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**CURRICULUM EVALUATION
FOR ANTI-RACIST SOCIAL WORK EDUCATION**

by

AMY A. MATSUBARA

A thesis submitted to
the Faculty of Graduate Studies and Research
in partial fulfilment of
the requirements for the degree of

Masters of Social Work

School of Social Work

**Carleton University
Ottawa, Ontario**

November 6, 1995

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submitted by Amy A. Matsubara, B.A., B.S.W.

in partial fulfilment of the requirements for
the degree of Masters of Social Work

Thesis Supervisor

Director, School of Social Work

Carleton University

Nov. 13/95

ABSTRACT

Using a grounded-theory methodology (Strauss, 1987), the present thesis locates within the existing literature methodologies of curriculum evaluation which are most suitable for anti-racist social work education. The research is based on an anti-racist perspective which takes critical views of race and racism. The criteria of anti-racist social work education are developed from the literature and are divided into seven themes: social justice and social change; a structural approach; rejection of dominant white and 'objective' perspectives; anti-racist awareness raising; development of critical skills; student-centred and collective learning; and, a holistic approach for reforming social work education. The analyses of curriculum theories and methodologies based on these criteria locate three curriculum evaluation methodologies: ethnography; stakeholder/democratic methodology; and action research. The action research methodology, which integrates evaluation and implementation of evaluation results, is recommended for anti-racist social work education.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

I wish to thank Steve Hick, my thesis supervisor, for his guidance. I deeply appreciate his intellectual openness which has created room for my work. I am also grateful for his patience with the early drafts and my working pace. My heartfelt appreciations extend to my thesis committee members, Rashmi Luther and Nancy Adamson, whose critical suggestions and editing have been invaluable.

The thesis topic came to me through my involvement with RAC in the 1991-1992 year at Carleton. In the midst of meetings, events and food, the space created by RAC has provided me with insights, creativity and strength. I am grateful to everyone I have met through RAC, especially Marg for calming me down during the writing stage and Laura for being my sounding board at both academic and personal levels.

I thank the following people for balancing my personal life (i.e., feeding me, cooking together, canoeing, going to movies, and so on): Maria (also for some proofreading), Ron, Wayne, Behrokh, and Laura. Finally I want to thank my family for supporting my extended academic career and Mike for keeping up with my ups and downs.

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CHAPTER ONE: Introduction

The social work field in Canada has recognized over recent decades that our society is and has been culturally and racially diverse (Boucher, 1990; Head, 1990; O'Neill and Yelaja, 1991; Task Force on Multicultural and Multiracial Issues in Social Work Education, 1991). The recognition is that social work practice and education must change to meet the needs of culturally- and racially-diverse clientele. At the professional level, the British Columbia Association of Social Workers has set up a committee in 1977 to study social work training and services for diverse clients: the committee has since been active in lobbying schools of social work in the province for inclusion of multicultural content in all social work courses and to recruit minority students and faculty (Seebaran and George, 1990:157-8). Other provincial associations or government ministries, such as in Quebec and Alberta, have taken a similar route by establishing review committees (Boucher, 1990:155). The Canadian Association of Schools of Social Work has also set up a committee which undertook a national survey on the state of social work education in Canada in terms of preparing students for multicultural and multiracial practice (Task Force on Multicultural and Multiracial Issues in Social Work Education, 1991). Nevertheless, these initiatives of professional and accreditation bodies appear to lag behind the reality of social work practice, which has been struggling to serve diverse clientele and communities (Boucher, 1990:155).

The initiatives in social work have coincided with recent developments in Canadian society in terms of cultural diversity, human rights and minority rights. In 1971, the federal government announced its first official recognition that Canada is a multicultural society within a bilingual framework -- the Multiculturalism Act (Kallen, 1982:165). The philosophy of multiculturalism offers values and strategies to counter prejudice¹ and discrimination². It is based on a premise that racism occurs when an individual discriminates against members of a group of people identifiable in terms of race³, colour, ethnicity⁴ and/or religion. Multiculturalism's solutions to racism are typically to teach about diverse ethnic and racial groups and cultures and to close social distances amongst groups. The federal Multiculturalism Act (1971) promotes cultural expressions by ethnic minority communities. In recent years, the Act (1988) has added objectives of decreasing discrimination and institutional change (Elliott and Fleras, 1990:64-5). The legislation is mandated to fund programs to assist multicultural communities to express and maintain their ethnocultural heritage (Kallen, 1982:165; Elliott and Fleras, 1990:64-6). However, multiculturalism as a philosophy and an institution has been criticized for not addressing root causes of racism in Canada (Brand and Bhaggiyadatta, 1986; Rafiq, 1992). This issue is discussed further in Section 1.3 in relation to the analytical framework I take in the present research.

Official responses to the issue of protection of human and minority rights have been expressed in the establishment of the Canadian Human Rights Commission and provincial counterparts in the 1960s and 1970s (Kallen, 1982:44). In addition, the

constitutional debates in the 1980s have provided national fora on entrenching concepts of minority and equality rights in the Canadian Charter of Rights and Freedoms (Kallen, 1990).

It is interesting to note that these legislative developments and public debates have taken place during the last few decades, although historically, Canada has been a country of diversity. The Aboriginal communities that flourished until the immigration of Europeans (French and British colonists) in the seventeenth century have had unique cultures and traditions. Within these communities vast cultural differences have existed and evolved (Rajan-Eastcott, 1990). There are at present fifty-eight aboriginal languages recognized and accounted for by the Canadian government (Minister of Supply and Services, 1991).

Also, enslaved African people lived in Quebec since 1628 (Moore, 1988:16). The Black Loyalists and their descendants have been living in the Maritimes for over 200 years (Shadd, 1991:3). The slaves from the United States had been forced into a marginal and segregated existence "beneath the lowest class of whites" although they might have been called "free" once in Canada (Moore, 1988:16).

Early immigration up to the mid-1960s was from Europe with the majority coming from Britain and France (Kalbach, 1990:24). In addition, waves of Eastern and Southern European immigrants started in the late 1890s to open "the frontier" and set up

agricultural lands or work as casual labourers in various industries (Avery, 1979). Asian labourers were brought in to construct national railroads and to work in other labour-intensive fields such as lumbering, farming and fishing industries (Elliott and Fleras, 1990; Matsubara, 1991). Then, the Immigration Act of 1910 explicitly stated Canada's preference for immigrants from the British Isles and Northern Europe (Elliott and Fleras, 1990:55-6).

The preferred-nations policy continued until a universal points system was introduced in 1967; the criteria of nationality, race and ethnic origin were replaced by a criteria of education, occupation and language skills (Elliott and Fleras, 1990:57). In addition, family and refugee classes were established and later expanded in 1976 (Elliott and Fleras, 1990:58). The points system represented Canada's desire to fill gaps in skilled labour by accepting highly-trained individuals. Immigrant selection under this system has shifted from race- and nationality-based to class-based. In addition, other factors have become more salient in the selection process which focuses on economic benefits of immigration: age, gender, and health and disability status. The economic objectives of immigration are once again emphasized over family reunification in current immigration policy directions (Citizenship and Immigration Canada, 1994). Nevertheless, the points system has increased immigration from the developing countries since its inception (Elliott and Fleras, 1990:57).

In the recent decades there have been fundamental demographic shifts in our population. According to the 1991 census results, 31% of the Canadian population is neither British nor French, compared to 25% in 1986 (Statistics Canada, 1993:1). Although the size of our immigrant population has not changed much in the last forty years, the source countries of immigrants have changed. Of immigrants who arrived between 1981 and 1991, 48% were born in Asia, 25% in Europe and 10% in Central and South America (Statistics Canada, 1992:1). Europe had traditionally been a major source for Canada's immigrants. However, the European immigrant population has declined from 62% in 1986 to 54% in 1991 (Statistics Canada, 1992:1).

1.1 Social Work Education in Canada

The early social welfare systems in Canada followed the traditions of the English poor laws and the French welfare institutions, i.e., the Church, which sought to assist displaced victims of the disappearing feudal system and emerging Industrial Revolution. The emphasis of these traditions then was to assimilate migrants to the city life and wage labour and to provide support systems for isolated individuals (Head, 1990:205; Moscovitch and Drover, 1987:15-18). However, these types of welfare services were developed on the assumption that clients were either English or French. "There was little if any interests in those days in supporting the efforts of migrants or immigrants to maintain their culture, language and customs" (Head, 1990:205)⁵. The legacy of those

times is reflected in the present proliferation of ethno-specific social-service agencies (Head, 1990:207).

The influences of the history of assimilation can be observed in the field of social work in terms of theory and practice (Campfens, 1981 in Yelaja and O'Neill, 1990) and education (Head, 1990). Nicole Boucher (1990:155) argues that there are few intervention models for ethnic or racial minorities; and despite the increasing awareness, there is not sufficient research nor training in intercultural, interracial social work. Wanda Bernard and Gordon Thomas postulate that the philosophy of social services "fails to view clients as individuals who have specific needs based on their cultural, ethnic and ancestral background" and may contribute to inappropriate services, as for example to Black Nova Scotians (Bernard and Thomas, 1991:239). The historical influences may be exacerbated when we take into account the elitism of higher education where social workers receive their professional training. Universities and the academe have been criticized for their dominant discourses denying the legitimacy of diverse experiences of women and minorities (McKenna, 1991:114-5).

In 1991, the Task Force on Multicultural and Multiracial Issues in Social Work Education of the Canadian Association of Schools of Social Work (CASSW) published the results of its national survey on the status of multicultural and/or multiracial social work education and recommendations for improvement. It reported:

It was acknowledged by all constituencies and in all regions, without exception, that the Canadian Schools of Social Work are not adequately

preparing today's students to work with people who differ from themselves in terms of ethnic, cultural, or racial backgrounds (Task Force on Multicultural and Multiracial Issues in Social Work Education, 1991:63).

Despite this recognition and the rhetoric of some schools, many of the social work programs are graduating students without an understanding of ethnic/racial issues in Canada (Task Force on Multicultural and Multiracial Issues in Social Work Education, 1991:72-73; O'Neill and Yelaja, 1991:177). At the time of the survey, 52% of Canadian schools of social work reported that there have been no efforts to infuse ethnic, cultural and/or racial content in all courses (Task Force on Multicultural and Multiracial Issues in Social Work Education, 1991:Table 8). The Task Force Report cited several reasons for the present situation: already-crowded curricula; the lack of resources to develop new curricula or to hire additional instructors; the lack of CASSW's policies and accreditation standards regarding these issues; and resistance or lack of commitment within a school and/or a university (Task Force on Multicultural and Multiracial Issues in Social Work Education, 1991:63-66).

As a profession, social workers work with people and groups in disadvantaged and marginalized situations (Abramovitz, 1993). However, "social work education often teaches the fallacy that one set of principles and values (Anglo-Euro-American[sic]) can and does apply to all humans at all times and places" (Granger and Portner, 1985:40). It universalizes human conditions from one perspective. By working under such a social work framework, a social worker may actually harm people who do not fit in the framework.

Furthermore, situations in which ethnic/racial minority people find themselves may be compounded by racism and discrimination, cultural differences and/or lack of official-language skills. By the time they seek assistance, the problem can become overwhelmingly complex. In some unfortunate circumstances, they can not receive service. In addition, inappropriate services may aggravate the problem or force them into isolation.

All is not negative in the social work field. There are academics and practitioners in Canada, the United States and Britain who have been active in challenging the status quo (Dominelli, 1988; L. Williams, 1988; Yelaja and O'Neill, 1990).

1.2 Personal Statement

After a few years of formal social work education in Canada, I have come to feel that social work is not working toward social justice but rather, toward social control. This feeling is shared by many of my fellow students, particularly those of us who experience marginalized existences in Canada. We feel oppressed by the educational experience which conditions us to become agents of social control. I have come to feel that social work education tends to preserve the status quo, training students to assist disadvantaged people 'adjust' to their places in the world. Oppositional attempts in critical thought are subverted directly or indirectly, i.e., low grades, lack of class discussion and/or inadequate curricula.

I also question the real intentions behind many of the educational reform projects taking place in higher education. Are they based on a genuine wish to offer an education which paves a path towards social justice? Or, do they serve public relations purposes? At my highest skepticism, sometimes I wonder whether these projects are for subverting critical voices to a lull. Furthermore, even well-intended efforts appear to have difficulty sustaining initial enthusiasm for change. My skepticism is also grounded in the cyclical backlash against anti-racist movements, locally and globally. We are constantly fighting the forces who have privileges and resources to discredit us as 'special interests'.

At the same time, I do have a great sense of optimism for the human race and especially for the field of social work. I firmly believe in our capacity to achieve more and make our society just and humane. Social work contains a great amount of potential and skills which can be utilized fully in accomplishing that. In addition, my interest in anti-racism continues to provide hope and inspiration in my personal and professional life.

In searching for a research question for my thesis, I began to notice gaps in many of the educational reform projects in higher education (Butler and Waiter, 1991; Hunt et al., 1992; LaBare and Lang, 1992; Pryse, 1991). These reforms have transformed curricula in women's studies, ethnic studies and liberal-arts disciplines such as English literature and history. Evaluations of curriculum reforms are usually confined to quantitative areas such as a number of courses or faculty which comply with reforms, or assessing students' level of awareness or knowledge. Benefits of curriculum reforms

appear taken for granted rather than evaluated critically. If and when suggested reforms were completed, it seemed as if all the problems were solved. I became skeptical. I began to wonder: How are the reform results guaranteed to last? What if the reform results do not meet future needs? If reforms did not work, do we know why? How do we monitor effectiveness of educational reform? Who performs evaluations of reform efforts? Who benefits from reforms and evaluations?

My questioning about the worth of educational reform then led me to explore the issues of curriculum evaluation and its ideological influences.⁶ I became very interested in the process of different educational theories dictating forms and shapes of curricula and curriculum evaluation. It was also fascinating to see the connection between educational theory and philosophical views of humanity and the world. Development of a theory, according to Thomas Kuhn (Leahey, 1987:12), is influenced by the accepted paradigm of the day, i.e., a set of shared assumptions. In other words, a new theory rarely develops in a vacuum but is influenced by existing theories already accepted within a discipline. These influences and connections led me to explore relationships amongst paradigms, theories and research methodologies in terms of education and curriculum issues. I became interested in locating the paradigms behind theories and methodologies.

My curiosity with the issue of theoretical origins led me to wonder what it would be like to situate anti-racism as a guiding principle for curriculum development and evaluation. Would it result in a conventional curriculum? How would it affect

educational reform? What kind of evaluation would it advocate? Most of all I was interested in exploring methodologies of curriculum evaluation which would facilitate anti-racist curriculum development.

1.3 Research Question and Analytical Framework

My research question is "Which curriculum evaluation methodology would be appropriate for anti-racist social work education?" In order to answer it, I divided the question into components and built the answer in a step-by-step manner.

First, in order to clarify my analytical framework, I conducted a literature review on anti-racism (Chapter 3). Anti-racism differs distinctly from multiculturalism in that the latter bases its argument on the premises that all ethnic groups are equal in society and that everyone is free to maintain his/her ethnic identity and heritage (Kallen, 1982:163-4). This pluralistic view has been reinforced in Canada by the Multiculturalism Act (1971) which encourages the maintenance of cultural heritage and removal of cultural barriers in fighting discrimination. The assumption here is that prejudice and discrimination are caused by people's ignorance and fear of difference (Rafiq, 1992:32). By providing information and opportunities to bring diverse people together in non-threatening situations such as cultural festivals, prejudice and discrimination are said to decrease. Multiculturalism is criticized for its lack of clear understanding about racism and consequently its lack of solutions against racism (Rafiq, 1992).

On the other hand, an anti-racist approach offers a complex analysis of racism, intertwining concepts and issues at individual and social levels. Anti-racist theorists views racism as a socially constructed and legitimized phenomenon. It is a process whereby a group of people gain unqualified privileges over others, facilitated by social constructions of races. Rather than focusing on superficial racial characteristics, anti-racism analyzes how the concepts of race are developed and socially entrenched for the benefits of certain groups. Anti-racism recognizes that racism exists in society and is reflected in all of its institutions (Brand and Bhaggiyadatta, 1986; Carty, 1992). Unlike multiculturalism which blames cultural barriers as sources of prejudice and discrimination, anti-racism sees racism as the problem.

Also, anti-racism takes into consideration more subtle forms of racism (Brand and Bhaggiyadatta, 1986). In anti-racism, concepts such as everyday racism explain intricate processes of racism committed by the oppressors and oppressed alike (Essed, 1990; Ng, 1989). In challenging racism and the social constructions of races, anti-racism offers critical and historical analyses of instances of racism. Anti-racist analyses become educational as well as providing strategies against racism. A detailed review of anti-racism as an analytical framework appears in Chapter 3.

Next, I applied the results of the literature review on anti-racism to analyze social work education literature; the anti-racist framework guided my analyses into social work education. Through this analysis, I hoped to distil essential principles and values of anti-

racist social work education, represented in the social work education literature. Chapter 5 describes the result of this analysis which defines anti-racist social work education and answers a major portion of my research question.

Finally, I turned to curriculum theories and their influences on evaluation methodologies. Curriculum evaluation is an integral part of the curriculum studies field, branching out from the discipline of education. Curriculum studies concerns itself with educational problems in an interdisciplinary fashion influenced by disciplines such as philosophy, psychology and sociology. In North America and the United Kingdom, the field of curriculum studies has been rife with ideological debates and theoretical diversity (Eisner and Peshkin, 1990; Kelly, 1989).

Due to vast differences amongst the curriculum theories, there is no standard definition of curriculum; this issue is taken up in Chapter 5. The scope, shape and content of a curriculum totally depend on a given theory on which it is based (Kelly, 1989). Inevitably, different views on curriculum impinge on the definition of curriculum evaluation and consequently on evaluation methodology (Kelly, 1989:7). The analyses of curriculum theories and curriculum evaluation methodologies against the criteria of anti-racist social work education (Chapter 4) are outlined in Chapter 5. Finally, three curriculum evaluation methodologies suitable for anti-racist social work education are discussed.

The present thesis therefore seeks theoretical and ideological standpoints behind curriculum evaluation methodology in order to identify best-fit evaluation methodologies⁷ for anti-racist social work education. By appreciating the links between theory and methodology, the thesis explores the means by which anti-racist social work education can be evaluated. It represents a first attempt to investigate such possibilities. The selected methodologies have been in successful use in other educational areas and settings; however, actual trials on schools of social work are much beyond the scope of the present thesis. It is hoped that the knowledge gained here would provide insights for social work educators working towards anti-racism and social justice. Ultimately, its potential benefits would touch people affected by social work education: social work students, clients and communities.

Notes

1. Prejudice is a set of attitudes or beliefs toward members of a particular group based on unsubstantiated opinion about their characteristics(Kallen, 1982:35).
2. Discrimination is a practice which denies members of a particular group fundamental human rights and freedoms based on perceptions, assumptions, and/or stereotypes about the group(Kallen, 1982:35).
3. Race, in conventional and legislative usage, is a biologically-based category. In this thesis, race represents socially-imposed perceptions about a group of people, which may include physical, biological, cultural traits. Refer to early portions of Section 3.2.
4. Ethnicity refers to common "ancestry in conjunction with such sociocultural criteria as nationality, language, and religion"(Kallen, 1982:62).
5. Immigrant communities have set up their own systems of assisting each other in terms of health and social services and education. See for example Japanese Canadian Centennial Project(1978).
6. I use a Marxist sense of ideology; it "arises from a limited material mode of activity which produces both contradictory relations and, as a consequence, distorted representations about them...it unites in one phenomenon consciousness and reality...Revolutionary practice is the only way to overcome ideology at its roots by solving the real contradictions which give rise to it"(Larrain, 1979:46).
7. My initial intention was to identify one suitable evaluation methodology. As the research progressed, I discovered that it was contrary to the spirit of anti-racism and the results of my analyses. This point is discussed later in the context of my research process in Chapter Two(Methodology).

CHAPTER TWO: Methodology

The purpose of my thesis is to identify curriculum evaluation methodologies which may be best suited for achieving anti-racism in social work education. An evaluation methodology includes a theory, values, perspectives and processes of evaluation; it may also include tools and techniques of evaluation research. It was my intent to locate within the existing literature, or in practice, curriculum evaluation methodologies which could meet the challenges of achieving anti-racist social work education.

In order to answer my research question, "Which curriculum evaluation methodology would be appropriate for anti-racist social work education?", I decided to begin with a literature review on anti-racism onto which I built analyses of literatures on social work education and curriculum evaluation. In a sense, I have performed sequential analyses of literatures, with each analysis built on the previous one.

The present research has consisted of three stages. I first conducted literature reviews on anti-racism and anti-racist education to construct my framework (Chapter 3). Then I used the framework to analyze social work education literature in Chapter 4. This second stage resulted in a set of criteria for anti-racist social work education. At the third stage I searched and identified, based on the criteria, suitable curriculum evaluation methodologies currently in practice or in the existing literature (Chapter 5).

The present research has used a modified version of the grounded theory analysis, a style of qualitative analysis developed by Anselm Strauss and Barney Glaser (1967; Glaser, 1978; Strauss, 1987). Grounded theory has been widely utilized in qualitative research in areas of education, social work, public health, nursing and administration (Charmaz, 1990; Sullivan, 1991).

This chapter introduces the grounded theory analysis then describes my modifications on grounded theory and my three research stages.

3.1 Grounded Theory

Originally developed for theory building, the grounded theory methodology provides a set of systematic procedures in qualitative analysis. A grounded theory is derived in a non-linear fashion whereby cyclical steps of data collection, analysis and abstraction take place. This methodology is not intended for verification of a given theory but generation of theories from data. An emerging new theory is said to be 'grounded' in data (Strauss, 1987).

In a grounded theory methodology, data collection and analysis are interrelated processes (Corbin and Strauss, 1990:6). That is, a researcher starts analysis as data begin to come in. The analysis produces hypotheses and questions which in turn influence the next direction of data collection for testing evolving concepts and hypotheses. This is a

key difference from other research methodologies in which data are first collected *before* analysis. In grounded theory, analysis is an invaluable part of data collection. Each process of data collection and analysis "guides the grounded theory researcher toward examining all of the possibly rewarding avenues to understanding" an issue under study (Corbin and Strauss, 1990:6). In these cycles of data collection and analysis, evolving concepts must demonstrate their theoretical relevance by repeatedly being present in data or by being significantly absent. Concepts must be 'grounded' in data (Corbin and Strauss, 1990:7).

Data for grounded theorists come mostly from field work. However, there has been grounded-theory research with literature as sources of data (Glassner and Corzine, 1982; Sullivan, 1991). The treatment of documented texts as data has been discussed by the original grounded researchers, Anselm Strauss and Barney Glaser, for practical reasons such as data accessibility and speed and cost of data collection (Strauss and Glaser, 1967:163). These practical issues were paramount for my research since it encompassed three distinct and large areas of interest, i.e., anti-racism, social work education and curriculum evaluation. In addition, my original intent to examine case studies of anti-racist curriculum evaluation methodologies currently in practice was thwarted early in my research process. I searched for such real-life cases using the contacts I have made at an American national conference on educational reforms. As well, those contacts provided me with additional sources of contacts. However, I did not find any cases of curriculum evaluation methodology in practice except for informal class

discussions or course evaluations by students. Several contacts who have been active in educational reform informed me that the issue of curriculum evaluation has not caught on yet. In the end, I abandoned the idea of case study and focused on theoretical aspects of curriculum evaluation methodology discussed in literature. Hence concepts, issues, ideas in literature became data for my research.

Grounded theory also provides practical techniques and steps for analysis and theory building. For instance, grounded theory encourages a type of note taking or "theoretical memos" to record the research process, evolving concepts and directions (Strauss, 1987). Grounded theory also demystifies the process of building a qualitative theory by describing various components which help generate an emerging theory. Strauss (1987) explains coding procedures, comparative analysis, how to identify gaps in a developing theory, and use of diagrams to assist theory building. Basically, grounded theory allows the researcher to organize processes of qualitative research.

2.2 The Research Process and Modifying Grounded Theory

Grounded theory was selected as a guiding methodological principle for this research. Although my research was not geared toward theory building, the process of grounding a theory in data appealed to me. I saw a parallel between grounded theory building and my intention of building a criteria from analyses of literatures as data. I was

particularly interested in managing my research in a coherent manner. Grounded theory provided methodological tools and structures needed in my research.

Interactive data collection and analysis offered a valuable and practical solution to studying several disciplines of large magnitudes. This technique helped manage potentially massive data collections from the literatures on anti-racism, social work education and curriculum evaluation. Purposeful data collection based on continuous analysis proved efficient and kept the research on track.

Another advantage of grounded theory was its comparative analytic approach. This was particularly useful in developing the criteria whereby common denominators from two areas of study were delineated. For instance, the analysis of social work education literature based on the anti-racist framework involved uncovering the essence of anti-racism in the literature, sometimes without the benefit of using the label, anti-racism. In other words, I could not always depend on pieces of the social work education literature to specifically discuss anti-racism. Instead, I sought elements of the anti-racist framework in the literature by locating key phrases and words relevant to the framework, such as social justice. Then I would analyze the located pieces of literature against the anti-racist framework; if it fit with the framework, it would be included for developing the criteria of anti-racist social work education.

Incorporated with data collection, comparative analysis provided purposeful directions for further data collection. Following the previous example, looking beyond the label of anti-racism, in the process of locating and analyzing pieces of the social work education literature, provided me with insights into different expressions of anti-racism in the literature which I had not considered before. These insights helped in locating additional pieces of literature. Furthermore, terms and phrases are used differently in literatures and amongst social workers and educators. I have found this particularly so when analyzing the social work education literature against the anti-racist framework. The use of comparative analysis has been indispensable to clarify meanings in the literature.

For the purposes of this research, some modifications were made to grounded theory before and during my research. At the outset, I intended to follow the process of theory building for the development of my criteria for anti-racist social work education using literature as sources of data. As my research progressed, I realized that the theory building approach was too narrow for my research which involved three distinct tasks, i.e., a literature review, criteria development and identification of evaluation methodologies. My research still adopted the grounded theory's techniques and philosophy to ground concepts and theory in data; however, its theory building approach was dropped.

Analysis of the literature using a grounded theory approach is quite different from conventional literature reviews. Section 3.1 (Overview of Anti-Racism Literature) is a result of conventional reviews where an entire area of a discipline is covered. In this way, different views within a discipline are described and compared. Or, a selected area of a discipline is reviewed extensively as in the case of Section 3.2 -- the literature review on anti-racism. On the other hand, a grounded-theory analysis treats pieces of literature as field data for theory building. An emerging theory is contrasted with and verified against data in the literature. For the present thesis, the grounded analysis is modified for criteria building and a search for curriculum evaluation methodologies. Much like a process of theory building, concepts and ideas in the social work education literature are analyzed for anti-racist characteristics. Since my research is guided by the anti-racist framework, any piece of data which does not meet the framework is discarded from the criteria. The resulting criteria for anti-racist social work education is thus made up of anti-racist traits within social work education.

The grounded theory approach with the modifications proved to be invaluable in the present thesis, particularly in the areas of data collection and process of analysis. Its unique approach in combining analysis and data collection provided me more room to explore different materials without straying too far from the research question. Data collection without analysis might have resulted in shifting through an endless amount of data. Finally, the emphasis on constant analysis assisted in keeping the focus of the research question throughout my research process.

2.3 Research Stages

The research was divided into three main stages: setting an analytical framework; development of the criteria for anti-racist social work education; and a search for methodologies of curriculum evaluation based on the criteria.

2.3.1 First Research Stage: Setting an analytical framework

My analytical framework was developed from literature reviews on anti-racism and anti-racist education. For the general overview on anti-racism, I have relied on Fiona Williams' (1989) categorization of diverse anti-racist perspectives. Of those, I have selected three perspectives which demonstrated a complex level of analysis and appeared most consistent with my thought and experiences: perspectives of relative autonomy, migrant labour and black feminists. Thus my literature review on anti-racism focused on these perspectives. Sources for literature for this review were confined to the context of experiences of western countries, namely Canada, the United States and Britain. They were collected using keyword searches in library systems. Any anti-racism literature inconsistent with the three perspectives was not part of this review. As mentioned earlier, concepts, issues, ideas documented in literature were data for my review.

I have separated the literature review on anti-racist education from the previous review. There are two general streams of developments in the anti-racist education

discourse: one has emerged out of the anti-racism discourse; and, another stream has come together haphazardly out of educators' everyday classroom experiences. In other words, the former tends to be analytical while the latter contributes practical perspectives to the discourse. Unfortunately, the second stream is sometimes not defined explicitly as anti-racist and generally not part of the anti-racism discourse. Hence Section 3.3 brings both streams together as anti-racist education; it is an overview of what anti-racist education is and what it advocates. It provides education-focused issues for anti-racism which have not been introduced in the anti-racism literature. I used the grounded theory's data collection technique to glean out the essence of anti-racist education, analyzed against the results of the first literature review on anti-racism. Since the setting and intent of this thesis are for the English-speaking western countries, the literature here is collected from the same context. In addition, the literature covers all levels of education, from public school to post-secondary.

The first research stage was completed with amalgamation of the two literature reviews as my analytical framework. From now on, I use the analytical framework and the anti-racist framework interchangeably to mean the same.

2.3.2 Second Research Stage: Developing the criteria for anti-racist social work education

In the second research stage, I used social work education literature as the data base from which I extracted a set of criteria which represented the ideal qualities and

strategies of anti-racist social work education. Again, concepts, issues, ideas documented in literature become data for this stage. I used comparative analysis techniques and the anti-racist framework (Table 1) as a yardstick in developing the criteria. I was most interested in commonality between anti-racism and social work education as well as how social work education would deal with the challenges of anti-racism. Then the criteria would be used to select suitable curriculum evaluation methodologies in the last research stage.

This stage incorporated grounded theory's data collection and comparative analysis techniques in exploring social work literature. The data parameter was set as follows: social work education literature in English listed at two local university libraries and on CD-ROM SocioFile database. In order to narrow the data parameter, keyword searches were initially conducted (e.g., "anti-racist", "multicultural", "cross-cultural", "diversity", "race/ethnic relations").

Comparative analysis eliminated data which did not meet the anti-racist framework and confirmed those which did. The confirmed data and its anti-racist values thereby gained an entry to the provisional criteria⁸. As the provisional criteria grew in size, similar values were grouped into categories.⁹ Some data did not discuss anti-racism per se but issues pertinent to anti-racism, such as social justice. I incorporated these data since they also reflected anti-racism. The data collection continued until analysis

produced redundancy in the criteria.¹⁰ The majority of data which contributed to the end criteria were from Canada, the United States and England.

2.3.3 Third Research Stage: Search for curriculum evaluation methodologies for anti-racist social work education

This final stage of research set out to identify curriculum evaluation methodologies for anti-racist social work education. Since curriculum evaluation methodology is based on curriculum theory, the identification of curriculum theory compatible with the criteria of anti-racist social work education then provided a general direction for data collection, i.e., a search for evaluation methodologies. The data for this stage thus were curriculum evaluation methodologies in the literature.

To structure my search, I first conducted a review of curriculum theories and found different and diverse curriculum theories. The review provided theoretical backgrounds of curriculum evaluation methodologies and hence facilitated my data collection and analysis later. I was able to identify curriculum theories which were clearly incompatible with anti-racist social work education. This focused my data collection by eliminating data which were built on the incompatible theories. Also, the theoretical underpinnings of curriculum and educational fields proved indispensable in the process of analyzing curriculum evaluation methodologies. The result of the review is elaborated in Chapter 5, Section 5.2.

During the review of curriculum theories, I have discovered the rich theoretical discussions in the field of curriculum studies. The field includes vastly different philosophical and theoretical perspectives. In recognizing theoretical influences on every aspect of curriculum studies, including curriculum evaluation methodology, I have added a discussion on the relationships between paradigm and methodology in Section 5.1. This section also helped set the direction of the third research stage.

In this research stage, the curriculum and educational evaluation literatures were the sources of data. I turned to library and CD-ROM (SocioFile) searches in the fields of curriculum studies and educational evaluation. The literature search parameter was set for data in English with a preference for post-secondary levels. The following keywords were used for data collection: evaluation, curriculum evaluation, educational evaluation, educational reform, methodology and educational research.

The analysis of the evaluation-methodology data was done against the criteria of anti-racist social work education. As discussed earlier, the methodology of the modified grounded analysis was followed. The combined data collection and analysis against the criteria facilitated the process. In this research stage, many evaluation methodologies were eliminated due to their theoretical backgrounds, which were revealed in the aforementioned literature review on curriculum theories. Once a stream of curriculum theory was identified as most suitable to the criteria of anti-racist social work education, evaluation methodologies associated with the theory stream were analyzed more closely.

The results of the third research stage are detailed in Chapter 5. The next chapter begins with the results of the first stage: setting an analytical framework.

Notes

8. A provisional criteria is essential in grounded theory which advocates theories or concepts to be 'grounded' in data. An entry into a provisional criteria needs to earn its place in the final criteria by being repeatedly supported by other data (Strauss, 1987).
9. This is parallel to the theory building process of grounded theory.
10. This is called theoretical saturation in grounded theory (Strauss, 1987).

CHAPTER THREE: Analytical Framework

In this chapter, a literature review on anti-racism contributes to a formation of an analytical framework for the present thesis. An overview of anti-racism first describes and compares divergent perspectives (Section 3.1). The comparisons have resulted in a combination of three perspectives I have selected to represent as an analytical framework for my research. A literature review based on the chosen anti-racist perspectives is detailed in Section 3.2.

Since the focus of the thesis is education, a separate section (3.3) provides anti-racist concepts and issues which are education-focused. Section 3.3 represents a pool of knowledge and issues relevant to anti-racist education no matter what they are labelled -- their substances are anti-racist in nature. Chapter 3 ends with a summary of the anti-racist framework by merging the key points from Sections 3.2 and 3.3.

3.1 Overview of Anti-Racism Literature

What is anti-racism? Anti-racism at present does not represent a single perspective but encompasses several divergent perspectives in terms of analysis of racism and recommendations for change. The common goals of anti-racism are better understanding of and elimination of racism. However, philosophies and strategies for action leading to the end goal vary widely among the different perspectives.

According to Fiona Williams (1989) anti-racism perspectives fall loosely within the following five categories: John Rex's analysis of a black¹¹ underclass; autonomy of racism; relative autonomy of racism; migrant labour perspective; and 'black' feminism.

The concept of an underclass was developed by John Rex (Williams, 1989:99-100) to describe a class of Black people separate from the white working class in Britain. The Black underclass is said to develop its own underclass consciousness and struggles for change. According to John Rex, the development of the underclass is through a process in which the white working class accumulates benefits at the expense of Black people in post-colonial Britain. The reason for this exclusion according to Rex is that the post-colonial immigration of Black people has been perceived to threaten the white working class' share of housing, education and other services. However, John Rex's analysis is criticized for its narrow view of racism as individual and personal discrimination (Brittan and Maynard, 1984 in Williams, 1989:99) as well as its lack of gender analysis. Also his analysis is said to be unclear and incoherent on relations between race and class; for instance, he fails to offer views on relations between class struggles and underclass struggles (Williams, 1989:100).

Although not part of Fiona Williams' (1989) review, there is a strictly class perspective on racism represented by works of Peter Li (1988) and Li and B. Singh Bolaria (1988). As this perspective appears to have been influenced by the political economy tradition of John Porter (1965) and Wallace Clement (1975), it sees race and

ethnicity as another set of categories to be subsumed under the class structure in society. The major shortcoming of the class perspective is its simplistic and reductionist approach that suggests capitalism as the cause of racism.

In contrast, there is a perspective which sees racism as autonomous from classism or other relations. This perspective emphasizes analysis of different instances of racism at local levels and their specificity in each situation; for example, an analysis of a local government. John Gabriel and Gideon Ben-Tovim argue that class analysis or analysis of the state does not provide anti-racist solutions for daily struggles for people in communities. Anti-racist analysis at local levels is thus said to offer much more possibilities (Williams, 1989:105-6). However, Fiona Williams (1989:107) criticizes this perspective as ahistorical and idealist since its analysis demands a high level of specificity and separation of racism from other relations (i.e., sexism, classism). By narrowly focusing on individual local situations, it cannot offer macro analysis nor a global perspective. In addition, this perspective has the similar simplistic tendency as the class perspective and appears to see race as an overriding structure in society.

The perspective of relative autonomy of racism attempts to avoid determinism or reductionism of other anti-racist frameworks. According to Stuart Hall and Paul Gilroy (Williams, 1989:100-102), the concept of racism is relatively autonomous; that is, it is not dependent on nor autonomous from other social relations such as capitalism and sexism. This view is aided by an analytic tool of historical specificity which shows that the

concept of racism is dictated by a shifting set of social relations and political climates. The works of Stuart Hall and Paul Gilroy (1987) provide a view of racism in post-war Britain that is intertwined with colonial sentiments and economic crisis. They deconstruct policy development in Britain such as immigration and expose the state institutions' hand in maintaining racism (Williams, 1989:100-105). However, the relative autonomy perspective's over-emphasis on the role of the state can be limiting and simplistic in analysis and strategies.

The perspective of political economy of migrant labour takes a slightly more global approach than the relative autonomy view. Its analysis examines the concept of cheap migrant labour: cheap Black labour in post-war Britain and cheap Third-World labour in a global economy (Sivanandan, 1982). Robert Miles and Annie Phizacklea (1979; 1984) problematize the concept of 'race'; they advance the idea of 'race' as a social construction. To them, the problem is not with 'race' or Black people, but with racism. Furthermore, they argue that racism should be examined in terms of historical and material conditions (Williams, 1989:109-10). Still Fiona Williams (1989:110) offers a criticism that the relative autonomy approach does not adequately address more community-based struggles regarding racial violence such as in schools and neighbourhoods.

'Black' feminism advances alternative views to those of mainstream feminism (Bannerji, 1986; Brand, 1993; hooks, 1984, 1988; Carty, 1991, 1992; Collins, 1989;

Silvera, 1989). These feminists provide intricate analyses of racism and sexism which are often coupled with an analysis of oppressions based on class and sexual orientation. 'Black' feminism fills the gender-analysis gap evident in many of the anti-racist writers. It is argued that gender-neutral analysis of racism oppresses non-white women further. 'Black' feminist analysis strengthens anti-racist discourses by offering views on intricate and contradictory social relations between 'race' and gender (Williams, 1989:112).

My analysis in this thesis is based on the overlapping perspectives of relative autonomy, migrant labour and 'black' feminism. I am attracted to their non-reductionist approach in analysis. Racism has survived for centuries and I am skeptical of any simple answer to eliminating racism. These three perspectives complement each other; for example, the migrant labour analysis broadens and speaks to today's global reality on cheap labour which the relative autonomy views lack. The gender analysis of 'black' feminism enriches analysis of the state institutions and international migration. The three perspectives appear to appreciate the complexity of racism with many factors influencing its manifestations. Together, they can provide a realistic potential for change by supplementing each other's shortcomings.

Comparative analysis was indispensable in bringing the three perspectives together to assemble essential elements of anti-racism. From this point on, I will treat the perspectives together as anti-racism unless indicated otherwise. The combined literature review on anti-racism follows next.

3.2 Literature Review - Anti-Racism

Anti-racism sees the concept of "races" as social constructions which are products of political, economic, cultural and/or social relations (Bannerji, 1993; Giroux, 1990; Li, 1990; Miles and Phizacklea, 1984; Phizacklea and Miles, 1980; Ng, 1989). It rejects rigid definitions of races which are biologically or culturally determined. Anti-racism seeks to avoid deterministic divisions of people based on superficial in-born characteristics. Instead "races" are purposeful social constructions imposed on particular groups of people so that these people are deemed inherently different and inferior.

This "race" concept is illustrated in various historical instances where certain "races" have shifted in characteristics over time depending on political, economic and social conditions rather than on legitimate scientific evidence (Brandt, 1986; Feuchtwang, 1990; Gilroy, 1987; Miles and Phizacklea, 1979a; Ng, 1989; Phizacklea and Miles, 1980). One example is the systematic oppression of the indigenous peoples in Canada. Doris Rajan-Eastcott (1990) describes the historical development of the indian "race" as an inferior race which has benefitted the Europeans' fur trade and land appropriation in Canada. The concept of the inferior "race" has been defined and redefined to suit the changing needs of European Canadians throughout Canadian history.

A common thread linking the fluid definitions of "race" is imposition of "race" categories on identifiable groups of people. The "race" of a subordinate group is based

on characteristics that are deemed salient by the dominant group (Frye, 1983; Gilroy, 1987; Hughes and Kallen, 1974; Li, 1988; Wilson, 1973). In constructing a "race", inherent traits, if any, of a "racialized" group are less important than social beliefs and perceptions about the group (Wilson, 1973; Miles and Phizacklea, 1980). Various historical periods of slavery illustrate instances of "race" construction. The African slaves brought to the United States South were constructed as uncivilized, unintelligent and only fit for manual labour (hooks, 1984, 1990).

Anti-racism theorists claim that the understanding of "race" is informed by an analysis of racism. It is thereby asserted that racism coincides with social constructions of "races" (Li, 1990; Troyna and Carrington, 1990). Racism according to anti-racism is a process whereby a group of people gain unqualified privileges over others. This process is facilitated by the development of social constructions of inferior "races" to create or maintain the unequal privileges (Danzker, 1991; Essed, 1990; McIntosh, 1990; Philip, 1992; Shadd, 1991; Wellman, 1977 in Patel, 1980). It appears that social constructions of "races" exist for the perpetuation of racism and for the justification of exploitive relations (Essed, 1990; hooks, 1984; Hughes and Kallen, 1974; Laroque, 1991; Li, 1990; Maracle, 1993; Rafiq, 1992). In other words, social constructions of "races" and racism feed off with each other; therefore, a discussion of one cannot be complete without the other.

They are many instances of this process whereby a group of people identifiable with skin colour, country of origin, language, or religion is seen to possess unique unchangeable traits (Troyna and Carrington, 1990:56) and has been subjugated to racism. For example, Canada's Indian Act has regulated the lives of the aboriginal peoples on the premise that they are uncivilized and inferior. In so doing, the Act and its racist ideology justified the Europeans' colonial expansion at the expense of the aboriginal peoples (Bourgeault, 1989; Patel, 1980; Rajan-Eastcott, 1990). Purposefully or not, the immigration of European settlers on Canada's once-aboriginal lands since the end of the fifteenth century (Morton, 1992) is not often seen as part of Canada's immigration history. Early European immigrants are labelled settlers as if there were no people before they arrived.

In Britain, A. Sivanandan (1982; 1990) has chronicled the historical development of immigration policies which have reflected racist social construction of non-white immigrants. The post-war immigration from the Commonwealth countries to augment labour shortages in Britain was regulated through restrictions targeted against the Commonwealth immigrants. These restrictions confined their employment to the lowly-paid service sector and severely limited their opportunities in Britain. The racist legacy of the British colonial periods reflected through the immigration period as the 'mother' state continued to construct Commonwealth immigrants as inferior to the white British citizens (Sivanandan, 1982).

In Canada's immigration history -- excluding the early European 'settlers' -- "culturally inferior" people from Asia and Southern and Central Europe were brought over for cheap manual labour for railway construction, agriculture and other labour-intensive work (Avery, 1979; Elliott and Fleras, 1990). During the First World War, 5,000 Ukrainian immigrants were put in Canada's first internment camps due to war-time hysteria and anti-foreigner sentiments; the government and private companies exploited the internees for heavy labour such as clearing lands and the construction of Canada's national parks (La Maison de Montage Luhovy, 1994). More recently the racist motivations behind Canada's concerted efforts to bring Caribbean women for domestic work have been documented (Calliste, 1989; Silvera, 1989). On one hand, a series of immigration policies which were specifically designed to recruit domestic workers fulfilled the shortage of child care providers in Canada; on another hand, these policies reinforced the social construction of Caribbean women as domestic slaves (Silvera, 1989).

Closely related to social constructions of "race", another major aspect advocated by anti-racism is the specificity of "race" and racism (Anthias and Yuval-Davis, 1983; Brandt, 1986; Fung, 1994; Giroux, 1990; Ng, 1989). Conditions and characteristics of "race"¹² and racism are fluid over time and constantly shifting. Specificity depends on geography, social climate and history (Brandt, 1986). It also depends on dynamics of gender, race/ethnic, sexual and class relations at a given time (Anthias and Yuval-Davis, 1983; Ng, 1989). "Race" and racism do not possess constant definitions or parameters of appearance:

Racism does not stay still; it changes shape, size, contours, purpose, function - with changes in the economy, the social structure, the [racist] system and, above all, the challenges, the resistances to that system (Sivanandan, 1990:64).

...racism [is] hydra-headed, and rear[s] its different heads in different ways in different times (prosperity and depression) and in differing areas (employment, housing, schools) and different places (inner city, suburbia)... (Sivanandan, 1990:147)

Causes, expressions and experiences of racism are specific and unique to each and every circumstance. A young working-class Asian woman in Canada would experience racism quite differently from a young working-class immigrant woman from the Caribbean. Experiences of each of these women may be considerably different at different historical times. Thus, attempts to universalize racism are too simplistic (Kline, 1989); racism is experienced in an interaction of one's race, ethnicity, gender, class, sexual orientation (Dei, 1993; Fung, 1994) and other factors. Yet these differences do not diminish the commonality of oppression from racism. Shapes and sizes of racism may differ; however, it is important to pinpoint in different circumstances the essence of racism -- conferring unqualified privileges to one group over others. This issue is further elaborated later with the concept of white supremacy.

Interactions of different factors in racism sometimes produce contradictory effects depending on specific situations (Brandt, 1986; Sarup, 1991). One's class may counteract the effects of racism at one time but enhance them at other times. Or, a combination of "race" and gender may result in different experiences of racism for women and men.

Anti-racism does not take "race" as the only factor in racism but situates it in a more realistic and complex perspective. Manifestations of racism depend on unique interactions of various factors in each situation. The historical division between "white" feminists and "black" feminists illustrates a multi-layered relation where "race" and class complicate the commonality of gender (hooks, 1984, 1988). However, this division has changed over time due to newer generations of women, socioeconomic and political climates, and other historical conditions. Hence the issue of specificity demands that anti-racism tackles the complexity of racism and avoids overgeneralized and simplistic analyses.

Anti-racism does not see "race" and racism as ahistorical phenomena which remain constant across time and place (Brandt, 1986; Feuchtwang, 1990; Gilroy, 1987; Ng, 1989; Phizacklea and Miles, 1980; Satzewich, 1990). A historical understanding of social relations thus becomes important in deconstructing "race" and racism at a specific time and place. For instance, analyses of various forms of colonialism have contributed in a deeper understanding of "race" and racism. Anti-racist analyses of colonialism and imperialism of the past and the present have offered systemic causes of racism as opposed to individualistic explanations for racism (Bourgeault, 1989; Patel, 1980; Rafiq, 1992; Sheth and Handa, 1993; Sivanandan, 1982, 1990). As well, these analyses can provide an invaluable tool for anti-racism's continual struggles for change by linking racisms of the past and the present. The linkages provide lessons for the future and opportunities for intervention. As racism has remained an integral part of our society and survived many centuries, these analyses may expose factors working against anti-racism such as

manifestations of resistance to anti-racist change. The analysis of the past can inform today's anti-racist struggles. Furthermore, historical analyses assist the anti-racist discourse by shedding light on specific processes and conditions of racism at different times in history.

Despite various forms, the oppression of people remains the constant. The construction of inferior "races" and exploitation of specific groups of people were evident in the colonial expansions in the Commonwealth countries (Sivanandan, 1982) and in Canada (Bourgeault, 1989; Patel, 1980). The commonality was also present in the slavery and segregation periods in the United States (hooks, 1984, 1988; Terkel, 1992). Historical analyses reveal that the legacy of slavery and colonialism continue today in slightly different forms: for instance, immigration control and forms of subjugation. Both British and Canadian immigration policies have been criticized for "state-sanctioned racism" (Sivanandan, 1982b:109) and excessive control over the lives of immigrants (Calliste, 1989; Elliott and Fleras, 1990; Matsubara, 1991; Sivanandan, 1982, 1990; Silvera, 1989; Women's Book Committee, 1992). The aboriginal peoples in Canada continue to be controlled by the Indian Act and its racist assumptions (Maracle, 1993; Rajan-Eastcott, 1990). A. Sivanandan (1982, 1990) and Robert Miles and Annie Phizacklea (1984) further contend that the imperialism of the industrialized nations, mostly from the West, exploits the developing countries by relocating industries to where cheap labour is available. Although this phenomenon is centred around capitalism and the profit motive, the exploitation of cheap labour is nonetheless aided by the social construction of

workers, and the socioeconomic conditions left by colonial experiences thereby maintains a "colour-based power hierarchy" in the world today (Sivanandan, 1990:13). The former colonies of the industrialized nations are once again 'exploited' in the global market.

Anti-racism discourses inevitably touch on the issue of white supremacy. The fundamental concept in discussing white supremacy is privilege gained from oppression of non-white¹³ people. The privileges bestowed on white people by white supremacy are numerous and vary in degrees. The extreme examples are ownership of slaves and various 'apartheid' policies. In addition, violent attacks and campaigns by neo-Nazis and white supremacists are some visible examples of white supremacy. Although equally concerned about these extremist actions, anti-racism seems to put more efforts in discerning invisible systemic privileges (hooks, 1988; McIntosh, 1990; Philip, 1992; Shadd, 1991; Patel, 1980). These privileges are often called structural or institutional racism which permeates major social institutions of society such as school, family and media (Patel, 1980:46-7). When a dominant group has the power to define its own experience as wholly representative (Thornhill, 1989) and exercises the power of defining who is white (Frye, 1983), it can maintain and justify unequal relations in society (Larocque, 1991; Essed, 1990; hooks, 1984). Thus institutional or structural racism coincides with the embodiment of a dominant perspective in every facet of society. This type of racism can work against the aspirations of non-white people (Brand and Bhaggiyadatta, 1986; Rafiq, 1992). David Hughes and Evelyn Kallen (1974:105-6) describe structural racism as unequal access to skills and resources for full participation

in society; the unequal access also means less opportunity to assert views of the oppressed (Hill, 1989). Peggy McIntosh's (1990) list of white privileges reveals the impacts of the white supremacist norm on commonplace practices such as banking and shopping experiences in the United States. The list exemplifies white supremacist conditions in which white perspectives become norms for all in a society or, as Philomena Essed (1990:19) calls, an "equal enforcement of unequal procedures or rules".

Some anti-racists argue for white supremacy to replace the term racism due to its clarity (hooks, 1988; Philip, 1992). Indeed the term white supremacy clearly points out who mainly benefits from its motivations and actions, and who suffers. Although bell hooks (1988) points out that white supremacy can sometimes benefit blacks -- usually middle- and upper-class blacks -- its targets of oppression are non-white people as a group. Here a discussion on differences between individual prejudices and systematic oppressions of non-white peoples is useful. Anti-racism clearly differentiates the two; its focus is on the latter, that racism is a group problem of whites dominating and discriminating against non-whites in the interest of whites (Essed, 1990:42; Hodge, 1975 in hooks, 1988; Rafiq, 1992). Individual prejudices between non-whites or group prejudices against whites are reactions to white supremacist oppressions and do not qualify as racism (Maracle, 1993; Rafiq, 1992). As Richard Fung (1994:15) succinctly describes: "Whereas only certain people can be targets of racism, anyone can engage in racism." Hence the definition of racism in the eyes of anti-racism is equal to the concept of white supremacy. From this point on, I will use white supremacy and racism

interchangeably to convey the same phenomenon: systemic and structural oppression and discrimination of non-whites.

Further on the issue of who benefits from racism, an increasing number of anti-racist writers has been addressing a more realistic view on co-opted non-white people (Brandt, 1986; Carty, 1992; hooks, 1988; Ng, 1989). Some non-whites benefit from racism as individuals or a group. For instance, non-aboriginal Canadians and immigrants have gained from the early European colonization of the aboriginal lands and resources (Rajan-Eastcott, 1990). Most people in Canada are likely to be living on the land once inhabited by once-autonomous peoples forcefully vanished or relocated. The present maintenance of the Indian Act would help support the socioeconomic and political benefits to non-aboriginals, including non-whites, in Canada. Another example of co-opting non-whites can be observed in affirmative action policies in the United States. The benefits of the policies have largely gone to middle- and upper-class blacks instead of to working-class blacks in ghettos (hooks, 1988). bell hooks (1988) contends that these policies have only perpetuated the assimilation of some blacks into the white society and not challenged the racist societal structures. Thus the beneficiaries of affirmative action appear to gain individually from the maintenance of a racist society. The same concerns can be attributed to various employment equity initiatives in Canada. The federal Employment Equity Act (1986) has not addressed systemic discrimination in the workplace and therefore has not been successful at retaining or promoting members from the designated groups¹⁴ (National Employment Equity Network, 1995).

In one way or another, non-white people have managed to cope and live with racism in their community. Godfrey Brandt (1986:101) calls this racial hegemony and explains how it helps legitimize racism: "cooptation of members of the oppressed through the use of ideological mechanisms to convince [these] individuals or groups of the validity and wholesomeness of racism". The cooptation may be voluntary or involuntary. For example, the residential school system for aboriginal peoples served to facilitate involuntary assimilation into the English Christian educational system.

In racial hegemony, non-whites do occasionally take the oppressor's role against other non-whites (hooks, 1988; Takaki, 1993). The aforementioned example about the main beneficiaries of affirmative action in the United States can also illustrate this situation. These beneficiaries enter into front-line, managerial, or policy-making positions and can exert control over the lives of other non-whites (hooks, 1988). bell hooks (1988:113) discusses the "complicity of people of color in upholding and maintaining racial hierarchies that do not involve force [i.e., as opposed to slavery or apartheid]" in perpetuation of white supremacy. As another instance, during the international pressures to increase economic sanctions against apartheid-ruled South Africa, Japanese people were granted 'honourary white status' due to their continued lucrative business investments in the increasingly isolated country. The Japanese business people thus received more rights and privileges than native non-white South Africans and helped maintain the apartheid system.

There are other subtle ways to feed and maintain white supremacy and racial hegemony. More and more writers are paying attention to a type of racism that is often invisible, commonplace and ingrained in our everyday life (Bannerji, 1986; Brand, 1993; Essed, 1990; McIntosh, 1990; Ng, 1989). Closely tied into the cooptation process of racial hegemony, racism becomes a normal way of seeing and understanding without questioning its origins or logic (Bannerji, 1986; Essed, 1990; Sarup, 1991). Once a society benefits from racism, it can become a fundamental part of the society's structures, norms and customs. "Common sense racism" thus describes permeation of racism throughout a society at all levels (Bannerji, 1986:11). As a result, both the oppressors and the oppressed take racism for granted often unconsciously (Ng, 1989).

Racism occurs and becomes an accepted norm even in a society where racism is publicly condemned (Essed, 1990). In Canada, racism is present despite the public and/or political support of the Charter of Rights and Freedoms (1982) and the Canadian Human Rights Act (1977). Madan Sarup (1991:41) explains that the value system of racism is not based on logic and rationality but is "a way of making sense"; thus "reasoned arguments based on facts and logic" are ineffective in combatting racism. Philomena Essed (1994) also points out from her experiences in the Netherlands that societies whose reputation is progressive and tolerant on other social issues can be quite blind to the reality of their own racism. People in these societies feel that racism cannot possibly exist among themselves due to their reputable tolerance; thus there is a complete denial of racism's presence even when racism is blatantly present. This line of analysis

complements the criticisms against human rights and multiculturalism legislations in Canada, that they are based on a belief "that Canada is free of racism except for some prejudiced individuals" (Patel, 1980:38; Philip, 1992). Henry Giroux (1990:9) further argues that genuine anti-racist discourses in the industrialized West have been prevented by a liberal view based on a belief in "rule of the market, an unproblematic acceptance of European culture as the basis of civilization, and a notion of the individual subject as a unified, rational self". This belief system thus produces compensatory measures, such as affirmative action, which seek to enhance skills of the oppressed who "need to be remade in the image of a dominant White culture in order to be integrated into the heavenly city of Enlightenment rationality" (Giroux, 1990:9).

Culture, identity and representation have become a significant part of the central themes in anti-racism in recent efforts to situate and understand racism as a pervasive structural phenomenon in society. I refer to Henry Giroux's definition of culture:

"a set of lived experiences and social practices developed within asymmetrical relations of power -- a mobile field of ideological and material relations that are unfinished, multilayered, and always open to interrogation (Giroux, 1992:99).

Thus, culture is as flexible and shifting as social constructions of "races". A complex relation of culture, identity and representation informs anti-racism discourses in a new direction. Instead of focusing on the social constructions of non-whites, anti-racism exposes 'whiteness' from the unproblematic definition of being normal, natural and ideal.

Anti-racism argues that the development of races as social constructions has been crucial in shaping the concept of 'whiteness' as well. Anyone who does not fit the definition of 'white' is othered (hooks, 1992) -- black, Asian, coloured, indian, ethnic minority, or visible minority. The implication is that anyone or anything that deviates from the 'white' norm is seen as marginal and inferior in a white supremacist society (hooks, 1984, 1992; Philip, 1992). In contrast to the negative representations of blacks, the normalcy and virtues of 'whiteness' continue to exist in the present United States (hooks, 1992). Increasingly anti-racist theorists point to the direct contribution of 'whiteness' to the development of white supremacist thinking (Danzker, 1991; Essed, 1990; Giroux, 1990; hooks, 1990, 1992).

In critically observing the concept of 'whiteness', bell hooks (1992) further discusses different representations of 'whiteness' among white and black Americans. 'Whiteness' is invisible, common and taken for granted among the whites (Rothenberg, 1988) while it represents power, control and terror within the post-slavery black American psyche (hooks, 1992). Similarly Lee Maracle (1993:125) points out, in a response to the issue of reverse racism, that "the Native who has no love and respect for white folks is responding to an unnatural[i.e. racist] condition." 'Whiteness' as the dominant discourse exists differently in the minds of whites and non-whites. It guides non-whites' and whites' everyday actions and thoughts differently, such as using a transparent shopping bag to avoid being accused of shoplifting, not looking directly in the eye of a white person of authority, or taking for granted the available colour of band-aids (McIntosh,

1990:31-6; Essed, 1990; hooks, 1992; Rothenberg, 1988). The representation of 'whiteness' as terror in the minds of non-whites -- a legacy from the slavery period -- appears publicly silenced and countered by the myths of pluralism and diversity upheld by liberal-minded whites and blacks alike (hooks, 1992). This may be attributed to the public sentiment that racism is considered vanished after the civil rights movements in the United States and Britain. Any attempt to challenge racism within the backdrop of pluralism is thus seen as special treatment for non-white people (Gilroy, 1987; hooks, 1992). hooks (1992) also claims that studying and ridiculing 'whiteness' -- once the coping and surviving techniques for the black slaves -- occur less and less today among contemporary blacks; and, these behaviours are replaced by internalized self-hate and imitating 'whiteness'.

'White' culture, identity and representation as the dominant discourse have influenced the developments of western civilizations, colonialism, imperialism and various oppressions of non-white peoples (Giroux, 1990, 1992; hooks, 1992; Philip, 1992). The issue of authority and appropriation is a significant part of building a dominant discourse. Anti-racism claims that 'whiteness' as the dominant norm has become the authority on discourses on human civilizations (hooks, 1988, 1992; Philip, 1992). In other words, the 'white' Western culture including its arts, literature, history and other measures of a civilization has become the yardstick for all the other cultures and modes of society. 'Other' ways of knowing, expressing and feeling then occupy the marginal existence to the central 'whiteness' (hooks, 1984, 1988, 1992). Other theorists (Carty, 1992; Giroux,

1990. 1992; Philip, 1992; Trinh, 1989) point out the damaging contributions of the 'white' authority in the academe and a wider popular culture. As the authority, it can control and determine what constitutes 'legitimate knowledge'. It can 'iscredit and suppress 'marginal knowledges' by measuring against one yardstick, or, "Eurocentric masculinist criteria" (Hill, 1989:753). The authority in "knowledge-validation processes" (Hill, 1989:753) plays a vital role in white-supremacist domination and oppression (hooks, 1988). It includes different forms of appropriation. The marginalized 'others' are taken away their legitimacy to speak for themselves or create knowledge. 'Whiteness' gains the sole authority to discuss and write about themselves and 'others'. As the dominant 'whiteness' becomes the authority on 'others', 'others' become silenced and dependent on the authority to speak about themselves (Carty, 1992; Trinh, 1989). Appropriation of this kind reinforces the power differences between the oppressor and the oppressed and threatens self-determination of the oppressed (hooks, 1990; Hill 1989). Sometimes their knowledge, achievements and history have been exploited and appropriated into the 'white' civilization without recognition (Philip, 1992). Anti-racism asserts that the tools of authority and appropriation confer more power and legitimacy to the dominant 'white' discourse and its oppressions of others.

Hence Henry Giroux offers the following oppositional strategies for the anti-racism discourse:

- problematizing concepts, meaning, representation, and history;
- refusing the claims of master narratives and universal truth and reason;

- rejecting "European tradition as the exclusive referent for judging what constitutes historical, cultural, and political truth"; and,
- viewing individual subjects as contradictory and multilayered rather than rational beings (Giroux, 1990:14-16).

Accordingly anti-racism advocates more critical and observant analyses. Instead of developing one general theory of racism with necessary conditions, anti-racism appreciates complex and ever changing manifestations of "race" and racism. As A. Sivanandan puts eloquently:

...there [is] no body of thought called anti-racism, no orthodoxy or dogma, no manual of strategy and tactics, no demonology. What there [is] in our society [is] racism, in every walk of life, and it [has] to be combated - in every conceivable way. And because racism [is] hydra-headed, and rear[s] its different heads in different ways in different times (prosperity and depression) and in differing areas (employment, housing, schools) and different places (inner city, suburbia), the ways of combating racism [are] also different and legion. Nor [are] there any short-cuts to its demise. Racism [has] been a long time in the making and [will] take a long time to die. 'Anti-racism', therefore, [is] a portmanteau word meant to carry all these differing ideas and ways of combating racism. The important thing, however, [is] to keep racism from corrupting society to decay (Sivanandan, 1990:147).

In challenging against the complexity of racism, anti-racist theorists put forward some common values and principles, which are ideals of social justice, genuine democracy and critical citizenship (Brandt, 1986; Dei, 1993; Freire, 1970; Gilroy, 1987; Giroux, 1992; hooks, 1988; Lorde, 1984; Patel, 1980; Philip, 1992; Sivanandan, 1990; Troyna and Carrington, 1990). At minimum, anti-racism denounces oppressions which violate basic human rights such as poverty, exploitation, discrimination, and denial of free speech, free movement and assembly. Anti-racism supports a view of social justice for

all where there is no unnecessary suffering and pain from dehumanizing oppressions. However, the basic human rights also entail fulfilling social responsibilities. Anti-racism particularly emphasizes collective responsibilities to fellow human beings on a global scale. Individual rights cease to be valid once they are utilized to oppress, exploit and violate others (Freire, 1970; hooks, 1988; Philip, 1992; Sivanandan, 1990). Social justice for anti-racism thus implies seeking a balance -- sometimes very precarious -- between individual human rights and social responsibilities.

Closely intertwined with the value of social justice is a vision of genuine democracy and critical citizenship (Brandt, 1986; Freire, 1970; Giroux, 1992; Troyna and Carrington, 1990). It is argued that the industrialized west is undemocratic in its practice despite its espoused democratic ideals; many have cited, for instance, the growing class divisions, urban and ghetto strife and continuing racial oppression within their countries (Brennan, 1991; Giroux, 1992; Patel, 1980; Philip, 1992). These anti-racist theorists have begun to question the disparity between the ideals and the reality. The concept of critical citizenship has been advocated in some anti-racism quarters in order to achieve genuine democracy. It is a similar process to the development of critical perspectives on "races" and culture. Citizenship is problematized for active resistance to oppressions (Giroux, 1992; Troyna, 1987).

Another anti-racist trait is to link issues at relevant micro and macro levels (Bannerji, 1991; Egan et al. in Rafiq, 1992; hooks, 1984; Sivanandan, 1990). Anti-racism

rejects isolating racist incidents into individual cases; an incident to one person may have wider implications for society. Individualizing racism has been useful in the maintenance of white supremacy. As long as racism is seen as personal problems not as a societal problem, the insidious nature of white supremacy remains (hooks, 1984). As the 'migrant labour' perspectives show (Sivanandan, 1982; Miles and Phizacklea, 1984), anti-racism promotes a global perspective in its analysis and actions. Making links at all levels of society and with other geographical areas or historical times is offered as a practical antidote against claims of racism as individual problems and against doubts over the realities of oppressive phenomena (Sivanandan, 1990).

Finally, anti-racism encourages making alliances with working class people, women, gays and lesbians and other groups experiencing oppressions (Egan et al., in Rafiq, 1992; hooks, 1984, 1990; Sivanandan, 1990). The commonality of experiencing oppressions can be empowering and enriching to the anti-racist struggles rather than isolating 'race' issues or competing for public attention and resources. Anti-racism attempts to educate that profiting at the expense of other groups or issues does not accomplish social justice at all but in fact creates other oppressions (Brah and Deem, 1986; Brandt, 1986; Sarup, 1991). As an example, there has been a growing recognition that white supremacy does not benefit all 'white' people alike (Miles and Phizacklea, 1979a, 1980; Sivanandan, 1990); according to the studies by Robert Miles and Annie Phizacklea (1979), white working-class segments in Britain generally experience fewer privileges conferred by racism than do the upper-class. In this case, addressing issues of

class and race may provide people with a window of opportunity to reach a common understanding and to work together against oppressions. Linking with other variables of analysis is deemed crucial in genuine understanding of 'hydra-headed' racism and in building anti-racist strategies and actions (hooks, 1984, 1988; Murphy and Livingstone, 1985; Troyna and Carrington, 1990).

In summary, anti-racism can be divided into three segments: anti-racist values, analysis and strategies. Anti-racist values are shown in the previous discussions on the pursuit of genuine democracy and social justice and responsibilities. Most emphasis in anti-racism appears to be placed on its analysis of race and racism. Analytical discussions on social constructions and specificity of races represent an alternative framework in which the problems of racism are debated. An anti-racist perspective attempts to understand racism in real situations which demand a complex and multi-level analysis. It is also crucial to uncover ideological influences in the maintenance of racism by cultivating an anti-racist analysis -- for example, critical analysis skills. Resulting concepts such as 'common sense' racism and whiteness are integral to an anti-racist understanding.

Although there are no specific anti-racist strategies, there are some recommended courses of action. For instance, fostering critical citizenship is seen as one way of challenging oppressions. In addition, forming alliances with other oppressed groups and individuals appears out of a desire for social justice. Incorporating a global perspective

(page 52) is another strategy to link issues and peoples. Anti-racist knowledge and analysis of each situation can become sources of anti-racist actions. Taken together, these strategies attempt to challenge racism collectively rather than on an individual basis.

Anti-racism, represented in the values, analysis and strategies discussed so far, thus hold a certain view of society and human interactions. It views racism as a collective problem which requires collective solutions. It views racism as fluid and complex in nature. It views racism as an integral part of our society and our everyday interactions.

The tradition of unlearning racism in our everyday life has been explored in the works of Peggy McIntosh (1990), Himani Bannerji (1986), Dionne Brand (1993), Philomena Essed (1990) and Roxana Ng (1989). Since racism is considered a learned mode of thought, behaviour and emotion, it is also considered possible to unlearn it. This line of thinking may have promoted the development of sometimes naive initiatives in education in order to reverse learned racism. Is unlearning racism realistic? What have been anti-racist responses in education to the problems of racism? In the next section, a literature review on anti-racist education is offered.

3.3 Anti-Racist Education

Anti-racist education begins with a premise that schools are major agents of socialization and cultural transmission in society (Brandt, 1986). As social constructions

of "races" are reflected in all aspects of societal structures and customs (Cannon in Walker, 1993; Patel, 1980), they are said to be reflected in educational systems as well. This view is supported by historical instances of voluntary and involuntary assimilation of the colonized and oppressed peoples around the world (Essed, 1990; hooks, 1988). Philomena Essed (1990) points out that the present educational systems of many former colonies still reflect the colonizers' system. Godfrey Brandt's (1986:67) critical analysis of educational systems offers a scathing view of schools as a major player in "generation, regeneration, and promulgation of racism". Although schools are not accused of causing racism single-handedly, it is strongly suggested to keep in mind the influences of racist socialization and education on the development of future citizens. Educational institutions are seen as perfect places to begin anti-racist struggles (Brandt, 1986).

Anti-racist education strives to examine the whole aspect of an educational process. That is, it goes beyond a mere provision of anti-racist teaching materials. Improvements in teaching materials and methods are seen as only part of anti-racist education. Other crucial components within an educational institution which influence the process of education are: school structure and organization; administration; school environment; events and activities; types of student services; makeup of students, teachers and staff; teacher training and so on (Brah and Deem, 1986; Patel, 1980; Sarup, 1991; Sivanandan, 1990; Tator, 1987; Troyna and Carrington, 1990). Some anti-racist theorists have used the concept of the "hidden curriculum" to describe these aspects of education in contrast to a "formal curriculum" or teaching contents and methods (Brah and Deem,

1986; Dei, 1993; Sivanandan, 1990; Tator, 1987; Troyna and Carrington, 1990). The hidden curriculum concept demands a structural change within educational institutions (Dei, 1993; Sarup, 1991).

The hidden and formal curricula are intricately connected to each other and should not be considered separately. Anti-racist values and principles must flow in both with a view of working for social justice in education and society (Brah and Deem, 1986; Sivanandan, 1990). Anti-racist education is difficult to achieve when one component of a school is putting up a barrier against anti-racism. For instance, an anti-racist curriculum content is not sufficient if teachers have "stereotypical perceptions of students based on class and color[sic]" (Darder, 1991:30). The same may apply to all aspects of the hidden curriculum: school policies, services, extra-curricular activities, racial/cultural diversity among students and staff to list some. Important and practical in achieving anti-racist education in both formal and hidden curricula is institutional support (Dei, 1993). Without it, it would be extremely difficult to accomplish anti-racist education. Institutional support can mean credibility and resources. Nonetheless, lack of such support does not stop nor discourage anti-racist struggles in education which have developed out of the tradition of oppositional resistance (Brandt, 1986; Carty, 1991; Dei, 1993; hooks, 1984, 1988; Miles and Phizacklea, 1984; Sivanandan, 1990).

The 'whole aspect' -- examining both formal and hidden curricula issues -- seems to have come out of frustrations with educational initiatives which merely sought to

change the formal curriculum. These initiatives tend to amend a curriculum with token inclusions of multi-racial issues. They do "not challenge the racist educational structure" but, in turn, make students "adjust to live in a racist society" (Sivanandan, 1990:68). Others have emphasized an oppositional element of anti-racist education. In this sense, 'oppositional' means against a racist educational structure which "oppress[es], repress[es], or disenfranchise[s] one set of pupils on unjustifiable grounds" (Brandt, 1986:125). Anti-racist education sets its immediate and larger targets -- education and society -- for sites of opposition and resistance (Brandt, 1986; hooks, 1988). Godfrey Brandt (1986) also describes anti-racist education as a 'Black' definition, meaning that non-whites are no longer tolerant of a racist education and want an education reflective of social justice and liberation.

And, what exactly does anti-racist education resist? It resists and challenges the dominant Eurocentric knowledge and learning. It opposes racial-hegemonic ideas which support and maintain racism (Dei, 1993). Educational institutions, in particular universities, are sites of knowledge creation and validation. Many theorists have offered analyses of the dominant academic discourse and processes of 'legitimate' knowledge creation (Bannerji, et al., 1991; Dei, 1993; Giroux, 1990, 1992; Hill, 1989; Trinh, 1989; Zeigler, et al., 1991). Knowledge creation and validation seem to parallel colonial and imperial experiences of the oppressed people (Corrigan, 1981). The oppressed have minimum access to knowledge creation as T. Minh-Ha Trinh describes:

A conversation of "us" with "us" about "them" is a conversation in which "them" is silenced. "Them" always stands on the other side of the hill, naked and speechless, barely present in its absence. Subject of discussion, "them" is only admitted among "us," the discussing subjects, when accompanied or introduced by an "us," member, hence the dependency of "them" and its need to acquire good manners for the membership standing. The privilege to sit at table with "us," however, proves both uplifting and demeaning. It impels "them" to partake in the reduction of itself and the appropriation of its otherness by a detached "us" discourse. The presence of a (grateful) witness serves to legalize such discourse, allowing it to mimic, whenever necessary, the voice of truth (Trinh, 1989:67).

The point that the dominant perspectives control the definition and legitimacy of knowledge has been examined by feminist and anti-racist theorists alike (Bannerji, 1991; Carty, 1991; Giroux, 1992; Hill, 1989; McKenna, 1991). However discouraging to face this knowledge-creation process, anti-racist education has taken up the challenge to oppose this process and its result. The "outside knowledge," as Linda Carty (1991:22) labels it, is "a source of resistance for the marginalized people".

The resistance aspect of anti-racist education has been inspired by Paulo Freire's (1970) work on critical pedagogy. Freire's theory on 'banking' education as a tool of oppression appears to parallel the concepts of a dominant epistemology and socialization processes for a racist society. As well, it was Paulo Freire (1970) who popularized the concept of value-laden education. Adapting these concepts, anti-racist educators attempt to problematize the whole education system and 'legitimate' knowledge. George Dei (1993) and Madan Sarup (1991) question the validity of a dominant way of looking at reality. An education from a dominant perspective is exposed as not neutral nor objective. Henry Giroux states:

Critical pedagogy .. rejects a discourse of value neutrality. Without subscribing to a language that polices behavior and desire, a critical pedagogy aims at developing pedagogical practices informed by an ethical stance that contexts racism, sexism, class exploitation, and other dehumanizing and exploitative social relations as ideologies and social practices that disrupt and devalue public life (Giroux, 1992:102).

While rejecting the dominant perspectives' claim to neutrality, anti-racist education openly espouses the value of social justice. It does not claim value neutrality. It takes an ethical stand on human rights and justice for all (Brandt, 1986; Giroux, 1992; Troyna and Carrington, 1990).

Ways of creating "outside knowledge" and resisting the dominant epistemology come from practices of critical learning and teaching (Adams and Marchesani, 1992; Dei, 1993; Razack, 1993; Sarup, 1991; Troyna, 1987; Troyna and Carrington, 1990). These practices are an extension of the principle of critical analysis in the anti-racism discourse. Based on the premise that racism of a society is reflected in our education system, anti-racist education seeks to expose and deal with racism in both society and education (Brah and Deem, 1986; Dei, 1993; Troyna, 1987). It advocates several general principles of critical teaching and learning. The term 'critical' becomes the central theme for teachers and students in anti-racist education. They are encouraged to question and examine what they are teaching or learning as well as what they are not teaching or learning (Darder, 1991). 'Critical' does not mean that they criticize for the sake of criticizing. It does mean, however, not accepting so-called 'legitimate' knowledge without questions (Sarup, 1991). How we come to know certain events or thoughts needs to be examined (Hill, 1989; McKenna, 1991; Razack, 1993). 'Critical' also means development of skills to

build a sharp awareness and to recognize unjust oppression and repression (Dei, 1993). Paulo Freire's "conscientization" -- critical thinking -- searches for structural causes for people's oppression beyond superficial and obvious appearances (Wallerstein, 1987).

One of the pedagogical ways of fostering critical minds is through political education. Political education often teaches concepts of responsible citizenship, political participation and the state from the dominant perspective. It is the contention of anti-racist theorists that a 'genuine democracy' does not exist while some groups of people are still oppressed or repressed unjustifiably (Giroux, 1992). Development of skills of 'critical citizenship' has been suggested by Henry Giroux (1992) to counter 'undemocratic' political education; for instance, students are given opportunities to develop skills to challenge and transform oppressive social and political forms (Dei, 1993; Giroux, 1992). Developing critical skills requires students to "locate themselves in history [and] find their own voices" (Giroux, 1992:74). This is closely related to some of the anti-racism issues discussed in the previous section (3.2). Through practice with historical analysis, critical skills may be improved. One's own voice can be found from not taking anything for granted and from critical questioning (Razack, 1993).

Moreover anti-racist education strongly advocates a grasp on fundamental issues such as human rights, social justice and social relations of power (Bannerji, 1991; Dei, 1993; Frye, 1983; hooks, 1984; Hughs and Kallen, 1974; Sivanandan, 1990; Thornhill, 1989; Troyna and Carrington, 1990:98). Here, anti-racist education also links with other

oppressed groups of people. Understanding other oppressions and making alliances are crucial to the goals of social justice and liberation (Brandt, 1986). Unjust oppression or repression of any kind does not belong in an anti-racist society. Thus, political education for anti-racist education means development of critical skills for building a just world.

Anti-racist education therefore requires a global perspective (Dei, 1993; Sivanandan, 1990). An appreciation of various forms of oppressions, suppressions and repressions does not materialize from isolating racism issues. Building a better society at the expense of other societies is totally against what anti-racist education aspires. This issue is reminiscent of the discussion on racial hegemony where some non-whites benefit from white supremacy at the expense of other non-whites. By taking a global perspective of oppression and repression, anti-racist education seeks to prevent further oppressions while working towards liberation. In addition, it involves educators and students to examine racism at multiple levels -- personal, institutional, national and international -- as well as multiple aspects of racism such as economics and ideologies (Sarup, 1991). Analyses of these inter-linked components assist in the development of an awareness of ourselves in a 'global village' (Dei, 1993).

Flowing from the global perspective of social justice, anti-racist education stresses use of cooperative and collective learning for students (Sarup, 1991; Thompson and Disch, 1991; Troyna, 1987). Individualistic values are quite incompatible to anti-racist education (Troyna, 1987) which advocates liberation of the oppressed on a global scale.

Anti-racist education goes beyond individual accomplishments in the eradication of racism. As in the anti-racist discourse (Section 3.2), only collective solutions and strategies would dismantle racism on wider scales. As we honour and applaud the work achieved by many anti-racist individuals such as Nelson Mandela, Dr. Martin Luther King and Rigoberta Menchu Tum, their work also represents the pinnacle of collective achievement. The collective power of their supporters locally and globally were just as effective as in making change for a better society. Collective learning and actions are therefore one of the guiding principles of anti-racist education.

Intrinsic to cooperative and collective learning is the concept of student-centred learning. Anti-racist education has adapted it to its own purposes of nurturing critical thinkers and activists. Understanding racism does not occur solely at an abstract theoretical level of a person since racism is said to be an ideological phenomenon about social inequality (Sarup, 1991). In other words, racism is a social condition manufactured by humans. Therefore it often does not respond to reasons or rational arguments against racism (Sarup, 1991). Anti-racist education advances the idea of exploring individual narratives. While it does not suggest that students and teachers engage in personal confessions about racism, it supports critical self-analyses of these individual experiences as one of the steps towards a better appreciation of racism and oppression (Dei, 1993). Students are encouraged to make links between personal and group experiences with larger institutional and power structures in society (Dei, 1993). Following the principle of specificity, anti-racist education values an individual's understanding of his or her place

in society and history (Razack, 1993). By allowing the exploration of individual narratives (Connelly and Clandinin, 1988), anti-racist education encourages students to find their own voices for expression and analysis. Teachers become facilitators in this process of critical exploration (Fals Borda and Rahman, 1991). In order for a teacher to facilitate the learning process, anti-racist education recommends "a classroom environment of trust and respect that is conducive to discuss all forms of discrimination" (Dei, 1993:43).

Writings on anti-racist education in general lack suggestions for a precise or concrete pedagogical methodology (Giroux, 1992). This is understandable given the varied learning and teaching circumstances. Each individual goes through a unique process of coming to an awareness and developing critical skills; thus it is difficult to force every student into a pre-set mode of learning. In addition, historical and geographical considerations, such as where learning and teaching take place, influences the pedagogy. For instance, each school has unique needs and circumstances that affect learning and teaching such as student/staff makeup, available resources and services and community involvement. Therefore, setting general principles and values of anti-racist education -- such as those discussed in this section -- does appear the most sensible and practical assistance to pedagogical decision-making (Giroux, 1992).

There is a danger of anti-racist education being co-opted into the dominant perspective (Brandt, 1986). The process is similar to co-opting few 'successful' non-

white individuals to claim that there is no need for anti-racist solutions (Takaki, 1993). Or, it is reminiscent of a hegemonic situation where non-whites benefit at the expense of other non-whites (hooks, 1988). Anti-racism and anti-racist education warn to be vigilant against any forms of co-optation (Brandt, 1986; hooks, 1988). For example, students' initial idea to hold a school event on racism goes through many changes due to the fear of open conflict and the pressure from the school principal. In the end, the event becomes a poster contest to promote harmony in school. There needs to be constant critical analysis of anti-racist education itself as a theory and a practice in the real world.

Anti-racist education therefore strongly supports the development of skills which are considered crucial in building a just society. The emphasis on critical thought and cooperative learning clearly represents ideals of anti-racism. As well, problematizing 'legitimate' knowledge and every aspect of educational processes and institutions is important in achieving anti-racist education. Concepts such as the 'hidden' curriculum have provided invaluable insights into how racism is re-created in educational settings. In keeping with its oppositional character, anti-racist education suggests a number of pedagogical methods which may challenge conventional teaching -- for example, anti-racist political education.

The anti-racist education literature reviewed in this section has contributed practical issues and strategies towards achieving anti-racism in educational settings and

in broader society. It embodies the values and analysis of anti-racism (Section 3.2). Together, the two literatures present a greater potential for anti-racist change for society.

3.4 Summary - an anti-racist framework

As the literature reviews in the previous two sections (3.2 and 3.3) show, the anti-racism discourse and its views on education cover vast and complex issues. Table 1 presents a summary list of the issues, values and strategies gleaned from the two literature reviews. However, this is not a definitive list due to various limitations of my literature search, i.e., reliance on materials in English and in western contexts. Furthermore, the discourse on anti-racism is still evolving and has a considerable opportunity for future contributions. Nevertheless, the table below now represents my analytical framework which guides the rest of the thesis.

Table 1: An Anti-Racist Framework

- concept of races as social constructions
- specificity of race and racism
- historical and critical analyses
- white supremacy and racism
- concept of "commonsense racism"
- co-optation - racial hegemony
- authority, appropriation and 'legitimacy'
- 'whiteness' and 'other'
- a global perspective - linking micro and macro levels
- a holistic perspective - formal and hidden curricula
- social justice and responsibilities
- genuine democracy
- making alliances
- problematizing knowledge and institutions
- critical pedagogy
- political education as a pedagogical tool
- cooperative and collective learning and action
- student-centred learning
- institutional support for reform

Notes

11. The reader should be aware that the term black in most British writing refers to non-white people. Hence, it includes people of Asian, African, and Caribbean origins. For the purpose of this thesis, 'black'(in quotations) refers to all non-white people; this use is similar to the term 'visible minority' in Canada. Black(without quotations) refers to people of African descent.
12. From this point on, "race" or "races" will refer to socially constructed concepts.
13. As discussed earlier, the terms white and non-white can be viewed as part of social constructions of "races". Although the usage of the terms are problematic, I have yet to find better alternatives.
14. The four designated groups targeted for employment equity are: women, visible minorities, aboriginal persons, and persons with disabilities.

CHAPTER FOUR: Anti-Racist Social Work Education

This chapter details the results of my second research stage (Section 2.3.2) and describes how social work education is facing the challenges of anti-racism. The characteristics of anti-racist social work education in this chapter were derived from the social work education literature based on the anti-racist analytical framework set out in Chapter 3 (Table 1). The characteristics were used in the third research stage as the criteria for curriculum evaluation methodologies for anti-racist social work education.

As described in my methodology chapter, I have used comparative analysis techniques to distil anti-racist characteristics from the social work education literature. Also I have sometimes relied on my knowledge and experience to guide the literature search and analysis, an approach advocated in grounded theory analysis (Strauss, 1987). My purpose at this stage was not to judge whether a piece of data -- an idea, concept, or practice documented in literature -- is anti-racist, but to incorporate any anti-racist contribution discussed in the literature into my criteria. Furthermore, some data in the literature were selected for potential contributions to anti-racism although they did not specifically discuss anti-racism. In other words, I chose any pieces of data which coincided with my anti-racist framework (Table 1) since the term anti-racism is not used nor defined consistently in the literature. Therefore, I broadened my keyword search within the social work education literature to include *race, racism, ethnicity, culture, multicultural, cross-cultural, justice, empowerment and oppression*.

The literature parameter was confined to published social work education literature in English. The data search was conducted through library catalogue systems at two local universities. This included a SocioFile CD-ROM search. Most of the data analyzed in this stage were from Canada, the United States and England. An important commonality amongst the three countries is a white majority population with significant multicultural and multiracial segments.

Some social workers have recognized that social work education has been and still is racist (Dominelli, 1988:41; Head, 1990:207; Mirelowitz and Grossman, 1975:79; Morris, 1993:99-100). Racism is very much present in social work theories and practices (Granger and Portner, 1985:40; Montiel and Wong, 1983:113) which in turn influence social work education. This should not be surprising when we realize that social work is undeniably situated and practised in a racist society. The priority for anti-racist social work education is not to prove that social work education is racist, but to challenge racist social relations and to assist individuals and groups oppressed by these relations.

My analysis resulted in the identification of about thirty anti-racist characteristics within the social work education literature. As I progressed in my data collection and analysis, I saw natural groupings amongst characteristics.¹⁵ The end result is the following seven themes of anti-racist social work education: social justice and social change; structural approach; rejecting dominant white and 'objective' perspectives; anti-racist awareness raising; development of critical skills; student-centred, collective

learning; and, holistic approach - curricular reform & institutional change within schools of social work. Each theme is elaborated in this chapter.

4.1 Social Justice and Social Change

Anti-racist social work education positions itself to prepare students to become able to challenge unjust and oppressive structures. The professional codes of ethics of both the Canadian and American associations of social workers explicitly state that their members are to work for social justice, towards clients' self-determination and against discrimination (O'Neill and Yelaja, 1991:176; Lum, 1992:37-38). Consequently social work education is mandated to educate all students to be competent in responding to racism (Echols, et al., 1988:227).

Accordingly, basic social work values reflect anti-racist values such as liberation of the dispossessed and vulnerable (Saleebey, 1994:359) and working towards a just society (Abramovitz, 1993:9). Anti-racism also parallels social work's goal of a just redistribution of power and resources (Abramovitz, 1993:10; Dominelli, 1988:61; Mirelowitz and Grossman, 1975:80). There is a sense of collective responsibility both in anti-racism and social work. The quest for social justice is carried over to social work with individuals and groups (Abramovitz, 1993:9; Mirelowitz and Grossman, 1975:80; Morris, 1993:101). It is argued that structural understanding of oppressions should underline social work practice rather than pathologizing non-whites (Dominelli, 1988:12).

Without the benefit of understanding interrelationships amongst social, institutional and individual levels of racism, social work would be too simplistic and perhaps harmful. For instance, James Herrick (1978:530) warns that a minority content in a social work curriculum which ignores institutional aspects of racism tends to support and maintain a racist society; such curriculum focuses on victims of racism whereby alleviating personal stress from living with racism is the only goal of social work. This way, systemic racism is never challenged directly and left to continue on.

Thus an approach of institutional change dominates anti-racist social work education, although work with individuals is just as crucial in anti-racism. Anti-racist social work education recommends teaching skills on organizational or institutional change to ensure equitable access to resources and services for a diverse clientele (Dominelli, 1988:70; O'Neill and Yelaja, 1991:179). Also there is a call for teaching political skills to social work students (Mirelowitz and Grossman, 1975:80; Seebaran and George, 1990:160).

The institutional-change approach is also applied to schools of social work. Faculty and student compositions and support for anti-racist efforts are some areas of suggested change within schools (Dominelli, 1988:63; Echols, et al., 1988:226). The issue is further elaborated in Section 4.7.2 (Institutional Change within Schools of Social Work) later in this chapter.

4.2 Structural Approach

Anti-racist social work education reflects a structural or structuralist approach (Denney, 1983:164-166; Montiel and Wong, 1983:115; Satow, 1982:38; Williams, 1988:171). The structural social work approach, influenced by Marxism and feminism, sees social problems or inequality as arising from a societal context rather than from individual failures (Mullaly, 1993:124). First coined by Gale Goldberg Wood and Ruth Middleman (1974), structural social work was developed further by Maurice Moreau (1989) to account for various oppressions in society. The main contribution of structural social work is the recognition that social, economic and political structures create and sustain oppressive conditions which leads to inequality; and, that victims of oppression are not to be blamed for their places in a social order (Mullaly, 1993:125). Anti-racism's social constructions of "races" benefit from this view of oppression as victims of racism are arbitrarily forced to face oppression. Structural social work seeks to change oppressive social system rather than to change individuals. Although work with individuals and groups is important to alleviate their oppressive conditions and to help achieve their self-determination, the inequality is said to continue unless structural issues are addressed (Mullaly, 1993:125). Robert Mullaly (1993) offers structural principles required for social change which are reflected in some of the anti-racist values discussed in Chapter 3. They are collectivism, equality, planned economy, needs-based distribution, participatory democracy and solidarity (Mullaly, 1993:127).

Although there is more emphasis on social change, the structural approach strongly advocates an infusion of analysis at both the macro and micro levels (Mullaly, 1993:125; Wood and Middleman, 1989:259). This is also viewed as crucial in anti-racist social work education (Abramovitz, 1993:8; Sanders, 1977:78; Yelaja and O'Neill, 1990:15). Linking individual suffering to social forces is suggested as a necessary step towards work in social and individual change (Abramovitz, 1993:8; Morris, 1993:101). Furthermore, the analytical links made between micro and macro levels facilitate empowerment of the oppressed who may have internalized and accepted their oppressed situation (Burstow, 1991:196). To reframe individual experiences of oppression in macro perspectives can be liberating. At the same time, the infused analysis would benefit macro interventions by taking into account real human suffering behind structural issues.

Much like the structural approach, anti-racist social work education appreciates the interaction of oppressions within its critical analysis on racism. Interactions of gender, race, class, sexual orientation and age have multiple negative effects on the lives of the oppressed (Dominelli, 1988:37, 93, 106; Granger and Portner, 1988:15; Manning and Ohri, 1982:9-10; Morris, 1993:100). Anti-racist analysis without integrating other factors and relations is inadequate and unrealistic and ultimately ineffective in practice. Social work practice which focuses solely on race aspects ignores the complexity of racism. Racial oppression must be contextualized with all the relevant factors and issues since, as A. Sivanandan (1990:64, 147) claims, racism has many ugly dimensions. The richer the analysis, the closer we are to solutions against racism.

However, anti-racist social work does not advocate a hierarchy of other oppressions according to the number of factors involved, nor privileging certain oppressions over others. It calls for an appreciation of the simultaneous existence of oppressions without diminishing the uniqueness of each oppression (Morris, 1993:101-102). In effect, this appreciation avoids generalizing the experiences of the oppressed under one category, such as race. Analysis of interactions provides a holistic understanding of oppressions (Morris, 1993:101); differences and unique interactions of oppressions should enrich our anti-racist understanding and work. Separate analyses deny the reality of multiple identities of people; one cannot isolate one identity at a time: a black elderly woman is a black elderly woman all the time. Separate analyses can also create artificial and difficult divisions among the oppressed. Divisions and competitions for attention and resources are counter to anti-racist values of creating links and alliances among the oppressed (Chapter 3). The divisions also work against anti-racist social work's quest for social justice for all and institutional change.

The structural approach facilitates in uncovering racist pasts reflected in present societal structures. In Britain, racism has been made respectable through a series of restrictive immigration-control policies targeted towards predominantly black immigrants from the Commonwealth countries (CRE, 1985 in Dominelli, 1988:27). Lena Dominelli (1988:25-28) argues that the oppressive policies have had devastating effects on the lives of non-whites. Social services have been systematically denied due to discriminatory changes in immigration and nationality policies; and social services themselves have had

racist consequences. Similarly in Canada, anti-immigrant sentiment is claimed to have influenced legislating a more restrictive immigration policy. So-called economic reasons appear to mask racist policy directions; and such policy changes seem to occur when most immigrants are from non-western countries (Canadian Ethnocultural Council, 1994). The structural approach can expose racist consequences of so-called "neutral" structures by taking an integrated analysis of the state, gender, class, race and other relevant factors. It challenges white society which perpetuates and legitimates racist structures (Denney, 1983:164).

4.3 Rejecting Dominant White and 'Objective' Perspectives

Anti-racist social work education seeks an alternative to the dominant perspectives which help maintain racism in society. White perspectives as the standard of values and behaviours against which everyone else is measured are clearly reflected in conventional social work theory, practice and training (Dominelli, 1988:60; Granger and Portner, 1985:40; Herrick, 1978:528). For instance, social work training may include psychoanalytical and developmental theories which have been developed in the industrialized west and often exclude considerations for diverse human experiences (Granger and Portner, 1985:40). Indications of the dominant white perspectives as the norm are still felt and observed by anti-racist educators; although social work education advocates training students to counter oppressions (Chilton, et al., 1979:839; Head, 1990:207; O'Neill and Yelaja, 1991:177). This may be due to, as James Herrick

describes, that "the primary function of social work...is to help people maintain and develop themselves within the basic institutional framework of our society rather than to change the framework itself" (Herrick, 1978:528). In order to counter this effect, James Herrick and others recommend a critique of social work education as well as dominant social work theories and values (Chilton, et al., 1979:840; Herrick, 1978:533; Saleebey, 1994:358). Later in this chapter, Section 4.5 deals with development of critical skills.

Anti-racist social work education problematizes a number of issues and concepts which are implicated in the maintenance of racist social work. First, the dominant values and perspectives in social work education are to be replaced with social work values of caring and securing justice for oppressed groups (Dominelli, 1988:60; Mirelowitz and Grossman, 1975:80). The theme of social justice and change (Section 4.1) is essential in this discussion. To take the stand of social justice, anti-racist social work education discards the notions of neutrality and objectivity (Abramovitz, 1993:10; Mirelowitz and Grossman, 1975:80; Pardeck, et al., 1994:343). This is a two-fold argument: there is no such stance as neutral nor objective in social work practice; and these notions of neutrality and objectivity are said to mask the dominant oppressive values and perspectives. Furthermore, Mimi Abramovitz (1993:10) claims that the notions of neutrality and objectivity are false since even so-called apolitical actions, i.e., non-participation in social change, may support or, at least, maintain the dominant views and oppressive social conditions. The continued acceptance of neutrality in social work is seen as colluding with oppressive structures and forces (Abramovitz, 1993:10; Dominelli,

1988:32). An examination of these 'neutral' structures which result in unjust oppressions is one of the important steps for anti-racist social workers.

Anti-racist social work education also rejects inadequate and/or harmful attempts at addressing race issues in curricula. The inadequacy of various social work education models has been identified as tokenism, ethno-specific contents and separation of minority contents from core programs; these models are contrasted with a structural approach of "integrated multicultural/multiracial programs" by Brian O'Neill and Shankar Yelaja (1991:175-6). The first three tend to reinforce the normalcy of the dominant racist perspectives thereby maintaining marginalization of the oppressed. They do not confront racist social structures, therefore, are limited to remedial-type social work which pathologizes the oppressed (Herrick, 1978:530; O'Neill and Yelaja, 1991:175-6). James Herrick (1978) further extends the criticism by analyzing what is behind so-called 'minority contents' in social work curricula. In general, minority contents focus only on understanding cultural and social customs of a particular group in order to facilitate social work intervention with members of the group. He points out that minority contents may reinforce racism when institutional contexts of racism and solutions for social change are not addressed (Herrick, 1978:530, 532). Similarly, Antoinette Satow (1982) criticizes race relations training for social service professionals which ignores issues of racism. Such training programs focus on cultural practices of minority groups and offer trainees means of additional control over minority clients and communities (Satow, 1982:37).

4.4 Anti-Racist Awareness Raising

Anti-racist social work education advocates confronting racism at affective, behavioural and cognitive levels of learning (Adams and Schlesinger, 1988; Bernard and Thomas, 1983; Chestang, 1988; Dominelli, 1988; Fox, 1979; Satow, 1982). Raising an awareness, or consciousness, about racism is accomplished through a group process (Breton, 1994:31; Dominelli, 1988:73; Pinderhughes, 1989:211; Williams, 1988:181), journal keeping (Williams, 1988:181) and/or individual projects (Echols, et al., 1988; Williams, 1988:181). Affective sides of anti-racist teaching have been recognized as crucial in training of anti-racist social workers, especially for white students who are often not aware of their whiteness (Pinderhughes, 1989:73). Also, becoming aware of one's own perspectives and values is deemed essential since they influence one's social work practice (Lowe and Cavanaugh, 1984:183). Experiential learning about damages which racism havoocs on its victims is shown to be effective in raising students' consciousness (Bernard and Thomas, 1991:244; Fox, 1979, 1983:72). The appreciation of affective and behavioural learning reflects a growing recognition in the anti-racist discourse that racism cannot be intellectually discussed and solved, due to valuable concepts such as 'common sense' or 'everyday' racism (Chapter 3).

There are potential pitfalls of awareness training, such as learning only about cultural differences or dwelling on one's individual racism. To avoid this, some essential elements are offered for anti-racism awareness training: structural and institutional

aspects of racism must underlie the training as well as their impact on individual social work practices (Dominelli, 1988:82; Satow, 1982:37). The understanding of racist realities must be achieved at both emotional and intellectual levels of trainees (Fox, 1979; Satow, 1982:37) since racism has been ingrained in our psyche and has become the norm (Bannerji, 1986:11; Essed, 1990). Also, an examination of the nature of one's work within a context of structural aspects of racism is recommended (Denney, 1983:172; Lowe and Cavanaugh, 1984:183). One can ask oneself, for example: What are my values and perspectives and how are they affecting my practice? Am I "open to alternative ways of constructing reality which are not necessarily rooted in familiar cultural norms and values?" (Denney, 1983:172).

Next, the training must "foster anti-racist initiatives in the personal and professional lives of [trainees], and enable them to develop effective practices for challenging personal and institutional racism" (Satow, 1982:37). The anti-racism awareness training, therefore, extends beyond awareness raising and to actions such as engaging in organizational change within social service agencies (Dominelli, 1988:88-89). This element of the training may offer an effective alternative to the traditional type of awareness training whereby participants' personal guilt or difficulties created by racism are alleviated through confession-driven group work; while institutional contexts of racism are left unexamined or unchallenged (Herrick, 1978:529-530). Anti-racism awareness must be linked to actions; anti-racist behaviours at individual and organizational levels are the ultimate objectives of the anti-racism awareness training. Targets of

organizational change are, for example, employment policies and decision-making structures of a social service agency (Dominelli, 1989:88-89; Satow, 1982:39).

Although there is a debate over whether anti-racism awareness training should have mixed participants or separate groups for white and non-white participants (Dominelli, 1988:72; Latting, 1990:43; Pinderhughes, 1989:233; Satow, 1982:38), there appears to be a consensus on additional learning for white participants. It is stressed by anti-racist educators that whites need to recognize their whiteness since:

White people do not see themselves as white. This is a way to deny responsibility for perpetuating the racist system and being a part of the problem. By seeing themselves solely as individuals they disown their whiteness, and therefore their racism (Satow, 1982:38).

Ask a White person his or her race and you may get the response 'Italian,' 'Jewish,' 'Irish,' 'English,' and so on. White people do not see themselves as White (Katz, 1978 in Pinderhughes, 1989:73).

While Blacks, Puerto Ricans, and other racial and ethnic minorities are forced by racial oppression to be aware of themselves as members of racial groups, Whites are generally not aware of their whiteness (Adams and Schlesinger, 1988:225).

In becoming racially aware as whites, they must contextualize their position and privileges as whites in a racist society (Dominelli, 1989:74). This issue addresses important concerns raised by the anti-racist perspective, such as identity, representation, privileges of whites and 'others' (Chapter 3).

4.5 Development of Critical Skills

Critical analysis of our society's structures and institutions is one of the main elements of anti-racist social work education (Chilton, et al., 1979:843; Sanders, 1977:78; Williams, 1988:181). Through critical analysis, dominant ideologies which underpin these structures are uncovered, as well as their influences on socialization and social control mechanisms within society. Anti-racist social work education is concerned with analysis of how social problems are defined by dominant values and how they are resolved (Herrick, 1978:533). Lena Dominelli (1988:21-31) describes the permeation of the racist ideology within the British social work profession and its practice and theory. For example, typical social work interventions based on white perspectives tend to result in inappropriate services and worsen the lives of racial minorities who are perceived as the cause of their and/or society's problem (Dominelli, 1988:93; Mirelowitz and Grossman, 1975:79).

Critical analysis is important in anti-racist macro interventions. James Herrick (1978:534) suggests social work education undertake a critical analysis of society -- "what is" and "what should be". Desired values and structural arrangement for building an anti-racist society need to be compared with the present situations in our economic, political, legal, religious, educational and welfare institutions. The gaps between the anti-racist ideals and the present then become the places of action, or institutional change (Herrick, 1978:534; Sanders, 1977:80).

Contributions from international social work have shown that critical analysis skills can greatly benefit from a global perspective as the world is becoming more interrelated and interdependent (Sanders, 1977:76, 79; Lowe and Cavanaugh, 1984:185). Anti-racist social work shares much of the philosophy behind this perspective. A global perspective with developmental influence is structural in its approach and advocates collaborative action and institutional change toward distributive justice in the world (Sanders, 1977:80). A global perspective's attempts to solve issues with analysis of interrelated social, economic, psychological, political and cultural dimensions (Sanders, 1977:79) resonates with anti-racist social work as well. Although it is initially developed for problems faced by developing countries, Daniel Sanders explains the benefits of a global perspective for social work practice in more developed countries:

...an international-crosscultural perspective helps broaden students' horizons to an awareness of other cultures and socioeconomic and political systems, varying value dilemmas, and diverse approaches in dealing with social problems. This helps free social work education from the "cultural myopia" that tends to persist, and the attendant culture-bound views of people and society...[It] helps social workers to understand and have added insights into their own country's values, ideologies, and culture patterns (Sanders, 1977:77).

This aspect of the global perspective can be a great advantage to anti-racist social work education and its mission to dismantle racist social structures. Critical analysis in this fashion may offer another crucial step toward anti-racist social work.

There are a number of ways to develop critical skills for anti-racist analysis in social work education. Paulo Freire has been influential with his liberatory concepts of

education and critical analyses of oppressive natures of dominant ideologies. Based on his critical teaching philosophy, Bonnie Burstow (1991) has applied Freire's codification technique¹⁶ to a social work course. Using pictures depicting oppressive situations, students analyze an oppressive situation in a contextualized manner and investigate possible solutions for the situation. The facilitator encourages students to uncover and analyze structural issues, dominant values, practice and policies which impinge on the situation directly and indirectly (Burstow, 1991:200). This teaching tool can be extremely beneficial to anti-racist social work education with its preference for critical skills, collective work and social change. The codification technique is shown to sharpen students' analytical skills (Burstow, 1991:206).

Another example of social work practice and education also holds an anti-racist potential. Some have explored our understanding of the nature of reality and used narratives for social work practice and education (Holland and Kilpatrick, 1993; Saleebey, 1994). A narrative approach encourages people to construct their own meaning in their life events and experiences rather than to analyze with a set of dominant theories and concepts which tend to control lives of the oppressed and the vulnerable (Saleebey, 1994:355). To these educators and practitioners, a person's "meaning and interpretations are socially constituted, a product of interaction and exchange" with others (Saleebey, 1994:356). Subjugated knowledge and meaning which are reflected in one's storytelling are utilized towards an awareness of oppressive forces on one's existence. Once the story is told, alternative and empowering meanings are encouraged to contextualize oppressive

or dominant meanings in one's story (Saleebey, 1994:358). The goal of the narrative approach is to assist people transform part of their lives through reflective storytelling which focuses on people's strengths (Holland and Kilpatrick, 1993:305; Saleebey, 1994:357). This approach takes more effort in critical analysis to help uncover these socially-constructed meanings in contrast to traditional social work. Also the narrative approach parallels the anti-racist position against voice appropriation and prioritizes "tell[ing] one's own story in one's own voice" (Morris, 99:100).

Both codification and narratives move away from pathologizing the oppressed and in fact side with them and with social justice and equality. Both approaches have been incorporated for a social work intervention, advocacy and education (Burstow, 1991; Holland and Kilpatrick, 1993; Saleebey, 1994).

4.6 Student-Centred, Collective Learning

Anti-racist social work education values personal and professional development of students in preparation for anti-racist social work practice. As discussed in Chapter 3, the issues of racism elicit negative emotions and illogical arguments helped by people's long-held views. In line with the structural approach to racism (Section 4.2), anti-racism addresses racism's influences on individuals. For anti-racist social work education, this translates into a principle of self-examination as one of the first steps in challenging

racism. Accordingly, this is reflected in student-centred learning, the most utilized pedagogical approach in anti-racist social work education.

Student-centred learning takes into account where each student is in terms of awareness and understanding of racism on which anti-racist learning is built (Dominelli, 1988:71-73; Latting, 1990:38-39; Pinderhughes, 1989:216). However, this does not translate into individualistic and isolated styles of learning. In keeping with the structural approach (Section 4.2) and the appreciation of social forces in the maintenance of racism, anti-racist social work education places student-centred learning in social contexts; one's anti-racist learning does not take place in isolation from others. "Learning must be an interdependent, rather than a dependent or solely independent process" (Chilton, et al., 1979:841). Peninah Chilton and fellow social work students advocate a more democratic form of collective learning with "students as the center of their own learning" (Chilton et al., 1979:840). Students are recommended to take more responsibility for their learning in a group; each is expected to contribute to the group in forms of mutual respect, support and solidarity and peer supervision (Chilton, et al., 1979:840-1). This type of learning appears to presuppose an existence of equality among students; hence the group process itself should be a subject of critical analysis as well.

The real and potential benefits of collective pedagogy are immense. Students learn from each other in exchanges of their experiences and views. This benefit multiplies if there is diversity of students' backgrounds although learning processes may be more stressful (Latting, 1990:43; Pinderhughes, 1989:233). Paulo Freire's conscientization, or

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co-learning, has contributed an anti-racist learning potential with its collective awareness raising and actions to fight oppressions (Burstow, 1991:196; Chilton, et al., 1979:843). In addition, group interactions can help induce and enrich members personal introspection (Pinderhughes, 1989:231). Thus the benefits of collective learning are two-fold, an increased understanding at a group level and another at individual levels.

The issue of empowerment has a major relevance for student-centred learning. Empowerment is defined "as gaining control over one's life, that is, gaining control over the factors which are critical in accounting for one's state of oppression or disempowerment" (Breton, 1994:24). As anti-racist social work strives to liberate and empower the oppressed, student-centred learning can lead to two kinds of empowerment. First, it empowers students through a more democratic and active process of learning (Chilton, et al., 1979:846); students are in control of their collective learning. These students who find their own voices through empowering learning may be better prepared for advocacy and social action work. Empowered students in turn assist in self-empowerment of the oppressed (Abramovitz, 1993:9).

This type of learning reflects the anti-racist framework (Chapter 3) which advocates work towards social justice and change by addressing problems and issues faced by the oppressed -- "bottom-up strategies" (Breton, 1994:35). Empowerment-oriented learning can also address the issue of 'legitimate' knowledge and voice appropriation (Chapter 3). Empowerment work is based on an assumption that the

oppressed possess knowledge and experiences which can be harnessed for collective action toward building a better society (Breton, 1994:35; Saleebey, 1994:358). Student-centred and collective learning therefore fosters collective responsibilities toward one another, much like developing a global perspective (in Section 4.5).

4.7 Holistic Approach - Reforming Social Work Education

Anti-racist social work education recommends an integrated holistic approach for reforming social work education (O'Neill and Yelaja, 1991; Task Force on Multicultural and Multiracial Issues in Social Work Education, 1991). It means that all aspects of social work education need to be examined together from an anti-racist perspective. Thus curricular reform is only one aspect of anti-racist social work education. This reflects the structural approach which addresses institutional and structural impediments to anti-racism. Social work education is sustained by many institutional and professional bodies and structures such as the Canadian Association of Schools of Social Work, provincial associations of social workers and statutes governing social work practice. These bodies may have important implications on anti-racist reform efforts and are worthy of a rigorous analysis. Unfortunately an analysis of this aspect is much beyond the scope of this thesis. Here, the most obvious and direct factors in anti-racist social work education are examined: the curriculum and structures within schools of social work.

4.7.1 Curricular Reform

Anti-racist social work educators assume that racism is one of the ideological frameworks in which social work education operates just as racism is part of our society (Williams, 1938:176). A holistic approach in anti-racist education (Section 3.3) is therefore applied to curricular reforms of social work education. The holistic approach calls for anti-racist social work to be integrated in a core curriculum and in all teaching areas -- human behaviour, policy, practice, research and field practice (Brown, 1975:2585A; Granger and Portner, 1985:38; Herrick, 1978:534; Mirelowitz and Grossman, 1975:82; Morris, 1993; O'Neill and Yelaja, 1991:176; Oliver, 1979:103; Sanders, 1977:78; Task Force on Multicultural and Multiracial Issues in Social Work Education, 1991; Williams, 1988:177). At a minimum, both Canadian and American social work accreditation bodies have recognized the need to incorporate the issues of oppression in curricula (Canadian Association of Schools of Social Work, 1988:17, 23-24; Council of Social Work Education, 1982 in Morris, 1993:99).

Content-wise, the anti-racist framework (Chapter 3) can offer directions for developing social work curricula. Theoretical issues such as the structural approach (Section 4.2) appear crucial in understanding the concepts of race and racism and the history of racial oppressions¹⁷. Developments of critical-analysis skills (Section 4.5) and self-awareness (Section 4.4) are useful for practicing anti-racist social work (Dominelli, 1989:77; Herrick, 1978:533; Latting, 1990:37). The main objective of anti-racist social

work is to link analysis with action -- theory with practice -- so that anti-racism does not remain as theory but becomes a reality in social work practice (Burstow, 1991:206; Chilton, et al., 1979:844; Dominelli, 1989:163).

It should be noted that the literature does not provide ready-made packages of anti-racist social work curricular contents. This may be because race issues have caught the attention of social workers only recently in Canada, and even more recently for the issues of anti-racism. In addition, schools of social work in Canada appear to lack significant numbers of faculty and students of colour (Task Force on Multicultural and Multiracial Issues in Social Work Education, 1991) who are often instigators of anti-racist work. Their presence is crucial in ensuring the quality of anti-racist social work just as women have contributed a feminist approach to social work.

Curriculum development is the responsibility of individual schools of social work and faculty. Thus, faculty development in anti-racism appears to be an important component of a curricular reform (Carleton University School of Social Work, 1990:44; Lowe and Cavanaugh, 1984:191). Faculty development can have direct effects on curricula since anti-racism demands that each person confronts her/his values and practice. Examples of faculty development strategies are lectures, reading groups, workshops, retreats, release time for research and support groups¹⁸ (Hunt, et al., 1992:109). Although individual faculty members can initiate anti-racist initiatives in their own teaching, most efforts such as these listed above require institutional responses and support.

4.7.2 Institutional Change within Schools of Social Work

There is a general consensus that anti-racist reforms of social work education require institutional reforms at schools of social work (Carleton University School of Social Work, 1990; Oliver, 1979; O'Neill and Yelaja, 1991; Task Force on Multicultural and Multiracial Issues in Social Work Education, 1991) and also at university levels¹⁹. This view is reflective of the anti-racist framework (Chapter 3) which argues for an examination of both 'formal' and 'hidden' curricula. School administration processes and structures based on dominant white perspectives are said to put up structural barriers against anti-racist social work education and have impacts on the development of curricular contents. Therefore, a holistic reform of administration at a school of social work is recommended. The holistic approach is significant since it recognizes impacts of multiple factors on curricular reform. Also, a holistic approach views that a systematic curricular reform cannot be implemented without addressing a school's organizational and administrative concerns such as planning processes of reform (Brown, 1975:2585A). Other issues such as committee structures, admission policies, hiring of faculty, support services, financial resources for curriculum and faculty development are suggested areas of anti-racist reform (Dominelli, 1989:69; Carleton University School of Social Work, 1990:40; O'Neill and Yelaja, 1991:180-182).

More specifically, equitable representations of minority faculty and students are also credited as potential catalysts for curricular reform (Echols, et al., 1988:226; O'Neill

and Yelaja, 1991:180). Diverse faculty and student bodies may have more advantage in implementing anti-racist social work education, as Daniel Sanders (1977) and Gary Lowe and Mary Cavanaugh (1984) have found some positive educational impacts of faculty and students' international and crosscultural contacts. Diversity within a school may better facilitate anti-racist reforms; some anti-racist efforts have been initiated by minority students (Carleton University School of Social Work, 1990:5-6). In addition, minority students and communities are called on to participate in curricular and administrative decision-making at schools of social work (Carleton University School of Social Work, 1990:44; Dominelli, 1989:69; Oliver, 1979:103). This recommendation reflects the traditional social work principle of meeting the needs of clients and communities. As well, community involvement fosters a collective way of solving problems, a characteristic of the anti-racist perspective.

Anti-racist analysis of a school of social work as an institution may reveal additional structural barriers to meaningful anti-racist curricular reform. The following is a sample of questions each school may ask:

- Is the school's mission statement consistent with anti-racism? (Herrick, 1978:534; O'Neill and Yelaja, 1991:182);
- Do admission and hiring policies favour certain types of qualification, for instance, education attained in the industrialized West?;
- Is one person or committee solely responsible for implementing anti-racist reform which lets a majority of the faculty "abdica[e] their personal responsibilities"? (Oliver, 1979:103);
- Is there institutional support, i.e., financial resources, for anti-racist faculty development? (Hunt, et al., 1992:110-1);

- Does the school have a structure to consult minority communities? (O'Neill and Yelaja, 1991:182);
- Does the school ensure a safe and harassment-free learning environment for minority students? (OCUFA, 1991:99, 101); and
- Do all administrative decisions made at the school reflect an awareness of anti-racist frameworks and principles?

Another major consensus in the social work education literature regarding curricular reform is to form a broad-based committee at each school of social work, comprised of faculty, students, field instructors, minority communities and consumers of social services. This school-based committee would be able to take into account the individuality of each school in terms of "organizational structure, resources and goals" (Oliver, 1979:102). The committee would plan the process of curricular and related institutional reforms, uniquely catered to the school (Olive., 1979:102; O'Neill and Yelaja, 1991:182). John Oliver (1979:102) recommends an egalitarian planning model for this committee in which interests of different groups may be aired. Although John Oliver's intent is admirable, he does not consider potential problems with this approach. There is a potential danger of entrenching a dominant white perspective -- as opposed to anti-racist -- using the egalitarian approach when there is a small representation of minority students and communities. This danger is real for many schools of social work. I would add one condition to John Oliver's committee to ensure genuine anti-racist reforms. The egalitarian committee approach should not translate to equal consideration of each represented party. Any decision made by the committee must not violate the principles and intent of the anti-racist social work perspective.

A very crucial issue in institutional change is the problem of resistance (Matsushima, 1989:311; Oliver, 1979:106; O'Neill and Yelaja, 1991:183). Forms of resistance may take different shapes and they are major barriers to anti-racist reforms. For instance, any top-down approach to reform is seen as a threat to professional autonomy of faculty. Or, an already-overcrowded curriculum is used as an excuse: additional contents are said to displace other essential material. An avoidance of teaching anti-racist social work is sometimes rationalized by faculty who take a colour-blind approach (Matsushima, 1989:311, 313).

In addition, John Oliver (1979:106) places racism as one of the causes of resistance. Given the context of social work education from a structural perspective, it would not be too outlandish to infer racism behind all forms of resistance to institutional and curricular reforms. Placing a new priority, re-allocation of funds, changes of school policies all challenge traditional structures of the school, and create a sense of competition for attention and resources motivated by immediate self-interests of faculty and students (Matsushima, 1989:314, 316; O'Neill and Yelaja, 1991:183). For instance, white applicants may perceive their rights threatened due to a school's efforts to recruit more minority students (O'Neill and Yelaja, 1991:183), through changes in admission policy and financial assistance (Matsushima, 1989:314).

John Matsushima (1989:316) contends that these self-interests are a natural human reaction which should not be denied. He suggests one antidote against the paralyzing

self-interests: to "act with self-discipline and self-awareness of our deeply personal feelings" and to "[refuse] to rationalize, deny, or to be otherwise deterred by our own prejudices" (Matsushima, 1989:317-8). John Matsushima's solutions are extremely similar to anti-racism awareness training discussed in Section 4.4. Periodic reviews of the training may offer practical solutions to the self-interest nature of resistance. Another approach against resistance is the school's public and constant affirmation that anti-racism is a continuation of the traditional social work values, and that social workers need to renew their commitment to these values (Matsushima, 1989:319). It is hoped that such affirmations would be perceived to be inconsistent with the prevailing resistance to anti-racist institutional and curricular reform.

4.8 Summary - Criteria for Anti-Racist Social Work Education

This chapter shows that anti-racist social work education takes a comprehensive stand on how educational processes should take place. The criteria for anti-racist social work education includes curricular content issues as well as institutional issues within a school of social work (Section 4.7). Achieving anti-racism in every aspect of social work education is repeatedly stressed within the literature. Although individual efforts are not entirely discounted, there is more emphasis on collective anti-racist efforts. This parallels the recognition that racism is a social phenomenon which requires more than solutions at individual levels.

The structural approach (Section 4.2) offers insightful theoretical analyses in terms of relationships amongst experiences of the oppressed, and factors and conditions of oppressions. The problems of racism are not blamed on deficiencies of the victims but on structural issues which maintain racism. To challenge racism, structural inequalities should be addressed. Allocation and control of resources and services, for instance, influences people's material conditions. At the same time, individual suffering caused by racism should also be dealt with. Anti-racist social work education appreciates the importance of anti-racist analysis and action at both macro and micro levels.

The structural approach takes a firm stand against oppressions. The approach's impacts show in the criteria which rejects the dominant, 'white' perspectives in social work education (Section 4.3). Therefore, it follows that a dominant view tends to obliterate the reality and experiences of people in minority existence, and that the dominant view becomes the only socially-acceptable mode of thought, expression and conduct. The processes of 'legitimate' knowledge production and dissemination has been described in maintenance of racism (Section 2.2). Processes of identifying and rejecting oppressive views in social work education provide anti-racist learning opportunities for students and educators.

Social work students and educators are encouraged to develop skills in order to generate anti-racist learning and training. Anti-racist awareness raising involves each person to examine his/her self-identity as well as awareness at all cognitive, affective and

behavioural levels (Section 4.4). Furthermore, major components of the anti-racist framework (Table 1, Chapter 2) are also reflected in the criteria, such as values of social justice (Section 4.1), development of critical skills (Section 4.5) and student-centred and collective learning (Section 4.6).

Table 2 lists the primary characteristics and strategies of anti-racist social work education discussed in this chapter. The table thus represents the qualities which should be embodied in a curriculum evaluation methodology for anti-racist social work education. The next chapter describes the process of identifying curriculum evaluation methodologies based on these criteria.

Table 2: Criteria for Anti-Racist Social Work Education

- working toward social justice/change, a just society
- just redistribution of resources and power
- skills for institutional change, political skills, advocacy skills
- a structural approach
- infused analysis of micro and macro issues
- a global perspective
- analysis of interacting factors
- rejection of dominant white perspectives
- rejection of neutrality and objectivity
- anti-racism awareness raising at affective, behavioural and cognitive levels
- making connections between individual practice and structural racism
- linking anti-racist awareness to anti-racist actions
- development of critical skills
- critical analysis of society, institutions, structures
- student-centred, collective learning
- anti-racism to be integrated in an entire curriculum
- diversity of students and faculty
- faculty development, part of curricular reform
- anti-racist school structure and decision-making
- anti-racist analysis of a school as a whole
- a broad-based committee to plan curricular reform and institutional change

Notes

15. The groupings are called *categories* in a grounded theory.
16. For descriptions of Freire's original codification technique, see Freire(1970), Burstow(1991).
17. For a brief history of immigration and multiculturalism policies in Canada, see Elliott and Fleras(1990); for an anti-racist analysis of policies against Aboriginal peoples in Canada, see Rajan-Eastcott(1990); for a brief history of immigration and citizenship policies against blacks in Britain, see Ely and Denney(1987:21-39).
18. These examples are from a profile of three institutional-change initiatives in the United States. At the present time, the social work education literature is short on institutional strategies.
19. Institutional change at a school of social within a university setting is affected by the university structure and administration. This is a crucial issue since admission and hiring standards, assessment of student performance, and financial matters are regulated at the university level. Reform at a school of social work thus requires careful considerations and negotiations with the university. Reforms at the university level may be necessary for successful reforms within a school of social work.

CHAPTER FIVE: Curriculum Evaluation Methodology for Anti-Racist Social Work Education

This chapter explores which curriculum evaluation methodology best fits the goals and pedagogy of anti-racist social work education. The criteria for anti-racist social education developed in the previous chapter (Table 2) is the yardstick against which curriculum evaluation methodologies are analyzed.

In the broadest sense, curriculum evaluation can be defined as "the process by which we attempt to gauge the value and effectiveness of any particular piece of educational activity" (Kelly, 1989:187). However, as the results of the third research stage show in this chapter, there are diverse theoretical influences on curriculum evaluation methodologies. Hence, a brief discussion on the relationships between methodology and paradigm precedes an overview of curriculum theories and an analysis of naturalistic evaluation methodology in general. The chapter ends with descriptions and analysis of three specific curriculum evaluation methodologies.

5.1 Relationships between Methodology and Paradigm

A definition of methodology, according to Egon Guba and Yvonna Lincoln (1988:100-107), is a research approach with four components: conditions necessary for a research, a type of research process, a set of methods for data collection and analysis and a type of research outcomes.²⁰ For instance, a controlled experiment requires a

condition which can provide two identical groups of subjects in order to measure observable cause-and-effect outcomes from one variable placed on one group, i.e., the experiment group. The two groups of subjects are necessary since this type of methodology seeks evidence which proves the variable and nothing else causes the difference between the two groups. This methodology starts with a hypothesis from which the experimental variable is derived.

A design of one's methodology is influenced by the paradigm (a world view) one adheres to. Hence a discussion on methodology needs to include its relationship to paradigm. Figure 1 illustrates the relationship between paradigm and methodology based on Guba and Lincoln's concepts. This issue is crucial for the present analysis, which attempts to relate an analytical framework, i.e., anti-racism, to a research methodology.

A paradigm is a set of philosophical and epistemological assumptions -- often unstated and unconscious (Leahey, 1987:12) -- which guide every aspect of an inquiry (Guba and Lincoln, 1988). For instance, a positivist paradigm assumes the existence of an objective reality separate from human perception; while a naturalist paradigm takes a more relative and subjective stand that there are multiple realities constructed in the minds of humans (Guba and Lincoln, 1988:93). Hence the positivist paradigm is interested in arriving at generalizations and universal laws in order to predict and control a phenomenon under study. On the other hand, the naturalist paradigm keeps in mind influences of time and context on human behaviour. A naturalist inquiry results

Figure 1: Relationship between Paradigm and Methodology

(based on Guba and Lincoln, 1988:91-93)

in context-specific hypotheses, or "the basis of understanding of a particular idiographic situation" (Guba and Lincoln, 1988:95).

Paradigmatic assumptions and goals bear directly upon methodological approaches for inquiry. Each paradigm has preference for certain methodologies and methodological components, i.e., conditions, process, methods and products. For instance, the positivist paradigm tends to design a hypothesis-verification inquiry conducted in a controlled setting, with quantitative methods of data collection and analysis. In contrast, a naturalist conducts an inquiry in a natural setting, which he/she seeks to understand (Guba and Lincoln, 1988:101-3). A methodology for a naturalist paradigm is more likely to start an inquiry without prior hypotheses about the study subject. In order to understand human behaviour and interaction, a naturalist's preferred methods are qualitative. The understanding gained about a local situation is then appreciated for its specific time and context. A generalization is possible only through the positivist paradigm (Guba and Lincoln, 1988:105, 108).

Understanding paradigmatic influences is important for anti-racist social work education, which seeks to expose racist assumptions and structures in society. Furthermore, it is instructive to understand the relationships between a paradigm and its choice of research methodology, and between a paradigm and types of research outcomes, i.e., generalizations versus understanding of a local situation. Analysis of paradigmatic assumptions behind a methodology may reveal much about its views on anti-racism.

These links are important factors in choosing an appropriate evaluation methodology for anti-racist social work education.

The understanding of paradigmatic assumptions has led to my curiosity in finding out what is behind various curriculum theories. Since paradigms are claimed to drive designs of methodology (Guba and Lincoln, 1988), Section 5.2 introduces three major theoretical influences in the field of curriculum studies. They are content, product and process approaches. The examination differentiates assumptions behind theories, thereby facilitating the analysis of curriculum evaluation methodologies in later sections.

5.2 Overview of Theories in Curriculum Studies

According to A. V. Kelly (1989), there are three distinct approaches in the area of curriculum studies: curriculum as content; curriculum as product; and curriculum as process. In this section, the three theoretical approaches to curriculum studies are outlined and compared against the criteria of anti-racist social work education.

The curriculum-as-content approach sees education as transmission of 'true' and 'objective' knowledge -- a view antithetic to anti-racist social work education. Attainment of a high level of abstraction and assimilation of 'true' knowledge are the goals of the content approach. Curriculum contents are perceived as given and not for debate (Kelly, 1989:28, 31). This view is parallel to Paulo Freire's (1970) concept of banking

education: students are open receptacles of transmitted 'dominant' knowledge which contributes to the maintenance of oppressive social structures. Learning is said to have taken place when students can regurgitate lectured information (Freire, 1970). On the contrary, anti-racist social work education recommends students to take responsibility for their learning through development of critical thought and collective learning.

The second approach in curriculum studies is curriculum as product. The development of this approach coincided with the rise of scientific and technological progress in the early part of this century. This influence resulted in a view of curriculum as reducible into a series of working units which were taught following scientific ways (Kelly, 1989:50-51). At the same time, an interest in testing students' performance scientifically gained acceptance. General educational goals are broken down to specific objectives which in turn are translated into intended learning outcomes. Heavily influenced by behaviourism, these outcomes require to be observable for assessing student performance (Kelly, 1989:53-55). This would be difficult in anti-racist social work education. For instance, development of an anti-racist awareness cannot be measured against a set of desirable behaviours since the development involves affective and cognitive levels as well. Also, the product approach cannot take into account unique learning processes of individual students.

In contrast to the two approaches above, the curriculum as process approach puts forth more flexible views on education and curriculum development. This approach was

first influenced by developmental psychology, which rejected traditional education of abstract knowledge, i.e., the curriculum as content approach, and advocated to focus on students (Kelly, 1989:86). The curriculum-as-process approach stresses experiential and student-centred learning (Dewey, 1916, 1959; Kelly 1989). By 'student-centred', the approach aims to take into account students' developmental progress in planning educational activities. Learning is said to involve all cognitive, behavioural and affective levels of a student (Kelly, 1989:96). John Dewey (Kelly, 1989:94-5) further emphasizes that learning takes place from building the experiences of each student; self-realization is the goal of education, not just acquiring a set of knowledge. This point speaks to anti-racist social work education. For instance, an anti-racist awareness training is based on the same idea of building from where each person is in relation to the issues of racism. The issues of 'race' and racism need to be appreciated by a whole person -- cognitively, affectively and behaviourally -- due to the irrationality of racism (Section 3.2).

Unlike the other two approaches, the process approach recognizes the existence of value positions in education and curriculum development. The process approach does not avoid value questions but advocates setting its value stance from the outset since any type of educational planning is said to be representing values and choices (Kelly, 1989:85). It is seen as honest to make clear ideological natures of education and to begin educational planning with clear statements of value positions and reasons for making choices (Kelly, 1989:112-3). In addition, A. V. Kelly argues that education is a political activity and that we must recognize various political and social influences such as

governments, religions, academics and economic and social climates (Kelly, 1989:145-9). This point is a definite asset for anti-racist social work education which recognizes the political aspects of its work. Also, when anti-racist social work education is called to justify its implementation, it is clear on its stand to present its case.

The process approach views learning as continuous and life-long, as influences of developmental psychology show. One's learning is never complete. It is based on a positive outlook of humanity that people are capable of learning and improving themselves (Kelly, 1989:87). This ties in perfectly with the principles of anti-racist social work education. The positive belief in people's capacity is crucial for anti-racism, which advocates social and individual change. Neither the content nor objectives approach offers such perspectives on humanity. With its view of 'true' and 'objective' knowledge, the content approach seems to contribute to the maintenance of the status quo. Also, the scientific views of the objectives approach are limited to addressing observable and behavioural aspects of human development. It is doubtful that we can work towards anti-racist social and individual change without consideration of a whole person.

The process approach is thus interested in "potentialities" of education rather than prescribing what education is (Kelly, 1989:85). This is reflected in Lawrence Stenhouse's (1975) call for 'hypotheses' or principles rather than setting specific objectives in a curriculum. These principles are said to reveal a value position of a curriculum and general educational activities deemed to be worthwhile. Similarly, Richard Pring (1973,

in Kelly 1989:87) advocates defining "statements of the norms and principles that will inform the activity of both teachers and pupils". It is argued that this approach would foster less dogmatic education and make room for failure and adjustments in learning and teaching (Kelly, 1989). The 'principles' approach seems appropriate for anti-racist social work education which steers away from information transmission but appreciates development of critical skills and a global perspective, for instance.

Furthermore, anti-racist education is concerned with meeting the needs and conditions of each specific learning context. Each classroom is different in terms of geography, social and political contexts, available resources, teachers and student makeup. One useful distinction between the process approach and the other two is offered by Lawrence Stenhouse (1975).

On the one hand the curriculum is seen as an intention, plan or prescription, an idea about what one would like to happen in schools. On the other it is seen as the existing state of affairs in schools, what does in fact happen (Stenhouse, 1975:2).

Following that, he offers a definition of a curriculum of the process approach as

the means by which the experience of attempting to put an educational proposal into practice is made publicly available. It involves both content and methods[of teaching], and in its widest application takes account of the problem of the implementation in the institutions of the educational system (Stenhouse, 1975:5).

For the process approach, a curriculum is more than content and teaching methods, i.e., pedagogy, but also includes processes of making the curriculum viable in school settings. In this way, any process which affects the implementation of content and

pedagogy is an integral part of curriculum research. For instance, teacher development can affect implementation of curriculum. Thus, a curriculum in a strict sense, i.e., content and pedagogy, and its implementation processes are seen as an inseparable whole. This holistic view of curriculum research fits anti-racist social work education (Table 2) which contain content themes as well as strategies for curricular and institutional reform.

The holistic view of curriculum of the process approach then extends into a particular perspective for curriculum evaluation. Due to concerns about what actually happens in a classroom, the evaluation is interested to observe the curriculum in action and in contextual conditions of schools and classrooms (Stenhouse, 1975:119). This aspect clearly supports anti-racist social work education which promotes school-specific implementations of programs and activities. An appreciation of local situations is paramount for anti-racism.

Furthermore, the process approach sees evaluative activities as research for curriculum development and improvement of education and schools (Stenhouse, 1975:120) since curriculum implementation is influenced by institutional settings and other aspects of education. This holistic concept of curriculum accommodates anti-racist concepts of formal and 'hidden' curricula. As well, one of the criteria for anti-racist social work education -- anti-racist analysis of a school as a whole (Table 2) -- is an evaluative activity whose results can contribute to the development of curricular reform. From this point on, I use *curriculum* to mean the holistic concept unless specified otherwise. For

instance, an anti-racist social work curriculum includes strategies to address the formal and 'hidden' curricula.

The present section has introduced the process approach to curriculum studies in contrast to the product and objectives approaches which are contrary to the aspiration of anti-racist social work education. Next, general methodological characteristics for curriculum evaluation of the process approach are outlined. These characteristics are contrasted with the criteria of anti-racist social work education. Section 5.3 is then followed by descriptions of three distinct evaluation methodologies which are influenced by the process approach.

5.3 Curriculum-As-Process Approach and Evaluation Methodology

The process approach prefers a naturalistic methodology over a scientific one. A naturalistic methodology is conducted in a natural setting, rather than in a controlled setting without a series of pre-set hypotheses (Guba and Lincoln, 1988:103). As the research progresses, the naturalist discovers what is salient in the situation and focuses on them. Thus, this methodology requires adaptable instruments to capture these complexities and which do not need be pre-designed. For the naturalist, the human is such an instrument (Guba and Lincoln, 1988:105).

Humans collect information best, and most easily, through extensions of their senses: talking to people, observing their activities, reading their documents, assessing unobtrusive signs they leave behind, and the like (Guba and Lincoln, 1988:105).

An evaluation of anti-racist social work education requires flexible qualitative methods since data collection with pre-set parameters may not capture all. For example, interviews with open-ended questions can elicit unexpected data. Also, in interviews, there is an opportunity to clarify different concepts such as racism. This is important since people often have conflicting views on such concepts and issues; and, these views may affect the evaluation results. Nonetheless, the naturalistic evaluation methodology does not stay away completely from quantitative methods which can add support to an analysis of qualitative data.

The inquiry process for the naturalist is complex. Data collection and analysis are continuously interacting with each other as the naturalist searches and elaborates on salient factors in the situation under inquiry (Guba and Lincoln, 1988:106). This process may be able to accommodate the curriculum-as-process approach's view of evaluation as a part of curriculum planning (Kelly, 1989:199); as a curriculum is being reformed, an evaluation takes place simultaneously to inform and/or re-design the reform process. This dialectic relation between an evaluation and a reform process may benefit anti-racist social work education which is still relatively new in social work education. Also, the combination of the two may be helpful in shaping anti-racist social work education specific to each school.

The focus on a local situation is an advantage for anti-racist social work education. This means that a methodology can be customized for unique and specific needs of each

school. Each school of social work has its own demographic patterns of students, faculty and communities it serves as well as its unique school philosophy and history. A standardized methodology may miss unique factors pertinent to some schools. Furthermore, a naturalistic evaluation is suited for finding out current situations of curricular activities. As the curriculum-as-process approach appreciates the evolving nature of curriculum, planning curricular reforms is sensible if based on an understanding of the current curriculum. Anti-racist social work education recommends an analysis of a school as a whole (Section 4.7.2); a naturalistic evaluation can provide this.

The adaptable characteristics of a naturalistic methodology is also suitable for anti-racist social work education. Anti-racism is a relatively new concept for many and for the area of research methodology. This means that an anti-racist evaluation may need to go through a period of trial and error in terms of methodology designs. For instance, a low response rate to an invitation for interviews may prompt an investigation; new data collection tools are devised based on the investigation's results. Adding to the uncertainty is, of course, the specific needs of a local school under inquiry. The adaptability thus can tailor methodology designs as the inquiry progresses and an evaluator learns more about the situation.

Process-oriented educational evaluators increasingly see the combination of curriculum development and evaluation as educational research (Connelly and Clandinin, 1988; Elliott, 1991; Milburn, et al., 1989; Stenhouse, 1975). A problem-solving

perspective is emphasized rather than achieving a set of pre-specified objectives (Stenhouse, 1975). The adaptability is particularly beneficial when curriculum development and evaluation are combined to monitor the progress of the development. As data regarding the progress is analyzed and compiled, new knowledge may contribute better or different ideas for the on-going curriculum development²¹. This confirms the view of evaluation as educational process for participants; reflection and learning take place in the process of judging the worth of educational activities (J. Weiss, 1989:121). New understanding is not confined to the pages of reports nor available only for curriculum developers. An evaluation process can be educational for all involved.

The involvement of evaluation participants reflects the collective responsibility and learning principles of anti-racism. In the evaluation process, the participants can learn more about anti-racism as well as issues pertinent to curricular reforms. For instance, an anti-racist curricular reform is difficult to achieve if there is no genuine institutional support for it. As individual and institutional resistances to change are frequent barriers against anti-racist reforms, an evaluation can expose them and provide an anti-racist learning opportunity for all participants.

The naturalistic methodology accepts influences of values in all aspects of inquiry -- the inquirer, a choice of theory and methodology, the informants (Guba and Lincoln, 1988:96). This is an important issue for anti-racist social work education which sees that the claims of 'objectivity' and legitimacy have helped maintain racism. The claim of

'objectivity' does not necessarily make one objective and it may be masking a set of certain values and assumptions. Anti-racism clearly states and works from its own values and principles -- for example, social justice and responsibility and cooperative learning: values drive anti-racism's analyses and strategies for change. To anti-racism, the recognition of its value system is its strength. Accordingly, anti-racist social work education prefers an evaluation methodology which does not avoid value issues.

Furthermore, the naturalistic methodology asks value questions about a subject of inquiry. An evaluation can ask whether "the purpose of the activity are the right purposes, whether the experience being offered to [students] is of educational value, whether the curriculum is good in itself rather than merely being 'delivered' effectively" (Kelly, 1989:189). These kinds of questions may be helpful in evaluating whether underlying principles of a curriculum are in fact anti-racist or not. The questions can be the basis for critical analysis of a school's anti-racist social work curriculum. By examining the underlying principles as well as the curriculum itself and its impacts, an evaluation can reveal different areas of possibilities for reform: Does the school's mission statement reflect anti-racism? Do the curriculum contents address anti-racism? Do students appreciate anti-racist social work and are they prepared to practice it? What is working well and what is working against anti-racist social work education at this school?

In summary, the curriculum-as-process approach prefers a naturalistic methodology which seeks to study a subject of inquiry in its own setting. The general characteristics of a naturalistic methodology appear to meet the needs of anti-racist social work education. Natural settings bring enriched research surroundings as well as the subject complicated by its local and specific conditions. The methodology demands flexibility and adaptability to cater to specific and changing situations. On the other hand, this methodology does not demand a pre-set hypothesis to be tested. A naturalist can enter the subject situation without pre-conceived ideas and studies the processes and experiences as he/she discovers. The capacity to combine evaluation and development is another advantage as evaluation results can be immediately put to use in curriculum development. Similarly, the learning potential for evaluation participants is invaluable for anti-racist social work. Finally, the naturalistic methodology can better accommodate discussions of value issues which are essential to anti-racist social work education.

The naturalistic methodology houses distinct evaluation methodologies which further differ amongst themselves in terms of research purposes, processes and actions. The next section introduces and compares these evaluation methodologies against the criteria for anti-racist social work education.

5.4 Evaluation Methodologies for Anti-Racist Social Work Education

The naturalistic methodology family is further divided into different methodological approaches. I have focused on three: ethnography (Apple, 1974; Fetterman, 1986b; Goetz and LeCompte, 1984; Smith, 1986; J. Weiss, 1989); stakeholder/democratic approach (Farrar and House, 1986; McTaggart, 1991; C. Weiss, 1986a) and action research (Beattie, 1989; Elliott, 1991; Stenhouse, 1975; Zuber-Skerritt, 1992).

The previous sections (5.2, 5.3) on curriculum theories and methodologies have illuminated a valuable insight affecting my original intent to pinpoint "the best" evaluation methodology for anti-racist social work education. That is, there is not one best methodology for evaluation. It is impossible and also inappropriate to impose one type of methodological approach to evaluate the wide variety of specific situations. The imposition would go against the naturalistic philosophy to appreciate local situations. Also, each situation contains specific needs, conditions and characteristics which should be dealt with accordingly. In addition, the choice of evaluation methodology would be dependent on the purpose and scope of evaluation and available resources.

The search within the curriculum and educational evaluation literatures resulted in three distinct naturalistic evaluation methodologies. This section describes the three and analyzes them against the criteria for anti-racist social work education. Advantages

and disadvantages of each methodology are also discussed in relation to anti-racist social work education.

5.4.1 Ethnographic Educational Evaluation

Ethnography is associated mostly with anthropology which studies human life. The influences of anthropology show in ethnography's use of cultural perspectives in interpreting human behaviour (Fetterman, 1988a:45; Ball, 1985:23; Hammersley and Atkinson, 1983:2; Roman and Apple, 1990:45). "An [ethnographer] follows those he[sic] studies through their daily round of life, seeing what they do, when, with whom, under what circumstances, and querying them about the meaning of their actions" (Becker et al., 1968 in Ball, 1985:23). Although originally developed to study groups of people and social-process phenomena, ethnography has also been used for organizational innovation (Goetz and LeCompte, 1984:3). Ethnography's spirit of innovation and improvement appears to have carried over when ethnography was adapted into the field of educational evaluation. As David Fetterman proclaims: "Ethnography in educational evaluation does not simply provide anthropological explanations of school failure...[Ethnographic evaluators] are integrally involved in describing, designing, and participating in the process of change" (Fetterman, 1986a:13).

Ethnographic educational evaluation examines educational programs or systems holistically in order to understand interrelationships amongst different factors such as the

contexts, educational activities and individuals involved (Goetz and LeCompte, 1984:17; Fetterman, 1988a:51). For instance, the success of an intern program for disadvantaged minority youths was affected by factors both internal and external to the program. The ethnographic evaluation revealed the following factors: training of program staff; internal management process; funding sponsors' bureaucratic needs, i.e., numeric expressions of program success and short timeframe; cooperation of school systems; and views within the community (Fetterman, 1988b:267-273). In this case, an ethnographic methodology was able to capture and appreciate the complex workings of an educational program situated in a specific context. This type of inquiry follows the naturalistic methodology's tradition of studying a subject in its natural settings and to document the reality of the situation experienced by the people involved (Goetz and LeCompte, 1984:32). The richer the description of ethnographic data, the more accessible and meaningful the research results would be to individuals affected by the evaluation.

Typically, anthropological ethnography, which studies different cultures, requires long-term and continuous fieldwork, stretching into years and sometimes decades. This does not occur for ethnography in educational settings. Educational ethnographic evaluation takes place in more familiar settings and in an ethnographer's own culture (Fetterman, 1988a:46). Although educational ethnographers may need to get accustomed to the local characteristics of each study setting, the duration of inquiry can be shorter (e.g., a school term) or longer, depending on the type of an inquiry subject and/or resources available for inquiry.

An educational ethnographic evaluation utilizes various data collection techniques: participant and nonparticipant observation; use of key informants; triangulation; structured, semi-structured and informal interviews (Fetterman, 1988a:47); researcher-designed instruments; and, analysis of relevant documents and information (Goetz and LeCompte, 1984:107-8). Ethnographic methods are hence not limited to qualitative instruments. Quantitative results of surveys and questionnaires are readily used, for instance, to triangulate, i.e., to compare, with qualitative results (Goetz and LeCompte, 1984:156). The choice of data collection methods depends on the purpose of evaluation, the study subject and local situations. Also, as the ethnographer becomes more familiar with evaluation participants, there may appear different possibilities and limitations for data collection, which prompt adjustments of the original design (Goetz and LeCompte, 1984:108).

In terms of anti-racist social work education, an ethnographic evaluation of a school as a whole may reveal insights into dynamics of school conditions and processes which facilitate or hinder anti-racist reforms. Since an ethnographer evaluates the school as a whole, the concerns about formal and 'hidden' curricula can be addressed. It would be possible to link, for example, the relationship between the school's institutional structure and the formal curriculum content. As well, an examination of external sociopolitical influences on the school may provide additional insights. For instance, is support from the minority communities a factor in sustaining curricular and institutional

reform? Questions about social and political climates surrounding the social work profession, and social services in general may also be worthwhile to explore.

The ethnographic methodology's adaptability in data collection is also beneficial for anti-racist social work education. As anti-racism is a relatively new concept and the understanding and levels of acceptance of it may vary amongst schools of social work; therefore, each school's readiness and attempts to embrace anti-racism will differ from other schools. These differences are in addition to each school's demographic and philosophical characteristics. The ethnographic methodology can accommodate these needs by its flexibility to cater and adjust to specific situations (Goetz and LeCompte, 1984:108).

Yet, within ethnography, there are diverse methodologies. Ethnographic methodology has had influences as well from psychology and sociology (Goetz and LeCompte, 1984:23-29). The sociology of education perspective has, in particular, provided concepts and studies which link education at micro levels with macro structural issues. The influence of a structural approach shows in ethnographic methodology which seeks to understand the relationship between social inequalities and the process of schooling (Goetz and LeCompte, 1984:29). The relationship between the micro and macro issues is also linked to the concept of curriculum as a social construction "influenced by, or caused by, social and economic changes within political systems"

(Clark, et al., 1989:3). This concept has helped to develop a more critical scholarship on curriculum (Goodson, 1994:17).

These sociological influences have generated a specific type of ethnography which explicitly follows distinct analytical frameworks. Critical or institutional ethnography problematizes commonly-accepted views of reality (Apple, 1974:4, 26; Smith, 1986:8).

For instance, Dorothy E. Smith (1986) has broadened the analytical possibilities by contributing a methodology from a standpoint of women. Taking up a particular analytical position facilitates an analysis of social relations involved in an institution under inquiry and explicates relations most people take for granted (Smith, 1986:7). This methodological approach would benefit anti-racist social work education which is fighting to expose the normalcy of racism in society and social work education. An ethnography of a school with an anti-racist standpoint may uncover internal and external factors and relations which are working with or against anti-racist social work education.

Critical ethnography interrogates the social reality of schools to understand power relationships and find emancipatory possibilities (J. Weiss, 1989:129). Openly political, these educators "link research to the project of democratizing the institutions of our unequal society" (Roman and Apple, 1990:41). The results of these ethnographic research are quite illuminating; these studies can offer contextualized accounts of students' and teachers' experiences in schools (Woods and Hammersley, 1993). This approach may be

suitable to evaluate a curriculum, which is viewed as "an expression of an institution's political economy" (Gamson and Associates, 1984:131).

One major characteristic of ethnographic methodology is its dependence on an ethnographer for analysis. Although ethnography gathers corroborative data from various sources, final analysis of the data rests on researchers. This may be troublesome depending on the circumstances and purposes of the evaluation. When participants do not agree with the evaluation conclusions, the research results may not be utilized. Or, the evaluation results may worsen the polarization of groups when they appear to favour one group's view over others. This scenario may be avoided if there is an acceptance of a certain value stand to guide the ethnography, such as anti-racism, amongst the participants. However, securing a school-wide agreement to conduct such critical ethnography may be extremely difficult.

5.4.2 Stakeholder/Democratic Evaluation

While ethnography depends on the evaluator's skills and motivation to take into analysis divergent views of people involved and affected by the evaluation, a stakeholder or democratic evaluation methodology explicitly demands involvement of "user groups in the development and conduct of evaluation studies" (C. Weiss, 1986a:148). The information needs of stakeholders is given high priority so that evaluation results will be useful and relevant to them (C. Weiss, 1986a:150). Carol Weiss defines stakeholders as:

the members of groups that are..affected by the [evaluated] program and who therefore will conceivably be affected by evaluative conclusions about the program or the members of groups that make decisions about the future of the program, such as decisions to continue or discontinue funding or to alter modes of program operation (C. Weiss, 1986b:187).

This methodology is said to democratize an evaluation process by catering to the needs of the evaluation participants and providing evaluative information they can use to make decisions about their program (Farrar and House, 1986:173-4; C. Weiss, 1986a:150). Barry MacDonald (Stenhouse, 1975:121) describes democratic evaluation which is based on the concept of "informed citizenry". The concept makes an evaluation process more open and accessible to stakeholders. In a sense, an evaluator becomes a tool for the stakeholders who share the control of the evaluation process and results. The evaluator facilitates the evaluation process by conducting negotiations amongst the stakeholders with different needs and wishes. The democratic evaluator collects information but does not offer recommendations based on the collected information. It is up to the stakeholders to decide what to do with the information (Stenhouse, 1975:121).

A democratic evaluator would start by canvassing views and information needs of stakeholders (C. Weiss, 1986a:149) such as students, teachers, administrators, funders and other interested parties. The philosophy of participation and fairness reflects a desire to be responsive to needs of the powerless and disadvantaged groups who are often targets of public interventions such as, social and educational programs and whose views are bypassed by traditional evaluation efforts. The participation of such groups in planning and executing a research process is supported by anti-racist social work education. These

groups' views can assist in developing an anti-racist evaluation process and methods of collecting data.

Thus, in a democratic evaluation, stakeholders' views are used to shape the evaluation process and data collection methods. Preferred methods tend to be qualitative, such as interviews; however, quantitative data such as attendance records have provided useful information and augmented qualitative data (Farrar and House, 1986:174). In the course of evaluation, emerging views and information are made available to the stakeholders in order to improve on their program (C. Weiss, 1986a:154).

Although the stakeholder methodology has some idealistic appeal, it poses serious problems for anti-racist social work education. First, the methodology either assumes or predicates on the situation where every stakeholder group is equal in terms of influences, status and power. To give all stakeholders equal opportunity to express views and needs ignores real power discrepancies amongst them. It further assumes that a democratic evaluation benefits all stakeholders. However, if there is any perception that a group's position is threatened by evaluation results, it can revoke its support and jeopardize the legitimacy of the results (McTaggart, 1991:16; C. Weiss, 1986b:192). This is particularly troublesome for anti-racist social work education. As discussed in Section 4.7.2, this type of scenario is most likely to occur when self-interests of students and faculty are threatened by anti-racism.

Another problematic assumption is that all stakeholders possess similar levels of sophistication in evaluation methodology. It has been documented that a stakeholder with more sophistication can overpower other stakeholders' views on evaluation (Farrar and House, 1986:174). Typically, administrators and funders are more knowledgeable in terms of research processes or institutional operations than front-line program staff or program users. These differences amongst stakeholders would then make it difficult to democratize evaluation processes. Empowering the powerless should be accompanied by tools, knowledge and opportunity; equal opportunity by itself would not suffice.

Carol Weiss (1986b) has identified a number of problematic issues with the stakeholder methodology although she still sees its validity in educational evaluation. Any type of evaluation which necessitates participation of program users has to face a problem of creating additional burdens in terms of time and energy. The stakeholder methodology would substantially increase these burdens by having people participate in both planning and responding to the evaluation. In addition, the methodology assumes that people would wish to participate and be ready to identify their information needs. This may be fine for long-term evaluations which may have more time to assist stakeholders to develop their views; but for short-term, it would have serious impacts on the evaluation's participation rate. As well, the issue of resistance should be addressed in relation to the participation rate when anti-racism is the focus of evaluation.

Despite the problems associated with the stakeholder methodology, it may offer benefits if combined with other evaluation methodologies. The principle of useful evaluation results, for instance, should be considered in every evaluative efforts. Or, the stakeholder methodology may benefit from an analytical standpoint taken by critical ethnography (Section 5.4.1) rather than having a seemingly-neutral evaluator. A stakeholder evaluation with an anti-racist standpoint may lessen the impact of value pluralism which has a possibility of validating any type of view.

5.4.3 Action Research as Evaluative Methodology

Taking a dramatic step further from the ethnographic and stakeholder methodology is action research. It embodies a general philosophy of linking practice and research conducted by workers or people in communities to improve their own milieu (Fals-Borda, 1991; Whyte, 1991). In a sense, an evaluation of a situation leads to actions to change the situation.

Action research was conceptualized by Kurt Lewin (Adelman, 1993; Elliott, 1991; Zuber-Skerritt, 1992) as an alternative to a scientific-management style which aimed to improve the productivity and quality of workplace (Adelman, 1993:7). He felt that democratic participation of workers, rather than autocratic coercion, would lead to effectiveness in the workplace (Adelman, 1993:7). To Lewin, problem-solving discussions in the workplace must include workers who actually carry out the work of

production; this approach has been shown to be effective in increasing productivity and staff morale in his experiments conducted in factories (Adelman, 1993:9).

The philosophy of empowering people who traditionally have been excluded from decision-making processes has inspired action research in many quarters. Action research has had considerable impact on organizational improvements in industry and in developing countries (Whyte, 1991). It has also been utilized in community development in both developed and developing countries (Barnsley and Ellis, 1992; Fals-Borda and Rahman, 1991).

Another influence on the development of action research is Paulo Freire's work on popular education, an alternative pedagogical approach based on critical social and political analysis of living conditions of the poor (Torres and Fischman, 1994:81). Empowerment of the community is said to result from recognizing and taking collective actions against the sources of problems the community faces. It promotes critical and democratic participation by concerned groups in every instance of decision-making (Torres and Fischman, 1994:91). The issue of community is important to anti-racist social work education. At university settings where most formal social work training takes place, many groups affected by social work education are usually excluded from curriculum development such as social work students, clientele and local communities.

A definition by William Whyte and his colleagues (1991:20) captures the general idea of action research:

..the people in the organization or community under study participate actively with the professional researcher throughout the research process from the initial design to the final presentation of results and discussion of their action implications.

By recognizing the dialectical relationship between theory and practice, research and action are said to inform each other (Zuber-Skerritt, 1992:11). A basic action-research process is "a spiral cycles"²²..consisting of plan, action, observation, and reflection (Zuber-Skerritt, 1992:11; Elliott, 1991). More specifically, each cycle of contains the following:

1. "The *plan* includes problem analysis and a strategic plan";
2. "Action means implementation of the strategic plan";
3. *Observation* includes an evaluation of the action";
4. *Reflection* means reflecting on the results of the evaluation and on the whole action and research process, which may lead to the identification of a new problem or problems and hence a new cycle of planning, acting, observing and reflecting" (Zuber-Skerritt, 1992:11).

It is possible that teachers are already practicing what action research is advocating. However, Ortrun Zuber-Skerritt (1992:16) points out that everyday, commonsense practice is not as systematic and rigorous as action research. I would also add that without an explicit commitment made by a school, it would be up to individual teachers to engage in the action-reflection mode. When examining curriculum issues holistically -- both the formal and 'hidden' curricula -- a whole school as an organization

needs to participate. As well, to involve practitioners as a group is the intent of action research methodology (Whyte, 1991:7).

Action research unifies educational processes which are often regarded as disparate, such as teaching, curriculum development, evaluation, research and professional development. Teachers as action researchers are encouraged to see them together as a whole, influencing everyday classroom experiences (Elliott, 1991:53-4). John Elliott claims that in order to facilitate this unifying research, it requires collaboration amongst teachers; isolated teachers would feel powerless to effect change beyond their immediate classroom practice (Elliott, 1991:55). Thus, educational action research sees teachers as a collective engaged in creative problem-solving in interrelated aspects of education.

John Elliott (1991:77-83) lists various data collection methods for problem analysis and evaluation. The selection of particular methods would depend greatly on research subjects. His list includes:

- diaries kept by participants;
- profiles of a situation or a person over time;
- document analysis, for instance, syllabi and textbooks;
- photographic evidence, such as of the classroom;
- audio/visual recordings and transcripts;
- use of an outsider observer;
- interviews - structured, semistructured, or informal;

- running commentary in which one observes and writes down everything that is said and done without interpretation;
- a shadow study in which a participant is followed and a running commentary is made on his/her actions and reactions;
- checklists, questionnaires, and inventories which are used in conjunction with qualitative techniques;
- triangulation whereby different perspectives are used to describe or explain a situation, for example, teachers, students, administration, and communities; and
- analytic memos in which one's systematic thinking about the evidence is described periodically (Elliott, 1991:77-83).

In Australia, Ortrun Zuber-Skerritt (1992) has utilized an action research methodology to improve undergraduate and graduate student learning. Her reasons for choosing action research were its characteristics: "critical (and self-critical) collaborative [research] by reflective practitioners being accountable and making the [research] results..public, self-evaluating their practice and engaged in participative problem-solving and continuing professional development" (Zuber-Skerritt, 1992:15). Ortrun Zuber-Skerritt (1992) provides a case study of two action-research projects at a university where she participated as an action research facilitator. One project focused on the improvement of undergraduate students' writing skills; and the other on decreasing drop-out rates at the graduate levels. The projects were initiated by faculty "as individuals, teaching teams, programme committees, convenors of a course or programme..not by external researchers" (Zuber-Skerritt, 1992:17). Cyclical evaluations and the problem-solving approach of action research led to a series of solutions tested in practice, e.g., writing seminars and

the availability of faculty to students. Development and testing of the solutions were assisted by inputs from other teachers and affected students. In both projects, the action research methodology was successful in improving the learning of students in their specific contexts (Zuber-Skerritt, 1992:55).

Action research offers the most practical approach to curriculum development due to its integration of development and evaluation. An evaluation in each action cycle is purposeful and directly contributes to curriculum development. An action research project with its multiple cycles of different plans of action evaluated in each cycle is analogous to conducting a series of curriculum-development projects and evaluation projects. The flexibility of action research is another benefit, in so far as unsuitable research decisions can be corrected easily in the process. In addition, the skills required for action research are not difficult to learn, a fact attested by many teachers in the literature (Beattie, 1989).

On the other hand, action research can be time-consuming and labour intensive depending on the scope of the research. Changes may be incremental and slow. Research on an entire curriculum may take a great amount of dedication on the part of researchers and participants. The collective nature of the research may also generate resentment and resistance from research participants who disagree with the research purpose or process. Ortrun Zuber-Skerritt (1992:104) suggests that "the time spent on solving problems in the curriculum and in the practice of learning and teaching should be considered a part of the normal duties of a teacher in higher education". Still, the time

issue may prove quite frustrating for some who may wish a faster improvement of the situation. There is already a level of frustration among social work students and educators regarding anti-racist social work curricula (Carleton University School of Social Work, 1990; Task Force on Multicultural and Multiracial Issues in Social Work Education, 1991). Once action research starts, empty promises of anti-racist education would not be ignored. For the research to be valid, those frustrations need to be answered adequately.

Then there is an issue of action research's dependence on teacher-oriented approach in curriculum development. Several educational reform projects do claim success using faculty-centred initiatives (LaBare and Lang, 1992; Pryse, 1991). On the one hand, opportunities for active participation are likely to motivate some teaching staff toward action research (Zuber-Skerritt, 1992:106). However, motivating an entire faculty for action research -- let alone for anti-racism -- may prove difficult in reality. School-wide research may be seen as a disturbance to a school's operation (Petrie, 1982:21), or as an infringement on faculty autonomy, a problem compounded by the privilege of academic freedom at universities (Pryse, 1991:73). Various forms of resistance do occur among students as well (Rothenberg, 1988:41; Thompson and Disch, 1991:7-8). Perhaps both issues may be explored as a subject of action research.

Furthermore, there is a potential danger of the teacher-oriented research to exclude inputs from groups concerned with or affected by the research, such as students and

minority communities, although it is against the philosophy of action research. This is possible if the research is narrowly focused on the skills of individual teachers. The anti-racist -- and the curriculum-as-process approach's -- understanding of learning and teaching as contextualized processes is important to counter this pitfall. Action research's formulation of problem-solving plans (Zuber-Skerritt, 1992) should be contextualized to reflect considerations of internal and external factors impinging on the classroom experience. As well, the observation and reflection activities of an action research cycle may solicit evaluative inputs from relevant stakeholders (Zuber-Skerritt, 1992).

5.5 Summary - the Three Evaluation Methodologies

Of the three, the stakeholder/democratic methodology is the least complicated in its approach. Based on the philosophy of participation and fairness, a stakeholder-approach evaluator would invite any affected or concerned groups, i.e., stakeholders, to participate in designing the evaluation processes and data collection. They have the final say in recommendation coming out of the evaluation. In other words, stakeholders have the control of the evaluation; the evaluator carries out their wishes.

The stakeholder/ democratic methodology may be suitable when all the evaluation participants are able to influence the evaluation process equally. For instance, student groups can undertake an evaluation about their school experiences and put forward recommendations.

In contrast, the ethnographic methodology relies on an ethnographer to gather information, describe and analyze the situation under study. The ethnographer evaluates the situation as a whole; thus an entire school, for example, can be examined. The ethnographic evaluator is interested in delineating relations amongst different structures and issues in the situation. The focus of the evaluation is analyzed in relation to internal and external factors. The evaluation results point out the areas for change.

Benefits of an independent ethnographer are great when stakeholders are unable to work together in the evaluation process due to differences in status, influence and decision-making power. Views of the stakeholders are filtered through the ethnographer into an evaluation report. Also, an ethnography may be appropriate for an initial assessment of a situation to understand its current conditions. For example, the results of an ethnography can be the basis for planning a curricular reform. In addition, an ethnography may be used to monitor curriculum development and reform.

My personal preference is action research which is more than an evaluation methodology. It combines an evaluation with actions. An action researcher, e.g., a teacher, undertakes a series of cycles, each consisting of: an evaluation of a situation; development of solutions; putting the solutions in practice; and an evaluation of the solutions.

Action research is useful when there are some recognition of an existing problem and willingness for change amongst the evaluation participants. Also important is an openness to experimentation and failure. Unlike the other two methodologies, action research can combine evaluation and action which complement each other. This trait may be beneficial when the evaluation participants recognize that there is a problem and do not wish to undertake two separate projects. e.g., an evaluation and an implementation of evaluation recommendations. Hence, action research represents a problem-solving approach rather than a path to assess problems.

Notes

20. Guba and Lincoln use the term 'inquiry' to refer to 'research'. Both terms are used interchangeably in this thesis.
21. When an evaluation provides a base for improvement, modification, and future planning, its function is called formative. The other function is called summative when an evaluation is used for certification, accountability, and selection purposes(Kelly, 1989:189).
22. A cycle in action research is analogous to a set of stages in conventional research.

CHAPTER SIX: Conclusions

The present research identifies curriculum evaluation methodologies within the existing literature which are most suitable for anti-racist social work education. In so doing, I have explored the area of curriculum and educational evaluation and discovered that the selection of an evaluation methodology is not as simple as picking up the right tools for woodworking. Education is a value-laden, sociopolitical undertaking. The overview of curriculum theories (Section 5.2) has shown that purposes of education, definitions of curriculum and methodologies of evaluation are all subject to philosophical and epistemological influences. The overview of diverse curriculum theories has facilitated my analysis of evaluation methodologies against the criteria of anti-racist social work education.

The study found that anti-racist social work education approximates the curriculum-as-process approach to education -- as opposed to the content and objectives approaches. The process approach holds a holistic view of curriculum which takes into account the formal and 'hidden' curricula. This view also appreciates the influences of sociopolitical contexts in which education takes place. Therefore, the curriculum as a process is more than a set of teaching contents and methods but encompasses any factors which affect educational processes.

Curriculum evaluation, seen in this light, expands the traditional functions of measuring the effectiveness of curricular contents or objectives. A process-oriented evaluation would question the value stance behind the curriculum; it would also examine institutional issues affecting the curriculum, such as a school's decision-making process. Finally, the process approach recognizes specific experiences of each educational setting. The needs and processes of curriculum development and evaluation would be unique to each school or education unit.

Accordingly, educational researchers using the process approach tend to prefer naturalistic methodology rather than scientific positivistic methodology. Naturalistic methodology is suited to explore the whole curriculum in contextualized settings of a given school. The three naturalistic methodologies of ethnography, stakeholder/democratic evaluation and action research offer unique and distinct benefits for anti-racist social work education. All three methodologies represent the ideals of the curriculum-as-process approach with the potential to address many aspects of education: teaching, curriculum development, evaluation, research and professional development (Elliott, 1991:53-4). The three methodologies can also address the holistic perspective of examining both the formal and 'hidden' curricula. Another strength is their priority to meet and serve the needs and circumstances of each research situation.

Of the three research methodologies, I believe that action research is the best-fit evaluation methodology for anti-racist social work education. It integrates evaluation and

action, and combines some significant elements of the other methodologies -- ethnography and stakeholder/democratic evaluation. Action research's unique feature which integrates action within research provides its strongest case for anti-racist social work education.

Anti-racist social work education is not yet widely accepted. It is a relatively new concept; however, I feel that its lack of acceptance is a reflection of racism's widespread permeation in our society. Also, the political nature of racism is constantly working against anti-racism. As shown in Chapter 3, racism is a complex phenomenon which has been legitimized and entrenched in society. To undo racism is a formidable challenge. As anti-racism demands a fusion of analysis with action, we require a clear process of translating anti-racist analyses into anti-racist actions. We need a methodology which has action as an integral part of a research process so that anti-racist social work education can go beyond an analysis. The action research methodology meets this demand.

In addition, action research can avoid a typical pitfall in which the actual implementation of evaluative results does not take place (Petrie 1982). Putting evaluation recommendations into practice is sometimes difficult due to financial and time constraints. This problem may be intensified for anti-racist reforms. As one of the major societal structures and forces, racism is capable of mounting resistance to any efforts which undermine it. The concept of 'common sense' racism is useful in appreciating this situation. The common sense nature of racism can effectively challenge and invalidate the importance of anti-racist reforms. The forces of this common sense nature should not

be discounted since this has helped maintain racism for centuries and become ingrained in us, as discussed in Chapter 3. For example, growing movements against equity measures in education and at the workplace seem to benefit partly from common sense racism. People may publicly espouse the view that everyone is equal. However, the equality view masks what Philomena Essed (1990:19) calls the "equal enforcement of unequal procedures or rules" from dominant perspectives. Any effective equity measure threatens the legitimacy of the dominant procedures and rules as well as the social construction of people of colour as less intelligent and less capable than whites.

An evaluation by itself does not pose a serious threat to racism: but actions to implement anti-racist recommendations do. When an evaluation is separate from implementation of recommendations, the seemingly valid reasons of common sense racism may create delays or obstructions in implementing evaluative recommendations. Therefore, the built-in action components of action research provides a major advantage over the other two methodologies.

The philosophy of action research fits with anti-racist social work education. Both advocate a collective approach in problem solving and education, influenced by the notions of popular education and democratic decision-making. Since anti-racism sees racism as a collective problem, the collective approach of action research is most fitting. Solutions coming out of an action research are formulated and improved collectively.

Furthermore, the collective approach in problem solving is essential in consideration of institutional issues at schools of social work and universities.

The collective approach flows from the philosophy of empowerment which is a major characteristic of action research and anti-racism. Action research has originated from a standpoint of the disempowered who are often objects of study. In action research, they become active subjects and researchers in learning about their conditions and executing solutions based on their own analysis. Similarly, anti-racism seeks to empower targets of racism to become subjects. The "other" (hooks, 1985; 1990:151) becomes the driving force behind anti-racist struggles. With its empowerment process, action research provides the "other" a space to conduct collective consciousness raising and structural analysis, and to formulate and execute anti-racist solutions for change.

Action research puts research responsibility on evaluation participants rather than on an outside evaluator. This has the benefit of involving educational practitioners, learners and other stakeholders in the process of reform and evaluating themselves. For instance, teachers as action researchers provide a benefit since they remain at schools year after year and can engage in a long-term research or a series of research projects. Having continuity can facilitate a long-term development of anti-racist social work education. Faculty is one constant at a school of social work who can engage in transforming social work education into an anti-racist one.

Chapter 5's descriptions of action research have focused on teachers as action researchers. However, teacher-oriented action research does not necessarily mean a top-down process. The processes of action implementation and evaluation would need to involve other stakeholders such as students, field placement supervisors and outside communities. The involvement of these stakeholders is paramount for anti-racist social work education. The stakeholders can provide support and a check and balance on the school's progress on anti-racist social work education. Action researchers should not be self-absorbed nor isolated in the research process; the success of planned actions needs to be validated by people affected such as stakeholders. This means that teachers as action researchers need to be aware of different factors and stakeholders and to take them into account in their research.

In addition, action research is not exclusively teacher-driven and can be accomplished by other stakeholders such as students. A literature review by Steve Hick and Ron Santos (1993) reveals that many action-research initiatives are started and sustained by university student groups. Students are often responsible for bringing emerging or abandoned issues to the fore and initiating reform processes within schools. With the establishment of student groups, their work can be sustained from year to year. Action research with its popular education philosophy empowers stakeholders who are traditionally not part of decision-making processes in a school setting. Through action research, they can locate or create possibilities for change in the traditional structures and processes.

Action research's problem-solving approach is beneficial for anti-racist social work education due to its flexibility and adaptability. Action research solutions can be easily catered to specific conditions of a given school and altered as the conditions change. This approach also complements the view of racism as "hydra-headed" and constantly changing shapes (Sivanandan, 1990:147). Expressions of racism do not stay still. As society changes, racism adapts to new conditions. Therefore, anti-racist social work education needs to deal with the challenges posed by shifting social, political and economic climates, and, their influences on the nature of social work. Again, the action component of action research is able to address such issues as soon as they are identified in the research.

There are some disadvantages to action research, such as unpredictable research progress. From the outset, action researchers cannot predict how many action cycles are required to solve an identified problem. There may be additional problems discovered in the research process. No time limit in action research can be a blessing or curse. Action research can continue forever as part of institutional activities to develop, evaluate and ensure the quality of anti-racist social work education. A time limit can be set if necessary; for instance, a research may be tied to funding requirements. Nevertheless, the process of action research may frustrate action researchers and other participants. The process may be very slow as different solutions are put in practice one at a time. Here, skills of an action-research facilitator may assist researchers and others deal with their

frustrations. Or, as Ortrun Zuber-Skerritt (1992:104) suggests, this type of action research should become part of everyday educational practice.

It may be difficult to coordinate school-wide action research. Action research is not a conventional research methodology; and, therefore, there may be misunderstanding about what it is and how it will work. At worst, there may be resistance within a school against its use. If a school-wide approach is impossible, there are alternatives such as a small group of teachers as researchers working together on common problems they face. For example, field practicum instructors may wish to prepare students for anti-racist practice. Or, another approach may be to start with one problem which may become linked to different issues and problems through an action research process.

Despite some limitations, I believe that action research is the most appropriate methodology for evaluation and development of anti-racist social work education. It holds the greatest potential for creating anti-racist change. Action research is capable of reforming an existing curriculum and conducting on-going curriculum development and evaluation. It is designed to tackle any practical problems encountered in an educational setting. The openness to failure and flexibility in methods and strategies are also practical research features. Action research mirrors the hopeful philosophy of anti-racism to work towards social change and justice. Unlike the other methodologies, action research puts solutions in motion within the evaluation process. In this way, recommendations coming out of an evaluation are more likely to be implemented.

Although my preference is action research, any of the three methodologies (ethnography, stakeholder/democratic evaluation, and action research) can be useful for evaluating an anti-racist social work curriculum or a current curriculum status. The choice of methodology would depend on the purpose of evaluation, the context of each situation in terms of awareness of the people involved and their commitment to reform. Also, more than one of the methodologies may be used for different evaluative purposes. There is no best methodology; and, no one methodology can guarantee consistent success for all situations.

For example, an ethnography may be useful in studying a situation for the first time and to obtain an overall picture of the existing conditions. An ethnographer can recommend solutions for identified problematic issues, factors and structures within a school. This methodology is effective when there is considerable disagreement within a school over anti-racist reform. The outside and independent ethnographer working under an anti-racist perspective may be less likely to be influenced by school politics.

On the other hand, a stakeholder/democratic evaluation may be used by one population such as students. The original intent of this methodology is found as a major disadvantage to anti-racism since the methodology ignores power and status differences amongst stakeholders. However, it may be useful for studying one group within which divergent needs and experiences appear. This methodology can reveal different students' experiences in every aspect of a school. For instance, minority students may have more

difficulty obtaining certain types of field placement. With equal participation in the student research process, voices of minority students as a stakeholder hold a legitimate place in the democratic evaluation results. The same may be tried for a group of faculty or field placement instructors.

Every school has its unique circumstances and evaluative needs. The choice of evaluation methodology thus requires careful consideration of the school's circumstances as well as methodological strengths and weaknesses. We must also keep in mind the constant forces against anti-racist reform.

Evaluation for change allows us to step back and take a closer look at what we are or have been doing. It may result in a sobering and embarrassing experience, or it may empower us to do better. It may be easier not to do anything at all. However, as social workers, we have a professional duty to work towards a just society. It is my sincere hope that the present research can add to the richness of educational reform literature, and, that social work education will be at the forefront of anti-racist struggles.

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