

INFORMATION TO USERS

This manuscript has been reproduced from the microfilm master. UMI films the text directly from the original or copy submitted. Thus, some thesis and dissertation copies are in typewriter face, while others may be from any type of computer printer.

The quality of this reproduction is dependent upon the quality of the copy submitted. Broken or indistinct print, colored or poor quality illustrations and photographs, print bleedthrough, substandard margins, and improper alignment can adversely affect reproduction.

In the unlikely event that the author did not send UMI a complete manuscript and there are missing pages, these will be noted. Also, if unauthorized copyright material had to be removed, a note will indicate the deletion.

Oversize materials (e.g., maps, drawings, charts) are reproduced by sectioning the original, beginning at the upper left-hand corner and continuing from left to right in equal sections with small overlaps.

Photographs included in the original manuscript have been reproduced xerographically in this copy. Higher quality 6" x 9" black and white photographic prints are available for any photographs or illustrations appearing in this copy for an additional charge. Contact UMI directly to order.

**ProQuest Information and Learning
300 North Zeeb Road, Ann Arbor, MI 48106-1346 USA
800-521-0600**

UMI[®]



Université d'Ottawa • University of Ottawa

**Navigating Access:
Managing the ambiguity of “special admissions”**

by
Gada Mahrouse

**A thesis submitted in conformity with the requirements
for the degree of Master of Arts**

**Faculty of Education
University of Ottawa**

© Copyright by Gada Mahrouse, 2001



**National Library
of Canada**

**Acquisitions and
Bibliographic Services**

**395 Wellington Street
Ottawa ON K1A 0N4
Canada**

**Bibliothèque nationale
du Canada**

**Acquisitions et
services bibliographiques**

**395, rue Wellington
Ottawa ON K1A 0N4
Canada**

Your file Votre référence

Our file Notre référence

The author has granted a non-exclusive licence allowing the National Library of Canada to reproduce, loan, distribute or sell copies of this thesis in microform, paper or electronic formats.

The author retains ownership of the copyright in this thesis. Neither the thesis nor substantial extracts from it may be printed or otherwise reproduced without the author's permission.

L'auteur a accordé une licence non exclusive permettant à la Bibliothèque nationale du Canada de reproduire, prêter, distribuer ou vendre des copies de cette thèse sous la forme de microfiche/film, de reproduction sur papier ou sur format électronique.

L'auteur conserve la propriété du droit d'auteur qui protège cette thèse. Ni la thèse ni des extraits substantiels de celle-ci ne doivent être imprimés ou autrement reproduits sans son autorisation.

0-612-66086-9

Canada

Acknowledgments:

Thank you Dr. Sharon Cook, my thesis supervisor, for your encouragement and for facilitating this process for me with such grace and integrity. This project would not have been possible without your invaluable knowledge and steadfast support.

Thank you Dr. Tim Stanley for generously sharing your expertise and vision of a equitable educational system. I greatly appreciated your humour and the many hours of spirited discussion we had.

Thank you Dr. Awad Ibrahim for your insights, commitment, and leadership in the struggle to implement equity. Your teachings have greatly enriched my understanding of critical pedagogy and its potential for change.

Thanks to the six research participants for generously sharing your time and bravely sharing your experiences with me.

Thanks to Dr. Judith Robertson and Dr. Donatille Mujawamariya for your continued support of my academic efforts.

Thanks to the women I have been fortunate enough to work with over the past few years for providing me with such an affirming community.

Thanks to Penelope Kokkinos and Suzanne Lenon for the many hours spent reading, discussing and editing my thesis.

Finally, I extend tremendous thanks to my precious circle of family and friends for infusing my life with fun and kindness, making my work worthwhile.

Abstract

To facilitate the entry of members of "visible minority" and Aboriginal groups into the teaching profession, the Faculty of Education at the University of Ottawa implemented an "Access" admissions policy in 1994. This study examines how people of colour admitted through this preferential admissions policy are affected by the discursive formations of merit, deficit, and multiculturalism. Furthermore, this study explores the political and pedagogical practices utilized by Access-admitted student teachers of colour to manage their presence in the educational system.

Interviews conducted with six people show that being admitted through "special measures" makes it difficult for them to establish their presence as legitimate participants. Their "questionable" presence is further exacerbated by the everyday reality of racism they feel they experience as members of "visible" minority groups. Their ambiguous positioning is negotiated through a number of strategies including challenging, resisting, and/or assimilating into the structures that marginalize them.

Table of Contents

1	INTRODUCTION	3
2	THEORETICAL & CONCEPTUAL FRAMEWORK	9
2.1	Critical Theories	9
2.2	Terminology	10
2.3	Race and Anti-racism Theories	11
	2.3.1 Racialized Difference & Inclusion	15
	2.3.2 Racism & Multiculturalism in Canada	17
	2.3.3 Discourses Merit & Deficit	19
3	LITERATURE REVIEW	23
3.1	Schools, Race and Representation	23
3.2	Affirmative Action for Educational Equity	28
3.3	Summary of Literature Review	32
4	METHODOLOGICAL FRAMEWORK	33
4.1	Case Study and the use of Narrative	33
4.2	An Integrative, critical Inquiry	34
	4.2.1 Validity, Subjectivity & Positionality in Critical Qualitative Research	35
4.3	Research design	37
	4.3.1 "Bounding" the Study	37
	4.3.2 Recruiting Participants	38
	4.3.3 Collecting Data	40
	4.3.4 Participant Profile	43
	4.3.5 Data Analysis	44

5	FINDINGS	46
5.1	The Access experience	46
5.1.1	Application and Acceptance under Access	46
5.1.2	Assumptions about Merit and Deficit	49
5.1.3	Access and Multiculturalism	53
5.1.4	Access for Equity	55
5.2	The "Minority" Experience	57
5.3	Coping Strategies	61
5.3.1	Support Through Commonality	61
5.3.2	Philosophical Perspectives as Defence Mechanisms	63
5.3.3	Assimilation	65
5.3.4	Complicity	66
5.4	Resistance	68
5.4.1	Speaking Out	69
5.4.2	Strategic Silence	72
5.4.3	Making a Difference	75
5.5	Summary of Findings	78
6.	FUTURE DIRECTIONS	82
	References	85
	Appendices	
A	Announcement for recruiting participants	
B	Consent form	
C	Interview protocol	
D	Questionnaire	

1. INTRODUCTION

Despite the increasing racial and cultural diversity of the student population, schools in Ontario continue to be disproportionately staffed by White teachers (Carr & Klassen 1996; Birch & Elliot 1993; Henry, Tator, Mattis, & Rees 2000). To counter structural barriers in Teacher Education admissions procedures, Faculties of Education in Ontario currently implement admissions programs under the heading of *Access*, designed to facilitate the entry of candidates traditionally marginalised by the educational system (OUAC 1999). These preferential admissions programs, however, are being implemented while public opinion holds that they are unfair, unnecessary and undemocratic (Solomon & Levine-Rasky 1996; James 1995; Henry et al. 2000).

This study seeks to further the research on affirmative action programs in Ontario Teacher Education settings by exploring the experiences of students admitted through the *Access* initiative at the University of Ottawa. This investigation will focus on how “Access students” perceive the effects of their admission status. Specifically, this research will explore how they understand and explain their presence within discourses of equality, fairness, merit and deficit, and whether they feel their status as positions them as “Other”.

This investigation centres around an interrogation of current processes and practices of racial “inclusion”. Various subtle forms of racial exclusions, including alienation and psychological disenfranchisement (Goldberg 1990) will be juxtapositioned with an affirmative action policy that facilitates the entry of visible minority and Aboriginal students to a Teacher Education program. The

study examines how people admitted through preferential admissions understand and manage their entry and their participation in the education system.

The study focuses on the Faculty of Education at the University of Ottawa where a preferential¹ affirmative action admissions policy has been used since 1994. Through this policy, 11% of places in the Teacher Education program are reserved for qualified members of Aboriginal and “visible minority” groups (University of Ottawa 1999). I examine the experiences of six people who have gone through the Access policy² at the University of Ottawa through their personal narratives. This inquiry is intended to encourage reflexivity about practices of inclusion for the creation of an anti-racist educational system. Teachers are an integral part of the struggle for equity in education. As such, policies like the Access program are crucial as a means of countering systemic barriers to participation.

It has been argued that affirmative action has been the single most powerful tool society has ever used to open doors of opportunity for careers where barriers have prevented the entry of people of colour (Kivel, 1996). It is also commonly believed that affirmative action does more harm than good, is a

¹An important distinction needs to be made between *preferential* affirmative action programs which give priority to members of target groups when candidates are equally qualified, and *differential* affirmative action programs which set different standards for members of target groups (Ponterotto, Lewis & Bullington 1990).

² The Access policy at the University of Ottawa also admits a percentage of people with disabilities. Issues of equitable access for people with disabilities are fundamentally different from those of visible minorities and Aboriginal people (see Raskin 1997); therefore throughout this study “Access” will refer exclusively to race-based admissions.

detriment to equality, and many argue that such initiatives should be ended (Henry et al. 2000; Prager 1986). Recent decisions to end affirmative action in some universities in the United States have resurfaced questions regarding the need and the fairness of such programs³. Criticisms have been made about programs set up to include others by “inserting” them into the dominant cultural frame of reference as add-ons because without challenging the existing power structure, they dismiss and decontextualize the historical realities of racial exclusions (Rattansi 1994; Phillips 1995).

As a contemporary form of racial inclusion, the Access policy is set up to counter systemic barriers that hinder equitable access. Democratic values of equality and fairness, however, place people admitted through race-based preferential admissions in troublesome situations because of prevailing beliefs which question the legitimacy of their qualifications. Also pertinent is how multiculturalism rhetoric, which suggests that the presence and contributions of people of colour are valued and needed, play out in the experiences of Access students.

This study tries to understand some of the tensions that surround affirmative action from the perspective of recipients of such measures. Specific research questions that guide this inquiry are: 1) How do discursive formations of merit, deficit, and multiculturalism affect people of colour who have been

³ Soon after affirmative action was banned in public college admissions, the number of “visible minorities” admitted into the two top campuses of the University of California dropped significantly (Guinier, 1998).

admitted into a teacher education program through an *Access* policy? 2) How do students admitted through race-based preferential policies manage their presence in the educational system? An awareness of personal experiences with preferential policies helps to illuminate the complexity of benefits and repercussions associated with this method of increasing members of minority groups.

I argue that the conflicting discourses of merit, deficit and multiculturalism ambiguously position students admitted through such admissions policies because *Access*-admission status results in a situation where their rights to be in the program seem questionable, thereby undermining their abilities and qualifications. Complicating this “special” admission status is, on the one hand, the value of diversity and, on the other hand, the everyday experiences of racism encountered by people of colour in Canadian educational institutions.

Foundational principles of critical pedagogy have provided the motivation for the study as a contribution towards transformative change. Key concepts including voice, hegemony, empowerment, and the view of education as a political enterprise, have shaped the design of the study and informed the interpretation of the findings (McLaren 1989). This study posits that *Access* admissions policies function simultaneously to empower students from marginalized groups by admitting them into the system, *and* to sustain, legitimize and reproduce dominant group interests. A basic tenet of critical pedagogy is the recognition of numerous historical examples of struggles in

which oppressed groups have sought to use education as a means to gain control over their lives (Freire 1970; McLaren 1989). Although this project originally set out to examine the injustices experienced by Access students, it was the resilient and creative ways they challenged and resisted this marginalised positioning that were most compelling. Thus the notion of resistance as political action emerged as a key concept to the findings presented in this study. As such, this research highlights the power and agency of people of colour in resisting and challenging the mainstream hegemonic structures that marginalise them.

This research will be presented in five succeeding sections. To begin with, key concepts as defined by race, anti-racism, and critical pedagogy theories are presented. Salient themes and prevalent discourses used in the analysis of this study are identified and defined to frame the investigation. They include concepts of difference, diversity, inclusion, merit, and deficit. Specific issues relevant to the study of racism in a Canadian context are also considered.

The literature review section further contextualizes the study through a presentation of bodies of literature dealing with historical and contemporary implications of racial difference in the school system. Literature on affirmative action programs, particularly as they pertain to educational institutions are also discussed. This section shows how barriers to educational equity as they effect Canadian teacher candidates of colour are rarely considered in the existing literature, pointing to the need for the research undertaken in this study.

The methodological framework section orients the reader to the philosophical and political influences shaping the knowledge produced in this thesis. Here I explain how critical, narrative, and integrative approaches to research informed the conceptualization of this study. This includes a discussion of how researcher subjectivity and positionality have provided the motivation for the study as a contribution towards social change. This section also offers a detailed account of the research process undertaken in this study including the recruitment of participants, collection and analysis of data. A general profile of the participants interviewed is also presented to show the range of experiences represented in this study.

I present my findings in the three broad subsections in Chapter Five, showing how Access students are ambiguously positioned within dominant discourses, some of the ways they manage their positioning, and some tactics they employ to promote their visibility and voice as a means of transforming the educational system.

The study ends with a summary of the findings and a discussion of the practical implications of the research. As well, I indicate what questions were not answered by the study and suggest some ideas for further research.

2. THEORETICAL AND CONCEPTUAL FRAMEWORK

2.1 Critical Theories

This inquiry is founded upon principles of critical pedagogy in its investigation of the experiences of Access-admitted students. This framework permits a dialectical understanding of problems in society as an interaction between the individual and society (McLaren 1989). This premise holds that the struggles that “minorities” are engaged in within schools open up possibilities that could help reverse inequality. Furthermore, critical educators view schools as both sites of domination and social institutions where critical thinking and radical ideas can be developed. As such, this study undertakes an approach to understanding the complex and contradictory facets of the inclusion of members of marginalized groups whereby the researcher, readers, and the participants are challenged to question existing structures and think of active possibilities for change.

The main concepts of critical pedagogy that guide this study are notions of representative voice and visibility, resistance, the legitimacy of subjective realities, and self-empowerment for social change (Gay 1995; McLaren 1989; Dei 1996a). These concepts will be discussed at greater length in the subsequent sections alongside the narratives of the research participants. Such an exploration of “insiders’ viewpoints” will permit an examination of how racial difference in the presence of power imbalance effect the experiences of individuals, and how those experiences are managed.

2.2 Terminology

As a precursor to a discussion of the theories and concepts of race relevant to this research, some of the terminology used in this study to refer to categories of people is set out here. This first consideration of the way people are grouped together according to alleged racial similarities provides a framework for this study's focus on racialization and will be further elaborated on in subsequent sections.

One of the primary divisions dealt with in this study are concepts of *majority* and *minority* groups. Although these terms literally refer to relative numbers of people in the population, they have broader sociological meanings and implications⁴. For the purposes of this study, the term "majority group" will refer to the group in society that controls the economic, political and social participation of other members of society. "Minority groups"⁵ (used interchangeably in this study with "marginalised groups") signifies the shared historical processes whereby certain groups have been denied equal access to the social and economic political centres of power on the basis of physical, cultural, linguistic, national, geographic, and religious differences (James 1996).

Synoot & Howes (1996) have examined the flaws in the use of the term "visible minorities" in Canada. Principally, they argue that although the term may still serve its purpose of equalizing opportunities for all Canadians by

⁴ For example, while women outnumber men in Canada, they lack the power base that men have (James 1996:19).

⁵ This term is placed in quotations marks at particular points in this report to signify my discomfort with its symbolic reduction of members of marginalised groups.

targeting specific groups, it erroneously homogenizes differences in power, status, history, culture and even visibility. They have shown how economic and ideological stratification systems are far more complex than the simple dichotomy visibility/invisibility would suggest. Likewise, it is important to recognize the heterogeneity of cultures comprised by the term "Aboriginal" in reference to Canada's Native population.

Respecting the myriad ways individual identities and experiences differ, the term "people of colour" will be used throughout this paper to refer to both members of "visible minorities" and Aboriginal people. Also worth noting is that this term was coined by racially diverse marginalised peoples as a political act of solidarity.

2.3 Race and Anti-racism Theories

This study concerns itself with people who identify themselves as "visible minorities" or "Aboriginals" as they apply for entry into an educational institution. As such, questions of race and racializations form the basis for this inquiry. By examining *race* as a social construction that serves political and economic interests,⁶ I explore the implications of the process of *racialization* whereby the human population is divided and categorized through alleged physiological,

⁶ Biological meanings of race refer to the categorization and ranking of biological superiority and inferiority of the human population on the basis of certain hereditary characteristics and has been widely discredited (Satzewich 1998).

psychological and moral differences⁷. Central to this study is the awareness that the process of racialization itself is not necessarily racist, rather that racism occurs when “racial categorizations are informed by negative meanings and when those meanings relegate people to subordinate positions in a system of hierarchical social rankings” (Allahar 1998: 337).

Implicit in this research is the recognition of the importance of moving beyond the limitations of the essentialism of fixed race categories. Essentialism is most commonly understood as a belief in the real, true essence of things which define the “whatness” of a given entity (Fuss 1989). With its focus on such questionable categorical divisions as “visible minority” and “Aboriginal”, however, this study risks perpetuating restrictive essentialist notions of race. The danger of essentialism in this context lies in the possibility of inadvertently reducing the experiences of the research participants to an idea of what it “means” to be an Access-admitted visible minority or Aboriginal student.

I also recognize that some subversive, empowering force can come from the employment of essentialist strategies. My focus on the experiences of people labelled as “visible minorities” and “Aboriginals” is therefore intended as a form of “strategic essentialism” (Spivak 1993) because it aims to comprehend the effects of these arbitrary headings commonly used in contemporary

⁷ Race as a variable of differentiation is still considered part of ethnicity and ethnic relations in Canada. More and more studies reveal, however, that it is not only culture and ethnicity that influence experience, but also the forces of racism (Noivo 1998; Henry et. al 2000). In this study, the emphasis on race as distinct from ethnicity is meant to highlight the perceived experiences of discrimination on the basis of racial groupings.

affirmative action initiatives. Despite the problems with sustaining a framework of representation set in place by the dominant group, the value of an exploration of these categorical definitions lies in its potential of allowing for a deeper critical understanding of them.

Following the anti-essentialist paradigm, the basis of this study is the understanding that there is no one meaning or form of racism, and that it is constantly shifting within historically, politically and geographically specific contexts (Gilroy 1992; Hall 1992; Omi & Winant 1993; Rattansi 1994; Rattansi, 1992). Primarily, this study is concerned with institutional structures' perpetuation of ideological manifestations of racism. For the purposes of this study I draw from theories that consider race as it co-exists with a variety of discourses and practices around meritocracy and equal opportunities.

Integral to this exploration is the notion of "new" or discursive racism which has been identified as a form of racism whereby hegemonic discourses enable people to speak about race and perpetuate racism without any explicit reference to race (Gilroy 1992; Omi & Winant 1993; Rattansi 1992). A common form of discursive racism takes place in what has been called the "two handedness" formulation. Through this "I'm not racist, but..." discourse an opposition to racism or to prejudice is stated to then allow for an expression of racist or prejudiced views (Billig et al. 1988, cited in Henry & Tator 1994). Examples of discursive racism have been examined by uncovering the emotional investments people have in racist positions communicated through "hidden narratives" (Cohen 1992). Furthermore, an important consideration for

this study is not only the spoken discourses of racial exclusions but also the silences or absences of anti-racist discourses (Roman and Stanley 1997).

The hegemony of “coded” (Rizvi 1993) expressions of racism lie in the fact that they subtly reinforce the power imbalances between those who are “subjected to” them and those who employ them (Hall 1996: 225). Furthermore, the insidiousness of discursive racism, as Henry and Tator (1994) have pointed out, is evident in the way the targets of it can remain unaware of its occurrence and can therefore unknowingly perpetuate it.

Anti-racism discourse has shaped this study primarily through the recognition of the urgent need for an education system that is more inclusive and is capable of responding to minority concerns about public schooling (Dei 1996a). Anti-racism has been defined as a “critical discourse of race and racism in society of the continuing racializing of social groups for differential and unequal treatment” (Dei 1996a : 25). As a study that considers the structural implications of the increased racial representation of teachers, *anti-racism* concepts are woven throughout this report. This raises to the forefront issues of the active recruitment, training, retention and promotion of “minority” teachers because the mere representation of a range of ethnocultural differences among staff and teachers is believed to help students’ identification with the school, and help respond to the question of power-sharing (Dei 1996a).

Although intended to disrupt racism, conceptualizations of anti-racism have also been shown to help sustain hegemony with their failure to consider the historical consequences of racism and colonialism. Allsup (1995) reminds

us that even political movements like anti-racism employ the dominant discourse, using the same language of control and power. Furthermore, because the racially privileged are not able to truly “know” the concrete effects of racism from their own direct experiences, the anti-racist discourses the dominant group engage with can mask the desire to understand one’s own systemic complicity in racial inequality (Roman 1997) .

Contemporary rhetoric on “race” is comprised of a myriad of racism and anti-racism discourses that work with and against each other. This study will consider how such contradictory and overlapping concepts of race, racism and anti-racism are presented in the narratives of the Access students. I detail some of the salient concepts that provided a framework of analysis for the study in the following subsections.

2.3.1 Racialized Difference & Inclusion

This study raises the question of what political meanings are attached to the concept of racialized difference and how these meanings work in the construction and formation of racialized subjects. As a starting point, an examination of the positioning of some as Other and how that positioning perpetuates the ideology that serves the interests of the dominant group is needed. Borrowing from the conceptual groundwork laid out by Said in *Orientalism* (1978), my investigation considers how “difference” is used to create binary categories that define racialized groups and how those grouped as Other are constructed as culturally and biologically inferior. According to

Said, racializations have to be considered in terms of how positioning some groups as inferior implicitly positions other groups as superior.

The process of applying through the Access policy whereby the applicant “self-identifies” as a member of a designated group is a first consideration into the complexities of the inclusion of groups previously excluded by the dominant cultural systems and institutions. The offer of acceptance through Access can be seen as a process that positions the applicant as Other within the structures that grant entry into teaching. Therefore the self-identification process can be seen as a means of indicating not only which of the designated groups the applicant belongs to, but that they remain apart from the dominant group.

Regarding the social position-based groupings determined by policies such as Access, Khayatt (1998) reminds us that they are set by those who are in what she calls the “default position.” This is the hegemonic location whereby those in a social position of relative power because of their race or gender, or sexuality, remain unnamed while having the power to define others. Said (1978) explains that by setting something up against something that it is not, binaries function to construct a polarization of distinctions. This is an example of the ways “difference” is used to create binary categories that define racialized groups. In this case, regularly-admitted White teacher candidates can be perceived as the “norm” and Access-admitted students as Other.

Contributing to a better understanding of how notions of difference and inclusion weave their way through the discourses of race is the contemporary interrogation of whiteness. Haymes (1995) observes that dominant discourses

construct blackness ⁸ as Other by making whiteness invisible. According to Fine, “the gaze of surveillance, whether it be a gaze of pity, blame, or liberal hope, falls on persons of colour” (1997:64). Fine also shows that the tendency to perceive racism as “against Blacks” rather than “for Whites”, may be a diversionary strategy that disguises the real issue, that White people profit from keeping “Black” as the focus of the racist and anti-racist gaze. Other studies have shown how prejudice can be practised not only through anti-Black sentiments but through pro-White biases as well (Gaetner et al. 1997).

2.3.2 Racism & Multiculturalism in Canada

Issues of exclusions and inclusions in this study need consideration within a conceptual framework of theories that have examined manifestations of racism specific to a Canadian context. At the heart of this discussion is the myth that there is less racism in Canada than in the United States, and the reluctance to admit that racism is currently an everyday reality for many Canadians (Satzewich 1998; James 1996; Henry et al. 2000).

It has been suggested that the experiences of Aboriginal people provides a context for understanding race in Canada and how our respective locations and social positions are an outgrowth of our historical relations with Aboriginal peoples (Jetté 1996). This investigation concerns itself with the inclusion of

⁸ Some the research referenced (particularly American studies) focus exclusively on experiences of “Black” people, however, for the purposes of this study, their relevance is applied to other racial minority groupings as well. Therefore, the term “Black” is not necessarily meant to describe skin colour, but can refer to a common experience of racism and marginalization and a political category of oppression.

Aboriginal people into the educational structures of the dominant group, and therefore needs to consider issues relating to the attempts to acculturate and assimilate Aboriginal peoples in Canada since the first encounters with Europeans. Also important is how silence and denial of racism are manifestations of racist violence against Aboriginal peoples (Jetté1996). Central to this study, therefore, is the underlying consideration of how a history of collective silencing and denial might effect the experiences of Aboriginal and other marginalised peoples today.

Race theorists Henry and Tator (1994) have articulated a uniquely Canadian view of racism perpetrated through liberal and egalitarian discourses. This "democratic racism" has been defined as an ideology in which two conflicting sets of values are made congruent to each other. They write:

Commitments to democratic principles such as justice, equality, and fairness conflict but coexist with attitudes and behaviours that include negative feelings about minority groups and differential treatment of and discrimination against them (Henry & Tator 1994 :8).

Among some of the myths of democratic racism they identify is the common belief that the solution to inequity is to simply treat everyone equally. They argue that such attitudes exemplify a denial of the many forms of racism existing in Canada. Moreover, a serious consequence of this form of racism is that it results in suspicions and lack of support for interventions that aim to ameliorate the status of people of colour because such policies and practices are perceived to be a threat to liberal democracy.

The concept of multiculturalism⁹ is integral to the experiences of teachers in the Canadian education system. Javed (1995) makes a distinction between multiculturalism as a world-view based on the principle of equality, and the state-imposed multiculturalism practised within Canadian public policy to highlight the flaws in Canadian multicultural policies" (Javed 1995: 233). Furthermore, in exploring the psychological implications for members of the groups defined as "multicultural", Javed has argued that the false consciousness of multiculturalism creates a contradiction between lived reality and the images presented by the rhetoric resulting in a "crazy making" dynamic. The illusion of change the Multiculturalism Act has brought forth makes individuals identified as "visible minority" deny their own reality and accept the discourses imposed on them by the dominant group (Javed 1995). Discourses of multiculturalism and racism are juxtapositioned in this study to reveal the contradictions they perpetuate and will be examined through the articulations of the research participants.

2.3.3 Discourses of Merit and Deficit

The legitimacy of the participation of people of colour who utilise race-based preferential admissions in academic or professional contexts is primarily questioned on the basis of merit. Goldberg (1993) questions the concept of

⁹In the United States the terms "multiculturalism" or "critical multiculturalism" are often used to refer to what is considered anti-racism in a Canadian context. In this study an important distinction is made between the concepts of multiculturalism and anti-racism to signify how "multiculturalism" has become a liberal ideology in Canada that downplays inequities of difference (See Dei & Calliste 2000: 20-22) .

merit and suggests that the criterion behind it is founded on the “myth” of equality and the denial of racism. He states that preferential treatment programs do not exclude Whites merely because of their whiteness, and instead shows how affirmative action programs are needed to change historic patterns of racial discrimination because they help to counter the structural forms of discrimination that exist. A similar position was forward by the Royal Commission on Equality in Employment:

It is not that individuals in the designated groups are inherently unable to achieve equality on their own, it is that the obstacles in their way are so formidable and self-perpetuating that they can not be overcome without intervention (cited in Stephenson 1996: 231).

Nevertheless, perspectives of affirmative action policies as forms of “reverse discrimination” persist and have serious implications for people who utilise the policies. This study examines egalitarian beliefs that suggest social positioning and worth are based on individual effort alongside assumptions underlying notions of merit and deficit to reveal how they impact on the experiences of target group members.

In an essay that focusses on Black underachievement in university contexts, Powell (1997) shows how Black and White students receive fundamentally different messages about their right and ability to be in the university classes. Powell states that Black students are limited with subtle rumours of inferiority through discourses of deficit. She asserts that Black students carry a burden of awareness about race and unfairness while White students believe in meritocracy because they remain largely unaware of the

complexities of race and their Whiteness. Consequently, because White students receive messages about their right and ability to be in universities that are supportive and affirming, they often feel like they “earned” their place within the academy.

Similarly, Fine (1997) has considered how those who have been historically excluded may disproportionately “fail” to perform to standard, therefore increasing the advantages gained by the dominant group. She writes, “White students develop a profoundly false sense of superiority premised almost entirely on denigration in the name of creating and maintaining merit and quality” (Fine 1997 : 60). The stigma attached to affirmative action which can lead to the disengagement and poor performance by the recipients of such policies can reinforce the idea that “minority” groups are inferior, thereby securing the mythology of meritocracy. This results, in “the triumph of the institutional mantra of deficit and merit” (Fine 1997 : 64). Apple (1993) offers a parallel argument through examples of the revived emphasis on “excellence” and “raised standards” in education showing how, in the construction of Other, binary oppositions are reinforced through notions of success and failure.

This section has traced the tenets of race and anti racism theories relevant to this study. Identifying the key themes and prevalent discourses of these concepts sheds light on the context within which affirmative action policies operate and provide a framework through which engagements with discourses of race will be analysed. The thesis now turns to an overview of literature on issues of race and representation in schooling systems in North

America to help further contextualize the research questions put forth by this study.

3. LITERATURE REVIEW

3.1 Schools, Race and Representation

This investigation concerns itself with current efforts to include members of marginalized groups into the school system as teachers. An examination of studies on both the historical and contemporary experiences of “minority” groups in the educational system helps to situate the study.

A review of the literature on the history of Canadian education shows that it was largely unquestioned practice to explicitly assimilate students from backgrounds other than Anglo-European (Alladin 1996; Henry et al. 2000). Studies on the discriminatory and exclusionary practices faced by members of specific racial and cultural communities schools have revealed the forced compliance of the Doukhobor community in British Columbia (McLaren 1995); efforts to keep Chinese students out of the public schools in British Columbia (Stanley 1995); and Black Canadians' inability to secure education for their children because of opposition to Black children in schools (Winks 1971). Studies on Aboriginal children in residential schools (Barman 1995; Pauls 1996; Haig-Brown, 1988) are perhaps the most profound examples of the Canadian education systems efforts to annihilate the cultural values and customs of certain groups. All the aforementioned studies reveal that teachers and administrators in Canadian schools were at the forefront of the assimilation process.

Despite the overtly racist practices in school systems, racism was not

officially considered a problem throughout most of the history of Canadian schools. Reports on race policies in Canadian schools show that acknowledgement of the implications of racial difference for students was prompted by the 1971 federal policy on multiculturalism. This was followed by a "different but equal" approach to addressing racial difference. By the 1980s, members of minority communities were challenging ideas of multiculturalism and were calling for policies which draw attention to the impact of racism on the life chances of racial minority students through an anti-racist educational system. (Henry et al. 2000). The inception of formal guidelines on increasing the presence teachers of racially diverse backgrounds can be traced to a 1993 provincial report which prompted boards and faculties of education to develop new policies and initiatives around hiring and admissions (Ontario Ministry of Education 1993).

Numerous studies exploring issues of race in the current education system demonstrate that students of racially diverse backgrounds continue to face difficulties in the Canadian school system and that the monocultural assimilationist approach to education of Canada's past continues to influence educational practices today (Dei 1996a; Cheng & Soudack 1994; Aladdin 1996). Studies that examine teachers' roles and responsibilities in offering equitable education have shown that racial bias is often reflected in the attitudes and norms of teachers (Sleeter 1993; Dei 1993). This racial bias coupled with the ever-increasing number of students of diverse racial backgrounds in Canadian schools, have led anti-racism activists to call attention to the issue of

teacher representation (Carr 1995; Dei 1996a; Dei 1996b; Dei et al. 2000).

A host of studies dealing with students "at risk" have shown that one of the many factors that place students in this category is membership in a minority cultural, racial or ethnic group (Johnson 1997; Gagné 1996; Putnam, Malia & Streagle 1997). The high incidence of minority students dropping out has been attributed to a number of factors including the discrepancy between cultural values and beliefs about school and home; a sense of isolation due to the impersonal, institutionalised approaches many schools take; formal and hidden curriculum; racially biased assessment practices; streaming; and the general invisibility of their own racial and cultural identities (Nixon-Ponder 1998; Barton, Watkins, & Jarjoura 1997).

It has been argued that one of the causes of minority students' disengagement from the school system is the discrepancy between the number of White Anglo-Canadian educators and minority students (Talbert-Johnson & Tillman 1999.) Black youths also make a direct connection between the problem of student disengagement and the lack of representation of Black role models in the schools and have called for the need for more Black and minority teachers in the Canadian school system (Dei 1996b).

Literature that explores the relationship between visible minority teachers and the educational outcomes of visible minority students draw different conclusions. While some highlight that visible minority students benefit from having visible minority teachers, others claim that assumptions about the benefits of having minority teachers for minority students are essentialized and

simplistic.

The educational literature that employs the perspective that students benefit from having minority teachers point to the myriad ways this happens. Darder (1995) argues that teachers of similar backgrounds to those of students create classroom conditions that support the development of bicultural identity and voice. Cheng & Soudack (1994) present the case for diversifying the teaching force by indicating that racial minority teachers can be beneficial to *all* students because a diversity of perspectives and teaching styles enriches the learning experience. Thiessen, Bascia and Goodson's (1996) exploration of the impact of minority teachers on their students' lives shows that racial minority immigrant teachers possess particular talents and sensitivities for working with immigrant student populations because they take into account the cognitive, affective, and physical qualities of their students and can therefore attend to the social conditions that frame their students' lives. Furthermore it has been argued that awareness of students' particular cultural traditions, religious norms, and histories which enables teachers to provide their students with the type of education that has been proven to be effective for minority youth (Thiessen, Bascia & Goodson 1996). These studies and others (Solomon 1997) indicate that the presence of ethnocultural minority teachers contributes to the academic success of students of colour because they provide positive role models for students and because minority students see them as people with whom they could identify and connect.

Studies challenging assumptions about the benefits of having minority

teachers argue that given the concrete differences that exist between minority groups, educators cannot take for granted that minority teachers, in contrast to their White colleagues, know how to teach children different from themselves (Montecinos 1995). Furthermore, Ladson-Billings (1990) reveals that some minority teachers have low expectations of minority students and see their roles as preparing them to adapt to existing social arrangements rather than challenging them. Montecinos (1995) argues that minority teachers' commitments should not be taken for granted and challenges the assumption that teachers who are members of a minority group can translate their knowledge into culturally relevant pedagogy and content. She argues that not all minority groups have an equal economic or political status at stake.

The literature was explored with respect to the question of how the presence of "visible minority" teachers can contribute to anti-racist education. Studies indicate that minority teachers influence structural change by engaging with issues related to prejudice and discrimination and by helping colleagues understand and meet the challenges of an increasingly multicultural, multilingual student population. The role teachers' racial identity plays in anti-racism education has also been examined in studies that point to the limitations of implementing and understanding anti-racism education when approached by White teachers (Haymes 1995; Sleeter 1993). Furthermore, it has been argued that while offering anti-racism training to White teachers is necessary, it cannot substitute for making the profession more diverse (Sleeter 1993) because White educators often fail to understand issues of privilege in their own individual and

collective identities and the implications of the social, cultural, and racial identities of their students (Henry et al. 2000).

Studies exploring minority students' successful completion of B. Ed programs were also reviewed. Mujawamariya's (1998) study of the experiences of visible minority teacher candidates in the francophone Teacher Education program at the University of Ottawa found that they faced obstacles in the areas of university culture, the practicum stage, and the pedagogical framework of the Bachelor of Education program. Mujawamariya (in press) has also found that teachers who supervise francophone teacher candidates in the field think of "visible minorities" as foreigners who need to adopt Franco-Ontarian values in order to be integrated into the teaching profession. The majority of associate teachers interviewed in her study were reluctant to support the integration of visible minorities into the teaching profession.

3.2 Affirmative Action for Educational Equity

Appropriate to this study of subtle ways affirmative action programs can affect those who are admitted through them, is a review of studies on attitudes surrounding affirmative action programs and studies on the experiences of recipients of affirmative action, particularly in Ontario Teacher Education contexts.

Tierney (1997) states that criticisms of affirmative action policies in universities tend to fall into three general categories: 1) affirmative action is unfair to groups not protected by the policy and creates further racial division;

2)affirmative action is harmful to those it tries to protect; and 3) affirmative action has diluted standards by admitting individuals who are unqualified. Feinberg (1996) puts forth that the problems surrounding affirmative action stem from misunderstandings of the goals and effects of such initiatives. Furthermore, he states that one of the ways programs can be improved is by educating people about the purposes behind them. Similarly, Goldberg (1993) cautions against the tendency of placing the criticisms of affirmative action on the policies themselves rather on their faulty implementation. Both writers suggest that the solution is not to do away with affirmative action policies but rather is to educate people about the purposes behind them.

Studies that have examined the impacts of affirmative action on the self-perception of women hired under gender-based quotas show that being hired through preferential admissions causes them to devalue their own qualifications and competence and show reduced motivation and commitment (Heilman, Block, & Lucas 1992.) Taylor (1995) conducted interviews with women hired through employment equity policies for secondary school principal positions to explore the disjuncture between the experiences of subjects of employment equity and what she calls the “abstract world of policy statements.” She found that discourse of merit and the notion of employment equity as a “special measure” promotes feelings of ambivalence for the target group members.

Studies also consistently show that members of the dominant group perceive those admitted through affirmative action policies as having gained an “unfair” advantage (Tierney 1997; Feinberg 1996; Sleeter 1995; Solomon &

Levine-Rasky 1996; James 1995; Henry et al. 2000). According to some, this commonly held view stems from the racialized belief that people of colour lack the skills and motivation to succeed (Henry et al. 2000; Tierney 1997; Feinberg, 1996) and from the strongly held conviction in Western democracies that educational institutions, particularly universities, are unbiased, meritocratic institutions that provide equal opportunity for all students (Henry et al. 2000).

The few studies that focus specifically on Access programs in Ontario Faculties of Education reveal that although these programs have succeeded in admitting more people of colour into teacher education programs, students who are admitted through such policies are often critical of them because, in their perception, the status of being Access-admitted has the stigma of lowered standards attached to it (Lundy & Lawrence 1995; Solomon 1996; Solomon 1997; James 1997; James 1995).

James (1997;1995) looked at the experiences of African-Canadian Teacher Education candidates admitted through an Access program at York University and found that many African-Canadian students had difficulties because, in their view, being admitted through "the Access route" contributed to the stereotyping and discrimination they experienced (James, 1995). Furthermore, James (1997) reports that Access-admitted African-Canadians found that their abilities, achievements, possibilities, and actions were perceived to be determined primarily by race.

Other studies have found that admission through Access policies had the stigma of lowered standards attached to it. Lundy and Lawrence's (1995) study

at Nipissing University found that the significant issue that arose was the generally prevalent attitude around “no lowered standards.” While some visible minority and Aboriginal teacher candidates were in favour of proactive entrance policies, the majority were quite ambivalent about the concept in principle and in practice. Furthermore, Access students criticised the faculty’s failure to accompany the policy with an anti-racist curriculum.

These studies of students admitted into teacher education programs in Ontario through preferential admissions have shown that the students experience contradictory tensions. While, they believe their presence in the system as multi-racial models for their future students is important, Access-admitted students have consistently reported that they have suffered from the perception that they were less qualified than their White counterparts and that their status as Access students further marginalized them.

The Provincial Government’s current focus on restructuring elementary and secondary school education and their repeal of equity legislation is also relevant to the discussion of Access admissions policies. Government documents (Ministry of Education 1997) indicate that the stated aims of educational reform is to promote success for all students and to increase student achievement. Also significant is that one of the first pieces of legislation enacted by the current government was to repeal the Employment Equity Act of 1993 and replace existing equity legislation with a voluntary, non-legislative framework of “merit-based” employment and promotion (Ministry of Citizenship, 1999) .

3.3 Summary of Literature Review

The research indicates that minorities continue to face barriers to equitable education in Canada. Much of the existing literature on anti-racism in education focusses on how the predominantly White teacher workforce can better respond to the increasingly racially diverse student population. Although studies acknowledge the importance of diversifying the teacher population, the absence of minority teachers is rarely problematised. Furthermore, barriers to educational equity as they effect Canadian teacher candidates of colour admitted through race- based preferential admissions are rarely considered in the existing literature.

Very few studies address the difficulties associated with the special admission status brought on through Access programs. Furthermore, this literature review has shown that while a lot of research has been done on the experiences of racial minority students in school, fewer studies have explored the experiences of racial minority teachers. This study seeks to examine the implications of affirmative action in teacher education contexts alongside principles of anti-racism education. A convergence of these bodies of knowledge will provide a textured understanding of the complex dynamics of equity and merit in the field of education, particularly in the current political climate.

4. METHODOLOGICAL FRAMEWORK

This section considers some of the ways various research traditions along with personal and political positions have motivated and influenced the design and the methods used in this study. Informed by principles of critical and integrative theories, I will show how the investigation was conducted through a combination of case study and narrative research methods. Included in this discussion is a profile of the research participants and reflections on the methodological challenges and limitations faced in this project.

4.1 Case Study and the use of Narrative

According to Stake (1995) , case study research is not a methodological choice but a choice of object to be studied. As such, this investigation is primarily a case study of the Access program at the University of Ottawa. Furthermore, this can be considered an “instrumental” case study because the case itself is of secondary interest in that it plays a supportive role to facilitate the understanding of something else (Stake 1995). In this study the particular “case” of Access program at the University of Ottawa will therefore be examined to provide insight into the issue of Access admission.

Narrative studies have been identified as useful for systematic study of personal experience and meaning, particularly how events have been constructed by active subjects (Reissman 1993; Clandinin & Connelly 2000). As such, this project is also informed by narrative research traditions in its primary use of oral, first-person accounts of experience as data.

4.2 An Integrative, Critical Inquiry

This study seeks to examine structures of power imbalance in order to create active possibilities for change. As a critical research, the study aims to step beyond empirical research to seek out meanings that other studies may miss (Kincheloe & McLaren 1994). This exploration of the quality of current social and cultural environments as they pertain to affirmative action is therefore more concerned with the experiences of Access rather than information based on statistical data. A particular research design element intended to contribute towards this goal is the idea of creating space for voices that have been otherwise silenced and muted. This political dimension of “giving voice”¹⁰ to members of marginalized groups is intended as a means of breaking down dominant discourses and as a contribution to an understanding of everyday experiences of marginalised people.

This study was also undertaken with the idea that people of colour exist across gendered, classed and many other social divisions (ethnicity, sexuality, etc.) My investigation is grounded in the belief that subjectivities are formed through a complex heterogeneity of identities resulting from an interconnectedness of social locations, each of which is in constant interaction with the others. As such, although the primary focus is “race”, the investigation aligns itself with an ‘integrated’ approach (Calliste & Dei 2000) in examining the

¹⁰ This notion does, however, need to be critically examined in relation to ethical considerations of co-opting and using participant voices for researcher ends, and in terms of questions of who is being “allowed” to speak by whom and how that reproduces hegemony (Clandinin & Connelly 2000).

multiplicity of experiences of Access admitted students. Therefore, I conducted this study with careful consideration of how race along with social locations of gender and class inform individuals' understanding of reality and hence all knowledge claims. This study aims to develop and promote critical consciousness around my own and other's complicity and participation in interlocking systems of oppression, including racism, sexism and classism and the subordination of others.

4.2.1 Validity, Subjectivity and Positionality in Critical Qualitative Research

As a critical inquiry this study presumes that information always involves acts of human judgement and interpretation and that there is no such thing as neutrality (Kirby & McKenna 1989; Lincoln & Guba 1985, Kincheloe & McLaren 1994). Explicit awareness of the role of the researcher as an active influence on the participants and the research (Lincoln & Guba 1985) raises special concerns of validity (Kincheloe and McLaren 1994). In critical research, traditional ideas of validity are replaced by notions of *critical trustworthiness* (Kincheloe & McLaren 1994). Furthermore, as validation in narrative studies cannot be reduced to a set of formal rules or standardized technical procedures (Reissman 1993; Clandinin & Connelly 2000), research credibility can only be awarded to a study when the constructions are plausible. To help readers determine the trustworthiness of this study, I offer: a detailed account of how the study was accomplished; a description of how the interpretations were

produced; and bring my foundational assumptions and values to the surface (Reissman 1993).

Central to the notion of subjectivity in qualitative research is the researcher's positionality as an individual with specific desires and interests. As such, I locate myself in this study as a researcher whose interest in the 'special' admissions experience stems from "autobiographical real-world observations" (Marshall & Rossman 1995). As such, I have needed to reflect on my own position as a researcher and account for personal positions that influenced my research design, methodological techniques and relationships with interviewees.

A critical consciousness of how my "race" informed my research, both in terms of my undertaking of this study, and how it may have influenced the research is necessary because as Edwards (1990) has put forth, race does not simply exist as an object of study or a variable in the analysis, it is also a characteristic of the researcher. Positioning myself in terms of race as the researcher of this study was an unanticipated challenge. Complicating my ability to locate myself within discourses of race are numerous and overlapping issues relating to skin colour, citizenship, language, religion, and ethnicity that result in a positioning whereby my "race" identity marginalises me in some ways and yet affords me privilege in others. Nevertheless, with all this ambiguity I approached this study as an immigrant woman of colour seeking to increase understanding on the experiences of people of colour. I believe that my "minority" identity and my explicit goal of wanting to contribute to a more

equitable system may have facilitated the participation of people of colour in this study.

Also relevant to the undertaking of this project are beliefs formulated through feminist ideologies. Defining feminism broadly as a movement which engages one to seriously address oneself in relation to an entire structure of domination of which patriarchy is but one part, this vantage point has implicitly influenced my research interest and bears upon the choice of subject matter for this thesis and informed its development over the past two years.

Thus, the conceptual development of my research question and the interpretation of my data have been influenced by my personal and political positionality (Lincoln & Guba 1985). Recognizing this, I was also committed to being open to emerging themes that would challenge or expand the assumptions I brought into the study.

4. 3 Research Design

4. 3. 1 "Bounding" the Study

The goals of a qualitative case study are to capture the frame of reference and definition of the situation, and to permit a detailed examination (Creswell 1998). As such, I "bounded" my study of the *Access* experiences by focussing on the narratives of students who had entered the anglophone Teacher Education program through the *Access* policy at the University of Ottawa during the 1999-2000 academic year. The University of Ottawa was chosen as a research site for pragmatic and personal reasons; as a graduate

student and a former B. Ed. student, my familiarity with the Faculty and the program helped me to recruit participants. Although the University of Ottawa is a bilingual institution and the Access program also is used in the francophone division of the teacher education program, I focussed exclusively on the students in the Anglophone sector in this study. The reasoning for this are considerations of complex political issues surrounding anglophones and francophones in Canada that may contribute to different dynamics for visible minorities and Aboriginal candidates in the francophone division too broad to explore in this study. In addition to practical considerations, my reason for recruiting participants who were in the B. Ed. program in the same academic year was to potentially help illuminate how programmatic, political and societal factors may have influenced their experiences.

4.3.2 Recruiting participants

To ensure that participants understood that their involvement in this study was completely separate from any of the requirements of the B. Ed program, the interviews were scheduled after participants had completed the program. Another reason for timing the interviews this way was to enable participants to speak candidly about the program after they had graduated from it.

Although the data collection was going to take place in the Fall, practical issues of accessibility and the importance of preserving anonymity during the recruitment process prompted me to conduct the initial participant recruitment

process prior to the end of the 1999-2000 cycle. As such, I canvassed for names and phone numbers of volunteer participants by making announcements and distributing a flyer about my study in April 2000, during the last week of B. Ed classes. In addition to stating the research topic, I explained that the motivation for the study was to enhance understanding of the reality of Access-admitted students through their accounts of lived experiences. I requested that eligible students confidentially indicate their willingness to participate in the study. I gathered names and contact information from interested volunteers and explained that they would be contacted for the data collection phase in the coming months.

My goal was to use a "purposeful" (Creswell 1998) sampling method to select eight participants who represented a range of racial and cultural backgrounds from the potential pool of candidates. Once I started to contact people whose names I had collected, however, I ended up with only six participants because some had moved while others were ineligible because they had not entered the program as Access students. As such, a purposive sampling technique to ensure a balanced representation and multiple perspectives was not used, and instead, I interviewed all six volunteers who were interested and available.

Fortunately, the six participants did comprise both females and males from a range of racial and ethnic backgrounds and contributed multiple perspectives to the data collection process. The Participant Profile section outlines the race, gender and other characteristics of the people who

volunteered for this study .

One noticeable absence from this study is the participation of Black/African students. This is a definite limitation because it significantly narrows the diversity of the perspectives put forth by this study¹¹. Although hard conclusions cannot be drawn as to why Black students did not volunteer for the study, it is important to note that racialized discourses of deficit have been shown to not target all “minorities” equally and this may have influenced comfort levels associated with participation in this study. For example, people of Asian descent are believed to have strong academic potential while Black and Aboriginal students are perceived to be lacking in ability and motivation (Dei 1993, 1996a, 1996b; Henry et al. 2000). Thus, there may have been implications of further vulnerability for members of some groups to participate in a study about affirmative action.

4.3.3 Collecting data

I conducted six “semi-structured” (Creswell 1998) interviews in October and November 2000. By this time all of the participants had successfully completed the B.Ed program and were working as teachers. (This is discussed further in the Participant Profile section.) The timing of the interviews thus extended the experiential base of the interviewees from teacher candidates to beginning teachers. Although the stated intention was primarily to focus on their

¹¹ For insights specifically on the experiences of Black students admitted into an Ontario Teacher Education program through an Access program, see James (1997).

experiences while in the B. Ed program, some of their subsequent experiences as teachers in the school system offered interesting insights for this study.

A consent form was given at the start of each interview which made clear that participation in the study would be kept confidential. I assured participants that in addition to anonymity, I would conceal other characteristics that could reveal their identities. As such, for reasons of confidentiality the names of the participants have been replaced by the letter "P " followed by a number from 1 to 6 representing the six interviews conducted. To further protect the privacy of the people who participated in the study I have removed or concealed identifying characteristics, including disguising participants' gender by using "s/he" and "her/his" to reduce the risk of disclosing their identities.

At the start of the interviews I informed each of the participants that I would be using open-ended questions and encouraged them to contribute any ideas or concerns they felt would be relevant to the study at any point during the interview. Participants' experiences were then explored through their perspectives on being admitted through the Access policy. To facilitate their participation, I offered to conduct the interviews at locations most convenient for the participants. Five of the interviews were conducted 'face-to-face' and one was a telephone interview. The interviews lasted between 50 and 75 minutes. The data from the interviews was audio taped and then transcribed.

Although data was primarily collected through individual interviews, some autobiographical data was also collected through a written questionnaire issued to participants. The questionnaire was intended to gather additional information

such as age, specific racial and ethnic backgrounds, and other personal information to gain a sense of the range of factors that might have influenced their experiences in the program. In keeping with the commitment to considering issues of race along with locations of gender and class, the questionnaire also provided an opportunity for participants to discuss how such factors influenced their experiences in the B Ed. program. Four questionnaires were returned to me. Mostly, the information given on the questionnaire was brief and autobiographical. Generally, participants did not offer many insights relating to their gendered and classed social positioning as it effected their Access entry into the B.Ed program. Although “rich” data did not emerge through this process, it was important to create an opportunity to speak about such matters in the data collection process in order to be certain that, if any of these were pressing issues for participants, they would not be overlooked.

An optional focus group interview was also planned. However, time and geographical constraints made this impossible. The inability to conduct a focus group created another methodological limitation. The synergistic effect of the group setting might have resulted in data or ideas that might not have been uncovered in individual interviews (Stewart & Shamdasani 1990). Furthermore a focus group would also have been useful for exploring the way particular groups of individuals think and talk about the Access experience with each other (Stewart & Shamdasani 1990). Nevertheless, despite some challenges and limitations, much rich data was gathered for this study.

4.3.4 Participant Profile

A range of backgrounds and experiences were represented by the research participants. The participants consisted of four women and two men, ranging in age from 24 to 53. At the time of the interviews, four were living in Ontario and two were living in Quebec. One lives and works in a rural area, the rest live and work in or around Ottawa, Toronto or Hull. Three of the participants are married with children, one has a grandchild; the other three referred to themselves as single with no children.

In terms of racial backgrounds, four of the six indicated that they were born and raised in Canada. Four of them have Asian origins from countries including the Philippines, Sri Lanka, or India. One participant is Aboriginal and one participant is South American. Most of them spoke languages other than English.

One participant indicated having a “lower” social class background. All others who chose to indicate a social class identified themselves as being “middle” class. One participant noted being born into an “upper” class family, but said s/he was currently living as “middle class.”

At the time of the interviews, four of the participants were teaching full-time in primary and secondary schools. One was teaching part-time by choice, and one was supply teaching regularly, hoping to find a full-time teaching position.

4.3.5 Data Analysis

In interpreting and analysing narrative materials many different possibilities for reading exist. Lieblich, Tuval-Mashiach and Zilber (1998) suggest the “categorical” approach be adopted when the researcher is primarily interested in a problem or a phenomenon shared by a group of people. Since I was less interested with form,¹² and was primarily concerned with the explicit content of an account from the standpoint of the teller, I employed a “categorical content analysis” and followed the steps outlined by Lieblich, Tuval-Mashiach and Zilber (1998) as a framework for data analysis. Based on the research questions, subtexts were first selected and relevant sections were marked and assembled in separate files. Categories were then defined by theory and by reading the subtext openly and defining major content categories that emerged from the reading. Material was then sorted into the designated categories. Finally, conclusions were drawn from the results.

The preliminary stages of analysis for this study were done while data was still being gathered. After each of the interviews I took note of themes and key points that potentially served to inform and build on the proceeding data collection stages. This process of intertwining data collection with data analysis in a spiral process (Creswell 1998) helped me identify unforeseen issues and themes to expand in subsequent interviews. After all the interviews had been

¹² Research that examines narrative “form”, i.e. the sequencing of events, structure of the plot etc. would be likely to draw on “holistic” as opposed to categorical approaches to analysis (Lieblich, Tuval-Mashiach & Zilber 1998).

conducted the interview transcriptions in their entirety were read for content and theme analysis. Data was searched for commonalities or re-occurrences of key ideas; salient themes, patterns, and categories were identified and interpreted (Marshall & Rossman 1995) in the participants' descriptions of their experiences and perceptions. I organised the collected data according to categories, themes and patterns and displayed them on a matrix for visual clarity (Marshall & Rossman 1995). This helped me cross reference the themes found in the interviews and to consider them alongside the conceptual framework.

According to Bakhtin (1981), working with narrative material requires dialogical listening to three voices: the voice of the narrator, as represented by the tape or the text; the theoretical framework, which provides the concepts and tools for interpretation; and a reflexive monitoring of the act of reading and interpretation, that is, self-awareness of the decision process behind drawing conclusions from the material. The data, combined with the theories and literature already reviewed, and the lens of my experience and observations (Kirby & McKenna 1989) lead me to focus my findings on specific aspects of the participants' experiences as Access-admitted teacher candidates to be presented in the following section.

5. FINDINGS

5.1 The Access experience

The first objective of this study was to explore the experience of being admitted through Access from the perspective of students of colour admitted through the policy. The following presentation of findings concerns how the interviewees understood their admission status within dominant discourses of difference, inclusion, merit and deficit.

Participants shared incidents that were specific to their admission status as “Access students”, and others which were linked to the visible (and in some cases audible) differences they embody. Their experiences with “special” admissions were conflated with experiences of being “minority” students. Consequently, the narrations reflected an inextricable weave of being both people of colour *and* people who had utilized “special” admission. While their admission status, which may have been known only to them, might not have directly affected some of the experiences they described, they believed that the two were connected. This conflation of experiences will be elaborated on further along in this report.

5.1.1 Application & Acceptance under Access

The difficulty with the Access experience begins with the application process whereby applicants voluntarily indicate that they want to be considered under that policy. For many of the interviewees, the decision was blurred by

questions of fairness. While some participants said they did not hesitate in filling out the self-identification Access form, others had much apprehension. What is significant is how they came to the decision to apply. Whether it was an obvious decision or one that took much deliberation, applying through the policy was reconciled or rationalized in various ways:

That was the last form I filled out. ... ¹³ Part of me thought, well yeah I should because they're just saying that there is an opening and they need to have more minorities in the teaching field,... And part of me felt, well no, I don't want to get into the program just because I happen to be a minority. (P6)

I thought that it was an advantage because there's a percentage allocated to visible minorities so at least through that I could get in there. (P1)

I was surprised to see that. I didn't think it existed. I thought that I was just going to apply like everyone else, I was prepared to do that, and then I noticed the paper and I was like wow! In my mind I thought they were trying to encourage a more diverse population, more Aboriginal people, more ethnic people, you know, not just mainstream. So I thought if it'll help my chances, then I'll go through that. (P3)

Being a member of a "visible minority" wasn't always seen as enough of a reason to apply through Access. Additional rationalizations were necessary to contend with the feelings that they were gaining an unfair advantage. The ways the decision to apply through Access was rationalised and justified helps illustrate the pervasiveness of the dominant discourses that equate fairness

¹³ Transcription conventions used are as follows:

Three periods signify the omission of a sentence, several sentences, or paragraph(s) from the text that are redundant or not relevant to the issue discussed.

Three periods in brackets [...] signify an interruption in the flow of speech of the narrator. Brackets [-] signify the omission of identifying words or phrases to ensure confidentiality, or an addition of a missing word or phrase by the author for clarification.

with sameness. One participant hesitated about applying through the Access policy because, as s/he put it, s/he “doesn’t feel like a minority”. S/he made her decision to apply by weighing the sacrifices s/he would have to make by entering the Teacher Education program:

It’s going to be a lot of sacrifice on my part to take that year off and it did cost me, just to get in it cost me like \$300.00. So I said to myself, why not take the advantage... cause there’s a lot of energy in writing those essays and a lot of money involved, if it increases the chances and you qualify, go for it. Why not? It’s there and they do need to increase the percentage of visible minorities. (P2)

For many, the decision to apply through Access was a way of contributing to the goal of increased representation in the teaching profession. The following participant was committed to doing so even at the cost of her/his own discomfort.

I talked to friends, I talked to my parents, I talked to my sister, I talked to anybody and everybody I could think of. And they all looked at me and said, “yeah, I think you should”. ... And they said “even if you are not comfortable with it, you have to realize that they’re doing it so that there is more representation.” So I did it, and now looking back I think I’m glad I did it. (P6)

This participant also articulated the difficulties s/he experienced in having to argue her/his case for being admitted through Access in the “statement of intent” of the application package by articulating how her/his racial background would be an asset to the teaching profession.

That essay that you have to write, it kind of hurt to write it initially [...], why being of a certain group is going to make you a better teacher, because if you do that you’re kind of explaining to yourself, you’re explaining to other people why it would help you, what you can bring. (P6)

Discourses of merit made it difficult for Access applicants to learn that

they had, in fact, been admitted through the policy. Even though they had applied through the policy, their hope was to be admitted through the regular stream. One participant who had applied through Access, but wasn't sure whether s/he had been admitted under the policy, said that s/he would feel "honoured" to know s/he was accepted through the regular admissions stream. Others expressed emotions such as shame, guilt, self-doubt and sadness associated with discovering their admission status:

I'm not proud of the fact that I got in through Access. ... Seeing that letter I wasn't running around telling people "Oh, I got in through Access." (P4)

When I read the letter, it said that you are accepted for this program under the Access [policy], so I was asking myself, if not [for Access] would I have been rejected? I used to ask myself, "so if the Access program was not there, that means they would have rejected me." ... That feels a little bad, you know. (P1)

One participant expressed feelings of guilt about being accepted through Access because s/he felt s/he could have been accepted through the regular stream thereby leaving the space open for someone else:

My understanding is that there was a certain number of positions set aside for visible minorities and Native Canadians and that by applying under the Access program I was applying for one of those positions. ... In a way I felt bad because I didn't want to be admitted under Access if I was taking up a slot that could be filled by someone else. I felt bad about that. (P5)

5.1.2 Assumptions about Merit and Deficit

The following interview excerpts show the conceptual constraints determined by the dominant discourses of race on the deficiencies of Access students. More significant is that they are being perpetuated here by Access

students in an unproblematic and unreflexive way. Assumptions about the deficiencies of Access students are revealed in their concern about how they were perceived by others in the program:

Nobody knows that I came under the "visible minority"[heading]. I might have come in the regular process. Others from the visible minority group were graduates from *Queens* and places like that, and they wouldn't have come under the Access program, they would have come through the general category. (P1)

I could talk about my experiences beforehand, and I did have experience so it's not like I came out of nowhere and I tried to get into the program and I got in. And I could carry on a conversation and everything, I wasn't [...], maybe if I were a complete idiot people might wonder how did you get into this program and then think it was through Access. (P 4)

Because I don't feel like a minority, I feel I'm totally capable, it's my intelligence that's as capable as any majority candidate, so I just feel that I am up to the standards, I can compete with them. (P 2)

The participants imagined the attributes of Access student as less intelligent and capable. The statements illustrate the psychological entrenchment of the racialized discourse of deficit. What is revealing is how "Access students" are constructed in the minds of people, even those who are Access students themselves. Furthermore, their collusion with the dominant paradigm shows how "taken for granted" notions of deficit and meritocracy are.

Entry via the Access policy also prompted the interviewees to question and doubt their qualifications as a result of this misconception of lowered standards. The Access application form states that only qualified members of designated under-represented groups are offered considered for admission (University of Ottawa, 1999). Interestingly, however, most of the people I

interviewed held the belief that the policy accepts people who are less qualified or unqualified and that being admitted through Access meant that they were "second choice".

The perception I had was kind of like we were in a completely separate pile, you know, that they picked the regular people and then they have to pick 14% of Access so they'll go through our pile... kind of like you know, you wouldn't have gotten in, but you're lucky you are a different colour type of thing. Like your qualifications is what your race is. ... It was kind of insulting that I couldn't get in with my own qualifications. I really felt qualified enough. I wasn't sure if I was let in because of Access or [...]?

(P4)

Most disconcerting is the negative self perception the participants struggled with as a result of the belief of lowered standards. My data shows how the subjectivities of these affirmative action recipients were formed by notions of deficit that accompany preferential admissions programs. According to Gramsci (1971) hegemony is a process of domination by consent whereby the general population adopts a world view that reflects the interests of the dominant classes. By uncovering the dominant discourses of difference and practices of inclusion in the narratives of Access-admitted students we see how hegemony works. Hegemony is secured through preferential structures because Other starts to accept an inferior position and see themselves as 'deficient,' thereby reinforcing the positions of power for the dominant group.

Powell (1997) gives a personal account of how "coded discourses on competence" relating to race are perpetrated by educational institutions. She describes an incident where she received two recruitment letters from the same prestigious university. One letter, which she believes was written with the

presumption that she is White, stressed how the university would be honoured to prepare her for her future as a community leader. The second letter which she received as a winner of a competition only open to Black students, emphasised the remedial and supportive programs available to her at the university. This incident captures the textured discourses that I consider in this study. As shown through the narratives I examined, the coded discourses that surround their admission means that although they are in the same classes as regularly admitted students, they have received fundamentally different messages about their abilities and their right to be there.

Several interviewees talked about how they reconciled doubts they had about their merits. Some of the participants' misconceptions of the Access policy itself also revealed an inability to locate themselves within discourses of merit and deficit:

I had done some volunteer work with [children's organization], ... I was proud of those successes, so I didn't assume that I was admitted solely because of being a minority, I don't know for sure, but I can only assume. (P5)

I don't know if, because they needed to fill a quota, that they just kind of said that I got in through Access, just to fill the quota. Because I know I was very qualified to get in the program because I did my undergrad at [name of university] and I automatically got into [name of another university], so there was no problem there. (P4)

Another participant took comfort in knowing that s/he had to pass through a test to qualify for admission into her specialization within the B. Ed program:

I think had I been in any other division or any other area where you didn't need a test to get in, I think it [self-doubt] would have lasted a lot longer. So I guess in a way, it's a blessing to always have to go through tests, ... because then you just know, "well hey, I had to do that, so it's not just

because I'm a visible minority." (P6)

5.1.3 Access and Multiculturalism

Also compelling was how participants' multiculturalist notions of pride and affirmation of difference were linked to the Access policy. Since the Access form in the application package states that the Faculty wants to encourage students from groups under-represented in the teacher population to apply to the Teacher Education program, several interviewees thought that not checking off the "visible minority" box would indicate that they were ashamed of their backgrounds:

So anywhere, any place where they ask me I always say that I'm a "visible minority" because that's the truth. I'm not ashamed of this. (P1)

I didn't want to apply through the Access program even though I'm proud of my heritage. ... The Access sheet – it asks if you if you're a visible minority. So I had no problem saying "yes I am." ... It's strange because I felt like if I didn't fill out the sheet, if I didn't state that I was a visible minority, I would have felt like I was betraying my heritage in a way. (P5)

Although the participants articulated the value of racial and cultural diversity in education, the notions of difference that they expressed were consistent with the liberal model of multiculturalism. The data indicated that although all of them felt that it is important to have teachers of diverse backgrounds, issues of power or systemic barriers that have maintained a homogeneous teaching force were not addressed by the participants. As Allahar has pointed out, many Canadians see our society from "an individual point of view with no regard for the fact that some people may face socio-structural impediments to success" (1998 : 345). The interviewees didn't

express an awareness of how seemingly unbiased procedures favour members of certain groups. As such, the idea of increasing representation of visible minorities in schools was a commonly used rationalization for applying through Access.

Discomfort with affirmative action was also tied to multiculturalist notions of transcending colour:

It's hard for me to justify, as a visible minority in the program, where two people apply for the same program and one is Caucasian, and the other is a visible minority, the visible minority got in simply because he's a visible minority. It's hard for me to justify that. ... I don't want to be denied opportunities because of my colour, but by the same token, I don't want to be granted opportunities simply because of my skin colour. (P5)

I think putting a person in a position because of their colour or whatever defies the whole purpose of talking about multiculturalism and being able to do anything regardless of colour. Part of me feels that if you want to do something then get yourself qualified to do it and do it. You know, like don't rely on your background, don't rely on your nationality to get there. ... I don't know. I don't think they should just pick anyone just because they are a different colour and just let them in. (P4)

I understand the objective of the whole society or the government to give more opportunities to the visible minorities. It's good, but at the same time I find that it's a bit condescending because the standards are lowered to actually let all these minorities in. I believe that my standards are higher. So that's why I feel like if I get into the same high standards, that means that I've proved again that it's what's inside that counts, not just the outside. Because that's basically what they're looking at, they give chances to the outside because they're still just looking at the outside, people are still discriminating from the outside. (P2)

Significant too, however, is how the practice of dominant groups letting in limited numbers of members of "minority" groups was not explicitly questioned by my participants. The legitimacy of the qualifications and the presence of their White peers was taken for granted. With the exception indicated below, White

privilege was generally unquestioned and unacknowledged. In the following excerpt one of the participants talks about how White privilege was brought to her/his attention by a White colleague in reference to how “visible minority” teachers are asked to articulate the value of what they can offer as such:

He said “I would never have to say why I’m a good teacher because I’m White. ..but it seems like if you’re African or Chinese, you kind of always have to say, “Well this is what I bring because I am [minority background.” (P6)

5.1.4 Access for Equity

While they struggled with discourses of equality and multiculturalism, the interviewees also expressed the need for the Access program, which implies an underlying recognition of the barriers that prevent entry to people like themselves. Many of them clearly had mixed feelings about the fairness of such programs, yet participants expressed awareness of the ways racial bias and discrimination are present through the assertion that the Access program is needed:

You know we’re not going to get any teachers that are minorities if nobody applies to that [Access.] (P6)

This incongruence is best seen in the following excerpt where the participant seems to be attempting to reconcile the debate between notions of fairness and the awareness that equal opportunities do not exist.

I’ve talked already earlier about my reservations about having the Access program, or any sort of affirmative action, but at the same time I can understand the need for it so there’s a dichotomy there, so I would say at this time I think there is a need for it, and I would endorse it. Yup, I think

it should continue, that's my personal opinion. I think it's a good thing. It's a good thing but it could be potentially divisive, or potentially, I don't know, there is just so many mixed feelings about this type of program, but my feeling is yeah, I would say, I think so. ... I can see the need for it but on the other hand, it's hard for me to really come to grips with it I guess, or justify it. I don't know. I'm really divided on it. It's hard. I guess if everyone was fair you wouldn't need it, but unfortunately that's not the way [it is]. (P5)

Most of the participants said that they would encourage others to apply through the Access policy, although two of them cautioned that the decision would have to depend on each individual's comfort level. Four of them said that if such an opportunity were offered to them again, they would take it. The prevailing attitude seemed to be "if it's going to get you in, then just do it." Some of the suggestions they made about the program emphasized the importance of confidentiality, the need to have it better advertised so more people are aware of it, the need to increase the numbers, and the need to address the misconception that standards are lowered through the policy.

The discourses surrounding the inclusion of members of minority groups resulted in contradictory messages about their right and ability to be in the teacher education program. The findings reveal ambivalent feelings about affirmative action measures such as Access programs. As people of colour admitted into the program through the Access initiative, they experienced discomfort stemming from notions of merit and myths of lowered standards. It becomes clear that while they recognize the need for affirmative measures and are aware of systemic barriers that may prevent the entry of people of colour, they were uneasy with their own use of the policy.

5.2 The “Minority” Experience

As stated earlier, the people I interviewed also talked about tensions they experienced as racial “minorities” that may not have been directly related to their Access status. It is important to highlight some of these experiences because of their relevance to the participants, and because their Access identity cannot always be separated from their racial minority identity or other social positionings in a predominantly White institution.

Two interviewees talked about the difficulties they had of feeling excluded from group work by their classmates:

It was always a problem. I would like it when the teachers would assign the groups. No choice – let’s get together, let’s get it done, I like that. But when we had to do it on our own, like pair up ... I’d just be sitting there, [not being picked] ... Trying to fit in somewhere. It was a lot like that. (P3)

I always like when the professor puts you into groups because I didn’t have to ask people “can I join your group?” ... One professor asked us to form our own groups so everybody formed groups, ... So then I told the professor now I don’t have a group again. (P1)

Working in groups, one participant talked about feeling like her contribution wasn’t good enough:

In some other groups they thought that I couldn’t do well so they didn’t give me work to do... they gave me a very small percentage of work, like 10 percent of it. Like, “could you collect this... , type that.” If it was a big project they would take the largest share of it. ... They made that assumption on their own, [that] minorities cannot do very well. (P1)

Fanon names *denigration* as a form of racism (cited in Schmitt 1996:36).

This relates to the pervasive assumption that members of subject groups are defective. The way the students in this study felt they were presumed to be

unqualified is an example of denigration. Furthermore this denigration can be found in the assumptions made about their abilities as visible minorities once they were in the program. Said (1978) has shown how within hegemony, Other is often believed to be lacking in skills and abilities, and as culturally and biologically inferior. Such racialized assumptions about people of colour were evident in the narratives I analysed. As in James' 1997 study of the experiences of Black Access-admitted teacher education students who stated that their abilities were perceived to be determined primarily by race, the people I interviewed also believe they experienced this form of racialization.

The data shows that as "visible minority" students, they felt devalued through notions of deficit thereby furthering their marginalization. One interviewee talked about feeling that a professor hadn't fairly evaluated her/him and attributed this to racial "bias". Peer evaluation was also mentioned by a participant as a way s/he felt discriminated against. Two participants also talked about being unfairly criticized by their associate teachers during practicum on the basis of English language usage and accent:

It was a problem ... that person looked down upon my accent: "don't say this, don't say that" and "don't use these words," kind of thing. (P1)

Very nerve wracking at first because of my accent... they came in and the teacher and the evaluator sat there and they gave me my evaluation, and it was a good evaluation, but the only thing is they were concerned about my accent. So I was like (laughter and groaning), ... I mean I don't know what to do about that,... I said "I'm not from Ontario, I don't speak the same [way]." (P3)

Others talked about feeling "scrutinized" by their practicum supervisors because they were people of colour. This was articulated in terms of feeling like some

people were “just looking for an excuse” to see them fail as evidence that they are incapable, or in supervisors “trying to find a lot of fault” in their work. Also notable is how the absence of discriminatory experiences by peers, professors and associates was attributed to “luck”. Overall, most of the participants took for granted that as people of colour they would face more difficulties than would White students.

Two participants talked about having a difficult time making social connections with others in the program because they felt they were perceived as different:

In general in the B. Ed program, walking the hallways, entering the building, I found that I was the one that had to initiate. I don't know what it is ... because I'd say “Hi. How are doing, my name is...”. Like try to coax people, get them to talk, to relate to them. But I found that I was the one who had to do that. I don't know what the reason was, but in general I found I was the one, in the majority of cases I had to do it. And even then I couldn't even make acquaintances except for a few people who were more comfortable with themselves. (P3)

These experiences as articulated by the participants demonstrate how they felt they often had to contend with the strain of feeling discriminated against on the basis of race. In their view, their ‘questionable’ presence as Access students was therefore exacerbated by the everyday reality of racism they experience being members of “visible minority” groups. In addition to visible differences, they related a multiplicity of experiences of being “minoritized” on the bases of accent, language proficiency, and even “unusual” names.

I think given my name, ... sometimes minorities don't have names like Susan Smith , so I think when people see just see a certain name and

certain characteristic they'll have certain assumptions about it. (P5)

Interestingly, the following quotations reveal how even the absence of an accent and proficiency in Canada's official languages set them apart in the same way broken English and heavy accents might have done:

I think because I'm teaching languages it makes a difference...
When you just open your mouth and start talking it ... , I've had a couple of parents look at me and say "Wow, how did *you* learn French?" (P5)

I think it [accent] makes a huge difference.... I think sometimes people are taken aback by it, they don't expect that it's going to be just normal, whatever that is! (P6)

It is important to note as well that although the study focussed primarily on race, the participants' positioning based on other social locations, namely gender and class also came up in the interviews. The inseparability of such identity formations was evident through the way the participants expressed uncertainty about what aspect of their 'difference' was causing their marginalization in various contexts. For example, participants talked about not knowing if they stood out because of gender, i.e. a female in science, or a male in primary division, or because of their racial difference. Also interesting were issues of class that emerged. For some, entry into the teaching field was regarded by their families and communities as a way of moving up the socio-economic ladder because teaching was viewed as a respectable profession. For others, their decision to enter the field of teaching was looked down upon because their communities valued more "higher prestige" careers like law or the sciences.

This segment of the investigation of the experiences of student teachers

of colour reveals the personal and political struggles involved in applying through an affirmative action program and how this status throws into question student teachers' perceptions of themselves with regards to qualifications and fair acceptance. Having applied through the policy, the ambiguity surrounding their admission status, is conflated with perceived racist encounters within the teacher education program, compounding the discord regarding their presence in the system. In the following sections I will show how these difficulties are negotiated by the interviewees.

5.3 Coping strategies

The previous section explored the dissonance Access students experienced as student teachers of colour in the face of conflicting discourses of equality, multiculturalism and merit. Equally important is how they managed these difficult and ambiguous tensions. In the following section I show some of the ways participants negotiated different strategies and chose defences to manage the tensions they experienced.

5.3.1 Support through Commonality

A coping method commonly used by interviewees was finding sources of social and academic support with other "minority" students. The interviewees spoke about forming friendships and social connections with individuals who, although they didn't necessarily have the same racial or cultural backgrounds, were also members of minority groups. Forming such connections was a

common way they managed their minority positioning. One participant talked about establishing working groups comprised mostly of people of colour for class projects. According to this participant, working with other people of colour helped him/her feel that s/he could contribute as an equal. As s/he explains:

We were kind of relaxed in that group rather than in another group where you are concerned they think you can't do well. But we proved that we could do really good [work]... and as a group we were good together. So actually I was happy that I was in that group. Because I was a part of it like an equal, otherwise I would have been a second class student in another group. (P1)

Some of the advantages and the importance of making connections with other people of colour in the program were articulated in terms of "fun", the ability to "talk" to each other about the many problems they faced, and the ability to "joke and laugh" with each other about being the few visible minorities in the program. One participant said that s/he noticed "the multiculturals" would always be having coffee together and thought that their tendency to "move together" was due to the small number of them.

One interviewee was able to obtain additional support through a centre on campus. S/he suggested that a similar "informal lounge" for people of colour be created in the B. Ed program. S/he described this as a place people of colour would be able to go and talk to each other and share information and resources in a safe and comfortable way.

Somebody told me about the centre for [minority group] students. I went there, I found there was a lot of information. It helped a lot. They gave me a lot of coupons and stuff, they said this is where you can get your meals, and discounts, information about the bus routes, the school, activities at the school, it was helpful. ... I had no computer experience at all. I went to the [] centre and there was a guy there, he knew computers... and I

told him my problem, I said "I have no idea what I'm doing," and I took him to the lab and he showed me everything, how everything works. ... By the end I was able to do it. Because I didn't think of asking the prof..., I didn't have the confidence, I didn't want to ask the prof. (P3)

This idea of feeling comfortable with other people of colour was also expressed in the context of the racial representation of students and teachers at the schools where they did their practice teaching:

I liked my first placement too because it was a lot of kids, people from all over the world. It wasn't one dominant culture. There was a lot of Chinese, there was a lot of African Americans, there was a lot of Pakistani. So there were a lot of different [cultures] and I was just another person there so I felt very comfortable because we were all minorities. (P3)

Similarly, many of them said they would have felt more comfortable in a more racially mixed environment because, as one person put it, "when you have one population that's dominant they stay dominant, and the rest are excluded no matter what."

5.3.2 Philosophical Perspectives as Defence Mechanisms

Interviewees talked about some broader philosophical strategies that helped them cope with the difficulties they encountered in the teacher education program. Some of these strategies were well developed and seemed to have been in place prior to their entry into the program. Others were developed or reinforced in the program. When they talked about how they handled some of the tensions surrounding their presence in the program as Access-admitted visible minorities, many spoke of "being prepared for it". Some talked about

“being used to it”, and/or making the decision to “not be bothered by it”:

I expected it. In my mind I was ready for it ... I was ready for the racism. I knew it wouldn't be upfront..., but I knew it would be there. ... I didn't really let it get to me. But if you ask me did I feel that, yes I did. Isolated, different, treated differently, treated cautiously I guess you would say.

(P3)

But if you let it bother you then it will become a problem. If you just kind of go in and know that whatever you are doing, you are doing your best, you are doing what is expected of you, beyond that you really can't do anything. (P6)

They were reluctant to take you. I didn't feel bad about it because I knew living here in this society, this is how they feel. They would like to be friendly with you but a little from a distance, immediately thinking their culture is different and all sorts of things. And I didn't care for any of those things. It mattered to me that I go through this program, pass the program and get out and find a job. (P1)

It started way before the program. It started way back,... a lot of the schools that I went to or the clubs I was in had a lot of White people and I was often the minority in several ways, either being a [gender] , or [ethnicity], or whatever, short, you know it didn't matter, there was always something different about me, (laugh) so I kind of just got used to it and it didn't bother me. (P4)

One interviewee argued that in her/his view, this made “minority” students “tougher” because of what they deal with. Also interesting was how several interviewees described a shift in thinking that occurred for them whereby they consciously decided that other people's attitudes wasn't their problem and they refused to accept responsibility for it by “taking it personally”:

I always try to put myself forward and above that and look beyond that because it's the other person's problem and not mine, that's how I dealt with it. ... Before I used to take it more personal, and now I just turn the tables and it's their problem, it's not my problem. (P3)

I think initially I did [take it personally], because I just assumed that that's what people were looking at me [thinking]. ... Now I just know that even if that's how people are looking at me, now I know that I'm not the one who

has done something wrong. It is that other person that, because of ignorance or fear, or whatever, has that notion. ... I've just turned it around and said, well if that's all they are seeing, then that's not my fault. (P6)

I used to be at the point where like, you tease me and I would take it [personally] like "oh my God!" Now I'm like, I'm the one speaking YOUR language and I'm the one making the effort so you have no reason to laugh at me. (P2)

The protective defences of expecting, being prepared for, and deflecting racism seemed to be effective ways for dealing with the impact of being a "minority" in their day-to-day participation in the program.

5.3.3 Assimilation

Coping strategies also include attempts to avoid encounters with racism through assimilation. In discussing questions of identity formation/ conformation in the sociology of schooling, and the embodiment of differences, Corrigan (1987) writes of the "desire for invisibility" experienced by "all that are not identifiable with the figure in dominance." This desire for invisibility, as Corrigan describes it, is "praying that one's own group will not be mentioned; already by then to be named as "one of them" is to be mentioned and marginalised simultaneously"(1987: 21). This minimization of difference was a common way the minority identity dilemma was dealt with by the research participants. In most cases this ability had developed over time prior to entering the program.

A lot of what I do is very like, I don't know how to put it but, very Canadianized. It was very important for me to amalgamate into society, ... and just be perfect, be no different from anyone else. (P4)

One participant made observations about her “visible minority” peers’ use of this coping strategy:

They want to show that they are in the same class as the majority White people. So in class discussions, a very good friend of mine used to say, “You know, we don’t eat the same things that my great grandparents ate. In India or places like that we eat spaghetti and pizzas and all kinds of things, and we don’t go to all those cultural things.” She was just trying to merge... **.(P1)**

Theorists have questioned the potential psychological harm to those who employ this strategy (Freire 1970; hooks 1988; Feagin & Sikes, 1994). This is believed to cause frustration and psychological harm because of the constant struggle of wanting to be accepted by being a certain way, while trying to remain true to themselves (hooks 1988; Freire 1970).

5.3.4 Complicity

A strategy for coping with the harshness of being the racial Other also appears in the form of complicity. I use hooks’ (1995) definition of complicity as the acceptance of the social conditions that people of colour are subjected to in White supremacist patriarchy. Dissociating from their racial origins has been a way people of colour succeed in the dominant culture. Although this strategy may be effective in the short term, hooks (1988) sees this as a form of internalized racism that promotes divisiveness and fear. This coping strategy was evident in the interviews I analysed through the tendency to minimize or deny racism. An interviewee talked about how some visible minority peers utilized this strategy.

They don't like to show that they are being treated badly. They have the same problems but they don't like to admit it. (P1)

This could also be seen in the articulations of several interviewees on how people of colour rush too quickly to charges of racism:

I think the first time I said something in the class was defending Caucasians. I think we had read a couple of articles and I have a problem with anybody using racism as a crutch. I think that people who are visible minorities can use it as a crutch and I think that [] are the majority who use it as a crutch, I know that a lot of my friends who are coloured, it's simply a bad habit to them. Or something doesn't go their way, they'll often say "oh it must have been because so and so was prejudiced" and I don't agree with that. Maybe it was [racism], but at the same time... , I think that when something like that happens, ... instead of assuming that it was an outside factor, look at what you could have done better, maybe there was a mistake you made. (P5)

Feagin & Sikes (1994) have shown how in spite of the commonly held belief that race is used as a "crutch" by people of colour, most Black Americans prefer to see negative action against them as rooted in some factor besides colour (p.276). This sentiment was articulated by one of my interviewees:

Sometimes, looking back I may say, oh, that could have been discrimination. ... I don't tend to assume that the first reason is that, I tend to think that someone doesn't like me personally or I've said something wrong. ... It has always been, for me, like the second or third choice. (P2)

As Freire has remarked, sometimes people on the lower end of the power continuum prefer the "security of conformity with their state of unfreedom" (1970 : 30). Although in these cases the participants are aware of the racialized dynamics in the encounters they face, they prefer to see it differently. This also secures hegemony because the dominant groups treatment of the marginalized groups are behaviours that are rationalized and excused.

5.4 Resistance

As a critical inquiry, the aim of this study is to encourage structural changes to systems that constrain members of marginalized groups. As such, resistance is a key concept. The following section looks at various ways the interviewees used their power instrumentally as a way to resist or make changes to the dominant structures. Allahaar's definition of resistance is "any action, whether physical, verbal or psychological, and whether individual or collective, that seeks to undo the negative consequences of being categorized for racial reasons" (1998: 338). Examples of resistance emerged as an overarching theme in the interviews I conducted. The most compelling data of the ways the interviewees challenged the system they were in came out in their descriptions of some direct encounters with racism in the B. Ed program and as first year teachers. What became clear in their stories of being targets of racism was that not every situation required the same reaction. In some situations, they actively confronted the barriers they faced, while in others, they preferred passive forms of resistance.

It is important to make a distinction here between the complicity I categorized as a coping mechanism in the previous section and what I mean by passive resistance. Complicity occurs when the target of racism is resigned to, accepts or adopts the belief systems that subordinate him/her as a way to survive as a racist subject. However, the absence of active confrontation is not necessarily a sign of complicity and can also be a form of resistance. The

important difference between two seemingly similar responses is that passive resistance, what I refer to here as "strategic silence", involves the careful, personal and/or political decision not to react in certain contexts for various reasons, while complicity is exhibited in an unreflexive and uncritical way. In the following section I have identified two sub-themes in the participants' narratives on negotiations with different types of resistance: efforts to actively challenge the system, and strategically choosing to remain silent.

5.4.1 Speaking Out

What has been remarked on in many anti-racist studies is how people of colour see it as their task to educate Whites about racism and to make them aware of the inconsistencies in the myth of equality (Solomon 1997; Feagin & Sikes, 1994). While this burden of responsibility that people of colour take on and White people expect needs to be questioned, I place it under the heading of resistance because the people I interviewed seemed to get a sense of accomplishment from these exchanges. Their motivation to contribute to class discussions and their reactions to specific instances of racial bias was to help right some of the wrongs of racist thinking.

One of most obvious and most common ways the people I interviewed challenged the racist ideology was to speak out in class discussions. Sometimes they were looked upon as experts and were expected to educate others about difference. As one person put it, they had the feeling that they always had to "be ready to defend something":

In the classroom, if something came up because of the course content, like let's say social studies, I was asked a lot of questions because of my background. (P3)

A few of them said they sometimes “volunteered” information in the form of personal disclosure to enlighten their peers. Several said they liked the *Anti-racism* and *Schooling in Society* classes because the course content allowed for discussion of race matters that were important to them. Some spoke of times when they felt obliged to react to what was being said:

The majority of the [student] teachers are White, so they should know the problems people are facing. You know, racism and multiculturalism and colour, and that it's in the classroom. If you want to teach everybody alike, you should know this. (P1)

One participant challenged the myth of lowered standards of the Access program to educate her White peers.

They just heard the Access program, and they just thought well you check the box, and you're Access, you're in. So when they found out, well it's exactly the same. When you let them know the essay you had to write, then they were like “oh wow it's the same thing for everybody”. (P6)

As a first year teacher in a suburban school at the time of the interview, one participant gave a very rich description of an experience with racism s/he encountered in the classroom. Explaining that her/his presence as a “visible minority” teacher caused a stir in the predominantly White community s/he was in, s/he said that students and parents alike murmured such things as “is s/he Canadian blood?”, and “where is s/he from?” S/he talked about a specific incident where a ten year old student in her/his class made derogatory gestures and remarks about her/his origins. The struggle s/he describes in determining

how to respond professionally while feeling personally violated by the boy's actions offer a poignant example of some of the daily struggles faced by teachers of colour:

So when he was looking at me saying "I'm really sorry, I didn't know what it meant," I looked at him, and I said [to myself], I was going to let it go, and I said [to myself], NO! ... [I said to him] " You don't know who I am and where I am from. In case you hadn't noticed, I do look different!"
(P6)

The dilemma s/he faces in not knowing how to respond is further compounded by the concern that as a teacher of colour, her/his motives for reprimanding him would be questioned, even by the students.

I felt like I had to justify sending him to the office with the fact that he was just crazy [misbehaving] that whole day. And I said it really loud to the class: this is what he did and he shouldn't have done that and that's why he's going to the office. Because I didn't want them to say well that's the only reason he got sent to the office, which is silly because I shouldn't have to answer to them. (P6)

The values of fairness and professionalism in the teaching profession get convoluted in situations where the teacher her/himself is the target of the racism. Suddenly the teacher of colour is in the extremely difficult situation of, on the one hand, having the responsibility of responding to a student's inappropriate behaviour, yet on the other, of doubting her/himself because they happen to be the targets of the racist behaviour. Further along in the telling of this incident this participant told of how s/he used this incident to open up a dialogue on race, multiculturalism and difference with this student and the other students in her class.

... and I just kind of turned it around and brought it back to him, and I

said, you can ask me questions, I won't feel bad. ... I ask you questions about yourself all the time. (P6)

Giving the students the opportunity to ask questions about her/his background served to demystify and diffuse the racial tensions in the classroom.

Furthermore, s/he strategically used the multiculturalism discourse to reinforce a position as Canadian, and therefore reinstated some respect and authority from the students:

Now I think it's going to stop because I basically told all of them: " I'm a lot more Canadian than you are." I said, "well how many languages do you speak?" and this was actually right after Trudeau passed away, so it kind of worked out nicely. (P6)

Despite the psychological and emotional distress that was suffered by this teacher in this situation, the way s/he responded to it was a form of resistance because by using the incident as a pedagogical moment to educate students, the teacher shifted her/himself from the position of victim of racism to one of reclaiming power.

5.4.2 Strategic Silence

As seen above, a theme throughout many discussions of responding to everyday racism in my interviews was the struggle to find the best response. The interviewees described their discomfort and uncertainty with not knowing *how* to react in certain racist encounters. They struggled between the need to take care of themselves and the need to confront the racism they experienced. Underlying this balancing act was the knowledge that confronting or challenging racism involved the risk of being seen as someone trying to promote a self-

serving agenda:

And I have to be so careful too, because even if you want to address things, maybe this is the tendency that all minorities have, you don't want to seem self-serving. you don't want to say let's talk about self esteem and accepting differences, and have people look at you and go "well the only reason s/he wants to do it is ... [because s/he is a visible minority]." (P6)

The following interviewee described experiences in field placement with an associate teacher. Although family members urged her/him to quit the program because of the distress this situation was causing, the student refused to give up a "future " and decided instead to endure this person's racism:

The way s/he spoke to me, it was like in the ancient world when you talk to your slaves, and servants, you talk to them in a tone, it was like that. [Family members] told me don't go there, give it up. But I was not going to give up, at any cost. (P1)

Although s/he didn't actively confront the situation, the refusal to give up was a form of resistance by not letting it jeopardize her/his success in the program.

Often, participants managed the question of confronting versus "letting it go" by gauging their emotional safety and comfort levels in the specific contexts they were in. Whether it was a question of disclosing their identity as Access students or simply challenging a problematic remark, important factors that helped them determine whether or not to say anything had to do with the size and racial composition of the group, and the feeling that they were going to be "heard":

I would never go around telling people I got in through Access. ... Because of political reasons too. ... I don't want anyone to get into that kind of discussion with me you know about "that's not right and blah blah blah" you know? ... Not so much disagree with me getting into the

program, but more of "oh that's wrong, my friend they tried to get in and they can't get in because they're White" and stuff like that. I didn't want to get into anything like that. (P4)

I totally, totally, I didn't feel at ease to express my opinions because the majority were White. However much you want to tell them about being a multicultural person, they have not lived it so its very hard for them to understand and they become very critical. ... I never spoke up much when we were talking about multiculturalism... I didn't want to go into my personal life because I didn't know these people. I didn't feel comfortable but in little groups, maybe I might feel a little more at ease... when you are with a smaller group of people, it makes you feel more at ease, to really say what you feel and feel that it would to be less criticised. (P2)

They [students] wanted to know [about my background] but, they were just talking and just being their regular selves and I looked at them and I said "You know what, I don't want to tell you." I said, "you're not respecting me, I'm not comfortable." (P6)

The decision to remain "strategically silent" wasn't always an easy one.

Another incident where a participant was faced with the difficult situation of confronting a student's racism also illustrates the guilt and the second guessing involved in not knowing if confrontation is called for, yet feeling like it is their responsibility to do so:

There was one girl .. s/he said something under her breath,... so I mentioned this to one of the teachers and I decided I would have let it go... I probably should have addressed it. I really should of talked to her afterwards,... even if she didn't mean anything by it, which I think she didn't, I should have said it's inappropriate but I didn't. I probably should have. (P5)

In another situation, a participant spoke about how s/he regularly challenged racist commentary coming from a course instructor in the program until, after a while, the instructor stopped calling on her/him to speak. At that point, s/he retreated to strategic silence in an effort to conserve her/his energy because as s/he put it "there was no point" in trying to participate by raising her

hand.

I didn't see it as my responsibility, I didn't have the energy. Like I wasn't going to put the energy there, because I said I got to balance myself and,... I'm going to take care of me. I wasn't going to put the energy. I really wasn't into the problem of that attitude because you have to survive and changing or discussing with people that, they may not want to hear you. (P2)

What these findings show is that although the participants did not actively challenge certain situations they came across, their decisions not to react were based on conscious attempts to reduce harm to themselves. Their rationales for making decisions to remain silent were sometimes tied to practical concerns like not jeopardizing their success in the program. Strategic silence was also used in situations where confrontation was perceived to increase their vulnerability. Other times confrontations were avoided because they were judged to be a waste of their energy. Despite the varied contexts, it is significant that in all of the examples they recounted, the participants were aware of injustices the situations held for them.

5.4.3 Making a Difference.

Feagin & Sikes (1994) have explored the way people of colour consume personal energy in their determined efforts to succeed in the face of racism. Examples of over-achieving to prove their worth in the face of the dominant culture's suspicions of their ability and competence appeared in the narratives of the people I interviewed. A common way to counter the idea that they weren't good enough to be in the program was to work hard to "prove" themselves.

Like if someone were to have any doubt that I could do something because I'm [a minority], you know then I would make that extra effort to prove them wrong. (P4)

Initially I was feeling bad, then I realized, well I guess that means I've got something to prove to them. (P6)

Although the detrimental effects of the pressure to prove themselves is evident, this approach is also a form of resistance. It seemed that despite the cost, the benefit of knowing they had the ability to succeed, if not excel, seemed deeply satisfying to the people interviewed. Furthermore, this determination to succeed was a way participants challenged discourses of deficit. They viewed their success as evidence to counter racialized notions about the abilities of people of colour.

Another significant example of resistance articulated by participants was the value they placed on the contributions they would make as teachers. All the research participants reported that they believed their presence in the school system would be significant for students of colour. As such, their entry into the field of teaching was a political attempt to shift the power scales by cultivating a strong self-image for children.

Examples ranged from practical ways of helping students such as the ability to communicate with them in their first language, to the positive way they thought it made students feel to have a teacher who is also a minority. In some cases they gave examples of students connecting to them because they were of the same specific background and talked about the impact this had on students:

There was this one kid and he's [] too and he didn't know I was and when they asked and I said my parents are from the [], he was just

happy, he was really happy. It was kind of nice that he could have that feeling just for a little bit. (P4)

For example, especially with [specific ethnic background] students, they'll always ask, "where are you from?", "Do you speak [specific language]?" I think they can identify with you a little bit. (P5)

In many cases they stated that they believed they were appreciated by minority students regardless of specific race and ethnic origins.

I found most of the [visible minority] students are free to talk to you to ask questions from you, like they felt that 'you are our kind'. ... they like to see a teacher who is a visible minority and they were surprised that there are people like us that could be teachers. (P1)

There was one kid who asked me "where do you come from?" ... so they take an interest in that, and I think seeing a "visible minority" in a role of authority, it just opens them up to respect and seeing that anyone can do anything. (P4)

I had one kid in the new course, he'd just moved over from [] a few months ago and I think he's having a pretty tough time adjusting to a new society. So he came up to me and he talked about that for a bit, – and I don't know for sure but I think that I'm from [], or at least, [that I'm] a minority puts him at ease a little bit, so in that respect it has an impact. (P5)

If we say "you can be anything you want", [and] you don't see anybody [like you] doing what you want to do, maybe you are going to think that you can't do it. (P6)

For some of the participants who were educated in Canadian schools, the significance of their presence in the system was connected to the absence of people they could identify with when they were in school:

... I said that to my mom recently. I said it would have been nice to have an [visible minority] teacher. It would have been nice to have it not just for math, because in universities if you look at the Faculty of Science or computers you'll have Asians, but I mean I've never had an Asian teacher for English or for French or for social sciences, or for history. And I thought that it would have been nice. ... What always surprised me,

even when I was a student, was not to see more visible minority teachers... even as a student teacher at the schools I was at where there was quite a few minority students. (P6)

As the findings have demonstrated, fundamental to the understanding of how marginalised people cope within dominant culture are the ways in which the consequences of racism are resisted by those subjected to them. According to hooks, marginalised people "are faced with the peculiar dilemma of developing strategies that draw attention to one's plight in a way that will merit regard and consideration without reinscribing a paradigm of victimization" (1995:58). Furthermore, Allahar points out that those who might offer resistance to racism do not necessarily have a critical understanding of the phenomenon, nor have they necessarily developed an alternative vision of the society in question" (1998: 336). What is important is how the participants' resistance, often exercised in subtle ways, show that they were not passive recipients of the dominant system. Their voluntary participation in this study can also be regarded as an act of resistance because all six of them dedicated the time to talk candidly about their experiences in the program with the hope that this might improve the situation for future Access students. The impact of the resistance exhibited by the participants thus lies in its potential for fostering action and transformative change.

5.5 Summary of findings

It is now necessary to return to the first question asked at the beginning of this study: how are people of colour admitted into a teacher education

formations of merit, deficit, and multiculturalism? These findings show that admission through the Access program creates a strain on the energy and psyche of people of colour. While it acknowledges that barriers exist for minorities, the rhetoric of egalitarianism impedes Access students' ability to feel comfortable with their admission through affirmative action. Although generalizations are not possible with this type of research, it is important to note that the findings of this thesis are consistent with those of other studies addressing the experiences of Access students (James 1997) which indicate that Access-admitted students continually struggle with issues of assumed deficits. Consequently, as has been shown, people of colour admitted through preferential policies feel that they have difficulty in establishing their presence as legitimate participants. Their 'questionable' presence is further exacerbated by the everyday reality of racism they feel they experience as members of visible minority groups.

The second question put forth by this study is: what political and pedagogical practices are utilized by Access-admitted student teachers of colour in managing their presence in the educational system within the tensions surrounding race-based preferential admissions programs? The findings show a range of creative strategies used to manage their tenuous positioning. Most notable is the discretionary character exhibited by the study's participants in difficult encounters with racism. Their narratives reveal how they continuously have to negotiate and re-establish their relative positions within power structures.

Understanding, coping and resisting their positioning required a combination of both racist and anti-racist discourses that overlapped and interacted with each other. On the one hand, some of them subscribed to racist paradigms through assimilation, complicity and depoliticized notions of multicultural difference. On the other hand anti-racism was being practised through passive and active forms of resistance. This contradiction has been described by Freire (1970) as a duality shaped by internalizing the consciousness of the oppressor yet at the same time rejecting it. Consequently, conflict, according to Freire, lies in the choice between "being wholly themselves or being divided; between human solidarity and alienation; between speaking out or being silent" (1970:30). Calliste & Dei (2000) offer a similar understanding of the challenge of conceptualizing transformative possibilities that transcend dominant discourses. They write: "It would seem that these "slippages" between dominant and alternative discourses indicate important contradictions or tensions that emerge as significant indicators of the negotiation of power and knowledge" (14).

Freire asks: how can the oppressed participate in developing the pedagogy of their liberation? The motivating force for liberating action, he suggests, is to perceive the oppressive situation as one that can be transformed. The participant's desire to teach is in itself a profound example of participation in transforming oppressive structures. Since teaching itself is considered a political act (Apple 1999), feelings of empowerment were evident in how the participants see their presence in the teaching profession as hope

that things can change. Building on numerous historical examples of critical pedagogy, then, this study demonstrates how groups have sought to use education as a means to empower themselves and others, in this case by becoming teachers.

6. FUTURE DIRECTIONS

Through this investigation it becomes clear that attempts to increase the representation of members of minority groups does in fact contribute to transformative change. Through their presence, people of colour create spaces of critique and resistance that significantly challenge the education system. Under the existing structures, however, students of colour seem to bear the burden of the goal of increased representation. Feelings of shame and self doubt are but a few of the difficulties associated with the decision to apply through the Access policy. Furthermore, as seen in this study and numerous others, students of colour feel that they are perceived as deficient by the dominant group. For students of colour admitted through affirmative action, this sense of inferiority is conflated with uncertainties associated with questions of merit and legitimate entry.

The objective then, is to ask how Access entry policies can continue to increase the representation of members of minority groups while minimizing the negative impact associated with affirmative action policies. For such measures to be effective, students admitted through them have to feel supported, empowered, and affirmed. The solution is not to merely integrate them into the existing structures, but to transform those structures (Freire 1970).

As indicated by this study, one of the most significant ways people of colour felt supported was through the presence of other minorities in the program. Thus, facilitation of the participation of students of colour requires some consideration of a 'critical mass' to reduce the potential for people of

colour to feel isolated or marginalized.

Furthermore, the inclusion of members of marginalized groups has structural implications not just at the entry level but in terms of an ongoing and in depth commitment to anti-racism in education. Active questioning of how discourses of deficit and meritocracy continue to hinder the potential of minority students needs to be directly addressed through the teacher education curriculum. Student teachers of colour also need to be provided with pedagogical tools and strategies that enable them to deal with the individual and institutional racism they will be confronting as minority teachers in the school system.

Since this investigation focussed on experiences of student teachers who all successfully completed the Teacher Education program, the issue of minority teacher attrition was not addressed. Research is needed to identify tangible barriers to participation that often lead Access-admitted student teachers to fail or drop out of the program. Other issues raised by this investigation as areas for future research include questions of how successful participation in educational institutions requires the complicity of teachers of colour with the hegemonic systems that marginalise them. Research that focuses specifically on Access students experiences in terms of gender and class may help to illuminate the significance of such variables on the racialization they experience. Moreover, research is needed to examine how relative privilege based on social locations of socio-economic class, gender, as well as sexuality, and/or (dis)ability affect the Access-admitted students ability to resist or challenge the

structures they are in.

In conclusion, of the many challenges educational systems face in providing equitable opportunities for all Canadians, this study suggests that the basis lies in enhancing the sense of self worth in people and valuing their abilities, and contributions.

References:

Alladin, I. (1996). Racism in Canadian Schools. Toronto: Harcourt Brace Canada.

Allahar, A. (1998). Race and racism: strategies of resistance. In V. Satzewich (Ed.) Racism and Social Inequality in Canada- Concepts, Controversies and Strategies of Resistance (pp 335 -354). Toronto: Thompson Educational Publishing.

Apple, M. (1999). Power, Meaning & Identity. Essays in Critical Education Studies. New York: Peter Lang Publishing.

Bakhtin, M. (1981). The dialogic imagination. Austin, TC: :University of Texas Press.

Barman, J. (1995). Schooled for inequality: the education of British Columbia Aboriginal children. In J. Barman, N. Sutherland & J.D. Wilson (Eds.), Children, Teachers and Schools in the history of British Columbia (pp 57-80). Calgary: Delselig Enterprises.

Barton, W., Watkins, H., M., & Jarjoura, R. (1997), Youths and communities: Toward Comprehensive Strategies for Youth Development. Social Work, 42 (5), pp.483-493.

Birch, D.R. & Elliot, M. (1993). Towards a new conception of Teacher Education. In L. Stewin & S. McCann (Eds.), Contemporary Canadian Issues. The Canadian Mosaic (pp. 353-379). Toronto: Copp Clark Pitman Ltd.

Calliste, A., & Dei, G.J.S. (2000). Anti-racist feminism: Critical race and gender studies. In A. Calliste, A., & G.J.S. Dei (Eds) Anti-racist feminism (pp.11-18). Halifax: Fernwood Publishing.

Carr, P.R. (1995). Employment Equity for racial minorities in the teaching Profession. Multicultural Education Journal, 13, 28-42.

Carr, P.R., & Klassen, T.R. (1996) The role of racial minority teachers in Anti-racist Education. Canadian Ethnic Studies, Vol. XXVIII, 126- 138.

Cheng, M. & Soudack, A. (1994). Antiracist Education: A Literature Review. Toronto: Toronto Board of Education.

Clandinin, J.D., & Connelly, F.M. (2000) Narrative Inquiry- Experience and Story in Qualitative Research. San Francisco: Jossey- Bass Publishers.

Cohen, P. (1992). It's racism what dunnit' Hidden narratives in theories of racism. In J. Donald & A. Rattansi (Eds.) 'Race', Culture and Difference (pp. 62-103). London: Sage Publications in association with the Open University.

Corrigan, P. (1987). Race/Ethnicity/Gender/Culture: Embodying differences Educationally. An Argument. In J. Young (Ed.) Breaking the Mosaic. Ethnic Identities in Canadian Schooling. Toronto: Garamound Press.

Creswell, J. A. (1998). Qualitative Inquiry and Research Design. Choosing Among Five Traditions. Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage Publication.

Darder, A. (1995). Buscando America: The contributions of critical Latino educators to the academic development and empowerment of Latino students in the U.S. In C.E. Sleeter and P.L. McLaren (Eds.), Multicultural Education, Critical Pedagogy, and the Politics of difference (pp. 319-348). New York: State University of New York Press.

Dei, G. J. S. (1993). The challenges of anti-racist education in Canada. Canadian Ethnic Studies, XXV, 36 - 51.

Dei, G. J. S. (1996a). Anti-Racism Education Theory and Practice. Halifax: Fernwood Publishing.

Dei, G. J. S. (1996b). Black/African-Canadian students' perspectives on school racism. In M.I. Alladin (Ed.), Racism in Canadian Schools (pp. 56-61). Toronto: Harcourt Brace Canada.

Dei, G.J.S. & Calliste, A. (2000). Mapping the terrain. In G.J.S. Dei, & A Calliste (Eds) Power, Knowledge and Anti-Racism Education: A Critical Reader (pp.11-22). Halifax: Fernwood Publishing.

Dei, G. J.S., James, I.M., Karumanchery, L.L., James-Wilson, S. & Zine. (2000). Removing the Margins- The Challenges and Possibilities of Inclusive Schooling. Toronto: Canadian Scholar's Press Inc.

Edwards, R. (1990). Connecting method and epistemology: A White woman interviewing Black women. Women's Studies International Forum. 13 (5), 477-490.

Feagin, J. R., & Sikes, M.P. (1994). Living With Racism - The Black Middle-Class Experience. Boston: Beacon Press.

Feinberg, W. (1996). Affirmative Action and beyond: A case for a backward-looking gender- and race-based policy. Teachers College Record, 97 (3), 362-399.

Fine, M. (1997). Witnessing Whiteness. In M. Fine, L. Weis, L. Powell & L. M Wong (Eds.) Off White: Readings on Race, Power, and Society. (pp. 158-166). New York & London: Routledge.

Freire, P. (1970) Pedagogy of the Oppressed. New York: Herden and Herden.

Friesen, J.W. (1993). Implications of ethnicity for teaching. In L. Stewin & S. McCann (Eds.), Contemporary Canadian Issues, The Canadian Mosaic (pp 83-96). Toronto: Copp Clark Pitman Ltd.

Fuss, D. (1989). Essentially Speaking: Feminism, Nature and Difference. New York: Routledge.

Gaetner, S., Dovidio, J., Banker, B., Rust., m., Nier, J., Mottola, G., & Ward, C. (1997). Does white racism necessarily mean antiblackness? Aversive racism and prowhiteness. In M. Fine, L. Weis, L. Powell & L. M Wong (Eds.) Off White: Readings on Race, Power, and Society. (pp. 158-166). New York & London: Routledge.

Gagné, A. (1996). Success at Contact : The argument for alternative schools for at-risk youth. Alberta Journal of Educational Research, 42 (3), pp. 306-324.

Gay, G. (1995). Mirror images on common issues: Parallels between Multicultural Education and Critical Pedagogy. In C.E. Sleeter and P.L. McLaren (Eds.), Multicultural Education, Critical Pedagogy, and the Politics of difference (pp. 155-190). New York: State University of New York Press.

Gilroy, P. (1992). The end of antiracism. In J. Donald & A. Rattansi (Eds.) 'Race', Culture and Difference (pp. 49-61). London: Sage Publications in association with the Open University.

Goldberg, D. T. (1993). Racist Culture. Philosophy and the Politics of Meaning. Cambridge: Blackwell.

Guba, E. G. & Lincoln, Y. S. (1994). Competing paradigms in qualitative research. In N.K. Denzin, & Y.S. Lincoln (Eds.), Handbook of Qualitative Research (pp. 105-117). Thousand Oaks: Sage.

Guinier, L. (1998, April 23). An Equal Chance. New York Times.

Haig-Brown, C. (1988). Resistance and Renewal: Surviving the Indian Residential School. Vancouver: Tillacum Library.

Hall, S. (1992). New ethnicities. In J. Donald & A. Rattansi (Eds.) 'Race' Culture and Difference (pp. 252-259). London: Sage Publications in association with the Open University.

Haymes, S. (1995). White culture and the politics of racial difference: Implications for multiculturalism. In C.E. Sleeter and P. McLaren (Eds.) Multicultural Education, Critical Pedagogy, and the Politics of Difference. (pp. 105-128). New York: State University of New York Press.

Heilman, M.E., Block, C. & Lucas, J. (1992). Presumed incompetent? Stigmatization and affirmative action efforts. Journal of Applied Psychology, 77, 536-544.

Henry, F., Tator, C., Mattis, W., & Rees, T. (2000). The Colour of Democracy—Racism in Canadian Society (2nd ed.). Toronto: Harcourt Brace & Company Canada.

Henry, F., Tator, C. (1994). The Ideology of racism -'Democratic Racism'. Canadian Ethnic Studies, XXVI, 1-14.

hooks, b. (1988) Talking Back. Boston MA: South End Press.

hooks, b. (1995) Killing Rage, Ending Racism. New York: Henry Holt and Company.

James, C. (1995). "Reverse racism": Students' response to equity programs. Journal of Professional Studies, 3 (1), 48-54.

James, C. E. (1996). Race, culture, and identity. In C.E. James (Ed.) Perspectives on Racism and the Human Services Sector- A Case for Change (pp 15 - 35). Toronto: University of Toronto Press.

James, C. (1997). Contradictory tensions in the experiences of African Canadians in a Faculty of Education with an Access program. Canadian Journal of Education, 22, 158-174.

Javed, N. S. (1995). State-imposed multiculturalism: Social change or illusion? In C. Pizanias & J.S. Frideres (Eds.) Freedom Within the Margins - The Politics of Exclusion (pp 233-241). Calgary: Detselig Enterprises Ltd.

Jetté, C.M.P. (1996). Comments: disturbing the silence: reflections on racism and Aboriginal people. In C.E. James (Ed.) Perspectives on Racism and the Human Services Sector- A Case for Change (pp 36-44). Toronto: University of Toronto Press.

Johnson, G.M. (1997). Perceptions of the effectiveness of Interventions for At-Risk Students : A survey of inner-city school administrators. Canadian Journal of Education, 22 (4), pp.445-450.

Khayatt, D.S. (1998, November 6) . Talking Equity: Classroom Experiences. Speaker's notes from the Florence Bird Lecture, Carleton university, Ottawa.

Kincheloe, J., & McLaren, P. (1994). Rethinking critical theory and qualitative research. In Y. Lincoln & N. Denzin (Eds.). Handbook of Qualitative Research. Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage Publications.

Kirby, S. & McKenna, K. (1989). Experience, Research, Social Change: Methods from the Margins. Toronto: Garamond Press.

Kivel, P. (1996). Uprooting Racism: How White people Can Work For Racial Justice. Springfield, PA: New Society Publishers.

Ladson-Billings. G. (1995). Multicultural teacher education: Research, practice and policy. In J.A. Banks (Ed.) & C.A. McGee (Assoc. Ed.) Handbook of research on Multicultural Teacher education. New York: MacMillan Publishing.

Lieblich, A., Tuval-Mashiach. R., Zilbert, T. (1998). Narrative Research: Reading, Analysis, and Interpretation. Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage.

Lincoln, Y. S. & Guba, E.G. (1985). Naturalistic Inquiry. Beverly Hills, CA: Sage.

Lundy, J., & Lawrence, D. (1995). Equity in Access to teacher education: Issues for visible minorities and First Nations candidates. In K. A. McLeod (Ed.), Multicultural Education: The State of the Art. Studies in Canadian Heritage (pp.11-22). Winnipeg: Canadian Association of Second Language Learners.

McLaren, J.P.S. (1995). 'New Canadians' or 'Slaves of Satan?' The law and the education of Doukhobor children, 1911-1935. In J. Barman, N. Sutherland & J.D. Wilson (Eds.), Children, Teachers and Schools in the history of British Columbia, (pp. 147-160). Calgary: Delselig Enterprises.

McLaren, P.L. (1989). Life in Schools - An Introduction to Critical Pedagogy in the Foundations of Education. New York: Longman.

McWhirter, J., McWhirter, B., McWhirter, A. , & McWhirter, E. (1998). At Risk Youth: A Comprehensive Response for Counsellors, Teachers.

Psychologists, and Human Service Professionals. Pacific Grove, CA : Brooks/Cole Publishing.

Marshall, C. & Rossman G. (1995). Designing Qualitative Research. Thousand Oaks, CA.: Sage Publications.

Miles, R. (1989). Racism. London: Routledge.

Ministry of Education and Training. (1993). Antiracism and Ethnocultural Equity in School Boards: guidelines policy Development and Implementation. Toronto.

Ministry of Education and Training. (1997, September 22). New legislation ensures quality education. Government of Ontario News Release

Ministry of Citizenship. (1999, December 9). Supreme Court gives Final Word On Job Quotas. Government of Ontario News Release.

Montecinos, C. (1995). Multicultural Teacher Education for a Culturally Diverse Teaching Force. In R. Martin, (Ed.). Practising What We Teach – Confronting Diversity in Teacher Education. New York: State University of New York Press.

Mujawamariya, D. (1998). Les minorités visibles face à la pratique d'enseignement: leçons à tirer d'expériences d'étudiants-maîtres dans un contexte francophone minoritaire. In Collection Actes de Colloque de l'AQUFOM. Montreal: Les publications de la faculté des sciences de l'éducation.

Mujawamariya, D. (in press). Associate teachers facing integration of visible minorities into the teaching profession in francophone Ontario. Canadian Ethnic Studies.

Nixon-Ponder, S., (1998). Teens and Schools: Who is falling through the cracks and why. In J.S. Epstein., ed. Youth Culture: Identity in a postmodern world. Malden, MA: Blackwell Publishers. pp. 56-73.

Noivo, E. (1998). Neither "Ethnic Heroes" nor "Racial Villains": Inter-minority group racism. In V. Satzewich (Ed.) Racism and Social Inequality in Canada- Concepts, Controversies and Strategies of Resistance (pp 223 - 242). Toronto: Thompson Educational Publishing.

Norton, J.R. & Fox, R.E. (1997). The change equation: Capitalizing on diversity for effective organizational change. Washington DC: American Psychological Association.

Omi, M. & Winant, H. (1993). On the theoretical Concept of Race. In C. McCarthy & W. Crichlow (Eds.) Race Identity and Representation in Education (pp. 3-10). New York & London: Routledge.

OUAC - Ontario Universities Application Centre. (1999). Teacher Education Application Service. Guelph, Ontario.

Pauls, S. (1996). Racism and Native schooling: A historical perspective. In M.I. Alladin (Ed.), Racism in Canadian Schools (pp. 22-40). Toronto: Harcourt Brace Canada.

Phillips, E.N. (1995). Multicultural education beyond the classroom. In C.E. Sleeter and P. McLaren (Eds.) Multicultural Education, Critical Pedagogy, and the Politics of Difference New York: State University of New York Press, 1995), 105-128.

Ponterotto, J. G. (1990). Racial/Ethnic minority and women students in Higher education: a status report. In J.G. Ponterotto, D.E. Lewis, & R. Bullington (Eds.), Affirmative Action on Campus (pp 45 -59). San Francisco: Jossey Bass Inc.

Powell, L. (1997). The Achievement (K)not: Whiteness and "Black Underachievement". In M. Fine, L. Weis, L. Powell & L. M Wong (Eds.) Off White: Readings on Race, Power, and Society. (pp. 4-12). New York & London: Routledge.

Prager, J. (1986). Merit and qualifications: Contested social meanings and their impact on affirmative action. In M.W. Combs & J Gruhl (Eds.), Affirmative action: Theory, analysis, and prospects (pp.21-43). Jefferson, N.C.:McFarland.

Putnam, S., Malia, J., & Streagle, S. (1997). The Real World: Teenage high school leavers speak out about alcohol, other drugs, and life problems. In R. Kronick (Ed.) At Risk Youth: Theory, practice, reform,. New York & London: Garland Publishing.

Raskin, C. (1997). Canada. In J Hodges-Aeberhard & C. Raskin (Eds.), Affirmative Action in the employment of ethnic minorities and persons with disabilities (pp. 7-28). Geneva: International Labour Office.

Rattansi, A. (1992). Changing the subject? Racism, culture and education. In J. Donald & A. Rattansi (Eds.) 'Race', Culture and Difference (pp. 11-48). London: Sage Publications in association with the Open University.

Rattansi, A. (1994). 'Western' racisms, ethnicities and identities in a 'postmodern' frame. In A. Rattansi & S. Westwood (Eds.) Racism, Modernity & Identity (pp. 15-86). Cambridge: Polity Press.

Reissman, C. K. (1993). Narrative Analysis. Newbury Park, CA: Sage Publications

Rizvi, F. (1993). Children and the Grammar of popular racism. In C. McCarthy & W. Crichlow (Eds.) Race Identity and Representation in Education (pp. 126-139). New York & London: Routledge.

Roman, L. & Stanley, T. (1997). Empires, emigrés and aliens: Young people's negotiations of official and popular racisms in Canada. In L. Roman & L. Eyre (Eds.) Dangerous Territories: Struggles for Equality and Difference in Education (205-231). New York and London: Routledge.

Said, E. W. (1978). Orientalism. New York: Vintage Books.

Satzewich, V. (1998). Race, racism and racialization: Contested concepts. In V. Satzewich (Ed.) Racism and Social Inequality in Canada- Concepts, Controversies and Strategies of Resistance (pp 25 - 45). Toronto: Thompson Educational Publishing.

Schmitt, R. (1996). Racism and objectification: reflections on themes from Fanon. In L.R. Gordon, T.D. Sharpley-Whiting, & R.T. White (Eds.) Fanon: A Critical Reader (pp. 35 -52). Cambridge, MA: Blackwell Publishers.

Sleeter, C.E. (1993). How white teachers construct race. In C. McCarthy & W. Crichlow (Eds.), Race Identity and Representation in Education (pp.157-171). New York and London: Routledge.

Sleeter, C. E. (1995). Reflections on my use of Multicultural and Critical Pedagogy when students are white. In C.E. Sleeter and P.L. McLaren (Eds.), Multicultural Education, Critical Pedagogy, and the Politics of difference (pp. 415-437). New York: State University of New York Press.

Sleeter, C. E. & McLaren P.L. (1995). Introduction: Exploring connections to build a critical multiculturalism. In C.E. Sleeter and P.L. McLaren (Eds.), Multicultural Education, Critical Pedagogy, and the Politics of difference (pp. 5-33). New York: State University of New York Press.

Solomon, R. P. (1996). Creating an opportunity structure for Blacks and other teachers of colour. In K. S. Brathwaite & C.E. James (Eds.), Educating African Canadians (pp. 309-330). Toronto: James Lorimer & Company.

Solomon, R. P. (1997). Race, role modelling, and representation in Teacher education. Canadian Journal of Education, v22 p345-410.

Solomon, R.P. & Levine-Rasky, C. (1996). Transforming Teacher Education for an Antiracism Pedagogy. CRSA/RCSA, 33.3. 337-359.

Spivak, G.C. (1993). Outside in the Teaching Machine. New York: Routledge

Stake, R. E. (1995). The Art of Case Study Research. Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage.

Stanley, T. J. (1995). White supremacy and the rhetoric of educational indoctrination: A Canadian case study. In J. Barman, N. Sutherland & J.D. Wilson (Eds.), Children, Teachers and Schools in the history of British Columbia, (p.p 39-56). Calgary: Detselig Enterprises.

Stephenson, C. (1996). The nuts and bolts of employment equity: a quick primer for social service agencies. In C.E. James (Ed.) Perspectives on Racism and the Human Services Sector- A Case for Change (pp 231-243). Toronto: University of Toronto Press

Stewart, D.W. & Shamdasani, P.N. (1990). Focus Groups--Theory and Practice. Newbury Park, CA: Sage Publications.

Synnott, A. & Howes, D. (1996). Canada's visible minorities: Identity and representation. In V. Amit-Talai & C. Knowles (Eds.) Re-Situating Identities - The Politics of Race, Ethnicity, and Culture (pp137-160). Peterborough, ON.: Broadview Press.

Talbert-Johnson, C. & Tillman, B. (1999). Perspectives on colour in Teacher Education programs: Prominent issues. Journal of Teacher Education, 50, 200-208.

Taylor, M.C. (1995). Employment Equity for Women. In C. Reynolds & B. Young (Eds.) Women and Leadership in Canadian Education. Calgary: Detsilig Enterprises Ltd.

Taylor, M.C. (1994). Impact of affirmative action on beneficiary groups: Evidence from the 1990 general social survey. Basic and Applied Social Psychology, 15, 143-178.

Thiessen, D., Bascia, N., & Goodson, I (Eds.). (1996). Making a Difference About Difference: The Lives and Careers of Racial Minority Immigrant Teachers. Toronto: Remtel/ Garamound Press.

Tierney, W. G. (1997). The Parameters of Affirmative Action: Equity and Excellence in the Academy. Review of Educational Research: Vol. 67, No. 2, 165-196.

University of Ottawa. (1999). Teacher Education Program (Anglophone Sector) Notes To Applicants. Ottawa, Ontario.

Winks, R. (1971). The Blacks in Canada: A History. Montreal: McGill-Queen's University Press.

[APPENDIX A]

Gada Mahrouse
M.A. Candidate

Call for volunteers...

Who I am:

I am a graduate student enrolled in the MA program in the Faculty of Education.

What I'm doing:

I will be conducting research on the topic of the Access Admissions policy of the Teacher Education program. The main purpose of this research is to explore the experiences of students who have been admitted through the Access admission program.

Who can participate:

You can volunteer if you were admitted into the B Ed. program as a "visible minority" or an "Aboriginal" applicant.

What will be expected of you:

I will ask you to describe experiences and/or discuss your perceptions of the Access program. If you wish to participate and if you are selected, you will be asked to participate in:

- 1) an individual oral interview (60 - 90 minutes.)
- 2) the completion of a questionnaire (60 - 90 minutes.)
- 3) a focus group interview [60-90 minutes.) **OPTIONAL.**

The average amount of time you will be committing to this project will range between 3-5 hours. The oral interviews will be tape recorded and later transcribed.

Your interest and/or participation in this project will be kept strictly confidential.

Where and when:

The individual interview can take place at a location most convenient to you. The focus group interviews will be held at a central location that is convenient for the participants. i.e. Ottawa University or local community centre. The interviews will be conducted during the months of July, August and September 2000.

How to contact me:

If you wish to find out more about the study, or to volunteer, please contact me at gada@ottawa.com or at 233-1785.

[APPENDIX B]

INTERVIEW PROTOCOL

1. Have you ever experienced racism or exclusion based on your racial/cultural identity, gender, and/or class? If so, can you give me examples.
2. Did you apply for admission into the Teacher Education program through the Access program?
3. Tell me about how you made the decision to apply through the Access initiative (filling out self-identification form.)
4. What significant comments have you heard your peers make with regards to the presence of Access admitted students in the program?
5. Do you think your peers are aware that you were admitted through Access? Why or why not?
6. Has being admitted through the Access policy affected your self-perception, if so how?
7. After going through the program as an Access student, would you encourage others to apply through the policy?
8. Tell me about a significant incident that you experienced in the B.Ed. program as an Access student.
9. In your opinion, should the Access program be continued? Why/why not?

[APPENDIX C]

Questionnaire

All information collected through this questionnaire will remain confidential.

Complete and Return by November 15, 2000.

Feel free to give as much detail as you would like.

Once completed, you can e-mail me your responses at: gada@ottawa.com or mail them to me at:
Gada Mahrouse
1149 Shillington Ave. Unit 1
Ottawa, ON.
K1Z 7Z3

A *Personal Information*

1. How old are you?
2. Please indicate the racial/cultural/ethnic groups you belong to (including ancestral origins, religious groups, birthplace, and where raised as a child.)
3. Please comment on your relationship, family status - (single, married, living with a partner, children, etc.):
4. Comment on your current social class, and the social class you were raised in:
5. What language do you speak? What is your mother tongue?

B *Experiences with Access*

- 6 . Why did you want to become a teacher?
7. Did your age, social class, current relationship/family status have anything to do with your decision to pursue teaching?
8. Did gender have anything to do with your decision to pursue teaching?
9. Did race have anything to do with your decision to pursue teaching?
10. As a visible minority/Aboriginal woman/man, what are some strengths that you bring to teaching?
11. As a visible minority/Aboriginal woman/man, what are some weaknesses that you bring to teaching?
12. What are some positive experiences that you've had as a result of your Access student status?
13. What are some negative experiences that you've had as a result of your Access student status?
14. Please feel free to add, comment on any other aspect of your experiences with the Access program.



Université d'Ottawa • University of Ottawa

Faculté d'éducation

Faculty of Education

Researcher: Gada Mahrouse,
MA Candidate
Faculty of Education
University of Ottawa
gada@ottawa.com
613-722-0906,

Research Supervisor: Prof. Sharon Cook
Faculty of Education
University of Ottawa
562-5800, ext 4068
scook@uottawa.ca

Consent Form

I, _____, am interested in collaborating in the research conducted by Gada Mahrouse under the supervision of Professor Sharon Cook, Faculty of Education, University of Ottawa.

I understand that the purpose of the research is to explore the experiences of students who applied into the B. Ed. program through the Access admission Program.

My participation will consist of participating in: 1) an individual oral interview (60 - 90 minutes)
2) the completion of a questionnaire (60-90 minutes), and, if I so choose, 3) a focus group interview (60 - 90 minutes). I understand that the focus group component is **OPTIONAL**. The average amount of time I will be committing to this project will range between 3-5 hours. I understand that the interviews will be tape recorded and later transcribed. I understand that I will be asked to describe my experiences and/or discuss my perceptions of the Access program

The sessions have been scheduled for (to be determined according to participants' availability.) The individual interview will take place at (a location most convenient to the participant.) The focus group interview will be held at a central location that is convenient for most of the participants. i.e. at the University of Ottawa or at a local community centre.

I understand that the contents will be published in the MA thesis of Gada Mahrouse and may be submitted for publication in journals and/or be distributed to educational institutions.

There are no known risks associated with this study.

I have received assurance from the researcher that the information I will share will remain strictly confidential. I understand that since this activity deals with personal information, my confidentiality will be respected through the use of a pseudonym in all documentation. I also understand that I may choose to have other identifying characteristics about me concealed. i.e. age, race, ethnicity, etc.



Université d'Ottawa • University of Ottawa

Faculté d'éducation

Faculty of Education

I am free to withdraw from the project at any time, before or during an interview, refuse to participate and refuse to answer questions without prejudice.

All taped and written documentation will be labeled only with pseudonymous and will be stored where only the researcher will have access to it.

Any information requests or complaints about the ethical conduct of the project may be addressed to the Research Ethics Board of the University of Ottawa, or by calling the Protocol Officer for Ethics in Research:

**Lise Frigault,
Protocol Officer for Ethics in Research,
Office of Vice-Rector (Research)
Room 246, Tabaret Hall,
562-5800, ext 1787,
lfrigaul@uottawa.ca**

There are two copies of the consent form, one of which I may keep.

If I have any questions about the conduct of the research project, I may contact the researcher or her supervisor.

Researcher's signature: _____ Date: _____

Research Subject's signature: _____ Date: _____

I wish to receive a summary of the findings of this research which will be available in February 2001 at the following address:

