for decision-making with these groups" (OMOE, 1993b, p. 12). The third key issue introduces "shared leadership" that "*demands* that all partners in education become responsible for preparing students to live in a racially and culturally diverse society... and that all forms of racism are challenged and removed" (OMOE, 1993b, p. 13).

The four core objectives provide text and consequences requiring school boards to develop the antiracist knowledge and implement the antiracist leadership described in context and text of the key issues. The first objective requires boards to assist leaders to "develop the knowledge, skills, attitudes, and behaviours needed to implement antiracism and ethnocultural equity policies" (OMOE, 1993b, p. 13). The second objective requires antiracism outcomes to be developed and included in all performance appraisals, including teacher evaluations (OMOE, 1993b, p. 13). The third objective requires board policy directions and priorities, as well as the day-to-day implementation of programs and services (OMOE, 1993b, p. 13), to be consistent with the aims of antiracism. The last objective requires boards to formalize antiracism and ethnocultural equity principles and

objectives in all plans and year-end reports (OMOE, 1993b, p. 13). Missing is a core objective connected to the key issue requiring board leaders to share decision-making with diverse communities. Consequently, also absent is a requirement for boards to generate related plans of action.

Three of the mandatory monitoring requirements apply to the Leadership area. They direct Boards that they: “*shall*” include specific objectives in the performance appraisal of all staff to ensure that antiracism and ethnocultural equity requirements are implemented; “*shall*” require principals, supervisory officers, and all individuals with supervisory responsibility to include antiracism and ethnocultural equity objectives in their annual plans and year-end reports; and “*shall*” require teachers to include antiracism and ethnocultural equity objectives in their long-term and short-term program and lesson plans (OMOE, 1993b, p. 18). The three specific criteria set out for monitoring this area of focus are not mandatory. They suggest: leaders understand how racism is manifested in the school system; use effective strategies to eliminate systemic and individual racism; and establish effective mechanisms “*to ensure*” leaders accomplish the goals outlined in their annual plans (OMOE, 1993b, p. 19).

A key strength of the context and text of the Leadership area of focus is the recognition that it is the role of school board leaders to challenge, identify and remove racisms in school systems. Another strength is the acknowledgement that school board staff will need to develop the knowledge and skills necessary for the shared and informed leadership required to devise and implement antiracism and ethnocultural equity policies and plans. The core objectives, with one exception, align with the key issues and provide the text and consequences required for school boards to develop policies designed to

change the knowledge, skills, attitudes and behaviours of all leaders so they can successfully implement antiracism and ethnocultural equity. The three mandatory monitoring criteria for this area formalize ongoing review of the knowledge and practices of all staff. For instance strengths of this area are the compulsory requirements to include antiracism objectives in: the performance appraisals of all staff; all leaders' annual plans; and teacher's long and short term and daily lesson plans (OMOE, 1993b, p. 19).

The Leadership area of focus builds on and helps to develop the antiracism and ethnocultural equity initiative as a genuine antiracism project. It seeks to achieve educational reform by initiating individual and systemic change beginning at the highest levels of leadership and then extending it to all other staff in the system. It acknowledges the problem exists (premise one) by requiring "all forms of racism" to be challenged and eliminated. It recognizes exclusions (premise two) and negative consequences (premise three) by introducing shared leadership and supporting school board leaders to ensure they can identify "systemic inequities and barriers" (OMOE, 1993b, p. 12) and lead the training of all staff so they can address racisms and begin to share decision-making with Indigenous and racial minority communities. And finally, the requirement for all school board leaders to develop the knowledge and skills required to design and implement antiracist policies and plans, with ongoing monitoring, for identifying and eliminating racisms in all school board and school operations, programs, services and practices, supports strategic antiracist education (premise four).

Despite its strengths, including developing the Ministry's conceptualization of antiracism and ethnocultural equity, this area of focus also has significant deficiencies including the failure of the Ministry: to follow up in the core objectives and the criteria

for monitoring with the key issues' commitment to share responsibility for decision-making with diverse communities and education partners; to explicitly require informed leadership at the school level, since the first key issue only requires it at the board and administration levels; to provide both human and financial resources for staff development training; and to connect antiracism and ethnocultural requirements to promotion processes.

School-community partnership.

The context, text and consequences of this area of focus concern boards' and schools' involvement of racial and ethnocultural minority communities in board policy development, implementation, and monitoring of progress. The key issues for this area of focus introduce the text of "active involvement and participation" (building on active participation introduced in the *Report*) and "constructive and open dialogue" (OMOE, 1993b, p. 13). They use text to establish expectations for and characteristics of the Ministry's idea of partnerships, using language to direct school boards. The three key issues for this area state school boards "*shall*" meet the needs of their diverse communities, "*shall*" engage in constructive and open dialogue, and "*shall*" establish partnerships with traditionally excluded communities, specifically Indigenous, racial and ethnocultural groups, to "*ensure*" their active involvement and participation in boards' developing, implementing and monitoring antiracism and ethnocultural equity policies and implementation plans (OMOE, 1993b, p. 13).

The key issues for this area convey the Ministry's concept of school-community partnership and, in combination with the core objectives, provide text and consequences to require school boards to develop and implement policy to establish these

partnerships. The core objectives introduce text and consequences requiring boards to develop plans of action: to identify diverse communities within their jurisdiction; to request community groups to identify spokespersons for establishing partnerships; to involve the communities in partnerships; and finally to assess the effectiveness of these partnerships (OMOE, 1993b, p. 13).

Two mandatory requirements for monitoring apply to the school-community partnership area of focus: “Boards *shall*: ... include the perceptions and experiences of students, parents and community members in the monitoring process;” and “Boards *shall*: ... *ensure* active participation by representatives from diverse communities in the monitoring of the implementation process (OMOE, 1993b, p. 18). The Ministry’s conception of school-community partnerships is further enhanced by the four suggested criteria for monitoring progress for this area as they prioritize outreach, eliminating barriers, diversifying dialogue, and active involvement. For example, two of the suggested criteria build on the aforementioned mandatory monitoring criteria. One of them confirms systemic barriers and suggests monitoring whether they “have been identified and are being eliminated” (OMOE, 1993b, p. 19). Another calls for assessing whether diverse groups are “actively involved in school and school board activities” (OMOE, 1993b, p. 19).

The key issues, through the context and text positively define the nature and components of partnerships, by requiring boards to have constructive and open dialogue with parent and community groups to ensure their active participation (OMOE, 1993b, p. 13). Another strength is the text of the core objectives acknowledge school boards’ historic systemic exclusions and barriers, and in combination with the related criteria for

monitoring, lead school boards to develop and implement plans of action to identify those who can contribute their diverse perspectives and compel boards to engage them in school-community partnerships.

This area of focus builds on the initiative as a genuine antiracism project that supports the four premises. The Ministry utilizes its authority to achieve the educational reform of addressing diversity by requiring boards to actively include the Indigenous and racialized members of the community in developing, implementing and monitoring school board policies and programs. The problem of boards' historic racist exclusions of diverse community perspectives and experiences (premises one and two) manifests in the negative consequence of the system failing to meet all students' needs and aspirations (premise three). The obligation to include the diverse community in the development, implementation and monitoring of antiracism and ethnocultural equity policies and requiring the community's ongoing participation supports strategic antiracist education (premise four).

Despite its strengths, this area of focus has significant deficiencies. The text and consequences, which suggests boards systematically identify, contact and engage diverse communities, is flawed. First of all, it is unreasonable and perhaps tokenism to ask for a single spokesperson to represent a community. In addition, the Ministry: fails to require a plan of action for boards to address the over-representation of the White-European majority on board committees; fails to provide the text and consequences for a core objective and an associated policy requirement for boards to achieve the community involvement necessary for the mandated participation in developing, implementing and monitoring board policies and plans; and does not dedicate funding and training to

support school-community partnerships.

Areas of focus concerning practices.

The day-to-day practices component of my analysis of the areas of focus provides a detailed analysis of the Curriculum area and summaries of the Student Languages, the Student Evaluation, Assessment and Placement, and the Guidance and Counselling areas. The Curriculum area of focus confirms racism in the traditional curriculum and requires changing the knowledge and practices of educators with antiracist curriculum. The Student Evaluation, Assessment and Placement, Guidance and Counselling, and Student Languages areas of focus all problematize educator knowledge and propose measures to change attitudes, behaviours, and day-to-day teaching practices.

Curriculum.

This focus area context and text problematizes the traditional curriculum for only presenting the values and perspectives of the White-European “dominant culture” (OMOE, 1993b, p. 13) and promotes an inclusive, antiracist curriculum allowing Indigenous and ethnocultural minority students to see themselves reflected in the learning experiences at school.

The key issues context and text prioritize three themes in promoting an antiracist curriculum consistent with the Ministry’s conceptualization of antiracism and ethnocultural equity. The first theme concerns the breadth of “curriculum,” noting this term “encompasses all learning experiences the student will have in school. These include such aspects of school life as the general school environment, interactions among students, staff, and the community, and the values, attitudes, and behaviours conveyed by

the school” (OMOE, 1993b, p. 13). The second theme concerns the bias of traditional curriculum, which focuses “on the values, experiences, achievements, and perspectives of white-European members of Canadian society and excludes or distorts those of other groups in Canada and throughout the world” (OMOE, 1993b, p. 13). The third theme explains the approach of antiracist curriculum, which involves examining and challenging the Eurocentric focus of the traditional curriculum, and gives the only description of antiracist curriculum in any document in the initiative: “Antiracist curriculum provides a balance of perspectives. It enables all students to see themselves reflected in the curriculum and provides each student with the knowledge, skills, attitudes, and behaviours needed to live in a complex and diverse world” (OMOE, 1993b, p. 13).

The core objectives text and consequences call on boards to develop and implement policy: to develop or modify the curriculum to affirm and reflect the identities of all students; to “*ensure*” all students’ cultural and racial identities are affirmed in the learning experiences; to identify the racism and barriers that exist in curriculum structures, policies, programs, and learning materials; to “*ensure*” all elements in the process of curriculum review, development, and implementation are consistent with antiracism and ethnocultural equity; and to enhance teachers’ ability to use biased materials constructively (OMOE, 1993b, p. 14). Portelli and Koneeny (2018) suggest this type of curricular reform in describing democratic education and how teachers who strive to achieve it must engage in a completely new approach to curriculum:

one that is dialectic in nature and actively involves teachers, students, families, and communities. The interests, identities, and needs of each and every student

must be reflected in what is taught and the classroom materials used to teach them, which would make this approach not merely student-centered but student-directed. (p. 141)

The final core objective calls for boards “to reflect the diversity of staff, students, parents, and the community in all areas of curriculum development, implementation, and evaluation, and in the membership of curriculum committees” (OMOE, 1993b, p. 14), which in effect requires a plan of action for community participation. As I noted in the deficiencies of the School-Community Partnership area, the Ministry failed to have a core objective expressly requiring boards to achieve diverse community participation in policy development, implementation and monitoring progress; but, the last Curriculum core objective provides text and consequences which apply pressure to boards to develop a plan of action to ensure some community participation in curriculum.

One mandatory requirement for monitoring progress applies to this area of focus: “Boards *shall*: require teachers to include antiracism and ethnocultural equity objectives in their long-term and short-term program and lesson plans” (OMOE, 1993b, p. 18). Thus, it requires teachers to integrate antiracist education in their daily planning and teaching practices. The four specific criteria for monitoring curriculum, although not mandatory, suggest: the curriculum reflect the realities of a culturally and racially diverse community; procedures be in place “*to ensure*” that the perspectives of diverse communities are included in the process of curriculum development, review and implementation; mechanisms be in place for identifying and addressing forms of bias in learning materials, curriculum policies and programs; and students feel their cultural and racial identities are affirmed by the school (OMOE, 1993b, p. 19).

This context, text and consequences of this area of focus builds on the initiative as a genuine antiracism project and develops a conceptualization of antiracist education supporting the four premises. This area of focus proposes an expanded conception of curriculum that includes all learning experiences. By requiring curriculum to be developed to reflect the identities and experiences of all students, it exposes the problem of systemic racism in existing curriculum (premise one). When referencing “bias and discriminatory barriers in existing curriculum” (OMOE, 1993b, p. 14), it recognizes traditional curriculum excludes racially and culturally diverse students (premise two). It also notes the “Eurocentric nature of curriculum” (OMOE, 1993b, p. 13) adversely affects students’ “values, attitudes and behaviours,” (OMOE, 1993b, p. 13) thereby creating negative consequences (premise three). To address these exclusions and negative consequences the Ministry calls for school board antiracism policy development and policy implementation in partnership with the diverse community to systematically identify and address racist individual knowledge, as well as institutional programs and day-to-day practices, to achieve a balance of perspectives in all aspects of the school environment. Prompting boards to accomplish this transformation supports strategic antiracist education (premise four).

Despite these strengths, this area of focus has significant deficiencies including: the failure to identify, recommend or supply an appropriate curriculum resource since *Changing Perspectives* was not truly an antiracist document; the failure to provide a model for antiracist curriculum training; the failure to require boards to engage skilled and appropriate facilitators to prompt teachers to change their knowledge and practices and to lead them in the curricular reform process toward an antiracist curriculum; the

failure of the Ministry to provide school boards with financial resources for their antiracist curriculum staff development training; and the failure of the Ministry to support school boards by mandating antiracist curricular training in teacher education programs and in principals' additional qualifications courses.

Student evaluation, assessment and placement.

This area of focus provides context and text that establishes “it is important that “teachers have high expectations for all students” (OMOE, 1993b, p. 15) as “expectations may influence students’ expectations of themselves” (OMOE, 1993b, p. 15). The key issues of this area problematize teachers’ knowledge, particularly their expectations for students, by providing specific examples of exclusions and negative consequences for Indigenous, racial and ethnocultural minority students. The context and text of negative teacher knowledge is developed in the next three areas of focus. It is an enduring theme, which Sharma and Portelli (2014) more recently describe as teachers’ deficit thinking and as having: “the following negative effects and implications on racially marginalized students: internalization of a negative self-identity, alienation, discrimination, student disengagement, and a lack of trust and belief in the school system” (p. 262). Most of the key issues in this area identify negative teacher perceptions that lead to the exclusions and result in negative consequences for students (OMOE, 1993b, p. 15). For example one key issue states: “Racial and ethnocultural biases and stereotyping may influence teacher perceptions and expectations of what students are capable of achieving” (OMOE, 1993b, p. 15). Another key issue problematizes standardized tests for having limited validity for students from minority cultures as “they measure knowledge and experiences that have been acquired within a given cultural and linguistic environment” (OMOE,

1993b, p. 15). This area of focus also notes evidence exists that many Indigenous, racial and ethnocultural minority students have been placed into unsuitable programs based on low expectations and the use of culturally biased standardized tests. The key issues introduce context and text presenting a compelling case for changing teacher perceptions but they only establish, as a matter of principle, that it is important for teachers to have high expectations for all students and do not require boards to develop and implement policies to ensure their teachers “shall” have high expectations for all students.

The core objectives, however, do amplify school board obligations by using the term *ensure*, providing text and consequences for policy development and implementation in some areas. For example the first core objective states school boards must *ensure* assessment instruments, procedures, and teams are bias-free. The second core objective requires that boards *ensure* placement decisions for minority students are flexible and do not limit their academic and career opportunities. The third core objective directs that boards *ensure* immigrant parents have more involvement in placement of their children in academic programs (OMOE, 1993b, p. 15).

The six criteria for monitoring progress suggest: continuous monitoring of student placements in relation to race and ethnicity; monitoring the perceptions of parents and students regarding placements; parents understand the assessment and placement process and actively participate in the decisions; students perceive they have equitable access to all available program options; immigrant students be placed in age appropriate programs; constraints be placed on the use of standardized tests with immigrant students or students whose first languages are other than English or French.

For the core objectives to achieve their goals, the text and consequences should

lead to policies and plans of action and must align to the criteria for monitoring. In this area all core objectives target the exclusionary practices identified in the key issues and the criteria for monitoring call for dedicated antiracist interventions as expected outcomes. For example the core objective requiring student placements that are flexible and do not limit students' potential aligns very well with the criteria requiring continuous monitoring of student placements and retention on the basis of race and ethnicity.

On the other hand, the assertion that it is important for teachers to have high expectations for all students is one of the most significant statements in the *Guidelines*. It could have been the greatest strength of this area of focus if boards had been directed that all teachers “shall” have high expectations for all their students. Racial minority students, like all students, require and deserve good teachers, with solid pedagogical knowledge and practices who believe in them and are able to see their true potential.

This area of focus builds on the initiative as a genuine antiracism project and develops a conceptualization of antiracist education supporting the four premises. It acknowledges the problem that racism is real by identifying racial bias and stereotyping in teacher perceptions (premise one). The problem of teachers' low expectations excludes racial and ethnocultural minority students from academic and other opportunities (premise two) and results in the inappropriate placement of these students (premise three) (OMOE, 1993b, p. 15). The well-constructed and aligned core objectives and criteria for monitoring address the bias and discrimination identified in the key issues and direct boards to develop and implement antiracism and ethnocultural policies designed to identify and eliminate racism and bias in teacher perceptions and teacher evaluation, assessment and placement practices, thereby supporting premise four (strategic antiracist

education).

Despite these strengths, this area of focus has significant deficiencies including: the failure to give direction to boards with a core objective requiring they ensure their teachers “shall” have high expectations for all students; the failure to suggest appropriate bias-free instruments or to identify a process for their future selection, so the discriminatory ones would no longer be available, rather than only calling for constraints on their use; and, the most significant omission, the failure to incorporate staff development training and associated funding anywhere in this area of focus, although they are crucial elements of any strategies to address teacher bias and stereotyping so that teacher knowledge is reformed and teacher perceptions and practices will change.

Guidance and counselling.

This area provides context and text on the roles and responsibilities of guidance counselors, recommending informed counselling for identifying and eliminating bias in guidance, assessment and placement practices. The key issues describe assessing and placing students as being guidance counsellors’ central role. They note counsellors’ connection to helping students develop “high expectations for themselves and appropriate educational plans” as well as providing “support with life-skills training, pre-employment skills development, career orientation, exploration, and planning” (OMOE, 1993b, p. 15). The key issues note systemic barriers exist in the form of racial and ethnocultural stereotyping in educational programs and practices, which do not allow some students to achieve “personal growth and realize their full potential” (OMOE, 1993b, p. 15). They call for informed counselling: “To respond effectively to the needs of all students, counselling *must be* culturally sensitive, supportive, and free of racial and ethnocultural

bias” (OMOE, 1993b, p. 16).

The core objectives’ text and consequences align with this vision of informed counselling. In effect they require boards to have plans of action for identifying bias and historical exclusions in the provision of guidance and counselling services and they propose strategies to address and eliminate these barriers (OMOE, 1993b, p. 16). The first two core objectives require boards to work with students, parents, community groups, and guidance counsellors themselves to identify needs and supports required to improve guidance and counselling services. The fifth and sixth core objectives continue with the themes of working with parents and the community and require that school boards create partnerships for program review and develop communications strategies “*to ensure*” parents are kept well-informed (OMOE, 1993b, p. 16). The third and fourth core objectives involve appropriately supporting students’ future options by eliminating racial and ethnocultural stereotyping in educational and career planning. The latter implicitly requires plans of action for bias-free counselling since boards are “*to ensure*” students have the support they need to identify career options and appropriate academic programs (OMOE, 1993b, p. 16).

The three specific criteria for monitoring progress in guidance and counselling (OMOE, 1993b, p. 20) align well with the core objectives and therefore provide the text and consequences for developing and implementing policies. They are: systemic biases in guidance and counselling have been identified and addressed; Indigenous and racial minority parents are actively involved in educational planning and career orientation decisions affecting their children; and Indigenous and racial minority students have confidence in the service they obtain from guidance counsellors (OMOE, 1993b, p. 20).

For instance the second criteria regarding the inclusion of parents and community in academic and career planning, aligns in content and substance with most core objectives.

This area of focus highlights the important role of guidance counsellors in fostering students' self-esteem and draws attention to both systemic and individual barriers, which Indigenous and racialized students encounter in receiving guidance and counselling services (premise two). This area calls for informed counselling, to ensure these services are free of racial bias, thereby confirming premise one (racism is real). It proposes using informed counselling to address the systemic and individual barriers (premise two). In so doing, counsellors would enhance students' expectations for themselves, and their self-esteem, as well as help them to achieve personal growth and realize their full potential, thereby addressing negative consequences (premise three). The core objectives, which flow from the key issues, provide the context, text and consequences suggesting a logical process for policy development by beginning with a comprehensive needs assessment and then calling for plans of action targeting already identified bias and discrimination in guidance practices. This area of focus, like Racial and Ethnocultural Harassment, is one of the most effective areas in combining the key issues with the core objectives before aligning them to suggested criteria for monitoring. This approach ensures strategic antiracist education policies and plans of action that identify and eliminate the barriers and lead to educational reform (premise four).

Despite these strengths, this area of focus has numerous, significant deficiencies including: failing to explicitly acknowledge that guidance counsellors' like other teachers have biases in perceptions and knowledge; failing to hold guidance counsellors to the standard of having high expectations for all students, which is particularly necessary

since the key issues recognize counsellors assist students in having high expectations for themselves; failing to address teachers who provide counselling services to students but who are not referred to as guidance counsellors because guidance is only a specific teaching assignment in middle and high schools, whereas in elementary schools administrators provide this service; failing to indicate important concepts and strategies introduced in this area, such as issuing communications to parents in languages they understand, also are applicable to all teachers and not only to guidance counsellors; and failing to require the training and to allocate the resources, including necessary funding, to support the implementation of the core objectives and criteria, since guidance counsellors are experienced teachers and changing their knowledge would require specialized and skilled facilitators.

Student languages.

This area of focus' context underscores the importance of language proficiency in all areas of the curriculum and problematizes teacher knowledge, attitudes, and behaviours while requiring educators to reconsider how they perceive, support, and teach students whose first language is neither English nor French. This area of focus is one not previously included in the nine areas of concern in the *Report*.

The key issues provide important context and identify four themes. The first theme is confirmation of the importance of achieving language proficiency in either English or French for student success in Ontario schools as "it underlies, success in most, if not all, curriculum areas" (OMOE, 1993b, p. 14). The second is the faulty teacher knowledge and biased perceptions about students whose first languages are not English or French (OMOE, 1993b, p. 14). The third theme is to change the knowledge of teachers

so they understand that students who do not speak either English or French are not deficient in language or linguistically deprived (OMOE, 1993b, p. 14). The fourth theme describes the responsibility of teachers to immigrant students, in both the short and long term, to help these students become competent in the language of instruction (or in one official language) so they will have the same economic and educational opportunities as their peers (OMOE, 1993b, p. 14).

The core objectives provide text and consequences calling for boards to develop plans of action: to affirm and value students' first language; "*to ensure*" that all students achieve literacy in at least one official language; and to provide appropriate support programs for language learning (OMOE, 1993b, p. 15). These three core objectives are related to the key issues, but the text and consequences are so vague that they do not logically guide school boards to achievable plans of action for implementation. For instance what would the plan of action look like to affirm and value students' first language? Therefore, it is important to examine the criteria for monitoring to clarify the direction.

In fact, no mandatory criteria are required for this area and the five criteria specified for monitoring progress in the area of student languages are poorly constructed and do not align with the core objectives. For instance, although the first criteria "Students perceive that their first language is being valued by the school" (OMOE, 1993b, p. 19) does align with the first core objective, it would be very difficult to objectively measure students' subjective perceptions of value. The second criteria "Multilingualism is actively promoted" (OMOE, 1993b, p. 19) does not necessarily align with the core objective of ensuring students achieve literacy in at least one official

language and, again, it would be difficult to measure active promotion of multilingualism. The third and fifth criteria for monitoring are not connected to any core objectives. On the other hand the fourth criteria “An effective language-learning support program is in place” (OMOE, 1993b, p. 19) aligns precisely with the third core objective and is the only readily measurable criteria for monitoring.

This area of focus does not develop a conceptualization of antiracism and ethnocultural equity consistent with the four premises. While the key issues situate the problem they do not confirm racism is real (premise one). They acknowledge that teachers often perceive their students whose first language is not English or French as deficient or linguistically deprived, but they do not explicitly identify this knowledge and practice as racist. The key issues indicate that these perceptions create exclusions for many immigrant children (premise two) and these exclusions can result in negative academic and career consequences for non-English and non-French speaking children (premise three). Nevertheless, the core objectives do not align with the criteria for monitoring and are not measurable. Consequently, this area of focus does not provide the text and consequences for policy development and the necessary pressures and supports for policy implementation to support strategic antiracist education (premise four).

In addition to the failings of the key issues, the context, text, and consequences of this area of focus also are poorly constructed. This flaw may be partially explained because it is a new area of focus. It did not receive the same amount of analysis and input as those areas that came from the *Report*. The result is that in the important area of Student Languages, the *Guidelines* do not assist school boards with appropriate text and consequences for developing policies and implementation plans to address the biases

against non-English and non-French speaking students in Ontario classrooms. The major deficiencies in this area are: the failure of the core objectives to mandate boards to develop antiracist plans of action to address both teachers' individual biases and the systemic biases towards students whose first languages are other than English and French; the failure of the core objectives to require objectively measurable changes in knowledge and practices, which would avoid vague and subjective monitoring criteria such as whether students think their first languages are valued; the failure to recommend or provide appropriate resources to identify bias in teachers' perceptions of non-English and non-French speaking students; the failure to provide support to school boards to facilitate the significant training necessary to reform the knowledge and perceptions of teachers who value English and French more than other languages; and the failure to provide funding to support that training, since it would be expensive and time-consuming to significantly reform teachers' biased perceptions around student languages.

The Pressures and Supports of the Guidelines

My overall analysis of the *Guidelines* finds they were designed to guide school boards by delineating specific context, text, and consequences to support them in producing their antiracism and ethnocultural equity policies and implementation plans. The *Guidelines* developed the most complete articulation of the Ministry's conceptualization of antiracism, thereby confirming it was a genuine antiracism project that supported the four premises of strategic antiracist education.

The *Guidelines* correspond with and contribute to the four parts of my framework for educational reform. The *Guidelines* develop the first part of this framework by describing the problem that racism is real in public education. The key

issues for each area of focus in particular provide context for the problem by identifying examples of individual and systemic racism and discrimination in boards and schools.

The *Guidelines* develop the second part of my framework by describing applicable context (authority, theory), text (goals), and consequences (plans of action) for policy development and implementation. The exceptional authority of the amendment is fortified with references to complementary legislation including the Ontario *Human Rights Code* and proposed employment equity legislation. The *Guidelines* expand on the differences between multiculturalism and antiracist theory in education by including text like power and privilege and dominant culture. The text and consequences for policy development are strategically controlled in the section on Process and Framework, where boards are required to develop policy in the 10 areas of focus. Additional mandatory components are established by directive language used in the key issues for the areas of focus. The Ministry employs the extraordinary authority of the Minister over boards' antiracism policies under the *Education Act* to prescribe the context, text and consequences for school boards' antiracism policy development, in great detail. Although it maintains some school board autonomy, for example to add core objectives, the context, text and consequences for the areas of focus is so prescriptive that school board autonomy in policy development is more illusory than real.

The *Guidelines* develop the third part of my framework for educational reform by providing the pressures and supports including monitoring to assist school boards in policy implementation. These components are provided through the alignment of the context, text and consequences of key issues, core objectives and criteria for monitoring. In some areas of focus, like Racial and Ethnocultural Harassment, these

components are constructed to provide logical and well-aligned direction and support for school boards to implement and monitor policy development. However in other areas, like Student Languages, the key issues are under-developed and do not align with the core objectives and criteria for monitoring. As a result, this area of focus provides minimal pressure and no support for school board policy implementation. In addition, appropriate pressures and supports for policy implementation of important components of the Ministry's conceptualization of antiracist education are missing in several areas of focus. For instance staff development, which is critical to reform "school board organizational culture and practices" (OMOE, 1993b, p. 17) among trustees and all staff (OMOE, 1993b, p. 17), is not required in all areas of focus. The Leadership area recommends informed and shared leadership while the School-Community Partnerships areas introduces the text of active involvement and participation of diverse communities as components of the Ministry conceptualization of antiracist education. Yet these best practices only in the key issues and are not advanced by text and consequences in mandatory core objectives and, therefore, they are not required to be addressed by boards in their policy implementation. A further example is the Student Assessment and Guidance areas that identify the importance of teachers having high expectations for all students to ensure equitable teaching practices and encourage all students to reach their potential. However they have no core objectives to require high expectations and no related monitoring criteria; therefore, school boards are not required to eradicate such discrimination with policies and implementation plans. In summary, despite Ministry efforts to provide comprehensive pressures and supports in the *Guidelines* for policy implementation of antiracist education, a variety of significant deficiencies compromised

the potential effectiveness of policy implementation.

The vision of educational reform in the *Guidelines* develops the fourth part of my framework. The *Guidelines* importantly acknowledge: “effective change can be achieved only through the collective action by all those involved in the school system” (OMOE, 1993b, p. 6) and they identify the groups in school boards who must act together: trustees, supervisory officers, principals and teachers. In the next chapter I explain the four cultures that these groups represent and discuss how the initiative failed to properly take these cultures into account. Nevertheless, the *Guidelines* note all four groups must play a role in realizing the reform. The *Guidelines* introduce new practices throughout the document to bring educational reforms to school board operations and organizational structures including: active involvement and participation of Indigenous and racialized communities; shared decision-making; changing biased teacher knowledge and perceptions and day-to-day exclusionary practices; and identifying and eliminating systemic discrimination and racism.

Summary

The application of my policy analysis framework shows the *Guidelines*, as a support document, advance the context, text, and consequences underlying *PPM #119*'s framework that established the four premises of antiracism. As discussed in this chapter, the *Guidelines* do so by confirming racism and racist exclusions in schools, expanding on negative consequences for Indigenous racial and ethnocultural minority students, and suggesting and mandating particular processes for developing, implementing and monitoring compliant comprehensive antiracism policies and plans. The *Guidelines*

support all of the premises of antiracism. They particularly advance premise four but they also fall short in some areas of focus of achieving strategic antiracist education. The Ministry anticipated most school boards would require considerable assistance to effectively develop and implement the antiracism and ethnocultural equity policies and plans and, therefore, took the unusual measure of issuing very specific directions through this document. The *Guidelines* expand on the Minister's authority provided in the *Education Act* and elaborated in *PPM #119* to provide a detailed and prescriptive antiracist support document that generally, but not always, provides the necessary pressure and support to systematically transform school board structures, policies and programs.

In addition to confirming the four premises of strategic antiracist education, the *Guidelines* correspond with the four parts of my framework of educational reform and are consistent with Harman's (1986) conception of policy. They describe the problem to be resolved effectively in the key issues for all the areas of focus. They delineate the context, text and consequences for policy development and policy implementation. But they contain significant flaws, such as misalignment of key mandatory core objectives and criteria for monitoring progress. Therefore, while the *Guidelines* are the fullest articulation of the Ministry's conceptualization of antiracism and ethnocultural equity, and both confirm the four premises and develop the four parts of my framework, their deficiencies frustrate the potential for individual and systemic change to occur and for the Ministry's vision of educational reform in Ontario school boards to ultimately be achieved.

Chapter Seven
The Cultures of School Boards and
Why the Initiative Did Not Achieve Real Change

In Chapter Six I establish that the initiative was a genuine antiracist education project, by using my antiracism theoretical framework based on Dei (1996) and Stanley (2011, 2104), and by applying my grounded theory of strategic antiracist education with its four premises. Moreover, my analysis of the *Guidelines*, using my policy analysis framework based on Taylor, et al. (1997), finds that the context was well developed but the text and consequences contained significant shortcomings. For example, using my framework of educational reform, I determine that the *Guidelines* successfully situated the problem with appropriate context; however, they did not always stipulate the most compelling text and consequences, including the necessary pressures and supports to prompt the policy development and policy implementation required for organizational and individual change. These deficiencies can also be explained using Bell and Stevenson's (2006) conception of policy as both product and process, as the *Guidelines* context, text, and consequences failed to engage and compel school boards to formulate the necessary textual statements (policy development) to change operational practices (policy implementation). Consequently, through my antiracism theoretical framework, my policy analysis framework, and my theory of strategic antiracist education, I find that the initiative was a genuine antiracism project because it reflected the four premises of strategic antiracist education and it provided the context to establish the problem of racism in Ontario schools. On the other hand, my analysis also finds that the text and consequences of the documents of the initiative contained significant deficiencies, which

compromised the potential for successful policy development and policy implementation, and, I argue, prevented the initiative from achieving success.

In this chapter, I continue to consider whether the context, text and consequences of the documents of the initiative could prompt the organizational and individual change required in implementing strategic antiracist education in Ontario school boards. To this end, I develop my grounded theory of the four cultures of school boards, based primarily on my lived experience but augmented by Crotty's (2013) contention that ethnography focuses on describing and interpreting a culture sharing group (p. 104). I apply grounded theory methods to my lived experience, based on my observations and recollections of my firsthand experiences as a teacher, principal, supervisory officer and associate director to construct my theory of the four cultures of school boards. I use this theory to describe and examine the Ministry's most significant omission, which was its failure to design the contents and processes of the initiative to inspire and induce the members of all four school board cultures (trustees, supervisory officers, principals, and teachers) to change their individual knowledge and systemic practices. The Ministry did not take into account differences in these four cultures and so the initiative was unable to effectively engage them, particularly with respect to the following three elements of the education system: (1) the organization and operation of school boards; (2) how organizational change is initiated, monitored and sustained in school boards and schools; and (3) what fosters individual change in the knowledge, attitudes, behaviours and practices of the members of school board cultures. This omission was so significant that, more than any of the other deficiencies, it caused the *Guidelines* to fail to stimulate the organizational

and individual change required for the initiative to achieve the desired educational reform.

In this chapter I not only contend it was essential for the initiative to engage all four cultures, but also it was most important for it to prioritize the culture of supervisory officers (including directors of education and superintendents). That prioritization was strategically essential since members of that culture are responsible for developing and implementing policy in school boards.

This chapter reflects on and makes observations based on my firsthand experience in school boards and also working on policy development in the Ministry. The observations I am able to make mirror Pinto's (2012) view of curriculum policy formation in Ontario, which she could describe from an insider and outsider perspective: "Being an active participant in the policy process gave me insider status, with access to information and participant insight into the process" (p. xii). "Once, the process was complete and the curriculum policy documents were finalized, I had the opportunity to reflect on my experience" (p. xii).

First I describe in this chapter the four cultures in school boards. Then I discuss how the initiative did not but could have more adequately reflected a practical knowledge of the organization and operations of school boards and their associated cultures.

The Four Cultures of School Boards

School boards are complex organizations comprised of four discrete cultures found in two principal locations. The distinct cultures of trustees (elected members of

the boards) and supervisory officers (directors of education and superintendents)³ operate and are located in central school board offices. The cultures of teachers and principals are interdependent and both operate and are located in schools.

My conceptualization of the four cultures of school boards, as I noted above, is largely informed by my firsthand experiences as a member working within or with all these cultures. Resonating with my experiences, however, and also helping me to articulate my concept of these cultures are the following two definitions. The first one comes from Hargreaves and Fullan (1991) who define culture as:

the guiding beliefs and expectations evident in the way a school operates, particularly in reference to how people relate (or fail to relate) to each other. In simple terms culture is “the way we do things and relate to each other around here.” (p. 37)

The second one is Neito’s (2008) definition, which aligns even more closely with my understanding. She sees culture as “the ever-changing values, traditions, social and political relationships, and worldview created, shared and transformed by a group of people bound together by a combination of factors that can include a common history, geographic location, language, social class, and religion (p. 129).” Viewing my experiences of school boards through the lenses of these definitions I have formulated my own definition of school board cultures to be: The groups of people within boards of education whose membership reflects their common experiences in their specific working contexts. Each cultural group communally creates and shares a learned and dynamic worldview. The collective knowledge and practices of each culture consists of ever-

³ Section 283 stipulates that a “director of education is the chief education officer and the chief executive officer of the board” and also is “a supervisory officer.”

changing beliefs, values and conventions, which individual members transform through their professional, social and political interactions with those from within and outside their group.

Hargreaves and Fullan (1991, 1998) influenced my conception of culture. Fullan (1993, 2001) contributed, as well, to my thoughts on change. Fullan's work on organizational change, in Ontario in particular, intersected a number of times with my career. For instance, I completed my principal qualifications course in the mid-1990s at the Ontario Institute for Studies in Education where Fullan worked and addressed our group of principal candidates. The Ontario Public School Teacher's Federation provided my supervisory officer qualifications course and also sponsored several of Fullan's leadership books used in the training. During my time as a Superintendent with the York Region District School Board, Fullan worked as an advisor to the board on our literacy initiatives and during my secondment to the Ministry he was a special advisor to the Minister of Education.

Fullan (2001) importantly connects culture, change and leadership when he advises "leading in a culture of change means creating a culture of change" (p. 44). Accordingly, I argue that to achieve educational reform in school boards, leaders must create four cultures of change so the members of each culture accept the problem, understand their connection to it, and are motivated and supported to change knowledge and practices in their own and among the other cultures.

I find support in Milley (2002) for my conception of school boards as educational organizations and their associated cultures, as well as for integrating my own lived experience in the study. The way Milley introduces morality resonated particularly with

what I describe in my study as teachers' art of teaching. To explain his conception of a social justice orientation for educational organizations he uses the metaphor of moral communities (p. 47). He draws a connection between educational leaders and the researchers who study them and notes how their interactions and values, including their moral points of view, influence theory and practice around organizational culture and moral leadership. Thus, Milley uses the metaphor of moral communities to develop his concept of organizational culture that combines a subjectivist view with discourse ethics. In this model the subjectivist perspective allows researchers to see the cultural differences in an educational organization while discourse ethics assists in identifying culture as "a model for moving towards shared understanding, and a mechanism for recognizing and accommodating cultural differences" (p. 61).

My grounded theory of the four cultures of school boards proposes that the cultures are distinguished by each group's shared experiences, values, perceptions, traditions, generalized knowledge (theory) and practices, which are unique to and transformed through their members' interactions, within and among their cultures, in the specific locations or contexts where each culture works. I also observe that membership in these discrete cultures tends to be insular and, therefore, members do not automatically embrace or trust members of the other cultures of school boards. As a result, my experience with these distinct cultures of school boards is that they engage in their own forms of exclusions and negative consequences with respect to others outside their culture even though they are part of the same organization.

The cultures of teachers and principals.

As a member of the culture of teachers I learned this culture is influenced by the common experience of its members who were successful as students in the public education system and went on to receive their professional qualifications and training through interactions with students and other educators in the context of the classroom. In other words, the knowledge and practices of the culture of teachers derive principally from each teacher's own educational experiences and interactions with students in their classrooms. Members of the culture of teachers also learn from interactions in the context of the school with other teachers, students (from other classrooms) and principals. Although teachers also develop their knowledge and practices beyond their classrooms through interactions in the context of the school, the culture of teachers believes full membership belongs only to those whose work is primarily located in classrooms working with students. The culture of teachers is unique in that relevant experiences, which develop into their worldview, begin when the members are students and continue as they develop as teachers. Finally, I learned through my experience in the culture of teachers that their members' greatest professional satisfaction is assisting their students to develop both socially and academically in their classrooms. Consequently, the culture of teachers is highly motivated to improve members' knowledge and practices for the benefit of their students.

When I was a principal I learned that the culture of principals is defined basically by the qualifications and experiences of teachers. A teacher can meet the academic eligibility requirements for the principal qualifications courses in various ways, but all candidates must have completed a minimum of five years of successful teaching. Since

teaching experience is mandatory to become a principal, the knowledge and practices of the culture of principals originate in the classroom when principals are members of the culture of teachers and before they prepare to enter the culture of principals.

Participating in the principal qualifications courses marks both symbolically and pragmatically the teacher's move out of the familiar context of the culture of teachers. The instructors, other candidates, and course materials involve knowledge, practices, and interactions beyond the classroom and school in which the teacher is located. During their principal training, the teachers qualifying to become principals enter a midpoint between the two cultures where they are informally excluded from the culture of teachers, and not yet accepted in the culture of principals. As teachers their professional organizations, such as the College of Teachers and their unions, recognize and require they continue to pay dues to formally remain members of the teaching profession. Yet unofficially their teacher colleagues no longer fully accept them as members of the culture of teachers.

For instance members of the culture of principals mentor and train prospective principals and part of that apprenticeship is suggesting that these teachers seek out and engage in working and learning opportunities beyond the classroom. The teachers who accept these opportunities, such as relocating and taking on consultant roles in school boards, move further away, both symbolically and physically, from the culture of teachers. For example, classroom teachers often remind school boards' teacher-consultants and teachers seconded to faculties of education about the value that their culture places on working in the classroom by asking them how long they have been "out" of the classroom. Their question implies that the longer a teacher has been

removed from the classroom, the less value their knowledge and practices will have for other members of the culture.

I experienced this limbo and gradual transition to full exclusion on my pathway to joining the culture of principals. Teachers in transition between the two distinct cultures of teachers and principals come to understand, as I did, that within the culture of teachers members are wary of and tend to distance themselves from peers in this transitional group. These exclusionary practices, which reflect Goldberg (2003) and Stanley (2014), were part of my experience of school board cultures. On the other hand, members of the culture of teachers share the belief that board consultants were previously strong teachers and, therefore, may have relevant knowledge and practices to provide to them. Also their members will readily accept the expertise and professional guidance of principal candidates because these interactions do not involve formal evaluations.

Once teachers are officially appointed to the role of vice-principal or principal, however, they are no longer members of a teachers' union. As a result, from an organizational and board culture standpoint at that stage they are fully excluded from the culture of teachers and do not belong even though they still consider themselves to be teachers. Joining the culture of principals, particularly in elementary schools that often have no vice-principals, means the new principal can be a member of a culture of one in the school. Similar to the culture of teachers, where generally only one member of their culture works with students in the culture's work location (the classroom), a principal in a school is often the only member of the principal culture in their culture's work location (the school). I was appointed to the position of school principal in 1997 and soon thereafter the government legislatively removed principals from teachers' unions

(Education Quality Improvement Act, 1997, Part X.1 Teachers' Collective Bargaining). I found the legislative separation of these two groups in 1997 created the most significant cultural change in schools that I experienced during my career because the legislation formally and fully divided principals and teachers into two distinct cultures within schools.

Principals spend their time and energy interacting with teachers, students and parents. In the school, the principal is responsible for supervision, assessment and placement of both teachers and students. Through these interactions the principal acquires the knowledge and practices to successfully lead the school. Principals' prior training in the culture of teachers prepares them for working with students. Their interactions with teachers, in contrast, require a major alteration in practices. The greatest change for principals is the shift from collaborating with teachers to assessing and supervising them. The shift can be sudden for a newly appointed principal who may have to begin formal assessments of teachers immediately because these processes have strict timelines.

The knowledge and practices of the culture of principals are first based on their members' own experiences as students and then their experiences while in the culture of teachers. The culture of principals requires a change in perspective, however, whereby principals need to expand the knowledge and practices derived from the culture of teachers to consider their whole school in interactions with students, teaching staff, parents and superintendents. The culture of principals builds on classroom based student interactions and parent partnerships in the larger context of the school, including through formal mechanisms like school councils. Principals' practices are established and transmitted to teachers and students in dealing with both classroom and school based

student discipline. As well principals' knowledge and practices are developed through interactions with parents while responding to parents' questions, concerns and conflicts with teachers' knowledge or practices.

In addition, principals rely on interactions with other principal colleagues and superintendents outside their own school contexts to develop their cultural knowledge and practices. When principals need guidance and support they contact other principals, as the culture of principals is extremely supportive of other members. When a principal calls another principal for advice, he or she almost always is connected immediately or will receive a return call as soon as the other principal becomes available. If any sort of emergency ever occurs in a school, other principals will invariably call or show up in person to help manage the situation. Principals understand and rely on the support of other members of their culture of principals.

For some issues of student or teacher discipline principals will need to brief their school superintendents. However before making these calls, principals routinely consult other principals with the expertise and experience they require. Principals use this process generally for two main reasons: first, to consult among fellow members to adequately consider options for resolving a difficult situation; second, to develop a communication plan for presenting the issue to their superintendent knowing that at some point that superintendent will be assessing their knowledge and practices in a formal evaluation. Principals probably could benefit from having more conversations with superintendents but most are careful to only contact them about issues that they anticipate an unhappy teacher or parent will be raising with them. On the other hand, principals are much less concerned about talking to superintendents regarding staffing, school financing, and

resources particularly if they are raising issues relevant to students. Success in the culture of principals is dependent on building relationships with other principals and superintendents, as well as with teachers, students and parents and then using these interactions to adapt the knowledge and practices in their school for the benefit of the students. Membership in the culture of principals is very rewarding because a principal has the greatest opportunity in this role and culture to have an impact on the education of all the students in the school and to observe their progress and development firsthand.

The cultures of supervisory officers and trustees.

The culture of supervisory officers is built on the experiences of both teachers and principals. Since prior membership in these two school-based cultures is necessary to qualify as a superintendent, the knowledge and practices learned in these two roles are combined. Superintendents' knowledge and practices develop in both classrooms and schools through interactions with students, teachers and parents. Superintendents' knowledge and practices derived from their time as members of the cultures of teachers and principals include gathering advice and collaborating with colleagues before seeking support from those who are responsible for their formal evaluations. Superintendents, like teachers and principals, also experience a form of isolation from other members of their culture. In large boards newly appointed superintendents are referred to as superintendents of schools and are usually responsible for geographic groupings of schools. More experienced superintendents are generally assigned to designated areas of board operations including human resources, special education, finance, and curriculum. In small boards, superintendents generally are assigned multiple areas of responsibility including schools.

The majority of superintendents' interactions are with other superintendents, to support the director of education in system planning, policy-making and operational problem solving. Depending on each superintendent's assigned areas of responsibilities, their other interactions are with principals, trustees and parents. Superintendents' office administrators are the gatekeepers who manage and schedule their interactions with principals and parents, while the director generally coordinates the bulk of the interactions with trustees. The culture of supervisory officers operates almost exclusively in the context of central board offices with occasional visits to school sites to meet with principals or parents. To manage multiple priorities and the busy work schedules of superintendents, most of their interactions including meetings with parents and principals, except for principal evaluations, take place at the board office.

Although the board office is the primary location of the culture of supervisory officers, a lot of their knowledge and practices also comes from interactions beyond their own board. For example, although superintendents rely on other members of their culture in the board, given the specialization of each superintendent's area of responsibility, the requisite expertise is not always available in house. Therefore, the Ministry routinely calls together superintendents with similar portfolios, either in face-to-face meetings or through teleconferences. These formal discussions often develop into informal networks of superintendents who collaborate in problem solving. Networks are also formed and supported by organizations for superintendents and directors of education such as the Ontario Public School Supervisory Officers Association (OPSOA) and the Council of Directors of Education (CODE). When a superintendent contacts the

office of another superintendent, the gatekeeper administrator will connect them immediately or will arrange a telephone conference.

Important learned and shared knowledge of members of the culture of supervisory officers is recognizing the interactions or concerns that could develop into political issues if the necessary time and effort is not devoted to their resolution. Superintendents learn that even seemingly minor issues, if not dealt with in a timely and effective manner, have the potential to escalate into major political and social concerns, which in turn may monopolize their time, that of other superintendents, the director, and trustees. The only school board culture that arguably deals with political issues more often than the culture of supervisory officers is the culture of trustees.

A major difference between the role of director and a board's other supervisory officers working as superintendents is that the director generally interacts with trustees more often than the superintendents. However all supervisory officers routinely work with trustees. Supervisory officers' interactions with the culture of trustees take three main forms. The first is superintendents, primarily, develop policies in their area of responsibility at the direction of the director for the consideration of the trustees of the board. The second is supervisory officers provide information to trustees for their decision-making on committees and at board meetings. This information may be provided individually or collectively to the board's trustees. The final area of interaction is supervisory officers work with trustees to respond to parents' and community requests for information or concerns. In most cases, the trustee contacts a superintendent for assistance with such an issue and after the superintendent will respond directly to the party who contacted the trustee. Thus, the knowledge and practices of supervisory

officers develop cumulatively from the interactions they have with other supervisory officers, including both directors and superintendents, as well as principals, parents, and trustees, in the context of school board operations.

The fourth culture found in school boards is that of trustees. I have never been a member of this culture. Therefore, my observations of this culture are based predominantly on my interactions with trustees when I was a member of the culture of supervisory officers in two different school boards, as well as when I was an education officer for the Ministry. Trustees come from a variety of backgrounds. They must meet legislated eligibility requirements, which include being a resident in the jurisdiction of the school board, at least 18 years of age, a Canadian citizen, and not an employee of the same board (*Education Act*, s. 219 & s. 1(8) – (12)). Trustees are not attracted to their positions by the modest honoraria that they receive as compensation but rather by their commitment to serve public education. I have worked with trustees who previously were school council chairs, others who had children with special needs and wanted to improve services for other children with such needs, and a number of trustees who were former educators and wished to use their knowledge and experiences to improve or change the system. The latter have included former principals, superintendents, and teacher union representatives. Often trustees have come to the role after dealing with a community issue such as a school closure. For some serving as a trustee becomes a political stepping-stone before moving on to municipal, provincial or federal politics. For example, Kathleen Wynne served as a trustee in Toronto before becoming a member of provincial government, the Minister of Education, and finally the Premier. Trustees’

varied backgrounds and experiences ensure that the collective knowledge and practices of the culture of trustees is quite diverse.

One unifying characteristic of members of the culture of trustees is that they bring to their work their educational experiences, which may come from previous membership in the other cultures of school boards or, in many cases, from their children, with the goal to support and refine the public education system. Although new trustees are provided with some initial orientation training, once elected their knowledge and practices in the culture of trustees are developed through interactions principally with each other, parents, the community, superintendents and directors. The culture of trustees works almost exclusively in the context of the board office and the community.

The culture of trustees is strongly influenced by trustees' legislated roles. Under the legislation trustees are not granted individual decision-making authority. Collectively, as trustees of their school board, legislation gives them the power to make decisions only as a board (*Education Act*, s. 218.1). Therefore, the culture of trustees works best when interactions among trustees of the board are effective. Trustees, as individuals, are only allowed to bring forward issues and concerns to the board for it to discuss and decide as a board. As a result the culture of trustees in every school board must be able to negotiate as members of the board to establish board-wide policies and programs even though they are individually politically accountable to their constituents. Alliances among the members of the culture of trustees are constantly developing and shifting depending on the context and politics of issues before their boards. For instance, a particular issue can unite or divide members of the culture of trustees depending on whether as a group they collaborate to address it collectively or whether some among them try to step outside of

the legal boundaries of their role on a board to individually solve problems that parents or community members have raised.

Even though members of the culture of trustees must decide all matters before the board as a collective, the knowledge and practices of the culture are heavily influenced by members' individual interactions with parents and the community as elected officials who are accountable to voters in their wards. In my experience, the culture of trustees' interactions with parents is most often related to concerns arising in schools' or school boards' daily operations. These matters include levels of support for students or programs particularly for special education and French Immersion students, student transportation issues such as bussing and walking distances to school sites, questions about school boundaries, concerns stemming from student placements and assessments, problems related to dissatisfaction with teachers or principals, and complaints about other students including bullying. Although these operationally based interactions develop the social and political knowledge and practices of the culture of trustees, ironically trustees have limited jurisdiction to respond to such specific operational issues because their legislated authority is limited to matters of governance such as approving policies for the school board (*Education Act*, s. 218.1 & s. 169.1).

To support their board's vision and adopt associated policies, the culture of trustees draws upon their personal knowledge of the education system and input from their constituents; but to perform these roles trustees also rely heavily on the culture of supervisory officers. In most cases superintendents develop draft policies and submit them to trustees. The two groups come together in committee and their two cultures influence how they revise and generate final policies, which are presented, debated and

passed by the board at board meetings. Since members of the culture of trustees develop their knowledge and practices mainly through both social and political interactions with each other and with the culture of supervisory officers, as well as with parents and the community, this culture works with and listens to internal and external stakeholders in the process of adopting policies and directions for the board that will be in the best interests of the students. At the end of a process, as trustees of the board, they are expected to support the decisions and policies of the board even if the chosen direction is not consistent with their personal views or their constituents' interests. To assist trustees in achieving this organizational and individual balance, as a newly elected board they are encouraged to work together to develop a trustees' code of conduct. It guides the trustees' actions and decision-making, based on operational principles and practices consistent with the *Education Act*.

Of the four school board cultures, the culture of trustees is the most dynamic and potentially volatile in terms of creating and sharing a cohesive worldview and developing collective knowledge and practices. Trustees work in challenging circumstances and struggle with difficult issues. Individually and collectively as a board they dedicate extraordinary time and energy to develop the knowledge and practices of the culture of trustees in order to collectively support and encourage public education and student success.

Having generally described the four cultures of school boards, I next analyze how the Ministry's knowledge of the operation and organization of school boards that is reflected in the documents of the initiative failed to take into account differences in these cultures. As a consequence, the initiative missed the opportunity to tailor different and

important pressures and supports to the different cultures, to engage them effectively in achieving the *educational reform*.

The Organization and Operation of School Boards

The lack of practical knowledge of the organization and operations of school boards reflected in the documents of the initiative was not unique to that policy initiative. In my 11 years working for the Ministry of Education, at Queen's Park and in a regional office, I found most Ministry headquarters' staff well-prepared for drafting and navigating policy through the bureaucracy given their expertise in public administration or public policy. Their knowledge of the organization and operations of school boards, however, was not based in practical experience and was limited to what is set out in the *Education Act*⁴. I learned that branches like Field Services and the former Literacy and Numeracy Secretariat were uncommon as their staff included educators, either seconded or retired from school boards. A few decades earlier when the initiative was being developed, it appears only a few branches at the Ministry had staff with firsthand comprehensive knowledge of the organization and operation of school boards. That knowledge could have greatly improved the content and processes of the initiative and increased the potential for meeting its educational reform goals.

In 2009 I accepted a position working for the Field Services Branch at the Ottawa Regional Office (ORO). I resigned from my position as Associate Director of Simcoe County District School Board and then began my employment as a public servant with the Ministry of Education. The Field Services Office in Ottawa was comprised mainly of

⁴ The *Education Act* and its regulations, in 1993 and continuing to the present, establish the Minister's powers to give policy direction and guide boards as well as the duties and powers of school boards. The *Education Act* included provisions governing the qualifications, duties and responsibilities of trustees (Part VII), supervisory officers (Part XI), principals and teachers (Part X).

retired superintendents and principals. Therefore, their staff possessed organizational, operational and cultural knowledge of school boards unlike the Ministry's headquarters at Queen's Park. In my new role as an education officer, one of my main responsibilities was to work with school board superintendents on new and existing Ministry policies, programs and initiatives. The assistance generally included providing more information about the requirements and expectations for boards, assisting them with reporting requirements, clarifying funding, accountability and measures for meeting expectations. Education officers, however, were given clear direction not to interpret legislation for school boards, as it was not their role. If a school board required an interpretation of the Act, they would have to obtain independent legal advice.

During my time with the Ministry I learned how it develops and communicates policies and programs as well as how their contents and accompanying communications affect school board responses. I found that when the Ministry's policy developers asked Field Services to provide input, the Ministry's direction to boards improved and school board superintendents were more receptive to their contents. Since education officers communicate Ministry direction to school boards, we knew whether directions had been developed without Field Services input and were able to anticipate the nature and emphasis of boards' questions and concerns. In cases where the Ministry direction reflected firsthand knowledge of school boards, school boards usually could move forward with policy development or program implementation without requiring further clarification. However, only some branches routinely asked Field Services for such assistance often because tight timelines precluded seeking it, which resulted in oversights or omissions in language and unclear or ambiguous direction.

From my experience in both school boards and in the Ministry I can confirm that school board staff give Ministry communications and directions the highest priority. Education officers understood that if the language provided in the Ministry's direction were unclear or open to interpretation we certainly would receive calls from boards for clarification. When direction included verbs like "will" and "shall," we knew superintendents would understand the mandatory nature of compliance. On the other hand, we knew we would receive calls if new requirements did not honour the organization and operation of school boards, particularly if the direction was inconsistent with the legislative authorities in the *Education Act* or if the direction appeared to erode the duties and powers of school boards established in the Act. We also understood that school board superintendents and trustees take their responsibilities for operating and reporting a balanced budget as a top priority, so we anticipated contacts if the Ministry announced new school board responsibilities or requirements without dedicated funding. Superintendents, myself included when I was in the role, would refer to these situations as unfunded liabilities. In my role at Field Services, school board superintendents often reminded me that an unfunded liability would compromise student well-being or achievement because school boards would have to divert essential funds from other programming to support the new initiative. Based on these observations and my experience, I deduce the Ministry did not consult effectively with practicing or Ministry-based school board superintendents during the development of the initiative. If it had done so, then their input would have informed and enriched the initiative's documents with practical knowledge of the organization and operations of school boards operations and enhanced the initiative's potential to succeed.

Practical knowledge of developing and implementing board policies.

Central school board offices are organized around the separate cultures of senior staff and trustees, who work together to operate each one of Ontario's 72 publicly funded school boards. School board responsibilities include supervising a board's operations and teaching programs; helping teachers improve their teaching practices; developing policies and ensuring schools abide by the *Education Act* and its regulations. School boards are also responsible for preparing an annual budget and administering the funding they receive from the province (OMOE, Who's responsible for your child's education, n.d. para. 4). Managing school board budgets is a tremendous responsibility especially for large boards since they have very big budgets. For example, the 2001 budget for the York Region District School Board, the first board where I worked as a supervisory officer, was over one billion dollars for a student population of around 100 thousand students. Budgets have increased since then, for example according to its website the 2017-2018 budget for this board is slightly less than one and one half billion dollars (YRDSB, *2017-2018 Budget*, p. 1).

With respect to developing board policies, members of the two cultures of central school board offices drive this process and they bring their distinct operational practices and knowledge to it. Superintendents are generally responsible for writing draft policy, as well as developing and supervising programs, while trustees vote to accept, revise and refine the draft policies and programs. Thus, each culture has a distinct role in the process but both are jointly responsible for the development, revision, implementation, and monitoring of policies and programs. This is routine business for these two school board cultures and they normally perform these roles efficiently and effectively.

The most significant omission in the initiative was its failure to integrate existing school board processes for policy development because of incomplete knowledge of the operations of school boards and their cultures. A school board generally utilizes a standard process when it receives Ministry direction for developing a policy. The first step is to assign a superintendent to lead the process as the senior staff person with the requisite knowledge and experience to head the process and complete the task. The superintendent generally carefully reviews the Ministry directive, memorandum or PPM, which establishes the direction, and begins drafting or completing the template (if provided). The next step is for the superintendent to assemble a small committee of school board staff (sometimes including trustees) with appropriate expertise or interest to provide input and guidance on the required school board policy. The superintendent, either alone or with a small policy writing team, will then in fairly short order (generally within a month or two) put together a draft policy for submission to the applicable school board committee. If the committee accepts and recommends the draft policy without requiring revision it may be added to the next school board agenda for debate. In my experience, after being assigned the responsibility to draft a policy, the process generally took less than three months to develop from conception to board approval.

In the case of the initiative, however, school board senior staff did not have the requisite antiracism knowledge to complete the task in the normal timelines. In the early 1990s only a few boards had administrators and staff with sufficient knowledge in antiracist education to generate appropriate policies and implementation plans. I found this to be the case through my contacts in the Antiracism Multicultural Education Network of Ontario (AMENO). In my board, for example, while I would have been one

of the most qualified staff at that time to develop antiracist policy, I did not have a full understanding of antiracist education and I was only an antiracism consultant and not a superintendent. Our board, like most boards, needed more support to successfully complete the policy development requirements of the initiative. Although the Ministry's strategy deliberately and appropriately allowed school boards to generate their own policies based upon local needs, it failed to take into account that the culture of supervisory officers provincially did not possess the requisite knowledge to successfully lead this process. The inadequate state of institutional knowledge around issues of racism is well documented by Wallis and Fleras (2009) and Henry and Tator, et al. (2009).

The Ministry should have provided suitable resources to increase the knowledge and capacity of school boards to successfully lead and develop local policies. One effective resource needed was the timely training for superintendents to acquire the knowledge before they had to lead and complete the task. Another suitable resource would have been for the Ministry to provide boards with a model of a general or overarching antiracism and ethnocultural equity policy, which boards could adopt or adapt to meet local conditions.

Practical models and samples.

Based on my experience in preparing board policies, I believe the Ministry could have carefully constructed and drafted a model policy in consultation with a small group of school board superintendents then possessing the requisite antiracism knowledge. This model policy could have contained the rationale, scope and components for the policy that the boards would draft, including a process for them to develop operational procedures to complement and build on the policy afterwards. If such a model antiracism

and ethnocultural equity policy containing these components had been provided, it would have established the context for each board's policy development while concurrently offering model language to underscore important concepts including the objective to eliminate racism and the commitment to require high expectations for all students. Since this approach would have left the operational details to follow at a future date in board procedures to accompany the policy, it would have allowed school boards to fairly quickly develop and approve their main, overarching antiracism policy and permitted the time for the training of all school board cultures to allow them to begin the process of developing more detailed procedural implementation plans. A model antiracism and ethnocultural equity policy, if constructed and drafted strategically, could be brief and contain acceptable language for both public and Catholic school boards. A model policy also could have been vetted through trustee organizations for approval in principle, which would have set the stage for expeditious board approval and positioned superintendents to subsequently develop procedures consistent with the direction in *PPM #119* and the *Guidelines*. A model policy would have been a welcome resource for superintendents and would have helped to clarify to all stakeholders the sequence and processes under which boards would develop both new and revised policies and plans. It would have met an essential need in most boards without policies, like mine, because a suitable prototype would have been available to staff assigned the task of drafting an antiracism policy.

The initiative failed to align its policy development requirements to the generalized processes of policy development in school boards, which created a significant problem related to school board operations. Most school board policies are one or two pages in length. Superintendents learn through practice that the length of the policy often

dictates the length of the debates in committee and at board. Consequently, superintendents recognize the value of drafting short policies in which they concisely set out the basic principles and board commitments. Operational details and processes surrounding a policy's implementation are generally issued in separate administrative procedures and, therefore, in most cases trustees review and pass policies with the understanding that, through the director, superintendents will subsequently develop the accompanying operational procedures. In terms of the development process, the major difference between board policies and operational procedures is that superintendents develop procedures through the director rather than through a committee of the board and completed procedures are not taken to board for review and approval. With regard to review and approval of board policies, school board trustees generally determine the schedule for review and they pass the revisions decided by the board to finalize the board policy. Given a choice between developing either another policy or a procedure, the culture of supervisory officers would choose a procedure because it provides the necessary direction for practice, can be revised quickly if required, and does not need board approval.

In *PPM #119* the Ministry demonstrated a major defect in its knowledge of school board operations linked to the *Education Amendment Act 1992*. The amendment gave the Minister the power in subsection 8 (1), paragraph 29.1, to require boards to submit an antiracism and ethnocultural equity policy but it did not authorize the Minister to require boards to submit implementation plans as indicated in *PPM #119*. Therefore the initiative's requirement for school boards to generate antiracism and ethnocultural equity policies and implementation plans and submit them to the Minister for approval and

possible revision, as I have noted previously, established requirements not prescribed in the Act. To require boards to submit implementation plans, the Minister needed this specific, additional power, but it was not provided in the *Education Amendment Act 1992*. Without this authority, the context, text, and consequences of the initiative were flawed that asked Boards to submit both policies and implementation plans.

The initiative also conflated the process for developing a school board policy and operational procedures because it required that boards complete them in tandem for Ministry approval. The Ministry should have used more precise language to provide greater clarity and differentiation between the process for boards' antiracism policy-making and for boards' development of procedural implementation plans in support of their policy. In fact appropriate language is used in the PPM (OMOE, 1993a) where it states: "... every school board shall develop a policy on antiracism and ethnocultural equity, as well as a plan for implementing its policy" (p. 2). This direction signals to senior staff that development of a single policy is required as well as a supporting procedure in the form of an implementation plan to follow. However, in the very next line of the PPM the direction becomes confused because it states: "Boards shall then submit their policies and plans to the Minister for approval..." (OMOE, 1993a, p. 2). Here the language of the PPM is unclear as to whether the Ministry is calling for a single antiracism and ethnocultural equity policy or a series of policies for each area of focus. In addition, the Ministry clearly oversteps the Minister's authority by asking boards to submit their plans for approval. In the remainder of the PPM the Ministry repeatedly refers to a plurality of board policies and implementation plans including: "Policies and implementation plans shall address the following ten major areas of focus..." (OMOE,

1993a, p. 3). The ambiguity of repeated references to multiple policies and the requirement for boards to submit both policies and implementation plans, without the legislated authority for imposing the latter requirement, shows the Ministry's lack of practical understanding of school board organization and processes and a disregard for school boards' legislated autonomy over administrative procedures.

The Ministry could have avoided this confusion by clearly directing boards to develop a single antiracism and ethnocultural equity policy following which the boards would review other related policies and develop the various procedures necessary for implementation of the new and revised policies. In addition *PPM #119* could have clearly differentiated the requirements and the process in the section on "Requirements for Policies and Implementation Plans."

The PPM gives further inappropriate direction to boards by setting timelines and requirements for boards' policies and implementation plans to be prepared concurrently rather than sequentially, as noted above (OMOE, 1993a, pp. 2-4). For example in the first part of this section, the PPM combines the requirements for policies and implementation plans and indicates they must be submitted together (OMOE, 1993a, p. 3). The Ministry's PPM should have first described only the components of the policy, then the PPM should have had a separate section to address implementation plans that commenced with the statement: boards shall develop operational procedures in the areas of focus, which will constitute implementation plans to support the board's antiracism and ethnocultural equity policy. If the PPM had used this language and the sequential approach, it would have honoured the processes and organization of school boards, as well as boards' autonomy, by allowing school boards, to first develop and adopt their

own policy and then affording them additional time to generate their own administrative procedures and implementation plans. Having the additional time would have allowed both the cultures of supervisory officers and trustees to receive the antiracism staff development training necessary to develop the knowledge to help them construct, implement and monitor appropriate antiracism implementation procedures.

The Ministry could have signalled to school boards that once it approved their policies they would have full autonomy to develop their subsequent implementation plans according to local circumstances and with the necessary support of the Ministry for this next phase of school board operations. For example the Ministry could have supplied samples of implementation plans for each of the areas of focus to help school boards with content, language and suggestions for producing their boards' operational procedures. If the Ministry had chosen this approach school boards would have maintained their autonomy to generate operational procedures aligned to their own policies and respected the traditions of the cultures of trustees and supervisory officers concerning their distinct roles and responsibilities in developing board policies versus board operating procedures.

In 1993 some school boards already had both policies and procedures in place, although none would have been constructed in accordance with *Guidelines*. The Ministry could have contacted these boards for their expertise and assistance, for example, to participate in the development of a model policy. The superintendents from these boards would have added valuable input, as they would have had the experience of writing similar policies and moving them through their board's operational and political structures. In my role as a superintendent whenever a new policy was required I would ask superintendents in other boards whether they had existing policies or drafts that I

could use or if they had any advice for me. Since this sharing is common practice for the culture of supervisory officers, the Ministry could have provided additional support by sharing the names of those superintendents who participated in developing the model policy to all superintendents responsible for this policy initiative in every school board. The Ministry also could have announced when new policies were approved so superintendents could contact the superintendents in these boards to share their challenges and experiences. The *Guidelines* should have encouraged and supported superintendents assigned to the initiative to contact and collaborate with superintendents in other boards in policy development and policy implementation. Although the Ministry's issuing of both *PPM #119* and the *Guidelines* provided an extraordinary level of support for the initiative, I believe that even further supports were needed, specifically a model policy, samples of similar existing school board policies and procedures, examples of policies and implementation plans once they had been developed, and contacts in all school boards to optimize the support available to boards and necessary to navigate this challenging process.

Practical measures to ensure active community participation.

The Ministry made another significant miscalculation based upon its failure to take into account school boards' organization and operations, when it required the active participation of racial and ethnocultural minority communities in antiracism policy development, implementation and monitoring. Since this participation would be a significant and important change to the legislated roles and responsibilities of school boards, the Ministry should have considered that it would add another layer of complexity to the boards' policy-making and implementation functions. It required both

trustees and senior staff to share their legislated responsibilities with new partners. In my experience to ensure effective collaboration and successful school-community partnership, the Ministry needed to provide school board cultures significant additional pressures and supports beyond those provided in the initiative. The organizational change that the new partnerships entailed was necessary to achieve the envisioned educational reform, but it required strategic supports and pressures to ensure meaningful rather than token inclusion of diverse perspectives from previously excluded Indigenous persons and other racial minorities as *PPM #119* envisioned. The *Guidelines* did help to highlight the importance of school-community partnerships by providing the only template for this focus area. However, the *Guidelines* document did not provide adequate pressure to both the cultures of supervisory officers and trustees to ensure they would undertake more than token outreach to involve of the community. The *Guidelines* set out two mandatory requirements for active community engagement, one in a compulsory monitoring criteria that required “active participation by representatives from diverse communities in the monitoring of the implementation process” (OMOE, 1993b, p. 18) and the other demanding that school-community partnerships involve diverse racial and ethnocultural groups (OMOE, 1993b, p. 13) in the development of board policies. Despite these requirements, the *Guidelines* did not address the foreseeable reactions from the two cultures at central board offices. Thus, the objectives and criteria for monitoring progress in school-community partnership could not ensure the success of the required partnerships for a few reasons. First, the culture of trustees would resist community partnerships in policy-making because of the perception it could erode their power as elected officials responsible for determining and governing school board policy. I

experienced this cultural response in my role as an associate director when I was tasked with drafting a board policy for the formation of a new legislated Parent Involvement Committee. I recall trustees' concerns over the new policy and debates at meetings because some trustees contended the new legislated committee, which had responsibilities previously assigned to school board trustees, was encroaching on their functions. I had to draft the new policy to carefully and accurately describe the new roles and responsibilities established by the new legislation, conscious that some trustees were resisting but as a board they would ultimately have to approve. Second, senior school board officials, especially the culture of supervisory officers, would be wary about having to enter partnerships with community members. They know from experience that the processes for truly active community participation can be messy because it is often difficult to predict participants' reactions to an issue. In addition, these inclusive processes are time consuming. Even though the knowledge of the culture of supervisory officers would value the enhanced support and advice received through community involvement, the culture would be sceptical about carrying it out under the severe time constraints the Ministry imposed. From my experience, the Ministry should have more clearly prescribed the nature of community involvement and provided pragmatic support, including ideas for streamlining the process, to more fully engage the cultures of trustees and supervisory officers in committing to the mandatory requirements related to school-community partnerships.

Furthermore, since both the cultures at school boards would have perceived the requirement of school-community partnerships as a redistribution and sharing of power and processes with the community, the Minister should have enacted additional

legislation to clarify and standardize this new partnership. The most compelling way to introduce and ensure the success of school-community partnerships would have been for the Minister to provide for Antiracism and Ethnocultural Equity Committees in the *Education Act*, similar to the Special Education Advisory Committees and Parent Involvement Committees in the Act today (*Education Act*, s. 57.1 & s. 17.1). At the time of the antiracism initiative, Parent Involvement Committees were not legislated but Special Education Advisory Committees were. Legislation should have been used to formalize the process for boards to receive community input into the development of their antiracism and ethnocultural equity policies and implementation plans, as well as community involvement in the subsequent monitoring. In legislation the composition of the committee, the terms of office, frequency of meetings and reporting to boards could have been prescribed. All these requirements would have standardized and explicated the nature of the requisite “active participation” and assisted school boards in both establishing and maintaining community input in a manageable and organized fashion. Legislated antiracism and ethnocultural equity advisory committees would have been a concrete way for the Ministry to positively improve the relationships between school boards and their diverse communities across the province. In the Ottawa region, for example, such a committee was voluntarily formed. The Advisory Committee on Equity (ACE) was established after *PPM #119* was issued and it still exists today. Its existence, however, lacks the force of legislation and so it remains at the discretion of the Ottawa Carleton District School Board’s senior staff and trustees.

Practical measures to deliver cost-effective training.

Another glaring deficiency tied to the Ministry's lack of familiarity with the practical operations of school boards was the failure to address the financial impact of the initiative. For example, in both the *Guidelines*' Leadership and Staff Development areas of focus the first core objectives call for plans of action designed to assist school board trustees and administrators to acquire the skills, attitudes and behaviours to develop and implement antiracism and ethnocultural equity policies. The *Guidelines* confirm in these core objectives, supervisory officers' and trustees' significant roles and responsibilities in effective policy development and school operations. In particular these core objectives underline that antiracist training for these groups is essential to influence and develop the organizational cultures that will be responsible for successfully leading the production of antiracist education policy and implementation plans. While these core objectives indicate the Ministry saw the need to require specific and focused antiracist training for the appropriate staff to ensure success, several concerns, including costs, arise in relation to this training.

The Ministry should have taken specific steps to provide support to school boards to help plan and facilitate the training, which the *Guidelines* clearly noted was necessary. First and foremost, it should have provided dedicated funding to school boards and then prescribed how funds should be spent. As mentioned, superintendents would have considered the initiative to be an unfunded liability since the expectation was for school boards to complete all their requirements without any new dedicated funding. If the Ministry had provided some new funding, along with suggestions on how to reallocate existing funding, it would have at least provided a degree of tangible support and

acknowledged the challenges of managing school board operations and budgets. One major operational support would have been for the Ministry to cover the salary of school board superintendents responsible for leading the project, as is presently done for Student Success, Indigenous Education and E-Learning leads. The Ministry should have covered, on a one-time basis, the salary for each board to hire a project leader in every school board for a specified period. It would have given the Ministry a contact in every board, and also allowed the Ministry to bring project leaders together for training and support as needed. In my role as the special assignment teacher for antiracism and ethnocultural equity, my salary and training budget had to come out of the existing budget for the curriculum department of our board. Also, since this position was unique to my board, it did not provide the collegial training and networking opportunities that one-time funded project leader positions would have created. Furthermore, the Ministry could have seconded a superintendent with antiracism training to each of its Field Services regional offices to help train the local boards' dedicated antiracism project leaders as well as the senior staff and trustees in each school board. If the Ministry had funded these two key positions, it could have provided consistent messaging and ongoing direction through these staff. While the main purpose of these strategically funded positions at Field Services and for project leaders in each board would have been to develop expertise and to advance training, these staff also would have been able to assist boards with the implementation plans for other areas of focus including outreach and working with the community, curriculum revision, advisory support on policy development and antiracism training. The ongoing training and financial support of the Ministry for these key positions in each board and regional office, at a relatively low cost, would strategically

provide essential support and assistance for each board's policy development and implementation, as well as directly supporting school board antiracism leaders.

School boards still would have had concerns about the costs of funding the required training of all staff in the school board organization. However, if the Ministry had first focused on school board leaders, then it could have been both strategic and cost-effective. It could have provided dedicated funding with a process to first address the training of the cultures of supervisory officers and trustees, which would have accomplished three major objectives. The first would be to ensure that among the four cultures of school boards the organizational leaders would be the first trained in each board, thereby allowing them to provide informed leadership for the initiative. The second would be to establish a local focus for the training by having superintendents share their valuable system knowledge with the trainers to enhance the quality and content of the subsequent school board funded training. The third would be the strategic advantage that the Ministry would gain through funding the training in boards of the people with the greatest capacity to influence and champion the educational reform in the organization and operations of school boards. Trustees and supervisory officers are the most cost-effective groups in school boards to train due to their small numbers, and unlike classroom teachers they do not require supply teachers to replace them during training. The cost for supply teachers is the largest financial commitment arising in training school board teaching staff. The funding for leadership training would focus on changing the knowledge of those with the greatest capacity to change policies and programs in school boards and, at the same time, would be timely and cost-effective.

In addition, as part of this targeted leadership training, the Ministry would be able to suggest to school board leaders how to finance training the remainder of their staff. The Ministry-funded trainer could remind board leaders that the Ministry provides annual funding for school boards to train teachers and, therefore, these leaders have the capacity to change their school boards' priorities for allocation of this Ministry funding in support of the initiative. Finally, the Ministry also could have shifted the priorities for the designated professional development (PD) days in the first year of the initiative to a focus on antiracism education. It also could have invited school boards to focus on antiracist education for their designated PD days for which school boards determine priorities. These proposed measures for the Ministry to fund positions for antiracist project leaders at both the school board and Field Services regional office levels and to fully fund the training of school board leaders (supervisory officers and trustees) would have mitigated concern over the initiative being an unfunded liability and would have promoted a training model responsive to the operations of school boards. As well, suggesting the use of Ministry and board designated professional development days for antiracism education would have avoided the huge cost of boards' financing supply days for the training.

Important differences and similarities between boards and schools.

Another noteworthy omission, which reflects the Ministry's failure to take into account the practical operations and organization of school boards, was the initiative's failure to target and fully engage the two separate and inter-dependent organizations that comprise school boards: central board offices and schools. Each of the *Guidelines*' areas of focus targets one or the other, but they should have addressed both entities. The key issues of the Leadership area of focus, for example, appropriately identify school board

leaders as being trustees, directors, superintendents, principals and teachers. But they do not separate them as the leaders of two different organizations within school boards, that is, central board offices and schools. The effect of this failure is evident in the Board Policies area of focus, which exclusively addresses central board offices and does not acknowledge that schools also generate significant policies, plans and programs. The key issues speak to infusing antiracist education into school boards' mission statements and boards' strategic plans but similar inclusions should have been required for school improvement plans and school profiles since they are mandatory and their contents can be prescribed. School improvement plans could be required to incorporate antiracist objectives and plans. School profiles should have been generated using the lens of antiracist education, as they are often the first information parents see on school websites or in school newsletters. They generally include a school mission statement, which like the board mission statements should articulate a commitment to antiracist education. If these changes were prescribed they would have reformed the operation of schools by incorporating antiracist content in the messages they transmit to parents and the community.

The Curriculum area illustrates the problem associated with the failure to target both schools and school board offices. In contrast to the Leadership area of focus, here the focus is almost exclusively on schools and not on board offices. The new definition of curriculum encompasses all learning experiences students have in school, but ignores the influence board offices can have on these experiences. In my experiences, as a Curriculum Consultant and then as the Superintendent of Curriculum in different boards, I know that direction from the boards office's curriculum department can have a major

impact on what children are taught in schools and how it is taught. One of the primary roles of curriculum departments is to train teachers on how to improve and refine their practice. By failing to engage boards in the curriculum area of focus the Ministry missed a huge opportunity to influence curriculum at the board level and to require curriculum departments to integrate antiracist education into school board's annual curriculum training.

The last oversight in the Ministry's practical knowledge of the organization and operations of school boards was its failure to use to fuller advantage and for the greater success of the initiative the fact that teaching is the common practice and the strongest tie that binds the cultures in schools and central board offices. Both organizations are comprised predominantly of teachers. A non-teacher colleague pointed out this unique feature to me after I presented to a group of senior staff on antiracist education. He was a manager in the finance department for our board and had dropped by to provide me with some positive feedback on my presentation. Thanking him for the feedback, I asked a bit about his work experience because I had heard he came from private industry and I was wondering whether he was enjoying working at the board office. He said he found working in a school board to be different from other organizations because most board staff are or once were teachers. He noted the result is they all think and act like teachers. I realized he was correct and I began to think about how I could use this unique feature of school board organizations to help me in my training work. I concluded teaching is the common experience of supervisory officers because through legislation teachers must have teacher training, principals must be teachers, and superintendents, with the exception of business superintendents, must be former principals and teachers.

Consequently, almost all supervisory officers have the experience of basic teacher training, have been probationary teachers, have undergone teacher performance processes and have gained permanent status before moving into administration. I have carried this observation with me in my various training roles and have come to understand the best way to connect with school board leaders, including superintendents and principals, is to engage them by referring to common teacher experiences, particularly the challenges and rewards of teaching. For example, past and present members of the culture of teachers value trainers with new knowledge that may help them better serve their students while also understanding that these same students arrive with ever increasing challenges and needs.

When I was co-facilitating the training of colleagues with Hugh McKeown, who was a former Ministry seconded principal and then an antiracist staff developer, he reminded me on numerous occasions that the people I was training were just larger and older versions of my students. A common characteristic of past and present members of the cultures of teachers is they all have been students who were successful in school. Teachers need a proven academic track record to be accepted into teachers' colleges and must be outstanding teacher graduates to gain full time employment. Principals are by definition "principal teachers" (the lead teachers in the school). Superintendents have garnered reputations as the best and the brightest principals. They all are used to and like receiving good report cards. The Ministry understood the value of the pressure of good appraisals to induce learning and change but could have applied more focused pressures. The Leadership area of focus seizes on the power of performance appraisals to motivate. One core objective speaks to incorporating antiracist outcomes in performance appraisal

for all those responsible for implementation including the evaluation of teachers (OMOE, 1993b, p. 13). Even stronger language is contained in the discretionary checklist on leadership: “Performance appraisals include criteria to assess effectiveness in implementing antiracist change” (OMOE, 1993b, p. 24). This approach reminds me of students who would ask me whether what I was teaching would be on the final test. I knew that if I said no, then their attention would wane or even evaporate. In order for organizational change to happen, the individuals in the organization must change and nothing prompts them to change like a professional challenge. Therefore, putting antiracism on the performance evaluation test not only for board leaders but also for teachers would have applied powerful pressure not only for superintendents and directors at the board level but also for principals and teachers to change their culture’s knowledge at the school level. The initiative did not go far enough. The Ministry could have exerted more indirect pressure on all individuals by requiring antiracist education criteria in all staff evaluations and promotions including those of teachers, principals and superintendents. In addition to the cyclical evaluation of teachers these criteria should have been part of probationary teacher evaluations because in my experience it is at this time that school boards have the greatest ability to change teacher practice. Once a teacher has achieved permanent status, evaluations only take place every five years and it is very difficult to change practice.

Summary

Based on my experiences and observations, I find the failure of the initiative’s context, text and consequences to incorporate a practical understanding of how school

boards are organized and operate compromised the potential for antiracism and ethnocultural equity to be achieved. Moreover, the initiative failed to take into account the differences in the four cultures of school boards and, thereby, missed the opportunity to most effectively engage their members in the change process. Yet this failure was avoidable. The Field Services Branches at both Queen's Park and the regional offices were staffed with seconded superintendents and principals who had the knowledge and experience to assist in the planning and the writing of the documents comprising the initiative. Their expertise and input could have anticipated and overcome some of the most significant oversights of the Ministry with respect to the day to day operation of boards which included: not fully appreciating the difference between board policies and procedures; not recognizing how policy is developed in school boards and that schools also develop policies; not providing a model policy along with other useful samples and other supports; not recognizing the need to bolster the new requirements for school-community partnerships with legislation to standardize this important new relationship; not providing central school board offices with dedicated funding for a project leader; not providing funding to train board leaders and not making suggestions for cost effective training in preparation for generating antiracism policies and procedural implementation plans. When the Ministry was preparing the initiative, inviting operational field experience and knowledge would have better anticipated concerns and also suggested content for the *Guidelines* more relevant to school board cultures and more attuned to board operations, providing more compelling strategic pressures and better supports to school boards for developing, implementing and monitoring compliant policies and implementation plans.

Chapter Eight

Prompting Change in School Boards

In *PPM #119*, the Ministry encapsulates the elements essential to prompt the change required for educational reform: “Educators therefore need to identify and change institutional policies and procedures and individual behaviour and practices that are racist in their impact, if not in intent” (OMOE, 1993a, p. 1). This statement acknowledges that it must be educators, that is, not only teachers but also principals and supervisory officers, who identify address racisms and become the agents of change in school boards. This approach aligns with Dei’s (1996) theory of anti-racism praxis, which proposes that antiracist educators are both theorists and practitioners for social justice reform. It also reflects Portelli’s (1993) observations, in speaking of the hidden curriculum, which contends that although it is difficult to identify unintended negative consequences, educators have both a professional and moral responsibility to do so: “Teachers, as responsible persons, have the moral responsibility to diminish undesirable, unintended consequences to the extent that this is possible” (p. 351). The Ministry direction in *PPM #119*, therefore, is supported by antiracism theory, requires antiracist educators to reform how school boards and schools are governed (policies and procedures), how they operate (structures, programs and practices), and what they know (behaviours and attitudes). This statement also recognizes organizational and individual change in school boards are interconnected and both must occur to achieve antiracist educational reform.

In the previous chapter, I develop my grounded theory of the four cultures of school boards, based on Charmaz (2016) and supplemented by Crotty (2013). I construct

it predominantly by applying my insider experience in school boards (Pinto, 2102) and making observations from working on policy development at the Ministry. I find the failure of the Ministry to acknowledge the discrete cultures and their locations in the context, text and consequences of the documents of the initiative indicates a lack of awareness of the operational norms and day-to-day practices of the cultures of school boards, which would have compromised antiracist policy development and policy implementation. Thus, the initiative would not prompt members of the four cultures to accept that racism is real and to become agents of change making antiracist education the successful solution according to Dei's (1996) concept of anti-racism praxis. This chapter, like the previous one, draws from my lived experience and builds on my analysis of the Ministry's major failings by elaborating on how the initiative could have used more compelling pressures and supports for engaging the four cultures of school boards in the organizational and individual change required to achieve the envisioned educational reform.

Organizational Change in School Boards

Organizational change in school boards happens best when all cultures come together as a community with a common goal. I witnessed a good example of this type of change taking place quickly in a school board, regrettably due to a tragedy. When I was the Associate Director in the district of Simcoe a student experienced a cardiac incident at a school and passed away later on in hospital. While in the hospital he wrote to Don Cherry, a Canadian hockey icon, and spoke about his hope to have defibrillators installed in public locations including hockey rinks for children who may need them. Don Cherry took up his cause on a Canadian television network program and the situation took on a

national profile. All of the cultures in the school board came together with the community to achieve a common goal of putting defibrillators in all our schools. Within months and with considerable community support it was accomplished. Support included local paramedics in place to maintain the equipment and community financial sources supplying the funding. The goal of preventing a similar death connected every school board culture to the problem, the student put a face on the issue and inspired a collective sense of urgency to put in place a plan to solve the problem. Through that experience, I learned that to achieve the organizational change of the initiative system-wide also would require a compelling problem, district personalization of the issue, and an organizational commitment to resolve the problem.

Although educational reform on a board-wide scale is infrequent, in my experience it can be successful. Successful educational reform in school boards requires combining and coordinating both top down and bottom up pressures and supports to concurrently precipitate organizational and individual change. At both the school board and school levels the problem must be contextualized and engage the four cultures towards the individual and organizational change required in the proposed educational reform. With the problem identified, members of the culture of supervisory officers can apply their in-depth knowledge of the local system and their operational experience acquired working in and with the four cultures of school boards to develop a strategic process for their board to change organizational and individual knowledge and practices.

I saw a good example of such reform while working in the York Region District School Board (YRDSB). While I was not there when it began, I did see its implementation. I was told it began with the Director announcing at a meeting of

principals and senior staff that the board needed to commit to ensuring that every child in the system would be able to read at the end of grade one. He expressed concern that some students were not meeting this standard, cited research around literacy and student success, and asserted he was confident the board had the knowledge and the right people to solve this problem. A case study of this initiative is presented in *Unlocking the Potential for Learning* (Campbell, Fullan & Glaze, Eds., 2006). In it the Director, Bill Hogarth, emphasized the necessity of having a clear, shared vision for a “culture of improvement,” which for this YRDSB literacy initiative revolved around two objectives: “Literacy is the priority [and] Equity of opportunity – All children can learn; classroom teachers teach *all* children.” (p.21) “The director ... proposed that ‘we have a moral imperative to teach all children, including the lowest achieving in Grade 1, and not excluding any child for any reason.’” (p. 22) A key feature of this initiative was “clearly articulating the vision and commitment to a system-wide literacy priority for *all* students, and continually communicating them to everyone in the system” (p. 22). When I arrived in the system all the school board cultures had been made aware of the problem and were working towards its resolution. Teachers, principals, and superintendents identified the children who were at risk of not meeting the standard in each school and classroom and then they planned support and interventions for each of them. Educational reform occurred because the leadership was concerned about and made other organizational leaders aware of a problem affecting their students. Schools were engaged to identify the extent of the problem in their own locations and school leaders (principals and teachers) worked together and with school board leaders to create a plan and processes for addressing the problem and for monitoring the results.

The 1993 initiative did not promote this kind of fully integrated engagement. I look at how it could have adopted this approach to educational reform from both the perspectives, top down and bottom up, beginning with the former. In particular, I consider how boards actually make policy, how they engage and commit to board-wide educational reform, and what pressures and supports are essential to change organizational policies and programs and individual perceptions and practices.

Board policy-making practices.

I have observed in my career, school boards, like the people who work in them, develop a unique organizational identity characterised by the traditions and practices that they have established and updated over time through their policy, procedures and practices. McCaskell (2005) provides an insider perspective on the historical and socio-political context of the development of antiracism policies, procedures and programs in one school board during the 1990s, which reflect my own experiences including the challenges and politics of policy development and implementation in controversial areas. In my experience, as school boards develop policies and procedures, they acquire historical and socio-political legitimacy, which means the four cultures of the board value and take ownership in them and, thereby, become resistant to changing them. I observed this allegiance of board cultures to policies and procedures during the amalgamation of the Ottawa Board of Education (OBE) and the Carleton Board of Education (CBE). One of the requirements of the legislatively forced amalgamation of various school boards in the 1990s was the new school boards had to review the policies of the former, amalgamating boards and, to eliminate duplication, they had to choose the one that would best meet their needs going forward. Since I was then working at the newly amalgamated

board as an administrator I watched this process unfold. I saw most trustees and superintendents of the former OBE and CBE supported the policies and procedures of their respective former boards. Even though most policies were quite similar, considerable discussions ensued over seemingly minor differences.

If the Ministry through the content and processes of the initiative had only required school boards to generate an overarching antiracism policy where no policy already existed, it could have avoided the resistance that a board's culture of trustees and superintendents will experience because of commitment to the history and tradition of their board's existing policies. Creating a brand new policy usually can be done quickly and efficiently because the cultures of trustees and supervisory officers do not have any affinity to an existing policy. For example, in the recent past under Ministry direction school boards had to and did readily generate completely new policies for concussions. With the initiative, the process was complicated because the Ministry conflated boards' antiracism policies with implementation plans addressing ten areas of focus. Boards' existing policies infused with historical and cultural legitimacy, for example in curriculum, student assessment and student discipline, were swept up in the initiative's unnecessarily expansive antiracism policy development and implementation. Since school board cultures are heavily invested in the content of their existing policies, asking them to change a number of established policies is a complicated process. This complexity could have been avoided, as noted in the previous chapter, if the Ministry had directed boards only to generate an overarching antiracism policy. To supplement that one new policy, the Ministry could have directed boards to subsequently generate procedures to implement the policy. If the Ministry had issued that direction, then school

boards would have been required to produce a single, new policy and would have been able to follow up simply by establishing new procedures based upon their own local circumstances to help them achieve the desired organizational change envisioned in the policy.

When I was tasked with developing or revising a board policy, I always contacted other school boards to ask them for policies I could use as a model and, more importantly, to consult with the superintendents who had developed the document. I would ask them for advice, particularly pitfalls, related to the process or contents that I should consider in drafting the policy for my board. These conversations were invaluable and superintendents were always willing to share their experiences. Local conditions or occurrences might necessitate further customization of another board's policy, but in most cases school boards can simply generate a local procedure to complement the adopted policy or issue a memorandum to deal with the local issue. Since some Toronto boards had already developed antiracism policies, samples existed that could have been provided to other boards before they began drafting their board's own policy. Furthermore, if each step in the sample framework for developing policy in the *Guidelines* had offered specific examples of exemplary board practices, they could have provided another resource and a network to support superintendents with the subsequent task of preparing their boards' implementation plans and operational procedures.

Generally school boards do not want the Ministry issuing detailed directions on how to draft a policy. Pinto and Portelli (2014) identify limitations of highly prescriptive and directive policy in educational reform using the example of curriculum. "The high degree regulation makes students 'objects' of education policy (education is 'done to'

objects), rather than subjects in several ways” (p. 25). They recognize the potential risks to students and communities of inflexible policy requirements that do not provide school boards with the autonomy to use their considerable knowledge to develop policy appropriate for their context. For example,

highly prescriptive curriculum leaves little room for local curriculum development and attention to the needs of diverse communities. When this type of curriculum is “done to” them, little room is left for the kind of individually and culturally responsive content and pedagogy relevant to students and can take on the issues of colonialism, racism and power. (Pinto and Portelli, 2014, p. 25)

On the other hand, when the Ministry requires school boards to produce policy in an unfamiliar area, I have found that boards do welcome a model of what is expected or, even better, samples of other boards’ compliant policies or procedures that they can adapt to their local circumstances. For example, to prepare policy in new and unfamiliar areas, such as school-community partnerships, school board superintendents could have benefitted from receiving an example from a school board that had formalized a policy on partnerships with Indigenous and racialized communities, as well as processes for identifying, engaging, communicating with, and obtaining input and ongoing advice from them.

To summarize, to successfully prompt school boards to generate the content and processes of antiracist education policy development, consistent with Harman (1984), the Ministry needed to anticipate and address the resistance that revising existing policies would attract in the cultures of trustees and supervisory officers. To circumvent the tradition and history invested in existing school board policies, the Ministry could have

directed boards to develop one new policy and provided more appropriate supports, including a model, for the process of developing that one policy. The first part of the process and supports is a requirement for boards to develop a local antiracism policy using the supports of a model policy and other existing board policy samples. This second part of the process would allow school boards to develop their own accompanying operational procedures supported by Ministry-distributed, school board-generated samples. This approach could have allowed school boards to quickly put in place their own new policy and then allowed the time for boards subsequently to generate the necessary supportive procedures. Greater buy-in for a Ministry mandated board policy to herald comprehensive organizational change could have been achieved if the Ministry had honoured boards' autonomy to generate their policy and the related procedures but also provided concrete support by way of a model policy and sample procedures to aid them in the policy development.

Data to contextualize the problem.

A significant deficiency in the text, context, and consequences of the initiative, which compromised its capacity to prompt the necessary organizational change, was the initiative's failure to engage boards in identifying the problem in the local context of their school community. To ensure the organizational change in the attitudes, beliefs and perceptions of school board cultures it was necessary for the Ministry to provide the pressures and supports to ensure boards had relevant and supporting data on the dimensions of the problem. Although *PPM #119* indicated that racism exists in schools and the *Guidelines*' provided various examples of racism in programs and practices, boards needed to have evidence of its existence in their district. To prompt organizational

change the Ministry should have required school boards to gather evidence of racisms, including racializations, exclusions and the negative consequences, found in their boards and their own schools to verify and specify the local problem.

I found that the four cultures in my Ottawa based board considered racism to be predominantly a Toronto issue. During local training sessions I was able to provide teachers and principals with examples of discrimination in our Ottawa schools to situate racism in our district. More specific data generated by and in every region and school board would confirm that the problem of racism is real and exists locally and thus could prompt organizational change.

To fully engage the cultures of a school board in organizational change it is essential to situate the victims of racism in that school board and its schools. In that regard, a five-year-old girl and her parents provided me with one of the most enlightening and enduring messages about racism in my board, school, and classroom. At the time I was teaching junior kindergarten. For graduation celebrations on the last day of school, a girl, who I had been teaching all year, wore a jingle dress. When her parents came in for our graduation ceremony I asked about the dress. The mother told me their daughter was First Nations. I suspect I looked visibly confused because the mother then further explained that within their Indigenous community members generally did not disclose their racial identity information to the school system. They found that information could diminish teachers' and schools' expectations for their children and have other negative impacts. The mother said, "We have come to trust the school and you, so we thought it was important for you to know." I understood from this experience that victims of racism were in my classroom, even if they were not visible to me.

The initiative failed to capitalize on opportunities to prompt organizational change by gathering and using data to confirm racism and discriminatory practices for the different cultures. For example, in the focus area of Employment Practices the Ministry indicated employment equity legislation was pending but could have provided information on systemic problems within the culture of principals. The Ministry should have supplied data about the under-representation of women principals in each board as the Ministry had this data. I was asked to provide employment equity training to the principals of my board in my role as antiracism consultant. Immediately after I introduced myself, a senior principal asked: “Doug, why are we here? You know we don’t have a problem in our board.” I had anticipated the question and was able to respond that the Ministry had been tracking the number of female principals for several years. I noted in the first year of provincial data collection our only female principal retired, so our school board reported we had none. I added the impetus for the upcoming employment equity legislation likely was boards, like ours, with low numbers of women in leadership positions. We carried on with the training without any further hesitation and it was at this point I realized the value of data in positioning the problem. I also was personally aware my board had never promoted a person belonging to a racial minority to the position of principal. If the Ministry had required the collection of data on the representation of racial minorities in leadership positions it could have added a further dimensions to the problem in the context of my school board.

On a similar note, the Ministry could have widened the collection of data on race and ethnicity to require the collection of this data for all school staff to establish the full extent of problem in school boards. The *Guidelines* already informed boards that they

were going to be asked to collect data on race and ethnicity of students (OMOE, 1993b, p. 18) because gathering this data is permissible for special programs designed to achieve equity according to the *Ontario Human Rights Code* (OMOE, 1993b, p. 18). Therefore, the Ministry could have used the combined authority of the *Education Amendment Act 1992*, the Code, and the then pending employment equity legislation to require school boards to collect data on the race and ethnicity of all board staff, as well as students. This data could have provided the gender and racial composition of staff and students and could have helped boards to understand the dimensions of the problem in their district.

Although the *Guidelines* indicated boards would need to collect data on the race and ethnicity of students, they never actually did so. Thus, the enormous potential for the Ministry to establish valuable demographic data for boards and their schools was not realized. Similar to my experience of not knowing a student of Indigenous heritage was in my class, without this data teachers across the province would not know the true diversity of their own schools and classrooms. In addition to generalized demographic data, collecting additional data related to specific programs or practices could have helped boards and schools to identify the problem in educational practices and could have helped to inform perceptions and situate the initiative in each board in the province. For instance, requiring boards to collect data on the percentage of Indigenous and racial minority students who were suspended or in special education or remedial programs could have certainly illustrated the problem in each school board and connected it to the cultures. For instance members of the culture of teachers recommend student discipline and placements, members of the culture of principals suspend students and place them,

and members of the culture of supervisory officers are responsible for monitoring student discipline and placements and their appeals.

The Ministry through the initiative could have added core objectives to the racial harassment area of focus to prompt boards to gather specific data related to racist acts against students and student safety. The Ministry could have required school boards to keep track of incidents of racism leading to suspension and to report this data to the Ministry. Another important source of valuable data on racial harassment could be to develop an instrument to monitor it based on the model of school climate surveys. These surveys have been legislatively required since 2009 (*Education Act*, Revised Statutes of Ontario 1990, as amended, s. 169.1). All Ontario school boards must administer and report on the results of school climate surveys every two years. The surveys can deal with bullying and harassment (OMOE, 2018, School Climate Surveys). Such surveys would provide invaluable anonymous data to situate the existence and frequency of racial harassment in every school board on a continuing basis. This data collection could help not only to measure progress but also to ensure that boards' monitoring of racist incidents would continue indefinitely.

If the *Guidelines* had included core objectives to require boards' collection of data on the race and ethnicity of both students and staff, plus related criteria to monitor progress, then boards could have generated important demographic information to help them identify and keep track of bias in both hiring and teaching practices within the board. Systematically collecting and disseminating this data could have forced trustees, directors, superintendents, principals, and teachers to address and explain the data. I admit that in the past I questioned the value of collecting this type of data. I was

involved in many discussions of such data collection proposals over the course of my career in school boards and at the Ministry. Personally, I do not need additional data to prove that Indigenous, racial and ethnocultural minority students are over-represented in suspensions and in special education or remedial programs because I know from my own experience that they are. However, if the Ministry had required boards to gather evidence and data under the initiative, boards could more accurately describe the problem in their district, which could prompt organizational change and measure success.

Antiracist curriculum support.

Another significant oversight in the initiative's potential to prompt organizational change was in the curriculum area of focus. The Ministry failed to provide both central board offices and schools with the support of an appropriate Ministry curriculum resource document. Such a document could have provided boards with a resource for developing curricular policies and plans, as well as provided teachers with models for best antiracist curricular practices. *Changing Perspectives* did not provide adequate support as a curriculum resource document. The Ministry could have produced a curriculum resource document as a companion to *PPM #119*, to introduce and position the first three premises of antiracism education. This document could have referenced the requirements that *PPM #119* imposed on school boards and made suggestions for boards, schools and teachers, thus using the traditional invitational language of curriculum resource documents to augment *PPM #119*. This document could have augmented and replaced the section on "Characteristics of the Learning Environment" in *Changing Perspectives*. The latter did a good job identifying the roles and responsibilities of each culture in school boards and connecting them to the major areas of focus identified in the PPM, but

the purpose of the companion resource document would be to provide truly antiracist classroom activities rather than the multicultural material used in *Changing Perspectives*. A large number of activities would not have been needed but rather two or three examples of how to reconsider and revise the curriculum at both the elementary and secondary level could be sufficient. A resource list also could have been provided to include resources like *Letters to Marcia* (Lee, 1995).

Additional resources and supports for organizational change.

The various resources required to ensure the success of the initiative can be divided in terms of text and consequences. From the perspective of text, I have already discussed some resources. I have noted both school boards and schools require an antiracism curriculum resource document, which positions the urgent need for antiracist education, identifies the roles and responsibilities of the various cultures of school boards and provides examples of best practices. This resource could also be used to help train the various cultures. With regard to text, the Ministry could have provided another important resource consisting of antiracist education program examples for school boards to consider as they develop their own programs. School boards often ask the Ministry to establish clearinghouses for reference material and resources that school boards and teachers generate. Currently, the only example of this type of resource is the Trillium list of recommended texts for use in Ontario schools. The Ministry has to review every document for accuracy, bias and language to produce this list, a time consuming and extensive process. For this reason the Ministry has chosen to not establish clearinghouses for other reference resources. Nevertheless, the Ministry could have simply provided

information to boards on resources that other boards had developed including programs; with a proviso the Ministry was not endorsing these resources.

With regard to consequences another resource the Ministry could have provided was seconded superintendents, principals, and teachers to help boards train the staff assigned to give training to colleagues in their boards and schools. While on secondment to the Ministry's Literacy and Numeracy Secretariat, I learned about and came to appreciate this model of Ministry support. In all of the seven regions of the province, the Literacy and Numeracy Secretariat established a team of seconded educators to support the region's school boards through their curriculum departments. The team lead was a seconded superintendent of curriculum and the team consisted of seconded principals and mostly curriculum consultants. These teams helped train school board officials and helped boards develop plans.

Staff development funding supports.

Allocating adequate resources, to allow the cultures in school boards to initiate, practice, implement and accept antiracism education, is an essential support required to bring about the organizational change. The Ministry could have strategically allocated or suggested means to fund the resources needed to provide the training for the members of the various cultures in school boards. Every culture requires resources to fund their members training. As I have previously noted training classroom teachers is the most costly process since it requires supply teachers to instruct while they receive their training. The cost for adequate training would be significant. Based on my experience, each teacher would first need to receive several sessions of awareness training to fully understand the dimensions and manifestations of racism in schools and society. Their

preliminary awareness training would need to be followed with training around how to reconsider and revise their curriculum. Teachers would need to be encouraged to practice what they learned and at a future date come back to share, revisit and revise their practice. In some cases the teachers could choose to continue to collaborate and support each other and might not require further training but in some cases more funded training would be needed. To mitigate some of the in-service teacher training costs, the Minister of Education, who at the time was also responsible for colleges, could have included antiracist education awareness and curriculum training in faculties of education programs.

Training of both principals and teachers is generally the responsibility of school boards and their curriculum departments. The Ministry provides funding to school boards for in-service of these groups. Therefore, the Ministry could have required boards to allocate some of these funds for this particular training. When I was a superintendent of both special education and curriculum, the Ministry provided substantial funding specifically for training school staff. It certainly was not sufficient to provide all the training the initiative required but it generally contained enough money for at least one day of training for all teachers and principals in the school board. Normally superintendents of special education and curriculum would ask the Ministry for new dedicated funding for any new training initiative or priority. I believe, however, some antiracism training could have been integrated into existing training. To influence the process, the Ministry could have suggested boards add these requirements to the existing ones for their school board's staff training. Furthermore, system improvement planning at the school board level and school improvement planning at the school level are

organizational processes that involve training. Thus, if the Ministry had required the inclusion of antiracist education in both levels of planning, it could have prompted both school boards and schools to factor this training into these planning processes and their submissions of these documents.

With regard to leaders, training for trustees could have been included and absorbed in the mandatory new trustee orientation sessions that follow elections or in sessions of governance training which routinely happen. Superintendents also could have been included in these training sessions, where they could work as learning partners with the trustees. Since the Ministry is responsible for establishing components for supervisory officer training and principal training, it should have made antiracist education part of the mandatory training programs for both these additional qualifications courses. I took my principal training through OISE in the mid-1990s. At the time, antiracist education and equity were only briefly addressed. I began my supervisory officer training in the late 1990s and was required to complete a culminating practicum project to fulfill the requirements of the program. My project was entitled “Keeping antiracist education on the agenda.” It involved interviewing selected directors of education, as well as a noted antiracist educator, and asking them how to maintain the focus on antiracist education in light of the Conservative government’s move away from it under Mike Harris’ leadership. If the Ministry had required antiracist training in the additional qualifications courses for both principals and superintendents, it could have ensured those not already in the roles would receive a base of knowledge and training suitable to assume these roles, at no cost to school boards.

Lastly, a significant consideration in providing adequate resources for training for antiracism education is ensuring the best-qualified facilitators do the training to maximize the impact and promote the desired changes. My experience has led me to believe that two components are crucial to have success at all levels of school boards' antiracism training: the first is the facilitators must be expert at antiracist education and training; and the second is the facilitators should come from the particular culture receiving the training. (I will address the first component here as it relates mainly to organizational change and leave the second component for the discussion of individual change).

The Ministry could have used several measures to ensure the trainers are antiracist education experts. First the Ministry could have provided funding for a dedicated antiracism and ethnocultural equity project leader in each board. The Ministry has funded Student Success and Aboriginal Education leads in all school boards up to the salary of a superintendent to provide appropriate leadership in these areas. This level of funding allows school boards to assign and compensate one staff member up to the level of a superintendent, to lead and facilitate this important work. Ministry funding for a dedicated antiracism project leader in every board, which I already suggested in Chapter Seven's discussion of the organization and operation of school boards, could have ensured a board leader would be available for provincial training opportunities and, once trained, this board leader could have had the local context and credibility to do the training in their own board. If the project leader were a superintendent, it could also ensure an informed leader's voice at executive council and help to facilitate the training at the central board offices. On the other hand, a superintendent as a project leader would not be the ideal choice for training the culture of teachers. If a school board made the

more likely choice and assigned a principal or a consultant as the project leader, then the Ministry could have required a superintendent be designated for reporting to the Ministry.

In the absence of Ministry funding, boards would normally assign an initiative to the existing roles of a superintendent or a centrally assigned principal. However, faced with a large-scale unfunded project like the initiative, school boards likely would assign a teacher consultant to the role, which is how I became responsible for antiracism and ethnocultural equity in the Carleton Board of Education. In this role, I sought out antiracism and ethnocultural equity training and fortunately was able to meet regularly with others in similar roles at Ministry or AMENO meetings. Collectively our small group collaborated to plan and deliver training in our boards. The Ministry could have taken a system-wide approach and provided one-time funding to train dedicated antiracism project leads for every board when the initiative rolled out. If it had done so, then within a short period over 100 antiracism facilitators could have been trained and able to provide training to teachers within their school boards, which could have had a significant impact on kick-starting organizational change in all boards. I found this training to be invaluable. During the three years I was in the role I learned a great deal from my colleagues, served on the provincial executive of AMENO, and carried out numerous training sessions in both my board and others. I never would have had the expertise and knowledge to perform this function if I had not had this assignment.

Major organizational change in school boards is complex and very difficult to achieve. As I noted at the beginning of this chapter *PPM #119* recognized the basic components needed for organizational change to occur. The initiative did not provide the

most compelling text and consequences or the most effective pressures and supports, however, to prompt that organizational change.

In terms of pressures, the initiative could have required boards to contextualize the problem of racism in their central board offices and schools by requiring the collection of board specific data related to employment practices, student harassment, assessment and placement of Indigenous and other racialized staff and students. Other effective pressures the Ministry could have used were: to make antiracist training mandatory in teacher education programs and in principal and superintendent qualifications courses; to require antiracism staff development on designated school board professional development days and in any new Ministry funded professional development training; to add in legislation the requirement for boards to establish school-community and curriculum committees representative of Indigenous and other racial minority parents in the community. The Ministry imposed unwarranted and unnecessary pressure and some confusion by requiring school boards to develop and submit for approval multiple antiracism and ethnocultural equity policies and implementation plans. The Ministry's approach conflated the Minister's authority over antiracism policy development with school board's full autonomy to develop related administrative implementation procedures. The needless pressure of having school boards generate policies in all of the areas of focus required boards to address the difficult task of revisiting and revising existing policies and procedures infused with school board history and cultural legitimacy.

The Ministry could have avoided placing unnecessary, extra pressure on school boards if the text and consequences of the initiative had only required school boards to

generate one overarching antiracism policy and to subsequently develop administrative procedures in each of the areas of focus to implement it. The Ministry could have drawn on the experience of the few boards that already had an antiracism policy to develop a model antiracism policy and then supply it to school boards, accompanied by samples of school board administrative procedures. The Ministry also could have provided supports for school boards to have project leads and to enable them to network and assist each other by sharing policies, procedures, knowledge and practices. Another support boards urgently needed that the Ministry could have provided was an antiracist education curriculum resource to support the change in curriculum knowledge and practices because *Changing Perspectives* was unsatisfactory. Finally to prompt organizational change in knowledge, attitudes, behaviours, programs, practices, policy, and governance the Ministry could have provided strategic and targeted support for staff development training. These supports could have included: recommending a training model (like the LNS model); providing for trained facilitators at both the regional, school board and school levels; providing appropriate resource documents for antiracist training; and allocating dedicated funding for training. If the Ministry had incorporated the pressures and supports suggested here in the initiative then it could have honoured the organization and operations of school boards and more effectively engaged the central office and school-based cultures, which could have significantly advanced school boards' capacity to achieve the desired organizational change.

Individual Change Through Changing the Culture of Teachers

As noted previously, for racism in the school system to be addressed through major educational reform, the problem must engage all four cultures of school boards and

precipitate both individual and organizational change. The initiative articulated the problem in *PPM #119* and the *Guidelines* and connected it to organizational and individual change in school boards, but it did not recognize and effectively address the different cultures' capacity to change. As with organizational change, the Ministry could have provided more compelling pressures and supports in the initiative to prompt individual change within members of each culture and among the four cultures of school boards to improve their knowledge (attitudes) their practices (programs) and how they operate (policies, procedures) to become anti-racist educators as in Dei's (1996) anti-racism praxis. To do so effectively, the Ministry could have focussed strategically on engaging the culture of teachers. As previously explained teaching is the common experience of most if not all the cultures of school boards. Therefore, a strategic focus to engage the culture of teachers could resonate with all cultures. In my discussion of individual change, therefore, I focus on suggesting pressures and supports that could change the knowledge and practices of the culture of teachers and in turn prompt the individual change across the other cultures needed for educational reform.

Fullan (1993) contends an essential component of successful large-scale educational reform is moral purpose and the "building block of moral purpose is the individual teacher. Scratch a good teacher and you will find a moral purpose" (p. 10). When Fullan interviewed teachers with moral purpose they repeatedly stated: "I want to make a difference" (p. 10). Like Fullan, I too have found that in order for an educational reform to work in school boards and schools, and to resonate with the cultures of both organizations, it must connect to what brought teachers to the profession and keeps them coming back each day. Fullan calls it "moral purpose" and for Milley (2002) it is moral

communities. For me, it is the “art of teaching”. I deliberately use the latter term because I found throughout my career that most teachers do not view teaching simply as a job or profession, but also as a vocation. I have found the individuals who choose teaching as their profession, soon realize that being a good teacher is an integral part of who they are and so teaching also has chosen them. Over my career, for example, I thought I was performing a role vital to my community and particularly the children in my classes. The majority of teachers with whom I have spoken about teaching share a similar view. Money is not what motivates teachers to teach, although salaries are reasonable and have improved in the last 40 years.

Through the initiative, the Ministry managed to connect the problem of racism to the knowledge and practices of teachers in general but not as individuals. The initiative did not effectively challenge and destabilize teachers’ own moral purpose or art of teaching, which it had to do to prompt the processes of individual re-education and improvement necessary to fuel effective changes in school board policies, programs and practices from the bottom up. The first and most significant challenge for the Ministry to start the process of individual change was to enable the culture of teachers to understand that racism exists in all their classrooms and that their own knowledge and practices are racist in impact, if not intent. To prompt change in the knowledge of the culture of teachers and connect with their members’ moral purpose and their art of teaching, the initiative could have incorporated carefully selected content and a compelling and strategic process to engage every teacher.

Proving and placing the problem.

The first step for individual change, as in organizational change, is to engage Dei's (1996) anti-racist educator by proving racism is happening in the individuals' own school districts and classrooms. The art of teaching almost guarantees teachers will be shocked, both personally and professionally, if it can be proven that their knowledge and practices are racist in impact and hurting their students. The Ministry needed boards to situate the problem for their teachers in their schools and classrooms and to connect it directly to the knowledge and practices of the culture of teachers. To achieve this end, teachers needed empirical evidence. The same board and school-based data collection, suggested in the discussion on organizational change, could have served that need. Therefore, as previously suggested, the *Guidelines* could have had core objectives requiring boards to develop processes and instruments designed to capture data providing evidence of the existence and the effects of racism on their students, including data regarding racial minority suspensions, placements in particular programs, and student safety perceptions from student surveys. For boards this data collection would be difficult and time consuming but also very worthwhile. Because it would contextualize the problem of racism in the board, in every school, and each classroom, it would speak clearly to the art of teaching of individuals in the culture of teachers.

When I provided training in the Ottawa area, teachers readily acknowledged racism was a problem in the Greater Toronto Area but insisted it was not a local problem since Ottawa's classrooms at that time were more homogeneous, with less diversity than Toronto's. Consequently, I needed to be able to provide evidence that racism was happening in our local schools and in their classrooms to motivate teachers to begin to

challenge and improve their knowledge and practices. Since the type of data I suggested above was not collected, I relied on general demographic information. For example, based on publicly available demographic information, supplemented by information from a local Friendship Centre, I extrapolated the percentage of Indigenous students in schools in the Ottawa area. This information challenged the knowledge of teachers because it was contrary to their perceptions of student demographics. My data indicated Indigenous students were definitely in their schools and most likely in their classrooms.

Connecting existing teacher knowledge to bias in teaching practices is invaluable in connecting to the art of teaching in antiracist training. For instance I introduced junior teachers to the “Peters Projection” map of the world (Petersmap.com, n.d., homepage) to begin antiracist education training sessions on bias in the curriculum. I began the training session by asking teachers to look at the Peters Projection map I had placed at the front of the class. I would ask teachers to tell me what they thought of the map. A different map is used almost exclusively in Ontario schools, called the Mercator view of the world. It enlarges the countries in the northern hemisphere disproportionately in comparison to the southern hemisphere. Therefore, Europe and North America are represented in the centre of the map. Europe appears to be larger than South America but in reality South America has twice the landmass. In the northern hemisphere countries like Canada and Greenland, as well as the state of Alaska, also are distorted to appear larger than their real landmass. When teachers initially observe the Peters Projection map they often comment that the map is wrong and both Europe and Canada are too small. Usually they are intrigued, and sometimes shocked, at being so unaware of these distortions. Although I would inform them that some distortion happens when something three dimensional is

converted to two dimensions, Peters Projection map was a concrete way for me to show a Eurocentric bias embedded in our curriculum and how teachers can unintentionally perpetuate a particular perspective or bias in what they perceive to be neutral curriculum. I gave this map to any teacher who agreed to put it beside the Mercator map in their classroom.

A teaching colleague once told me that teachers make more decisions on a daily basis than any other profession except air traffic controllers. Although I have not been able to verify this information, I have used it in training sessions to draw attention to the problem-solving component of teaching. Teachers are confronted with countless problems and make countless judgements each day regarding their students. Through their training and practice, they develop exceptional problem solving skills and due to their art of teaching they believe their decisions are based on the best interests of their students. For example, when a teacher is considering how to deal with an emerging discipline issue or how to pre-empt a potential discipline issue, the teacher's decision will be informed by both the teacher's professional experience and what the teacher knows about their students. Their art of teaching guides all their decisions and, despite the overwhelming volume, their decisions almost always turn on what is best for students. Connecting the impact that teachers' decision-making has on their students with teachers' art of teaching, therefore, can help them evaluate their knowledge and practices. If the Ministry had required boards to present relevant data to teachers, that evidence could have connected their perceptions of racialized minority students with facts revealing discriminatory assessments, placements, and disciplining of these students in their

schools, which would certainly engage their art of teaching and motivate them to reconsider what they know and what they do with these students.

Deficits in teacher knowledge of racialized minority students.

In my experience the most significant unintended deficit in teacher knowledge is differentiated teacher expectations for students based upon their race and culture. Sharma and Portelli (2104) refer to this phenomenon as deficit thinking. The *Guidelines* recognized, “It is important that teachers have high expectations of all students” (OMOE, 1993b, p. 15). In the Student Languages, Student Evaluation, Guidance and Counselling, and Racial Harassment areas of focus, the key issues gave specific examples to show how teachers’ perceptions exclude and create negative consequences for students. However, the Ministry failed to follow up on these key issues by providing core objectives to require boards to collect and share data revealing information about teacher perceptions and practices. For instance, a key objective directing boards to track placements of racialized minority students in (1) special education programs (2) academic versus applied programs and (3) in age-appropriate grades could help principals and teachers assess whether these placements in effect were discriminatory, such as being based on culturally biased standardized tests, and could contextualize the problem for them and challenge their art of teaching.

I began my teaching career in an elementary school with the highest proportion of Jamaican-immigrant students in the school board. In many cases these students were not placed in age-appropriate classes when they registered and many were required to repeat grades during their time at the school. As a result this school had a couple of 13-year-old students in grade six. The reasons given for these placements and the retentions

included: they could not speak English (although they did); the level of education in Jamaica for their age was not the same as that in Canada; and because their English language skills were poor, they needed more time to achieve fluency. In addition, we learned some of our former students' attendance and behaviour declined when they went on to middle school. Therefore, at the elementary school we concluded some students, particularly boys, should stay an extra year in our school because we knew them better and would not provide the freedom and lack of supervision associated with a middle school and a rotary timetable. The teachers at our elementary school were both committed to the art of teaching and to these students, but in our practices we were applying exclusions and negative consequences to them based upon racial and cultural biases. I truly thought I was working and making decisions in the best interests of these students but now I understand my perceptions were based on ignorance and a deficient model of Jamaican students' educational experiences and heritages.

As found by Ibrahim (1998, 2015) teachers' deficit thinking about immigrant children extends to the languages they speak. In the *Guidelines*, the key issues for the Student Languages area told teachers to recognize the importance of the student's first language and then provided information about language acquisition and proficiency (OMOE, 1993b, p. 14). Due to the high proportion of Jamaican students in my first school, we received training on immigrant students and were told it could take seven years for immigrant students to gain proficiency using English Canadian idioms and expressions. We applied this information incorrectly, however, to the Jamaican immigrant population of students in our school. They already spoke English, but we perceived these students to be non-native English speakers based on the patois they spoke

among themselves on the playground. We could tell their communications were based on English but we could not fully understand them. In retrospect, I think the main reason the Jamaican students spoke patois was it helped them to bond with friends with whom they shared a common language and experiences, as well as to confirm their identity, as Ibrahim observes in *'Hey, whassup homeboy?'* (Ibrahim, 1998, p. 223). It also gave them some conversational freedom because their teachers could not understand what they were saying. On reflection, I find this practice now to be similar to French Immersion students reverting to English when they are on the playground with friends, which teachers do not equate with language incompetency. In the case of these immigrant students, however, as teachers with deficient knowledge we misconstrued the practice as evidence that these students required support to improve their English language proficiency. The 1976 version of myself as a teacher of Jamaican students would have benefitted from Ibrahim (2017): "We need a critical pedagogy that attempts to decolonize, reimagine, remake, and remark Blackness in general, and Black immigrant experience in particular, differently" (p. 520). According to anti-racism praxis, Ibrahim's theory could have informed and reformed my practice into that of an antiracist educator.

Over the course of my career, I have witnessed English-French bilingualism to be the only form of multilingualism that the culture of teachers values. This bias carries over to how both the dominant majority and teachers perceive the schools offering second language learning programs. During my career I have witnessed the rising popularity of French Immersion programs in all of the school board jurisdictions where I worked. I found schools offering French Immersion programming were looked upon favourably, while schools with significant ESL programming were regarded as having at-

risk or high-needs student populations. Negative perceptions around foreign first language speakers and their potential are correctly identified as an issue in the key issues of Student Languages. Teachers need to be made aware of this particular bias, but they also should be given information to understand the benefits of students speaking foreign languages. We have growing numbers of students whose first languages are neither English nor French in Ontario schools. To name some, they include Mandarin, Cantonese, Spanish, Arabic, and Korean. The ability for future graduates to speak these non-official languages, in addition to English or French, not only would be beneficial culturally but also could give them advantages over English- and French-only speakers in seeking employment opportunities.

The Guidance and Counselling area of focus raised issues also concerning perceptions and knowledge. The key issues noted the importance of guidance counsellors having high expectations and eliminating discriminatory barriers in counselling for Indigenous, racial and ethnocultural minority students to allow them to achieve their potential. However this area could have had core objectives for identifying low expectations and racist barriers in counselling services. In contrast, this area included important core objectives to create partnerships with homes and communities and to improve communications with parents “in language they understand” (OMOE, 1993b, p. 16). The key issues, however, could have noted that parent partnerships and improved parental communications are necessary for all teachers, not only guidance counsellors, because they all have faulty knowledge about racial minority and immigrant students. Therefore, the requirements in this area for improving communications and reporting on

student achievement with parents whose first language is not English equally could have been integrated into the Student Languages and Curriculum areas of focus.

Communicating with parents.

The School-Community Partnerships, Student Languages, Curriculum, Student Assessment, and Guidance and Counselling areas all acknowledged the need to improve communications and establish partnerships with Indigenous, racial and ethnocultural minority communities. The key issues in these areas noted individual and systemic barriers in existing parental communication practices. I faced this problem while working with the community generating our board's antiracism policy in 1993. Non-English speaking parents identified communication with the schools as one of their major concerns. Although many of them indicated that they were able to find friends to translate written communications, including report cards, participating in English-only parent-teacher interviews was a major barrier. Those parents who did attend these conferences often had to rely on their children for translation. This practice was problematic on various levels, including the limited fluency of some children, the short period scheduled for interviews, and the embarrassment some parents experienced in this situation. One potential solution, which parents identified, was the practice of some schools to arrange for other parents to assist in translation. On the other hand, they were concerned sometimes it limited the confidential exchanges of information between the parents and the teachers, as in many cases the translators were their friends.

The systemic barriers these parents encountered communicating with schools, in my experience, are often exacerbated by the knowledge and practices of the culture of teachers. For example, after almost every round of parent teacher interviews, I heard

teacher colleagues complain about the failure of some parents to attend parent-teacher conferences. They would routinely attribute these absences to a lack of interest in their children or an unwillingness to take the time to come to the school. I have personally never met a parent who didn't care about their child and have found the parents' reasons for not being able to attend conferences were numerous. I know that some immigrant parents were not even aware of the teacher's request to attend because the communication was only distributed in English, which was not the language spoken by the parents. Many boards have a message written in the major languages of the community that can be appended to invitations and says, "This is an important message." This practice ensures parents will get the invitation translated. Making the effort to communicate with parents in a language they understand, making arrangements to accommodate language needs, such as translators for parent-teacher interviews, could have been a core objective in at least one focus area.

Ultimately, my board found a long-term solution to address the systemic language barriers and also changed teacher knowledge about immigrant students and parents in the process. Over 150 community members and educators attended meetings or provided input during the community consultations my board held for its antiracist policy development. Several community representatives suggested itinerate translators to improve communications between non-English speaking parents and teachers. The suggestion was taken to executive council and the board decided to explore the possibility of hiring a team of translators to serve all schools in the school district. In 1995 the Carleton Board of Education entered into a partnership with the Ottawa Carleton Immigrant Services Organization (OCISO). Together we identified the

language priorities, conducted interviews, and combined school board and OCISO funds to hire the services of eight Multicultural Liaison Officers (MLOs). They spoke the languages of the major immigrant groups in the Ottawa region and were connected to the local ethnocultural communities. This partnership provided the Carleton Board with the capacity to conduct parent-teacher interviews in over 20 different foreign languages. Rather than locating the MLOs at the board office they worked in schools. We believed it was important for MLOs to become part of a school staff and also for parents to have a place in their community to meet with the MLO. This valuable partnership remains active today and continues to change individual teacher knowledge and to address systemic barriers. Supports like OCISO exist in many communities across the province. If the *Guidelines*, in the Student Languages area, had identified supports similar to the Carleton Board-OCISO partnership, that information could have prompted superintendents and trustees in other boards to consider the model. These are the types of practical supports that would have been of great interest to the culture of supervisory officers and trustees in school boards.

Staff development for the cultures of school boards.

The failure of the initiative to connect effectively to teachers' art of teaching, which is absolutely essential for changing teachers' practices, was very notably absent in the Curriculum area of focus. Documents alone cannot induce individual change among the members of the culture of teachers for two reasons. The first is that teachers change their way of teaching with new knowledge, behaviours, and practices, which they try out in their classrooms. They learn about the reform, then practice, and eventually when they feel proficient may share what they have learned with other teachers. The second is that

teaching is a solitary endeavour and teachers, as educators, work mostly independently of direct Ministry influence. The Ministry can impose new policy requirements on boards within its legislative authority but it has limited authority to directly force teachers to change their classroom practices. An arm's length relationship between the Ministry and its teachers in the classroom is ensured by the *Education Act*, the College of Teachers, the culture of teaching, the organization of school boards, and by teacher unions. For example, a non-probationary teacher can only be compelled to change their teaching practices through a formal principal performance assessment every five years.

Nevertheless, in the initiative the Ministry could have provided effective pressures and supports to assist school boards with teachers' staff development and training. As I have noted previously, teachers teach according to their art of teaching, knowledge, and experience in the classroom. They learn to teach by practicing; they become proficient through this practice; and, once they attain proficiency, they may share their practice with other colleagues. The Ministry's Literacy and Numeracy Secretariat (LNS) employed this teacher development model in 2006 when I was one of its senior executive officers, to improve student literacy provincially. This model involved a standardized process, which would have worked well for implementing antiracist education. First the LNS team would meet with school board superintendents and principals to discuss the data around student achievement in their sites and collaboratively decide upon a plan of action. The schools' staff would then be brought together and the plan would be shared with them. The LNS teams consisted of members of the cultures of both school boards and schools, so that in each phase of the discussions members of the team would be involved with their respective cultures. For instance LNS

superintendents would have the discussions with superintendents; LNS principals would plan with principals; and school staff would work with seconded teacher experts. The LNS team would first introduce new proven teaching practices to members of the schools' culture of teachers, then provide coaching by expert peers and, finally, leave the teachers to integrate their knowledge and practices in their classrooms. Often these teachers would be invited to visit a model school and demonstration classrooms where other teachers had already implemented the new LNS practices, to see how they worked and learn about how these teachers had reformed or refined their practices with their students. Ample time and support were provided to allow the teachers to gain proficiency and for them to talk with their teacher peers in the demonstration school. Once the teachers in a school were on their way to implementing the new knowledge and practice, the LNS team would provide ongoing support and often these schools would become demonstration sites for other teachers.

This model of professional development and supports works well because it is based on a number of important components: a strong and evidenced-based need for the change which engages the art of teaching and is connected to benefits for students; the support of school and school board administration in the project; the modelling of best practices with associated resources for teachers to consider; teachers being given time to try out and adopt the new practice (curriculum); expert in-service training and on-going coaching being provided by those who have knowledge and legitimacy within the group of targeted educators; time (release and personal time) allotted for the training and to practice the new knowledge and revised program and to collaborate with colleagues, including ongoing monitoring of and feedback on practice; the opportunity to be part of a

professional learning collaborative network, to share successes and challenges that are connected to the need for the change and to help all students succeed. All these components were essential for the LNS model to work and could have certainly produced similar success as part of the initiative. However, this model requires extensive resources. It requires leadership from and the support of the school board, including time and training. It also requires financial, human and teaching/curricular resources from the Ministry, as well as teachers' time (generally release time) for training, planning and collaboration.

Another noteworthy component of the LNS model is it is based on staff development resources being strategically deployed. The LNS model carefully selected the schools for training and support. In essence when the Ministry used the LNS model it worked strategically with school boards to identify the schools that had areas requiring improvement and were willing to enter an arrangement to work collaboratively on solutions with both staff of the central office school board and the Ministry. Therefore, the cultures of supervisory officers, principals, and teachers had to accept the LNS model before the training would begin, which means these cultures knew and accepted the problem and were willing to participate in the process of developing and implementing a solution. As mentioned above, participating schools often would become demonstration sites with teachers who had experienced the change in their own knowledge and practices. An added benefit of this model for school boards' knowledge and practices is the board also develops committed and compelling trainers for further board staff development. The Ministry could have recommended and provided the details of this model to school boards as part of the initiative.

Staff development is the most important support required for changing teacher knowledge and practices. The identification of the best staff developers is key to the success of staff development in the cultures of school boards. The most effective trainers are members of their culture in “good standing” (still in the role). I learned this lesson and many others on how to provide antiracist training through participating in training that the Antiracist, Multicultural Education Network of Ontario (AMENO) organized for antiracism consultants and superintendents. After *PPM #119* was issued, AMENO concentrated on training persons who were project leads for the initiative in their school board. In conversation one evening with Jose Fernandes, the race relations consultant who represented the Ontario Public School Teachers Federation on the Provincial Advisory Committee and the York Region District School Board in developing the *Guidelines*, I confessed I did not feel I had either the knowledge or training to deliver the necessary antiracism staff development training to all the cultures in my board. He suggested AMENO could continue to provide me with support but then asked whether I had a training budget. When I confirmed I had a budget, he suggested I contact both Enid Lee and Hugh McKeown to assist me in planning and delivering the training. Lee (2015) had a proven track record working with teachers in the North York Board of Education as a race relations consultant because of her book *Letters to Marcia*. Hugh McKeown was a principal at that time in the Jane and Finch area of Toronto and previously had been seconded to the Ministry of Education to work on issues of multiculturalism. Jose suggested Hugh for two reasons. He was a member of the culture of principals and, since he proclaimed himself to be the son of a White Presbyterian minister, his gender and roots were familiar to most principals in the province. Enid Lee,

Hugh McKeown, and I co-facilitated my boards' training over the next few years. Their backgrounds were essential and effective in connecting to teachers and principals, that is, the two school-based cultures. We also worked together on training board senior staff and trustees, but were not able to connect to the same extent, as we did not have standing as members of their cultures.

When the trainer is not a recognized member of the culture receiving the training, then it is imperative that a co-presenter or facilitator in "good standing" supports and attends the training session. While working as the antiracism consultant for my school board I reported to both a superintendent and a system principal. The system principal, Ron Coleman, was always present at principal and teacher training sessions, helped facilitate the workshops, and in doing so provided credibility to the rest of the training team. The superintendent, Mike Carlon, was present at the system training to transmit the message to other superintendents and trustees. Ideally facilitators from these cultures would have provided the training, however, at the time, very few superintendents and trustees provincially had the knowledge and experience in antiracist education to conduct this training for their cohorts. I have learned, since the roll out of training for the initiative, that practicing or retired school board directors are some of the most effective facilitators for working with trustees, in particular those who have already earned or can develop good working relationships with trustees.

Antiracism training in 1993 was not a high priority in all Ontario school boards, including my board, and therefore the Ministry could have done more to support school boards with appropriate training and funding. I had some experience in multicultural education and because of this experience I was seconded to lead this initiative in my

school board. As the antiracism and ethnocultural lead, I received my first antiracism training in the summer of 1994 when I enrolled in voluntary Ministry sponsored training in London, Ontario. I noted already that the Ministry could have required, and for consistent messaging also supplied, the training for all those leading the initiative in their boards. Without this Ministry support, school boards were left to develop or commission their own staff training, which did not necessarily achieve the Ministry's desired goals and outcomes and was not cost-effective. Poor training actually would move the initiative backwards. For instance, in my experience, when White educators of European ancestry are asked to consider their own power and privilege, very skilled facilitators are required to help navigate these complex discussions and journeys. In 1993 experts were available in some of the GTA boards while other members of the supervisory officer, principal and teacher cultures from across the province were being trained by AMENO. They would have been ideal candidates to be seconded to the Ministry's regional offices to deliver the training. To train trustees, the Ministry could have identified a few retired school board directors or skilled trustee facilitators to work with the trustee organizations, such as the Ontario Catholic Schools Trustees Association. Furthermore, as noted in the Chapter Seven discussion of the organization and operation of school boards, the Ministry failed to address the cost of training leaders in 1993. Since the initiative did not provide dedicated funding for training, boards were left to reallocate existing staff development funds for their antiracist training, which in most cases were not sufficient for the staff development required to achieve the initiative's educational reform.

The initiative also failed to provide the necessary supports and pressures to ensure the two cultures located in central school board offices had the knowledge to lead the

initiative. The training for supervisory officers and trustees should have been a prerequisite to boards developing their new policies and implementation plans. The importance of leadership training before policy development became evident when I was working with the community on the initiative. The first key issue in the Board Policies area states the principles of antiracism “shall permeate all aspects of the board’s organizational structure, including its mission statement and strategic plan” (OMOE, 1993b, p. 12). As I worked with the community in developing a plan of action for the Board Policies area of focus, the meaning and use of the term “mission statements” became an issue. We spent considerable time talking about mission statements because for some community members “mission” suggested the school system’s Christian orientation traditionally and reminded them of a colonial history. As a group we agreed on vision statement as a more acceptable term. Our discussion had pre-dated the leadership training within the board, however, and before the community’s alternate term could be formally proposed for adoption at the board level, some members of the school board heard about the idea and stopped it from going further. They personally did not have any concerns about using the term mission statement and would not support a change in terminology. This incident highlighted both the complexity of the work and the importance of timing. Those who produced the initiative had considerable knowledge and experience but as this example shows, some of the initiative’s content and language was problematic to some communities and reflected a colonial and Eurocentric bias. If the training for supervisory officers and trustees, in particular sensitization to these biases, had preceded the mission statement discussion, perhaps trustees, instead of prematurely dismissing the community partners’ proposal, might have given it fuller

attention, understood the concern, and gained the partners' confidence by supporting the community's alternate term. This incident shows members of the central board office cultures needed timely and relevant training to reform their existing knowledge before they could provide informed leadership to guide effective antiracism policy development and policy implementation.

The Leadership area of focus appropriately acknowledged that change must be initiated at the highest levels of leadership in school boards and identified the importance of revising the knowledge of all school leaders to allow them to identify and eliminate racism as they develop and implement antiracism and ethnocultural equity policies and implementation plans. On the other hand, the initiative failed to go far enough because it did not make leadership training compulsory, identify appropriate trainers for leaders, nor provide funding to train board leaders. Compulsory and timely leadership training was essential for the initiative to succeed and it could have constituted the bulk of the plan of action for the Leadership area of focus.

Since the Ministry can prescribe the requirements for principals' and supervisory officers' training programs, it could have directed antiracism and ethnocultural equity to be a compulsory component of the training for qualifying new principals and superintendents. If the Ministry had made antiracism training compulsory for principals' and superintendents' qualifications programs, the requirement could have been fulfilled at no cost to the Ministry or school boards. The candidates pay for this qualifying training themselves. It could have been implemented simply through a change in legislation. Given that the costs incurred for expert facilitation and the training of teachers are the highest and continuous, the Ministry also could have worked with

universities' faculties of education to encourage them to integrate antiracist education into the training of new teachers. If the Ministry had taken these strategic actions, the training of supervisory officers, principals and teachers could have been augmented at no additional cost for school boards.

Engaging superintendents first.

The focus on leadership exposes what I consider to be the greatest oversight of the initiative, which was to not first and foremost engage the members of the culture of supervisory officers in the educational reform of antiracist education. In 1998 while still a member of the culture of principals, I began the additional qualifications necessary to join the culture of supervisory officers and my practicum project examined how superintendents could keep antiracist education as a system priority for their school boards. The future of the initiative was uncertain because the government that created it had been defeated. The new government had not repealed the provisions of the *Education Amendment Act 1992*, but it made school boards aware it would not enforce the requirements of *PPM #119*. My project involved interviewing selected directors of education about the role of directors and superintendents in providing leadership in antiracist education and how to maintain it as a priority under these new circumstances. I was fortunate to arrange the opportunity to interview two directors and one associate director of large boards who had publicly maintained a focus on antiracism despite the stated intention of the new government to ignore *PPM #119*. I also interviewed a noted antiracism consultant, who had worked with senior staff of school boards, including those in my board and the Ministry of Education, to gain her perspective on the role and responsibilities of superintendents in leading antiracist education. Although the

consultant was the only person I interviewed for my project without supervisory officer qualifications, she provided me in some ways with a few of the most insightful comments about the role of superintendents. She contended supervisory officers are the best people in the school system to keep the issue of antiracism at the forefront because they can greatly influence the agenda for school boards. She reasoned that since they establish system priorities and develop budgets for approval within their boards, they have the capacity to create a vision and provide the necessary support and training to make it happen. I agree and credit her remarks for inspiring my first and most important observation on the keys to the success of the initiative and to achieving antiracist educational reform.

As I have noted major organizational change in school boards is complex and difficult to achieve, especially province-wide. To succeed it must be delivered and designed from the top-down and the bottom-up and engage all school board cultures in the project. For the bottom up changes to succeed, the art of teaching of the culture of teachers must be engaged. But first and foremost, for successful educational reform, members of the culture of supervisory officers have to accept it and become its champion at the top. I conclude, therefore, the main key to success is that superintendents and directors must begin and lead the individual and organizational changes in school boards because only they have the cultural knowledge, experiences, and authority to successfully engage the other school board cultures in achieving such large-scale educational reform. The initiative in its text and consequences failed to provide the pressures necessary to engage the members of the culture of supervisory officers as champions of antiracist education as well as the essential supports for them to lead the reform.

Directors and superintendents constitute the membership of executive council. These councils through legislation and tradition set the priorities for school districts with input and direction from both the Ministry and the trustees. For example, according to the *Education Act* of 1992 and the present Act, the director of education is both the chief education officer and chief executive officer of the board and “shall, within the policies established by the board, develop and maintain an effective organization and the programs required to implement such policies” (s. 283). The director and superintendents, as members of executive council, therefore, generate policies to be approved by the board and then implement and manage the programs derived from these policies. Although executive council has the legislative authority to develop and implement policy, educational reform requires both vision and obtaining a commitment from executive council to address the issues. It is incorrect to assume the vision of the director dictates the capacity to lead educational reform because in my experience not all directors are visionaries. Some are operational leaders but these directors generally understand they must complement their leadership team with superintendents who have vision and the aptitude to inspire change in the cultures of school boards. In my experience the most effective executive councils balance vision and operations while leading the other school board cultures. Since the initiative did not engage the members of the culture of superintendents in the educational reform, it failed to benefit from their capacity to develop a compelling vision and their considerable operational knowledge.

The importance of combining vision and operations was reinforced when I was seconded to the Ministry in 2007 from my role as Associate Director of the Simcoe County District School Board. At this time, I was invited to work as a member of the

senior executive of the Literacy and Numeracy Secretariat by Avis Glaze, Ontario's first Chief Education Officer. I had worked with her in York Region and was excited to do so again at the Ministry on issues of equity. Shortly after I started my secondment Avis informed me she was being re-assigned by the Minister to work on the *Equity and Inclusive Education Strategy* (the *Strategy*) (OMOE, 2009a). She asked me if I would be interested in joining her and I jumped at the opportunity. Avis was a visionary school board director and also was expert in issues of equity and educational reform, as she demonstrated in leading the Secretariat. To develop the *Strategy*, Avis asked both Trevor Ludski, former Superintendent of Equity from the Toronto Board of Education, and me to help. Her goal in enlisting us was to use our backgrounds in antiracist education and our combined supervisory officer operational experiences in developing the new strategy for school board implementation. We were both aware that we had been selected to help to operationalize the vision of then Minister of Education, Kathleen Wynne, and our Assistant Deputy Minister, Avis Glaze. Meetings on preparing the *Strategy* reminded me of executive council, except that we were meeting almost daily. Our operational experience assisted in organizing and facilitating discussions with stakeholder focus groups, as well as in meetings with Ministry policy advisors. The policy advisors had little or no school board experience and I realized the impact of their lack of understanding of school board operations in an exchange over religious accommodations. A requirement was being proposed for all school boards to generate separate religious accommodations policies in addition to their policies for antiracism and ethnocultural equity. I expressed concerns since I believed both public and Catholic boards would have difficulty achieving the consensus required to approve a policy for religious

accommodations. In reply to my concern a Ministry policy analyst mistakenly noted that the Toronto Public Board had generated such a policy and, therefore, other boards could do so. I had a copy of the Toronto Board's religious accommodation document with me, therefore, I was able to clarify that the Toronto Board in fact had a guideline not a policy. I also explained the difference between a guideline and policy was that trustees must approve a policy but they are not required to approve a guideline because it is considered to be an operational procedure. I commented, as well, that a religious accommodation guideline would be a valuable operational tool for boards since it would provide guidance on how to deal with responding to and ensuring religious accommodations. The final version of the updated PPM (OMOE, 2009b) required boards to produce an equity policy and a guideline for religious accommodations allowing for the development of an operational procedure.

Another occasion, which underlined the significance for me of operational experience, occurred at a meeting of the Carleton Board of Education that was related to the initiative. Representatives from the Ministry's Antiracism and Ethnocultural Equity Branch presented information on the initiative at a special meeting where almost all the trustees and senior staff were in attendance. The team leader for the project passionately presented the initiative's rationale, components, requirements, and timelines for school boards and then opened up the floor to questions. After a couple of comments from trustees, the superintendent to whom I reported asked several questions specific to authority and funding. I was surprised by his questions because I personally had briefed him on these issues. The team leader from the Ministry, who was a former high school teacher and consultant but never a superintendent, responded to his operational questions

referencing the requirements of the *PPM #119* (OMOE, 1993a). On behalf of the Board, he thanked her for the responses and then followed up with several comments on how both the text of that PPM as well as her responses were inconsistent with school boards' legislated roles and their responsibilities under the Act. He concluded his observations with some suggestions for the Branch regarding funding and how the Ministry could better support school board policy development and policy implementation. It was clear to me the purpose of his line of questioning was to inform the Ministry that some of the text and consequences of the initiative would be operationally and financially problematic for school boards. The Ministry representative agreed to take the feedback to the Branch but it received no follow-up, suggesting to me that she might not have fully understood the value or implications of the superintendent's operational feedback because she was not a member of the culture. After the meeting I told the superintendent that his questions initially confused me until I realized what he subtly was trying to achieve. He assured me he was committed to the initiative and we would get the job done, but he had decided to use the opportunity to provide input to the Branch on what the Ministry could do to provide support to school boards. This superintendent had developed strong operational and political skills while working in two school boards. Similar expertise can be found in the senior staff of every school board. The Ministry should have sought input from such experienced superintendents, even if they had no experience in antiracist education, in developing the processes for the *Guidelines*. The Ministry also should have seconded a superintendent expert in antiracist education and operations to assist in the development of both the text and consequences of the *Guidelines* to identify and anticipate the most appropriate pressures and supports. When

the initiative was launched, if a superintendent with such expertise and experience had been seconded to the Ministry, that person also could have provided a level of cultural legitimacy at Ministry presentations to boards' senior staff and could have provided valuable assistance in related Ministry communications with school board leaders.

A superintendent with operational expertise is essential for leading school board cultures in policy development and policy implementation, but leadership vision and a compelling problem are necessary to initiate the educational reform. All the directors I interviewed in my supervisory officer project spoke to the importance of publicly committing to antiracist education and connecting it to student achievement and the best interests of students. They all described one of the major purposes of public education as being to close the achievement gaps and they advocated using the power of their position to challenge the existing power structures that disadvantage some students. They believed it was important to remind teachers of the problem of racism in their own school system and to make them aware that race, culture, and poverty were disadvantaging students, since teachers have the opportunity to level the playing field in their classrooms. They also said if supervisory officers do not work to keep equity on the agenda then it would fall right off and they would be letting down the children in their school community. Based on these interviews, I concluded that for supervisory officers to keep antiracism as a top priority on the agenda of their Ontario school boards, they had to develop, communicate, and actively promote a vision of equity and antiracism for their school system. The policy analysis shows the documents of initiative failed to acknowledge and promote the importance of such a vision.

I return now to the YRDSB literacy initiative, introduced earlier in this chapter, because it strongly informs my argument that a supervisory officer's vision is necessary to initiate educational reform. YRDSB Director, Bill Hogarth was very skilful at introducing and motivating all teachers, principals, supervisory officers, and trustees to consider student literacy as a problem of practice and connect it to the roles and responsibilities of all school board cultures. It is important to note that working with Bill Hogarth as the Director, I learned firsthand how he deliberately only presented and positioned the problem rather than suggesting a solution. In doing so, he challenged the cultures to develop the solution. I contend the reform was successful for several reasons, most importantly: the problem was connected to teachers' art of teaching; it allowed every culture to not only articulate but publicly support its goals; and once the vision was articulated and the challenge was launched to solve the problem, the Director relied on the Board's other supervisory officers to work with and consult the other school board cultures (trustees, principals and teachers) to collaboratively plan the strategies to achieve the goals of the literacy initiative. These consultations enhanced the commitment to the project and provided the opportunity for leaders within each of the cultures to engage their art of teaching to provide relevant suggestions and strategies for enhancing literacy reform. The initiative needed to engage and motivate the culture of superintendents to personally commit to the problem of racism and use their leadership and operational skills to develop and implement strategic antiracist education policies appropriate for their school boards.

Summary

In summary, the Ministry's antiracism and ethnocultural equity initiative could have provided more compelling pressures and supports to engage and motivate all cultures in school boards, but most specifically the culture of supervisory officers, to achieve the desired educational reform. In order to prompt the necessary level of individual change in school boards the initiative could have fully engaged of the culture of teachers' art of teaching and supported the culture of supervisory officers to lead the reform by having boards generate specific information establishing that racism was happening in all classrooms. This data would engage teachers' art of teaching if it showed racism was affecting each teacher's students in their classrooms and connected it to deficits in their knowledge and teaching practice. Although the initiative confirmed the problem generally, the problem had to be contextualized in each board, which is best done with the support of and in collaboration with the culture of supervisory officers. The initiative also needed to recommend a suitable staff development model, with appropriate resources for the culture of supervisory officers to revise according to local circumstances, to help change the knowledge and practices of members of the cultures of school boards. Such a model would need to include the support of well-trained and knowledgeable facilitators equipped with a proven process and the appropriate resources to change, first, teacher awareness and knowledge and, subsequently, teacher practices. The key to changing individual knowledge is focused and effective staff development training delivered to the different cultures from members of the cultures. The Ministry needed to provide the culture of supervisory officers with the knowledge, as well as, the pressures and supports necessary to create awareness of the problem and reform the

knowledge of the various cultures of school boards, to ensure they would have the capacity to identify and eliminate individual and systemic racism in school board policies, practices and programs. The Ministry could have used its authority to prescribe an ongoing process for reforming teacher knowledge within every culture. Within its legislative authority, the Ministry had the capacity and could have mandated an ongoing and systematic process for staff development. The process could have started in teachers' college and continued throughout the careers of educators if antiracism and ethnocultural equity knowledge was required in all teacher evaluations for both probationary and permanent teaching staff, in additional qualifications courses for principals and superintendents, and in all associated leadership promotion processes. This process would have ensured future members of the cultures of school boards would have had ongoing antiracist training before entering each culture, as well as ensuring that the members of the culture of supervisory officers would be well trained in strategic antiracist education.

Chapter Nine

Final Observations

Dei's (1996) anti-racism praxis and Stanley's (2011, 2014) anti-essentialist antiracism, combining antiracism theory and antiracist educational practice, provide the theoretical framework for this study. They support my policy analysis framework based on Taylor, et al. (1997) and Harman (1984), which focuses on context, text and consequences. The theoretical framework in combination with my policy analysis framework and my own lived experiences informed the constructivist grounded theory methodology (Charmaz, 2011, 2016 & 2017) employed in this study. Coding, memo-writing, theoretical sampling and comparing theory to literature were the grounded theory methods employed in the analysis and in combination with my lived experience developed the grounded theories responding to my research questions.

My rationale for this research, as I mentioned in my introduction, is that over my 44-year career as an educator in Ontario I found that Indigenous and racialized minority students routinely face racism in school board policies, programs and practices. Antiracist education based on anti-racism praxis and anti-essentialist antiracism could reform Ontario education and identify and eliminate racism in school boards. I concur with and confirm the observation of Charles Pascal, the Deputy Minister of Education in 1993 responsible for the initiative, which he made almost a quarter century later regarding the initiative. He said it constituted the clearest commitment yet to antiracism education in Ontario (Pascal, 2016, para. 14).

Despite its significant promise, however, the initiative did not achieve the envisioned reform. Therefore, my study asked the overarching question: **What**

happened to antiracist education? To respond to this question, I organized the study to address four complementary research questions:

1. **Was the 1993 antiracism and ethnocultural equity initiative a genuine antiracist education project?**
2. **Where did the 1993 initiative come from?**
3. **Why did the 1993 initiative not succeed?**
4. **What would need to change for the 1993 initiative to succeed?**

I employed a constructivist grounded theory methodology to develop a grounded theory for each of the complementary research questions. These grounded theories were used in policy analysis to determine the study's key findings that respond to the research questions, which I summarize below.

I developed my theory of strategic antiracist education, with its four premises, to determine how the 1993 initiative conceptualized antiracist education. Using this theory along with my policy framework focused on context, text and consequences, I found that the 1993 initiative expressed a conceptualization of antiracist education consistent with antiracist theory and, therefore, it was a genuine antiracist project.

I developed my theory of the three phases of government policy to investigate the origins of the text and concepts underlying the conceptualization of antiracist education in the 1993 initiative. My theory of strategic antiracist education and my framework for policy analysis allowed me to trace the origins of the conceptualization of antiracist education in the 1993 initiative. In this phase of my research I first identified the key text and concepts in this conceptualization. Then I looked back to the related 1970s, 1980s, and early 1990s policy sources to find earlier articulations of the context, text and consequences of the problem of racism in Ontario schools. I found that the text and

concepts of the 1993 initiative reflected and developed in three different phases as described in my theory of the three phases of government policy. They were: multiculturalism in the 1970s; race relations in the 1980s; and strategic antiracism in the early 1990s.

I developed my theory of the four cultures of school boards to consider why the initiative was not able to engage and provoke the desired educational reform in school boards. Using my theory of the cultures of school boards and my lived experience, I found the initiative did not understand how school boards and schools are organized and operate on the ground. Consequently, the text and consequences of the initiative did not contain the necessary pressures and supports to prompt organizational and individual change in the knowledge of all four cultures to allow them to identify and eliminate racism in school board policies, programs and practices.

Finally, I developed my theory of the framework of educational reform to contemplate what is required for large-scale school board improvement. Using my theory and my lived experience, I found any major educational reform, including strategic antiracist education can only be achieved if all four cultures of school boards view it as a compelling local problem that they are engaged in resolving. In addition, they also must be provided with the pressures and supports, including training, which are essential for successfully developing and implementing strategic policies to address the problem. Using this theory to examine the initiative, I found it should have enlisted the leadership of trained antiracist supervisory officers and provided them with the necessary resources and supports to lead the complex organizational and individual changes of policies, programs and practices in strategic antiracist education.

Ultimately, using these theories to reach the key findings, as well as using my 44 years of lived experience as a lens to focus on the text and consequences of the initiative, I was able to answer what happened to antiracist education. I found the 1993 initiative provided a compelling rationale for urgently addressing the pervasive problem of racism in Ontario schools. The context, text and consequences of the documents comprising the initiative appropriately identified both systemic and individual manifestations of racism in schools and school boards. The initiative ambitiously required boards to develop a wide-ranging policy and comprehensive implementation plans for identifying and eliminating racisms in schools. On the other hand, I found significant deficiencies embedded in the text and process of the initiative, which seriously compromised the potential for school boards to make it succeed. Therefore, the initiative was already destined to fail when the Ontario government changed in 1995, from New Democratic under Premier Bob Rae to Conservative under Premier Mike Harris. I find its demise cannot simply be attributed to the politics of Harris' "Common Sense Revolution".

I know from experience that the problem of racism is still pervasive in Ontario schools. My study proposes, therefore, that the 1993 initiative should be reinvigorated and revised. Based on my framework of educational reform and my recommendations for pressures and supports, I contend the members of the culture of supervisory officers could lead the other three cultures to implement strategic antiracist education in Ontario school boards and, finally, to acquire the momentum to achieve the envisioned reform.

Literature Review Revisited

Having summarized, above, the key findings of my study, I return here to the academic literature and related theories that inform this work. The intent is to highlight how the theories, which I developed through my research methods and key findings, contribute to the existing academic literature and theories surrounding racisms, antiracisms, the organization of school boards, and educational reform.

My theory of strategic antiracist education and its four associated premises builds on the theory of antiracist education and furthers the understandings of racisms as systems and how they are expressed and understood in Ontario schools. In presenting the origins and evolution of antiracist education from its beginnings in Britain to its expressions in Ontario, I focused on the work of Miles and Brown (2003), Goldberg (1993), Dei (1994, 1996, 2000, 2003), Ibrahim (2015), and Stanley (2011, 2014). My research draws, in particular, on the components of Stanley's anti-essentialist antiracism and builds on them. The first three premises of my theory of strategic antiracist education, like Stanley's anti-essentialist antiracism, confirm the existence of racism in Ontario schools and then identify exclusions and negative consequences for those students who are racialized and excluded. The fourth premise, strategic antiracist education, completes my theory (of the same name) and adds to Stanley by proposing: a strategic and comprehensive process for changing the individual and systemic knowledge and practices of those working in school boards is required to identify and eliminate racisms in school board policies, programs and practices.

My theory of the three phases of government policy on race and antiracism contributes to the literature on racisms as systems and how racism and racializations were

expressed in major government policy documents from the 1970s to the early 1990s in Ontario. The history of racism and associated racializations in Canada and its institutions are well described by theorists including Stanley (2011, 2014); Ibrahim (2004, 2017); James, et al. (2010); Das Gupta, et al. (2007); Wallis and Feras (2009); Francis (1997); and Paul (2006). Yet my analysis of selected key policy documents from the 1970s to the early 1990s, using my policy analysis framework of context, text and consequences, contributes to this literature by tracing the historical shifts in approaches to addressing racialized and cultural minorities during these years. It shows government policy moved from focusing on raising awareness through multiculturalism, to improving race relations, to finally admitting racism exists and addressing it through antiracist education.

My theory of the four cultures of school boards contributes to the academic literature that focuses on the impact of Mike Harris' "Common Sense Revolution" on educational policy and on the organization and operations of Ontario school boards, including what effect it had on antiracist education. I add antiracism policy to Gidney's (1999) history of Ontario educational policy. Moreover, my lived experience of policy implementation expands on Pinto's (2012) insider and outsider perspective on educational policy development. My theory of the four cultures of school boards and analysis of what is needed to prompt individual and organizational change finds that the 1993 antiracism and ethnocultural equity initiative, even without Mike Harris, could not have been successfully implemented. Thus, my work builds on the questions asked and observations made about what happened to antiracist education after the 1990s (Dei, 2003; Smith, et al. 2010, McCaskell, 2010).

My theory of the framework of educational reform contributes to academic literature by proposing how urgent and necessary changes in the knowledge and practices of school boards, based on my lived experiences in education, best can be initiated, facilitated and supported by the Ministry of Education. As I considered the literature on antiracist educational reform in school boards, I was unable to find much written from the perspective of leaders or other educators working in school boards. Pinto (2012) and McCaskell (2005) recounted some insider perspectives and provided history and context to their specific case studies. On the other hand, I conceived my research purposely and unapologetically as an antiracist educator, with 44 years of experience working in school boards. It describes how to effectively engage and motivate those working in school boards to address the problem of racism. My framework of educational reform proposes that it must begin with a compelling problem that has the potential to engage members of all the cultures of school boards through context and theory. The problem must be strategically positioned using appropriate authority while providing the content and processes for development of a single antiracist education policy, complemented subsequently with operational procedures, to honour the organization and autonomous operations of school boards. Policy implementation will only be achieved successfully if the appropriate pressures, including active community involvement and monitoring, and suitable supports, including targeted staff development, are provided. The training must be carried out for all members of the cultures of school boards by their colleagues and include district-specific examples of the problem. Educators must be provided with both the time and the opportunity to learn collaboratively with colleagues and to try out and practice new knowledge and instructional strategies. Monitoring that incorporates

ongoing evaluation processes must be embedded in system and school improvement planning. It also must include advice received from community based antiracism advisory committee members.

Main Takeaways for Engaging Cultures of School Boards in System-wide Reform

Having revisited how my theories contribute to the literature and before I turn to my final observations about the initiative, I summarize the most pertinent takeaways about the four cultures as they relate to designing and implementing antiracist education reform. I will first concentrate on characteristics that the four cultures share and then present culture-specific considerations that should factor into achieving educational reform.

I preface these takeaways with two observations. First, I find the paucity of research addressing the four cultures of school boards to be perplexing, since the roles and responsibilities of members of each culture, are set down in the *Education Act*. Second, I view my analysis of the four cultures as preliminary and would welcome further explorations of this theory in the future.

Commonalities of the four cultures.

(1) Shared responsibilities. Each culture has common responsibilities for student achievement, student well-being, student safety, communicating with parents or the community, as well as, developing or implementing and monitoring policy.

(2) Solitary work. Although opportunities exist for collaboration within and among the cultures, the work of their members is inherently solitary. For instance

teachers and principals are often the only members of the culture in their respective classrooms and schools. Superintendents are generally singularly responsible for large areas of system operations, such as curriculum, facilities and special education, while each trustee is the only elected representative for an electoral zone.

(3) Homogenous experiences and identities. Members of a culture have consistent educational experiences and, with the exception of some trustees, uniform basic professional qualifications. Members are predominantly of White-European ancestry. Therefore, members' cultural and racial identities generally do not reflect the diversity of the community.

(4) Culturally suitable staff development. Appropriate and strategic staff development, specifically designed for and delivered to the culture is necessary to change individual and systemic knowledge and practices. The training must be based on the most effective models for reforming practices while honouring the organization and operations of each culture.

The culture of teachers.

Teachers comprise the largest culture in school boards with the greatest potential for changing programs and practices for students. The features of this culture most pertinent to antiracist educational reform are:

(1) Their art of teaching. Most teachers are dedicated to the art of teaching, which inspires them to make a difference in the lives of their students and prompts them to consider their profession more as a calling than a job. To motivate members of

this culture to change their practice, they must be presented with a compelling problem linked to the students in their classrooms, which engages their art of teaching and inspires the culture to adopt new knowledge and practices.

(2) How they learn from strategic staff development. For this culture training must be practical and delivered by members of the culture, such as teacher consultants, who can propose useful strategies for teachers to consider and practice in delivering antiracist curriculum. Teachers must be provided with sufficient time and opportunity to try out the new strategies for antiracist curriculum, as they are most willing to change their teaching practice after trying out new strategies for a period of time to determine whether they work successfully with their students.

(3) Their continuous staff development. Amending teaching practice is an ongoing, expensive, and complicated process. Consequently this culture's antiracist learning should begin in faculties of education, continue in the new teacher induction program, be established as a requirement for inclusion in Ministry professional development days, and integrated into teacher performance appraisals.

The culture of principals.

Principals comprise the second largest and the other teaching culture in schools. The characteristics of the culture of principals' material to antiracist educational reform are:

(1) Having similarities and differences with teachers. As former teachers, principals are committed to the art of teaching and students. On the other hand, principals are responsible for evaluating teachers and leading teachers in school improvement.

(2) How they learn from strategic staff development. For this culture, training must be delivered by principal colleagues and must connect the problem of racism to the primary roles of principals, which include student safety, teacher supervision and development, supervising the school facility, and leading and monitoring school improvement.

(3) To lead a school in reform certain reforms are essential. Principals need their boards to produce a well-conceived board policy on antiracism and ethnocultural equity. Their schools must be provided the resources, including funds and facilitators, for school-based professional development related to antiracist educational reform. The Ministry should support school reform by requiring the integration of antiracist education in school improvement planning and all school staff evaluations.

The culture of trustees.

Members of this culture are elected officials, who provide a link between the community and school board. The main characteristics of this culture important for achieving antiracist educational reform are:

(1) Mastering the complexity of the trustee's role. Although trustees bring the issues and concerns of their constituents to board, they do not have individual

authority to act for the board and must make decisions collectively for the board. Trustees are collectively responsible for student achievement and effective stewardship of resources by approving, monitoring and evaluating policies of the board.

(2) How they learn from strategic staff development. Since trustees are required to understand, support and approve a board's antiracism policy, members of this culture must receive training first so they have the knowledge to do so. Trustees benefit from staff development provided by trustee organizations or by school board officials and antiracism content should be incorporated in new trustee orientations following each election. Staff development training for members of this culture should be attuned to their role, for example prepare the trustees to respond to public questions on the urgency and necessity for antiracist education in the school district and connect the issue for trustees to student achievement and well-being in their board's schools.

(3) Overseeing their board's financial resources. Since trustees are responsible for approving school board budgets, for this reform to succeed, boards require the Ministry to dedicate some financial resources to antiracist education, thereby assuring that the reform is not diverting resources from other important priorities.

The culture of supervisory officers.

Supervisory officers include superintendents, associate directors and the director of education for a board. The main takeaways that are important for the culture of supervisory officers to effect antiracist educational reform are:

(1) Having similarities and differences with teachers and principals. As former teachers and principals, they are committed to the art of teaching and are concerned with student safety. In their roles as system leaders they are now concerned with both teacher and principal supervision and development, as well as leading and monitoring both school and system improvement. Unlike members of these other cultures, supervisory officers draft school board policies in their areas of responsibility, develop policies and system budgets for approval by trustees, implement and monitor system programs and policies.

(2) How they learn from strategic staff development. This culture must be one of the first to receive staff development training because members of the culture of superintendents are essential leaders of educational reform given their responsibility for developing, implementing and monitoring system policies and programs.

(3) To lead system-wide reform certain supports are essential. Members of the culture of superintendents generally collaborate with respected provincial colleagues when developing new policy. For instance, superintendents with recognized expertise in antiracist education could be engaged to provide other members of the culture with models of policy to help train their colleagues to develop their own policies with a compelling local context. To allow members of the culture of superintendents to successfully plan and lead antiracist educational reform that changes the knowledge and practice of all the cultures of school boards, dedicated Ministry funds for the reform are necessary. Also their efforts would benefit from Ministry direction requiring the integration of antiracist

education in school board system planning and in the evaluation of supervisory officers.

Having outlined the most pertinent takeaways about the four cultures as they relate to designing and implementing antiracist education reform, my concluding observations on the initiative follow.

The Initiative Revisited

Despite being a genuine antiracism and ethnocultural project, the initiative never gained momentum because of its text and consequences. Its failure to succeed invites the revisiting of the primary question driving this study: what happened to antiracist education? Put another way, what would the Ministry need to do today for antiracist education to be achieved in Ontario school boards?

I find through the policy analysis of the *Education Amendment Act 1992* and the documents of the initiative, the Ministry had the opportunity to direct and support school boards to successfully achieve the educational reform the Minister envisioned in the Preface of the *Guidelines*. That vision was to have the principles of antiracism and ethnocultural equity observed everywhere in Ontario's school system (OMOE, 1993b, p. 2). In 1993 the Ministry established its authority to mandate school boards to develop and implement policies designed to identify behaviours and practices that are racist in impact if not intent and to eliminate individual and systemic racisms in school boards and schools. On the other hand my analysis establishes, that although the context (the historical, sociological and political problem of racism) was well articulated, the initiative's text and consequences (strategies/plans of action) did not provide pressures or

supports that were strategic or sufficient to effectively engage, prompt and maintain the necessary level of organizational and individual change. I argue based on my grounded theory of the cultures of school boards, the greatest impediment to the initiative's success was that it did not engage the four cultures of school boards. The initiative's documents did not reflect the practical knowledge of how school boards and their four cultures actually operate and are organized. As a result, these cultures were not prompted to change their individual perceptions, behaviours and knowledge as well as their institutional, including classroom, structures and practices.

I contend in Chapters Seven and Eight that if the Ministry had incorporated more firsthand knowledge and experience of school board operations in the text and consequences of the initiative, then these gaps could have been avoided and the initiative could have realized its potential for identifying and eliminating racisms in schools. In this chapter I present my final observations. First, through applying the policy analysis framework and my grounded theories, I summarize and propose how each of the four documents constituting the initiative could have provided the text and consequences for successful policy development and policy implementation. Next, based on my lived experience in school boards and the Ministry, I propose and explain that to optimize the potential for achieving the success of the initiative what would be needed is a strategy to engage the four cultures of school boards in change from the top down and then the bottom up. Finally, I consider what the Ministry could do, moving forward, to revitalize the initiative and achieve the educational reform that was envisioned in 1993 and is still needed today.

The Amendment Revisited

The *Education Amendment Act 1992* could have established a stronger legislative base for the initiative and bolstered its potential to succeed simply if the new subsection 8(1) powers of the Minister, which paragraph 29.1 conferred, had included words (such as those in bold italics below) declaring the Minister's expectation for boards to actively consult with the communities they serve.

ethnocultural equity

29.1 require boards, ***in consultation with an anti-racism and ethnocultural equity advisory committee***, to develop and implement an ethnocultural equity and anti-racism policy, to submit the policy to the Minister for approval and to implement changes to the policy as directed by the Minister.

As enacted the *Education Act Amendment Act 1992* reflected the Minister's traditional role in establishing the general direction of education policies and expanded the Minister's supervisory and monitoring functions in this particular policy area. But it did not entrench active community engagement and participation in school board policy development, policy implementation and monitoring. Community involvement should have been embedded in the legislation to mandate the active engagement and participation of diverse communities in these processes.

Changing Perspectives Revisited

Changing Perspectives was the first document that the Ministry produced for the initiative and is notable historically for introducing the term antiracism and ethnocultural

equity. Through my policy analysis framework, based on Taylor, et al. (1997), and using my antiracism theoretical framework derived from Dei (1996) and Stanley (2011, 2014), I find its conceptualization of antiracist education was inadequate. *Changing Perspectives'* context, text and consequences are not antiracist. Applying my grounded theory of strategic antiracism education, I verify that it fails to confirm that racism is real and is both systemic and individual in both schools and society and it does not engage the four premises. As well, since it focussed on multicultural education, which was not a new concept, it could not change organizational and individual knowledge.

The key materials that the Ministry generated for the initiative should have included a true antiracism curriculum resource document, reflecting the Ministry's fully developed conceptualization of antiracism and ethnocultural equity. Such a document was crucial to support the envisioned educational reform and to really engage the four cultures of school boards, in particular teachers.

PPM #119 Revisited

Policy Program Memorandum, *PPM #119*, appropriately followed the *Education Amendment Act 1992*. My policy analysis confirms it provides a conceptualization of antiracism and ethnocultural equity consistent with strategic antiracist education and my theoretical framework but does not include all the necessary contents and consequences for successful policy development and policy implementation.

On one hand, *PPM #119's* conceptualization of antiracism is noteworthy for its adept elaboration of the four premises of antiracism. It verified the existence of both systemic and individual racism confronting Indigenous, racial and ethnocultural equity minority students and called for comprehensive policies and plans to identify and

eliminate these racisms and their consequences. Also *PPM #119* clearly differentiated antiracism from multicultural education, marking a significant departure from *Changing Perspectives*.

On the other hand, *PPM #119*'s presentation of a policy development and implementation framework and the related requirements for the initiative were not well crafted. It did not provide the most compelling supports and pressures to ensure the achievement of the Ministry's conceptualization of antiracism and ethnocultural equity. *PPM#119* began to go astray when it expanded on the requirements of the Amendment. It accurately stated: "In accordance with an amendment made in 1992 to the Education Act, every school board shall develop a policy on antiracism and ethnocultural equity, as well as a plan for implementing its policy" (OMOE, 1993a, p. 2). It continued on to require boards not only to develop and submit their policies to the Minister for approval but also their implementation plans (OMOE, 1993a, p. 2), thereby exceeding the Minister's new power in subsection 8(1), paragraph 29.1. The Minister did not have the explicit authority to require boards to submit their implementation plans, nevertheless, the Ministry used directive language (shall) in the PPM to require boards to do so. Consequently, it did not uphold the customary organization and operational independence of school boards and it conflated the processes school boards traditionally follow in establishing policies and operational procedures. The PPM should have adhered strictly to the explicit new authority that the *Education Amendment Act 1992* conferred on the Minister instead of intruding into boards' autonomy to have superintendents to produce procedures. The PPM should have only required school boards to submit antiracism and ethnocultural equity policies to the Minister and not required them to submit for approval

their supporting administrative procedures (implementation plans) in the ten areas of focus. In so doing, it compelled superintendents to seek school board trustee and Ministerial approval for the administrative procedures they prepared to implement their policies. I contend with this unconventional and unrealistic directive to boards, it shows that the Ministry's omitted to take into account how policy is developed in school boards, which was a major flaw that set up the initiative ultimately to fail.

The bulk of *PPM #119*'s text and consequences could have been maintained but should have been modified to better support school board policy development. For instance the PPM should have required mandatory antiracism staff development training for both supervisory officers and trustees prior to the development of each board's antiracism and ethnocultural equity policy to ensure they had the necessary antiracism knowledge to lead the process. This mandatory training should have occurred in the first year of the initiative and, if it had, then the deadline for policy submission could have been accelerated from the original date of March 31, 1995, to December 31, 1994. Boards could have been required to develop their supporting administrative procedures for implementation in the 1995-1996 school year.

Consultations with individuals representing the diversity of the school community in developing as well as in implementing and monitoring the policy, as noted above, would have been obligatory if wording such as I proposed above for paragraph 29.1 regarding an antiracism advisory committee had been included in the *Education Amendment Act 1992*. Receiving input from local representatives on the board's Antiracism and Ethnocultural Equity Advisory Committee would have been an effective way for each board to receive ongoing meaningful community input, while also

respecting the authority of trustees. To allow the time to carefully craft the legislation outlining the components of such committees, *PPM #119* could have forecasted that legislation was pending for these committees as it had done for the Employment Equity legislation. This new legislation could have been modelled after the Special Education Advisory Committee provisions in the *Education Act* (s. 206) and also prescribed components including membership, selection criteria and responsibilities. *PPM #119* should not have required trustee, Ministerial or community involvement in writing or approving the boards' procedures (implementation plans) as it would not be feasible in practice, based on my experience.

Additional supports for policy development and implementation were required in the Ministry Assistance section of *PPM #119*. It should have announced an upcoming true curriculum resource to replace *Changing Perspectives*. *PPM #119* also should have announced future staff development resources in support of the initiative, including recommended training models, Field Services regional supports, Ministry funded positions for one project lead at each school board, and funding and suggestions for training of all school board staff.

The substantial scope of the initiative's educational reform still would have been daunting for school boards. If *PPM #119* had incorporated these recommendations, however, it would have better respected the autonomy of school boards' administrative operations and set the stage to involve the cultures of school boards in the individual and systemic changes in practices that the initiative envisioned.

The Guidelines Revisited

The Ministry took the uncommon measure of supplementing *PPM #119* with another document, the *Guidelines*. The policy analysis verifies the *Guidelines* built on the Ministry's conceptualization of antiracism and amplified all four premises of antiracism by verifying the impact of racist policies, procedures and practices on Indigenous, racial and ethnocultural minority students and staff, regardless of their intent (OMOE, 1993b, p. 5). To respond to the problem of racism, the policy framework (Taylor, et al., 1997) establishes the *Guidelines* provided school boards with additional text and consequences to guide and support them in developing policies and implementation plans, within specified parameters, and designed to help them identify and reform institutional policies and procedures and individual behaviours and practices that are racist in their impact (OMOE, 1993b, p. 6). The *Guidelines* distinguished antiracism and ethnocultural equity from multiculturalism, contending the focus on respecting various cultures has historically ignored inequities of power and privilege (OMOE, 1993b, p. 6).

My policy analysis and my grounded theory of the cultures of school boards recognizes the text and consequences of the *Guidelines* did not provide pressures and supports to effectively engage the four cultures of school boards and assist them in policy development and implementation. The *Guidelines* did not achieve a proper balance between giving school boards autonomy while prescribing text and consequences for their policy development. As in *PPM #119*, the *Guidelines* deficiencies were due to inappropriately expanding Ministry authority, combined with inadequately addressing the reality of school boards' operations, organizations and cultures. For example, if the

Guidelines had been informed by more practical knowledge of school board operations and respected boards' autonomy they would have only required boards to submit a single antiracism policy. Along with requiring the single policy, the *Guidelines* should have included a model policy created with carefully selected text and contents acceptable to the culture of school boards. The model policy should have identified the same 10 areas of focus but also clarified that the key issues, core objectives, and criteria for monitoring were to be used to develop operational procedures related to these areas. This approach would have had a more direct and immediate impact than directing boards to produce multiple policies and implementation plans for submission to the Ministry. The *Guidelines* could have appended existing samples of school board procedures to assist the cultures of supervisory officers in developing ones appropriate for their school boards.

Based on Sharma and Portelli (2014), the Ministry also should have connected the problem of racism in schools to deficiencies in the knowledge and practices of the cultures of school boards. As discussed in Chapter Eight, the *Guidelines* did indicate boards would be expected "to collect data relating to the race and ethnicity of students" (OMOE, 1993b, p. 18), but that data collection was insufficient to connect the cultures to the problem. The core objectives should have required boards to gather relevant data for all areas of focus since such data collection could have verified the impact of discrimination and racism whether or not it was intended. In addition, to assist school boards in developing operational procedures related to each area of focus, the *Guidelines* should have appended both templates for possible procedures and samples of existing school board procedures related to each area of focus. It was not sufficient for the *Guidelines* to choose to provide a sample only for the area of School-Community

Partnership. The templates of possible procedures could have included the data collection and staff development measures required to build the capacity of school boards' cultures to identify and eliminate individual and systemic racism in each discrete area and been adapted by each board to suit local needs.

The *Guidelines* should have addressed two other critical supports to help school boards provide effective staff development. The first was training. The *Guidelines* should have identified a training model similar to the LNS example and the Ministry should have supported this model with Ministry trained and funded staff developers, at each school board and every regional office, to help coordinate and deliver training. Since the initiative did not include dedicated funding for staff development, the second support the *Guidelines* should have provided was suggestions for staff development that would have mitigated the enormous costs of training all staff. For example, the model policy and templates of possible administrative procedures could have included staff development and training mechanisms, as well as incorporating training goals based on suggestions to boards in the *Guidelines* on how to fund the training. One suggestion could have been for boards to use Ministry-funded PD days for antiracist training. Finally, with regard to staff development, the *Guidelines* needed to challenge all the cultures of school boards to consider their biases and should have added core objectives to require members of all school board cultures to have high expectations for all students. Also in the *Guidelines*' core objectives for the Staff Development and Leadership areas, mandatory staff development training for the culture of supervisory officers and trustees should have been a priority, to prepare board leaders to successfully develop, implement,

and monitor, with the diverse communities their boards serve, antiracism and ethnocultural equity policies designed to realize the goals of the initiative.

The Keys to Success for the Initiative

The initiative's proposed educational reform was laudable but was fundamentally flawed because it did not take into account the four cultures of school boards. My preceding proposals for strengthening the documents of the initiative would have improved the initiative. To successfully achieve its goals, however, the initiative should have focused more intentionally on engaging and enabling the culture of supervisory officers to lead the necessary educational reform. An initiative with a knowledgeable and deliberate focus on the culture of supervisory officers would have empowered its members to lead boards to build on their art of teaching and achieve Milley's (2002) conception of moral communities. Once the initiative had engaged that culture, then other aspects of the initiative including bottom-up pressures could be considered. I will elaborate now on this and the other keys to the success of the initiative.

Engaging superintendents.

As I noted in Chapter Eight, one of the most important components of successful major organizational change in education is to ensure the members of the culture of supervisory officers accept and engage with the reform and become its champion. I proposed that the most important key to success is that superintendents and directors must begin and lead the individual and organizational changes in school boards because only they have the cultural knowledge, experiences, and authority to successfully engage the other school board cultures in achieving large-scale educational reform. The culture

of supervisory officers through its members' legislated roles and experiences has the expertise with school board policy development and implementation. As they move in and out of the cultures of teachers and principals, they maintain and further develop their art of teaching while advancing their knowledge of the organization and operations of schools within their jurisdiction. Consequently, the culture of supervisory officers located within each school board is instilled with the knowledge and operational experience necessary to develop the most compelling vision and a suitable plan appropriate to the district's context. As I recounted in Chapter Eight, in my experience, successful antiracist education reform must first target and engage the culture of superintendents as champions and subsequently provide them with the supports including training, to lead the reform. This support must be based on and honour the organization and operations of school boards and provide pressures and supports appropriate to each board culture to prompt and ensure individual and organizational change. For example the staff development must be designed and delivered by members of each culture and supported with resources specific to their cultural roles and responsibilities while honouring their art of teaching.

Based on my experiences in the culture of supervisory officers and working on successful educational reform in school boards, I believe that one of the major omissions of the initiative was the Ministry's failure to understand the importance of district superintendents' knowledge of school boards' organization and operations, as well as their four cultures. Next I address what the Ministry could do, going forward, to revitalize the initiative.

Different approaches to policy at school boards and the Ministry.

In my 44 years working in school boards and in the Ministry, I have come to the conclusion one of the most significant differences between the roles and practices of these two organizations concerns how they view policy development. I concur with Bell and Stevenson's (2006) conception of policy as product and process because my experience confirms it. I observed while working at the Ministry that it focuses on policy as a process whereas school boards view policies as products. As a school board superintendent, I developed policy in relatively short order. The process was fast, taking generally less than two months from conception to board approval, and we approached each policy as a product to guide the board's process of developing and implementing operational procedures. On the other hand, at the Ministry policy development was slower. I was involved in the development of the Equity and Inclusive Education policy initiative for more than one year before leaving the role and the *Strategy* (OMOE, 2009a) was completed six months later. Most of my time on this project was devoted to working on the Ministry's process for development of the policy. My input on the substance of the actual policy and PPM (OMOE, 2009b) was mitigated by two circumstances -- my departure and Ministry policy analysts generally are responsible for drafting most Ministry policies.

After more than a year working in the Ministry, I began to understand the fundamental differences between why school boards and Ministry produce policies. At the risk of over-simplifying, as a school board superintendent I viewed policy development as a task to be completed to allow school board cultures to do our important work of educating students and managing school sites. Drawing on my teacher

background, I needed to solve a problem of practice by developing a product that would position the issue or problem and articulate the school board's guiding principles to provide direction for subsequent development of the associated operational procedures. The policy was essentially a means to achieve an end, as it allowed the board to develop programs or operational practices to achieve goals generally related to student achievement, student well being and safety, or school board operations. The *Education Act*, describes school boards as being accountable for operating Ontario's schools (s. 171 (1), para. 7).

In comparison, during my time in the Ministry I found that since the Minister under the *Education Act* is responsible for shaping education policies (s. 8 (1), paras. 3.3-3.6), the Ministry as an organization conceptualizes the nature and components of a policy for school boards to produce. In simple terms the Ministry mainly describes the key concepts for boards and drives the processes for boards to develop those key concepts into a policy that is a product of the board.

Therefore, if the Ministry were to revitalize the initiative in the future it would need to concentrate on the text and consequences to build the capacity and knowledge of school board cultures so they can achieve the desired educational reform. The 1993 initiative already sufficiently described the context for boards to generate antiracist education policies.

Educational reform - one board at a time.

Educational reform is a complex process, challenging and very often confounding. Ultimately it is achievable, however, if the project is: based on a compelling problem that engages all the cultures of school boards; contains the necessary

pressures and supports to change both individual and organizational knowledge and practices, while honouring and respecting the history and traditions of the school board cultures; and strategically enables leaders in each board, with vision and cultural legitimacy, to champion the reform. Based on my experience, as a first step in revitalizing the initiative the Ministry would need to ensure that members of the culture of supervisory officers have sufficient knowledge of antiracist education to develop a vision for their board that would engage and motivate all of the school board cultures. Very few practicing supervisory officers possessed this knowledge in 1993. Even though more have this knowledge today, this first step would be crucial for executive council members to have a solid and consistent knowledge base to start the work in their board.

This knowledge development process should provide supervisory officers with a conceptualization of antiracism and ethnocultural equity designed to engage them as moral communities (Milley, 2002) by connecting the problem of racism to their culture as a culture of leaders and to engage their art of teaching. The culture of supervisory officers needs to be provided evidence of the impacts of racism on students to accept and be able to articulate the significance and urgency of the problem and to tailor a vision for antiracist education in their system that will motivate the school board cultures to commit to its resolution. Like all other cultures, it is essential that the members of the culture of supervisory officers realize discrimination and racism are not only happening in the school board but also are part of their personal knowledge and practices. This sensitization is best done by providing various specific examples of the problem, which can serve as entry points for different members of the culture of supervisory officers. These examples are most compelling and powerful if they connect to individual

experiences of discrimination. For instance, examples of gender bias could serve as an entry point for female superintendents, linguistic bias might be a logical entry point for bilingual, multilingual or French speaking superintendents, whereas race, ethnicity, sexual orientation, religion and socio-economic status may be influential entry points for others. Directors and superintendents will have different entry points based on their own experiences with diversity. The examples would provoke the initial conversation, but it quickly becomes the responsibility of all members of the executive council to engage each other by collectively uncovering the various dimensions of the problem in their culture and considering how it is expressed in the other cultures of the school board.

Given the importance of forming a solid and consistent knowledge base, for training the culture of supervisory officers as described above, the initiative should recommend a staff development model, provide expert trainers, (i.e., a regional Field Services superintendent), and allocate time. As noted above also, this training provides the foundation for the supervisory officers' vision for their board, which must focus on students, connect to their art of teaching, have the capacity to connect members of other school board cultures to the problem of racism in their schools, and help them realize the negative impact on students of their own erroneous knowledge and practices.

Furthermore, the training would enable a vision to be constructed that is positive, inspiring, and articulates an antiracism goal that is current but will remain relevant and engaging to all board cultures in the future. To illustrate, the formulation of such a vision statement could be: *The Board has high expectations for all students and is committed to eliminating all racisms in our schools.* Once the initiative prepares supervisory officers to draft a vision, it must be introduced to the culture of trustees for their input.

Supervisory officers' introduction of the vision to members of their boards' culture of trustees would signal the next phase of the revitalized initiative's processes of policy development and staff development. This phase would focus on providing support, including joint staff development, for superintendents and trustees to build their knowledge and capacity to refine the vision and then embed this vision into a draft antiracism policy developed for subsequent distribution and review. The joint staff development would focus first on developing members of these cultures' awareness as system leaders and their acceptance of the problem to assist in their revision and acceptance of the vision statement. Next the joint training should be designed to build the leadership capacity required to adapt the Ministry supplied model policy into a draft antiracist education policy suited for the local school board and tailored to solve the problem in their school district. The draft antiracist education policy subsequently would be used both to seek community feedback on the vision and to inform the process for the future development of its associated administrative procedures.

Along with the new process for each board to develop a draft antiracist education policy, the initiative's revitalized processes should encourage school board leadership to begin organizing system training. The initiative should suggest training models and trainers that maximize impact and minimize costs. For instance, as I suggested previously, to avoid supply teacher costs antiracism awareness training for all board staff could be scheduled on board PD days. More extensive and involved antiracist training should be based on Ministry identified models of staff development and suggested criteria for selection of participants. Based on the initiative's suggestions, school board leaders, in consultation with members of the cultures, should design staff development

plans containing the most appropriate pressures and supports to prompt individual change, while connecting to their art of teaching for the culture of principals and the culture of teachers.

Once a board, with input from its antiracism advisory committee, has passed its antiracism and ethnocultural equity policy, its supervisory officers then must employ the organizational, operational, professional and interpersonal knowledge and skills of their culture to generate the procedures that will lead to successful implementation of the policy. These procedures should be supported by data, which the Ministry's revitalized initiative would require boards to gather to identify problems specific to each board and to help confirm the importance of the antiracism initiative for student success.

Since the culture of supervisory officers would be simultaneously building knowledge in antiracist education while leading a complicated project, the revitalized initiative should provide them with a variety of human resources and documentary supports. To this end, the Ministry should take advantage of the collaborative nature of members of the culture of supervisory officers throughout the province. The Ministry should generate a list of the names and contact information of all superintendents responsible for the initiative and include antiracist or other specialized knowledge that superintendents are willing to share with their colleagues. When boards pass their policies or develop administrative procedures, the Ministry could make them available. School boards would then be able to access documents produced in school boards with similar demographics or geography and contact their superintendents for more information or guidance. In addition, the Ministry could commission the Council of Ontario Directors of Education (CODE) or Ontario Public Supervisory Officers'

Association (OPSOA) to develop other appropriate resources for boards. For example, to support the Equity and Inclusive Education Policy (OMOE, 2009b) the Ministry commissioned CODE to develop the working document entitled: *Equity and Inclusive Education: Going Deeper--A tool to support Ontario school boards in the implementation of equitable and inclusive education* (CODE, 2014).

Members of the culture of supervisory officers not only would be responsible for drafting policy and procedures but also for their implementation. Supervisory officers would need to employ the full range of their organizational, operational, educational, political and cultural knowledge, in combination with their interpersonal skills and relationship building, to lead the implementation.

In the revitalized initiative, successful implementation would depend on each culture understanding and accepting that the problem of racism exists and is connected to their knowledge and practices, in order to change them. This would be delicate and complex work, as the training strategies would have to be customized for each culture. For example in the culture of teachers, enabling members to accept the racism in their knowledge and practices could disturb or destabilize their confidence in their art of teaching. In the culture of trustees, the organizational change of sharing the antiracism policy's development and monitoring processes with an antiracism advisory committee could be difficult because it would be such a departure from their historical and traditional practice. In planning the implementation of the policies and procedures, superintendents would use their cultural and organizational knowledge and experience to anticipate the thorny issues and plan responses acceptable to the norms and practices of the culture.

The Ministry's revitalized initiative should support the culture of supervisory officers by supplying or assisting boards in acquiring relevant data and in recommending models of training and trainers who are proficient in changing knowledge and practices within the board cultures. The staff development would have to be delivered by members of the same culture as it would be necessary for members to verify the problem, identify problematic practices, and collectively determine their professional and cultural roles and responsibilities in identifying, eliminating and monitoring racism in their schools or classrooms. The culture of supervisory officers would have to strike a delicate balance, which challenges cultural knowledge without either transgressing professional and cultural norms or disengaging committed educators. When staff development is successfully implemented all school board cultures engage in the process of identifying the problem of racism that exists in their schools, even though it implicates their knowledge and the practices of their school board cultures, and they become motivated to use their personal and professional power to gain further knowledge so they can commit to providing more equitable experiences and outcomes for all their students.

This study has shown that even though the initiative was a genuine antiracist project based upon the four premises, it fell short of achieving the envisioned educational reform due to problems with its content and processes, as well as, pressures and supports. On the other hand, I maintain the 1993 initiative was the Ontario government's most definitive expression of antiracist education to date and if the initiative were revitalized and the *Education Act* amended in accordance with my findings, it could achieve the desired educational reform.

Ontario's *Equity and Inclusive Education Strategy* (OMOE, 2009a), to its credit, did address many of the deficiencies of the initiative, along with the updated *PPM #119, 2009* (OMOE, 2009b). For instance, *PPM #119, 2009* required boards to submit a single equity policy, which was consistent with the Minister's authority in the Act; the Ministry assigned Field Services equity leads at every regional office; the Ministry provided funding to support an equity network in each region to provide professional development for school board equity leads; the Ministry funded a comprehensive training program for school boards based upon Culturally Relevant and Responsive Education; the Ministry sponsored CODE to produce a support document for developing equity policy and procedures and to distribute it to school boards; and *PPM #119, 2009* (OMOE, 2009b) was constructed so that its contents could be used as a model policy for school boards.

On the other hand, many of the deficiencies in the text and consequences of the 1993 initiative carried over into the *Strategy* including: the failure to ensure active participation of communities in policy development, implementation and monitoring; creating an unfunded liability for school boards because the funding was not adequate to train all staff; the text and consequences still did not truly reflect an understanding of the organization and operations of school boards; the text and consequences did not understand or effectively engage the cultures of school boards in the problem. Most significantly the *Strategy's* expanded focus on all the prohibited grounds of discrimination in the *Human Rights Code* diminished the 1993 initiative's focus on racism in schools.

The loss of that focus helps to explain what happened to antiracist education. The same types of racism and discrimination confronting Indigenous and racialized minority

students that precipitated *Equality Now* (1984) and the Stephen Lewis' Report (1992) continue to happen in schools and to harm students and their families. I am convinced that the 1993 initiative should be revitalized. I contend, if it were reinvigorated, particularly with my process recommendations, members of the culture of supervisory officers could lead the other three cultures of school boards to implement strategic antiracist education across the province and achieve the educational reform first envisioned in 1993.

To revitalize the initiative and achieve antiracist education, the Ministry could maintain the 1993 initiative's antiracism conceptualization, which was soundly based on the four premises. The Ministry should revise the initiative, however, to honour the roles and responsibilities of school boards established in the *Education Act* by still requiring them to develop compliant antiracism and ethnocultural equity policies, while allowing them to autonomously develop, implement and monitor their own operational procedures. In other words, the Ministry should concentrate on its role of conceptualizing policy at a high level for boards to develop their own, as well as providing useful contacts and sample documents for school boards, but not intervene in boards' own business of policy implementation. School boards have both the legislated authority and the superior skills and experiences to successfully operationalize the initiative. A revitalized initiative should focus on providing boards with the necessary tools, including focused leadership staff development, and other strategic supports to both engage and enable the culture of supervisory officers in performing their responsibilities for developing their board's policy and implementing it. Their professional experiences and their legislated roles make them the most appropriate champions to ensure the success of the initiative. In the

future when any significant Ministry policy initiative is developed, which is designed to comprehensively reform the public education system, the Ministry should do so in partnership with experienced, knowledgeable and collaborative members of the culture of supervisory officers so that initiative can succeed and benefit all students in Ontario.

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