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# CURRENTS

READINGS IN RACE RELATIONS

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"THE FOURTH R?"  
RACISM AND EDUCATION

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The Urban Alliance on Race Relations is an educational agency and an advocate and intermediary for the visible minorities. It works toward encouraging better race relations, increased understanding and awareness among our multicultural, multiracial population through programmes of education directed at both the private and public sectors of the community. It is also focusing its efforts on the institutions of our society including educational systems, employment, government, media, legislation, police, social service agencies and human services, in order to reduce patterns of discrimination and inequality of opportunity which may exist within these institutions.

The work of the organization is carried out through working committees such as: Education Institutions; Legislation; Media; Law Enforcement.

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# CONTENTS

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- 2 EDITORIAL

## *PERSPECTIVES*

---

- 3 FIGHT RACISM STARTING WITH THE SCHOOL  
Esmeralda Thornhill
- 5 THE AMBIGUITIES OF MULTICULTURAL EDUCATION  
Kogila A. Moodley
- 8 EDUCATION, ETHNICITY AND RACISM: A EUROPEAN-CANADIAN PERSPECTIVE  
Chris Bagley

## *INITIATIVES*

---

- 13 EDUCATIONAL STRATEGIES TO INCREASE RACIAL TOLERANCE  
Norman Buchignani
- 20 PRINCIPLES OF ANTI-RACIST EDUCATION  
Barb Thomas
- 24 THE UNIVERSITY'S RESPONSE TO RACISM:  
York University Brenda Hanning  
Dalhousie University
- 27 SELF-DISCLOSURE: DEVELOPING AND IMPLEMENTING A RACE RELATIONS POLICY  
Teresa Gonzalez
- 30 GUIDELINES TO ASSIST IN DEALING WITH RACIAL OR ETHNIC INCIDENTS  
Dennis Des Rivieres
- 32 STREAMING: A CRITIQUE ON COMMUNITY ORGANIZING AROUND THE ISSUE  
Sharmini Fernando
- 34 THE LESSONS OF THE KEEGSTRA AFFAIR  
Alan Shefman

## *REVIEWS*

---

- 38 MULTICULTURALISM AS AN ASSIMILATIVE PLOY  
Wilson Head
- 40 BLACK STUDIES OR BLACK-WHITE STUDIES?  
Jean Augustine
- 41 HOW TO ADJUST THE EDUCATIONAL SYSTEM  
Alok Mukherjee

- 43 *LETTERS*
- 
-

# *Education For A Multicultural Society*

## *— Not Multicultural Education*

**W**E HAVE BEEN INUNDATED over the last few years with such a plethora of rhetoric, with so many differing philosophies and approaches to multiculturalism that the term no longer has any precise meaning. Amongst all this verbiage, and perhaps because of it, it seems to be difficult to find a philosophy and practice of education that not only attempts to reflect a multiracial society but also attempts to combat the effects of racism. This issue of *Currents* is an attempt to begin to remedy this failing.

There appears to be an increasing suspicion that multiculturalism, in all its confusion, may be a subtle way of appearing to give members of minority groups what they want in education, while in reality, as Brian Bullivant has suggested<sup>1</sup>, it gives them little that will enhance their life chances, because a great deal of multicultural education emphasises only life-styles, as a safe, bland and politically neutral panacea.

### **Multicultural or Anti-Racist Education?**

Is one being overly pessimistic in thinking that the multicultural education initiatives that have been pursued in this country have done little to address the structural inequalities faced by non-whites in Canada? Are they merely tinkering with educational methods and techniques while leaving unaltered the whole racist structure of the educational system. Has ethnicity masked the problem of racism and weakened the struggle against it? Has the educational system itself come to be seen as an adjustment process within a racist society and not as a force for changing the values that make that society racist?

We seem to be quite willing to talk about dress, diet and unfamiliar customs, but not about race. We are quite prepared to enjoy a pleasant international flavour to education, but we can't talk about hate, oppression, class, poverty, prejudice and discrimination.

### **Racial Equality Will Not Be Achieved Merely By the Recognition of Cultural Diversity**

Beyond all the rhetoric and platitudes, beyond the cosy, vacuous confection that multiculturalism has too often become, educators must move to more forthright commitment to an understanding and awareness, not of different life-styles, but of how to combat different life-chances that have been determined solely on the basis of race.

TIM REES

1. Brian Bullivant "The Pluralist Dilemma in Education — Six Case Studies" 1981

# Fight Racism Starting With the School! \*

Esmeralda Thornhill

Racial discrimination does exist in Canada, and, it follows at School. This sad reality is indelibly written on to the daily agenda of every Black, Asian and Native pupil who, as notes Daniel Hill, is systematically subjected to an education "based on the knowledge, the culture and the values of White and mainly urban middle class".<sup>1</sup>

This pupil is thus exposed to clearly discriminatory educational practices which, like "a multitude of tireless voices, tell him loudly and softly that he is intellectually, emotionally, physically and morally inferior".<sup>2</sup>

And so, it behooves us to take a strong stand against ever-present racism, as affirmed recently by Chief David Ahenahew of the Assembly of First Nations.

We must first recognize the existence of racism. Limiting ourselves to expressions of compassion for the victims of racism without taking a stand or making a commitment to stem it, is tantamount to skirting the problem. Limiting ourselves to feeling sorry for the victims of racism without denouncing it and seeking ways to eliminate it, is tantamount to dodging the issue. Pretending to be *colour-blind in the face of the hardships* encountered by young Asian, Native and Black youngsters, and professing not to perceive any difference in treatment, is still tantamount to side-stepping the problem.

## Racist labels

The refusal to recognize racism is part and parcel of a "wilful blindness" which also spurs us on to execute some veritable gymnastic feats of the mind, all aimed, once again, at avoiding the problem. Thus, we have run off a whole series of labels which, upon examination, turn out to be mere cover-ups for out-dated and cloying prejudices.

Expressions such as "culturally deprived", "culturally disadvantaged" and "culturally inferior" are clearly disparaging. They presuppose

that there exists only one unique code of ethics to which everyone should subscribe — that of the White middle class. The Haitian, Cree, or Vietnamese child, who obviously does not fit into this group, is perceived as being abnormal, different.

When we use the term "non-White", the underlying norm is "White". The word "immigrant" refers to certain individuals relegated to the bottom rung of our social scale. An "immigrant" is different and his difference is a stamp of inferiority.

When we speak of "minorities" or "minority groups", we are alluding to those who "violate" the norm, those who live on the fringe of true society.

The term "ethnic group" or the more familiar expression, "the Ethnics", conveys the same biased message. Each one of us comes from an identifiable ethnic group. However, we so skillfully extricate ourselves from this rather dubious and cynical classification that we only lock in those whom we deem "different" from us.

As for "Cultural Communities", that elegant, chic and trendy term, one needs must ask: who is included? Or rather, who is excluded?

In short, despite our good intentions the terms with which we describe the problems of racial discrimination embody the same discriminatory concepts and values, and legitimize the very injustices and inequalities that they are trying to eradicate. Our terminological tools need therefore to be re-evaluated and corrected.

## The role of educators

Our attitudes and our behaviour also. Up until today, have they helped to eliminate, or to reinforce racial discrimination?

And from today onwards, what will be my attitude toward the end of the afternoon, in the

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\* This article was first published by *Le Devoir*, Montréal, Canada, Friday, August 24, 1984 in a special series called: The Cultural Communities at School.

staff room, when a group of my colleagues are goofing around and exchanging racial jokes?

As a librarian, will I seek to identify those books which contain prejudices harmful to the development of a healthy self-concept in Black, Native Canadian and Asian youngsters?

As a member of my School Council, what kinds of training in Race Relations will I propose when we are planning our Professional Development days?

In my capacity as a school principal, how will I react to a sharp difference of opinion between a White teacher and a Black teacher over the work of a classic author? Will I merely label the problem as a "personality conflict"?

As a literature teacher, will I consider my professional authority flouted if a Grade XI student refuses to read Mark Twain's *Huckleberry Finn*, or objects vociferously to my use of the word "nigger"? What am I to do when one of my Black, Native Canadian, or Asian pupils hands me a letter from his parents forbidding me to subject him or her to a story such as *Les yeux bleus* (*The Blue Eyes*), or one of the *Tintin* adventures and asks me to assign him other reading matter in its stead?

On duty in the school cafeteria, will I look askance or not upon clusterings of Native Canadians, Haitians, Vietnamese, Jamaicans or Pakistanis?

What must I say to the young Third Grade Black girl who comes up to me in tears to complain that the other pupils are teasing her, are looking at her all the time, are poking fun at her, are calling her names, are excluding her from their group games, are uttering insults about her mother, are besmirching her desk with melted chocolate, are shoving her ...? Should I send her back to her seat with these words, "Don't pay them any mind, they don't mean anything?"

When a Native Canadian, Chinese or Guyanese pupil does not seem to be able to get into a work team, should I immediately conclude that this is admissible proof of his ineptness and stream him into the Remedial Class?

When Pakistani parents come crying racial discrimination, will I try to get rid of them as quickly as possible?

As a guidance counsellor, what will be my reaction in the face of the Amerindian or Trinidadian High School student, who, clearly confused, wishes to consult me concerning his future? On what path will I track him for the rest of his life?

Professor in a Faculty of Education, will I be able to justify the training we dispense to our future teachers as being the kind that will endow them with all the skills necessary in order to respond to their pupils' needs?

Federal civil servant, in charge of the funding of educational projects, what criteria should I observe, in respect to Race Relations, when grants are doled out?

Head of the monthly publications of a public or para-public agency, how will I go about contracting a study on racism? By public solicitation among members of the source communities involved? Or by automatically awarding the contract to a free-lancer who is "used to working for us?"

And, as a publisher of school material, how do I perceive my social responsibility in the field of Race Relations?

Whatever our profession — minister, civil servant, administrator, professor, building superintendent, publisher — each of us has an important role to play in the fight against racism and racial discrimination.

The public and private institutions — Ministry, School Board, School, Education Faculty, Union, Publishing House — have far weightier responsibilities to shoulder and they need must adopt and enforce strict anti-racist policies. This pre-supposes five pre-requisites:

### 1. Recognize and treat the problem

Racism does exist in our society and, it follows, in our schools. Let us stop looking for explanations that justify isolated, deviations of individual behaviour.

### 2. Wake up and be aware

It is a matter of determining the degree of personal and institutional participation which contributes to reinforcing racism. A critical assessment of attitude, behaviour and institutional practices, both individual and collective, is essential.

### 3. See and spell out racism in its true-to-life-forms

Let us not skirt the issue of racism by utilizing an incorrect vocabulary, by trying to reduce it to a problem of being "socio-economically deprived", or by minimizing it in placing racial discrimination on the same footing as discrimination based on language, religion, cultural etc.

#### 4. Guarantee an active and sustained participation of the victims at important decision-making levels

Time and time again, Native, Asian and Black Communities complain that consultations and studies are carried out, committees are set up, seminars are held, and spokesmen are named, without any involvement, direct or indirect, on their part, and even when their own interests are at stake. They wonder how policies that truly take their needs into account can be formulated?

#### 5. Be rigorously consistent

We must be consistent. The adoption of an anti-racist policy implies putting in place a mechanism that will include rules, guidelines, financial, material and human resources, committees, methods of progressive and continuous evaluation, and strategies which recognize the existence of racism and which are geared to wiping it out.

In conclusion, we must recognize that in the face of racism, collectively and individually, we have our share of responsibility to fulfill the obligations of our social contract. Every single one of our acts is determinant on helping either to reinforce or wipe out racism.

Let us take action with unshakeable determination!

*A jurist and pedagogue by training, Esmeralda Thornhill has been a Human Rights Educator with the Quebec Human Rights Commission for the past seven years.*

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# *The Ambiguities of Multicultural Education*

Kogila A. Moodley

Much of the ambiguity surrounding the policy of multiculturalism also applies to multicultural education. It incorporates notions of cultural pluralism, special needs, and more recently, anti-racism as a means to change attitudes. Underlying these is the pervasive sense of cultural harmony which overlooks the prime goals of equality of opportunity and equality of condition.

A somewhat static conception of "culture" is implicit in most views of multicultural education. Culture is seen as a set of more or less immutable characteristics, attributable to different groups of people. These are used to identify people and often produce stereotypes, contrary to intention. (Rosen, 1977). The notion of culture which the Royal Commission's Book IV (1969:11) espouses as an afterthought under the heading "The Cultural Contributions of Other Ethnic Groups" in 1969, reveals a lyrical fiction that bears little resemblance to minority reality. "Culture", the Commission waxes, "is a way of being, thinking and

feeling. It is a driving force animating a significant group of individuals united by common tongue and sharing the same customs, habits and experiences."

If one takes the public definition of the two most stigmatized ethnic minorities in Canada, Native people and "East Indians", neither of the cultural attributes fits their experience. Native people are neither united by indigenous language nor customs and habits. So-called Indo-Canadians, who arrived in Canada from four continents and as members of three world religions (Hinduism, Christianity, and Islam) and various subsects (Ismailis, Sikhs, Protestants), are even more split in the ideological lenses they use to interpret different experiences.

What unites all groups regardless of origin, is not an alleged common culture but common exposure to manifold discrimination and being an "outsider". It is this unifying experience of con-

flict with and uneasy accommodation to mainstream culture that unites the minorities. Past ideological formulas for making sense of a different social environment in precolonial America or post-colonial India offer little useful guide to coping with Canadian challenges apart from giving a sense of dignity to contrast with the low status in the country of adoption. Uncritical heritage maintenance per se can be a hindrance rather than a facilitator to meaningful survival. The cultural baggage of immigrants is continually examined for what is useful and meaningful in the new society and some aspects discarded as being culture-specific to another place and time. The outcome of this process amounts to a new ethnicity that has little in common with the reified notion that official multiculturalism intends to preserve nor is it identical with melting into a dominant mainstream.

The extension of welfare state provisions together with the much more diverse ethnic and occupational composition of immigrants since the late 1960's have created a new ethnicity in Canada. This is reflected in a much greater variety of responses on the part of newcomers and hosts alike that in turn amounts to a new Canadian cultural configuration for educational policy.

It is this dynamic aspect of culture which is everywhere visible and yet ignored. Seemingly homogeneous groups are in fact disparate, are at different stages of acculturation, are geographically dispersed, hail from different parts of the world, represent a tremendous array of regional, linguistic and religious difference. Above all they only seem unified by their goal of success in mainstream society. There are few societies which better illustrate Malinowski's argument that culture contact produces a third cultural reality for immigrants, which is neither the original nor the new host culture. (Malinowski, 1945:20-26).

The complex problem of perpetuating different cultural traditions within the school in a pluralistic configuration is evident. Foremost is the challenge to teachers as unauthentic agents of cultural transmission. Expecting teachers to communicate cultural content from highly complex cultures, without reifying, fragmenting and trivializing them to the ridiculous is not unproblematic. In many instances the value incongruence between mainstream teachers and those of other groups is a real barrier. This is not to deny the need for teachers to come to terms with their own ethnocentrism, and to have knowledge of the cultural backgrounds of their students. However,

as David Kirp (1979:132) points out, the paths to be avoided are a descent into mindless multiculturalism on the one hand and a determined effort to preserve the past for the sake of preservation.

Education about different cultures in schools need not imply a challenge to the hegemony of mainstream education. In South Africa, for example, ethnically based education has been used to limit the aspirations of subordinated groups. As Farrukh Dhondy and others have argued in Britain, about the history of the Raj in India, "Two hundred years of rule may have bred a complete understanding of Indian civilization, culture and habits, but this understanding did not alter the structure of Empire." (Stenhouse, et al, 1982:18). Similarly, Jones and Kimberley suggest that "uncritical use of multiculturalism has been seen as a way of defusing conflict and pacifying vocal members of affected minorities" (Tierney, :144).

While knowledge of other cultures is important for teachers, on balance, it is clearly less important than the concern about race issues, and how racism permeates society and the school through teacher attitudes, negative racial images, racial bias in schools and society. (Affor, 1983:9). Teacher attitudes stand out as a crucial concern. Indeed an unbiased teacher working with biased materials within an ethnocentric curriculum may well be preferable to a biased teacher working with multiethnic learning materials and teaching ethnic history. (ibid:10). An insensitive and naive use of aspects of non-Western cultures that are non-functional in Canada can just as easily undervalue and ridicule heritages out of context, and thereby further entrench their second class status. As Kirp (1982:132) maintains, "It is in fusing what deserves to endure with the contribution of the present that the educational system will most effectively respond to issues of race."

### **Competence Not Culture is the Major Concern of Minority Group Parents.**

On the whole, competence, not culture, is the major concern of minority group parents. While these are not mutually exclusive, it is foremost the mastery of modern as well as the retention of functional aspects of their own traditional knowledge to which they most aspire. The former serves their instrumental, survival needs which are a priority in the country of adoption; the latter, their expressive needs, for which they themselves assume responsibility. Whereas diverse cultural inclusion in the school curriculum is an important



device for raising self concept of minority children, the majority of minority parents see their children as educationally deprived rather than culturally deprived. In this respect, there has been a tendency to overstate low self-concept as a cause of minority children's failure (Stone, 1981; Musgrove, 1982). On the other hand, we overlook the fact that self concept emerges not only from cultural recognition but from being able to have greater mastery over one's life.

As my research among minority parents in B.C. has clearly shown, there is a preference for competence which overrides a concern for heritage. What most minority parents want for their children is not condescending teaching of fragmented, diluted versions of their culture, taught second hand by a non-authentic group member. They expect committed, demanding teaching aimed at mastery of the basic skills that are required to survive and succeed in the new home country. In many instances this was the prime reason for leaving the country of origin. Musgrove articulates a similar view for minorities in Britain. "What 'other cultures' want from us many would see as most worthy, distinguished, and indeed central in our educational tradition (though perhaps a little old-fashioned) — high moral teaching and good learning: a sense of values and a strenuous disciplined pursuit of knowledge ... The arguments are educational, the imperialism pedagogic." (Musgrove, 1982:180).

An example of this phenomenon is a B.C. school which established an enrichment program for Native Indian pupils. They were removed from regular classes to read from books containing native stories and illustrated entirely with Native peoples' pictures. In addition, twice a week older native community persons were invited to teach beadwork and net-mending. Several sympathetic teachers felt that the children who needed most attention were being shortchanged by a well intentioned effort. Such an instance shows all too clearly how unreal and ineffective such idealized conceptions of Native culture can turn out. They correspond to treatment outside the school gates, encapsulate and further disadvantage the students who need energetic efforts at mastering mainstream survival skills most. While such efforts may increase greater self respect toward a forgotten heritage in the short run, dysfunctional cultural survival shortchanges students' opportunities in the long run.

Along the same lines, Maureen Stone (1981)

points to "progressive" multicultural teaching as contributing to West Indian children's failure in adapting to child centred teaching and learning approaches. Quoting Gramsci, she stresses the need for minority children to acquire the dominant forms of knowledge in order to better challenge it.

In these instances, it is clear that cultural content in the school curriculum takes second place to other forces which stand in the way of academic achievement. The most successful communities are those which have taken cultural and religious education into their hands while entrusting public schools with the training for the marketplace.

What does this leave for schools to do with the multicultural curriculum? It does not preclude information and awareness of the cultural backgrounds of pupils, to better diagnose strengths and weaknesses, as well as differences in cognitive styles. It assumes provision for learning of heritage languages for all students who so choose. It still calls for active anti-racism awareness, examining teacher expectations, stereotyping and bias in school materials. It also calls for an appreciation of diversity in the curricula material which must be integrated thematically in a global perspective and not as an end in itself.

These basic achievement aspirations are the substance that all minority groups share, transcending the specific differences of country of origin, language, religious affiliation or race.

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# *Education, Ethnicity and Racism: A European-Canadian Perspective*

Chris Bagley

## **Introduction: European-Canadian Comparisons**

Only in the 1950s did Canada develop an ideology of race and ethnic relations which was distinctly different from that of the white, Protestant English-speaking group which had dominated the Empire for a century.<sup>1</sup> Change took place because of new patterns of migration; the assertion of power by migrant groups from Southern and Eastern Europe and Ireland; and through the assertion of Francophone consciousness. Today Canada in its multicultural policies is a dramatically changed society, unique in its policies which coincide with (but which have not created) a society in which racism's impact seems, on the face of things, less dramatic than in many other ethnically mixed societies.

European comparisons make these Canadian developments seem even more interesting. For example, at one time Dutch race relations were regarded as the prime example of good practice: a very large number of ethnically different refugees from Indonesia had been successfully absorbed in the Dutch plural society, as had other minorities.<sup>2</sup> Yet in only a decade race and ethnic relations in the Netherlands deteriorated dramatically as large numbers of black Dutchmen arrived from Surinam and the Antilles, and the bonds of pluralism, coincidentally, began to crumble. The result has been the development of an alienated, despairing and rebellious black youth culture which could not be accommodated in Dutch society.<sup>3</sup>

The Dutch situation and its deterioration is worth stressing for it illustrates how a seemingly racist culture (as in the Canadian case) or a non-racist (as in the Dutch case) can change rapidly in relation to structural factors independently of policy formation and action by governments. Hubert Campfens of Wilfred Laurier University

illustrates this in his important comparative study of the "integration of ethno-cultural minorities" in Canada and the Netherlands.<sup>4</sup> In his conclusion, Campfens points to an interesting paradox. Despite a strong tradition of central and local government involvement in everyday affairs, Dutch public policy has played a relatively small part in assisting the integration of minorities. Yet in Canada, which lacks a tradition of strong government involvement (within a *laissez faire*, capitalist mode) both federal and provincial levels of government have taken significant initiatives to foster elements of cultural autonomy through both policy and fiscal support.

The reasons for Dutch inaction are related to moral confusion in a declining capitalist society in which the structural cement provided by religious bonds has decayed. The ground for Canadian action can be traced to self-interest – a desire to palliate potentially disruptive minorities following radical accommodations to Francophone interest, and to the desire to incorporate minorities into a healthy capitalist economy. Canadian multicultural policy has developed in ways which obscure the lines of class and economic exploitation within a complex and seemingly attractive mosaic of vertical rather than horizontal stratification.<sup>5</sup> Paradoxically too the accommodation of the cultural aspirations of diverse ethnic groups in Canada seems to be paralleled by a decline in ethnic commitment, as evidenced by an increase in inter-racial, inter-ethnic and inter-religious marriage.<sup>6</sup>

In truth, Canadian ethnic policies work because the population has been highly selected in terms of its commitment to the social relations required by capitalism. Canada is generally liberal in its treatment of the aspirations of ethnic and cultural minorities, but is racist in its policies to-

wards "illegal" citizens.<sup>7</sup> Moreover, one ethnic group – the aboriginal peoples – are rigidly excluded from this multicultural policy, since Native cultural aspirations are fundamentally threatening to the capitalist aspirations of the white settlers, and those they have chosen to assist them in the exploitation of Canada's resources.<sup>8</sup>

For legal immigrants to Canada, committed to economic advancement within a capitalist framework, Canadian social structure offers many advantages. In this, Canada differs profoundly from Britain, where ethnic minorities are treated with discrimination rather than accommodation, despite their assimilationist aspirations.

In Britain, and to some extent in the Netherlands the frustration of legitimate aspirations of ethnic minority groups by a racist social structure has led to profound states of alienation.<sup>9</sup> We can best illustrate this by the comparative study by the Jamaican social geographer, Elizabeth Thomas-Hope.<sup>10</sup> Thomas-Hope compared the adjustment and satisfaction with achieving the goals of migration of similar groups of Caribbean migrants to Britain, Canada and the United States. She interviewed several hundred Caribbean respondents in London and other centres in U.K.; in New York, Hartford and Boston in the U.S.; and in Toronto and Hamilton in Canada. The highest levels of satisfaction with achieving the goals of migration were reported by West Indians in the U.S. centres, closely followed by those in Canada; but levels of satisfaction were dramatically lower in respondents in the U.K.

The goals of migration were quite simple: to advance occupationally and materially, and to achieve both for themselves and their children. These goals were most easily met in Canada and the U.S. which are "open" capitalist societies, used to accommodating the upwardly mobile aspirations of migrants in largely non-racist ways. Britain has no such tradition, and continues to discriminate against black people in jobs, housing, schools and colleges. The racism of the blue collar and many white collar segments in Britain is profound and deeprooted, and British people have still not accepted the reality that a significant minority of the British population consists of the previously-exploited colonial peoples, who now have the affrontery to compete directly with the indigenous population in the job and housing market.<sup>11</sup> This discrimination extends to the second and third generation of Caribbean settlers in Britain, in profound contrast to the United States (and to

some extent Canada) where second generation Caribbean migrants are largely absorbed into the black middle class, from whom they are indistinguishable.

In Britain, alienation and the knowledge that educational achievement is unlikely to bring success has led to two contrasted outcomes for minority youth. On the one hand, significant sectors of black youth have retreated from educational goals, and are labelled as "deviant" by teachers and the educational system;<sup>12</sup> on the other hand, significant numbers of Asian youth have become ritualistically attached to education and enroll in yet further courses to postpone the ultimate (and usually unsuccessful) job search.<sup>13</sup>

At an official level, British policy has passed through a variety of phases. The first phase (beginning around 1960) involved an unsuccessful assimilationist policy coupled with harsh immigration restrictions which specifically discriminated against people of colour and kept families divided, through a rigid immigration system. The second phase (since 1970) made the immigration system still harsher, but began to develop a "multicultural" policy which involved a limited and largely ineffective palliative directed to the accommodation of minority aspirations.<sup>14</sup> But the central problems of racism and racial discrimination have not been addressed in British society, and with the advent of massive structural unemployment problems of racism have become significantly worse.<sup>15</sup> The facile use of the terms "multiculturalism" and "pluralism" have ignored the gross imbalances of power between ethnic groups. A description of the separateness of ethnic groups as a plural condition without reference to imbalances of power is to mask the racism inherent in such a situation: the most extreme example of this is the South African case,<sup>16</sup> but the separation and gross equality of aboriginal people in Canada comes uncomfortably close in similarity. We have recently proposed the concept of "interculturalism" rather than "multiculturalism" to accommodate this problem (taking due account of problems of power imbalance).<sup>17</sup>

We have become profoundly dissatisfied with the trivialization of the idea of multiculturalism by many British educational writers and practitioners: "multicultural education" has become for many a synonym for minor curriculum accommodations to the needs of some ethnic groups, without beginning to address the problems of racism, and the need to educate all ethnic groups

(including whites) for intercultural living in a non-exploitive world.

### The Canadian Experience

We have argued that marked differences in the emerging social structure of Canada have meant that problems of race and ethnic relations are generally not so profound (or rather are different) from those observed in a number of European countries.

Canada, as a successful capitalist economy has an openness in its accommodation of immigrants (including ethnic minorities) who have been specially selected for their combination of professional experience, education, youth, linguistic ability, and their willingness to fit in with a social structure based on individuality and individual enterprise.<sup>18</sup>

Educational institutions in Canada, as the servants of the economy, generally socialize ethnic minorities, without overt discrimination, to undertake successful roles in a free enterprise system. Such a process of selection through careful immigration, education, socialization, and training for successful participation in a capitalist society has served the needs of the selected immigrants well, but it is not in an absolute sense fair or unbiased. The Canadian system leaves unchallenged the world's most profound system of stratification, that between rich and poor countries.<sup>19</sup> Recruiting certain of the educated class from countries of Asia and the Caribbean is, for Canada a policy of self-interest, not of enlightenment. The recruitment of Vietnamese refugees is a case in point. Canada smartly entered the camps, and recruited younger, healthy, educated people who spoke French or English. Canada's "generous" quota of immigrants was rapidly filled.

The ideologies of Canadian social structure are implicit rather than explicit. The ruthless self-interest of Canadian capitalism is rarely discussed, and multicultural and immigration policies are either rarely analyzed, or are seen as autonomous and even enlightened aspects of policy development, without reference to their wider economic and social policy connections. Coy phrases such as "visible minorities" replace the harsher British emphasis on "racial minorities". Yet the question of who is a "visible minority" remains undefined and undiscussed in Canada. Is one a visible minority because of the possession of non Anglo-Celtish surname? If not, why not? Does minority status depend on the accura-

cy with which the average Canadian can pick you out in a crowd? Are children of mixed parentage "visible minorities"? If "visible minority" is a synonym for being black, why not say so?

Other issues fail to reach the multicultural agenda in Canada. We have little data on the educational achievement of ethnic minority students in Canada. The writer has been unsuccessful, for example, in persuading School Boards to identify students by ethnicity in a comparative study of self-concept and achievement.<sup>20</sup> The nature, extent and social and psychological correlates of prejudiced beliefs in young people, and the extent of which these might be changed by curriculum methods of school organization is largely unexplored in Canada.<sup>21</sup> And we have no reliable or valid data on discrimination against ethnic minorities in Canada.<sup>22</sup>

The most perplexing issue which is not on the agenda of Canadian ethnic relations is the massive exploitation of the conquered aboriginal nations,<sup>23</sup> the denigration and suppression of their culture, and an oppressive educational system which fails to address the cultural, affective or cognitive needs of Indian and Metis children.<sup>24</sup>

### Conclusions

In sum, Canada has apparently been relatively successful in absorbing certain highly selected immigrant groups whose aspirations fit in with the goals of a capitalist society, oriented to the fulfillment of individual needs for material advancement. However, full evidence to evaluate this proposition is lacking, largely because fundamental research and policy questions are not posed. Such radical questions, about Canadian ideologies on ethnicity, the exclusion of poor people from Canada, and the continued colonial exploitation of a dominated and excluded people within Canada, are not asked. The failure to ask these questions, we suggest, is an ideological matter, and relates to the presently unmasked nature of Canada's capitalist institutions. This silent ideological agenda may account too for the imprecise nature of multicultural policy in Canada, and the vagueness of official terms used to describe minority groups.<sup>25</sup>

The aggressive and exploitive nature of settlement in Canada has been to the profound advantage of the white settlers, and the non-white minorities absorbed, through "multiculturalism", into the exploiting class. The exploitation of the

