

**EXPLORING "INTERNALIZED" RACISM IN ELEMENTARY (INTERMEDIATE)
ENGLISH AS A SECOND LANGUAGE STUDENTS**

by

Dean Quiring

B. A., University of British Columbia, 1983

B. Ed., University of British Columbia, 1989

**THESIS SUBMITTED IN PARTIAL FULFILLMENT OF
THE REQUIREMENTS FOR THE DEGREE OF**

MASTER OF ARTS

in the Faculty

of

Education

© Dean Quiring 1996

SIMON FRASER UNIVERSITY

July 1996

**All rights reserved. This work may not be
reproduced in whole or in part, by photocopy
or other means, without permission of the author.**



National Library
of Canada

Acquisitions and
Bibliographic Services Branch

395 Wellington Street
Ottawa, Ontario
K1A 0N4

Bibliothèque nationale
du Canada

Direction des acquisitions et
des services bibliographiques

395, rue Wellington
Ottawa (Ontario)
K1A 0N4

For the author's reference

DLR file - Author's reference

The author has granted an irrevocable non-exclusive licence allowing the National Library of Canada to reproduce, loan, distribute or sell copies of his/her thesis by any means and in any form or format, making this thesis available to interested persons.

L'auteur a accordé une licence irrévocable et non exclusive permettant à la Bibliothèque nationale du Canada de reproduire, prêter, distribuer ou vendre des copies de sa thèse de quelque manière et sous quelque forme que ce soit pour mettre des exemplaires de cette thèse à la disposition des personnes intéressées.

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

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

ISBN 0-612-17065-9

Canada

PARTIAL COPYRIGHT LICENSE

I hereby grant to Simon Fraser University the right to lend my thesis, project or extended essay (the title of which is shown below) to users of the Simon Fraser University Library, and to make partial or single copies only for such users or in response to a request from the library of any other university, or other educational institution, on its own behalf or for one of its users. I further agree that permission for multiple copying of this work for scholarly purposes may be granted by me or the Dean of Graduate Studies. It is understood that copying or publication of this work for financial gain shall not be allowed without my written permission.

Title of Thesis/Project/Extended Essay

**Exploring "Internalized" Racism in Elementary (Intermediate) English as a
Second Language Students**

Author:

(Signature)

(Name)

July 2/96
(Date)

APPROVAL

NAME Dean Quiring
DEGREE Master of Arts
TITLE Exploring "Internalized" Racism in Elementary
(Intermediate) English as a Second Language Students
EXAMINING COMMITTEE:

Chair Kelleen Toohy

Celia Haig-Brown
Senior Supervisor

June Beynon
Associate Professor
Member

Dennis Sumara
Assistant Professor
Faculty of Education
Simon Fraser University
External Examiner

Date: _____

July 2, 1996

ABSTRACT

Exploring "Internalized" Racism in Elementary (Intermediate) English as a Second Language Students

The qualitative study explored racist self perceptions through interviews with sixteen elementary students of Chinese ancestry from the Richmond School District, British Columbia. Participants were intermediate level, English as a Second Language (ESL) students. The interviews were semi structured. Participants comments were taped and transcribed verbatim. Findings fell under two broad categories: feelings of exclusion and perceptions of Hong Kong, Taiwan and "Canadian" cultures. The absence of a Chinese cultural presence at a systemic level in the educational setting contributes to feelings of exclusion. It also appears to create an environment where participants are receptive to internalizing racist messages about their cultural group from the dominant culture. The theories of Foucault, Bakhtin and Freire were used to help understand the process by which young people take on the norms of society for naming themselves and by so doing develop racist self perceptions.

Foucault's exploration of the panopticon provides a metaphor for the mechanics of disciplinary power in the education system. The panopticon, a type of prison, was characterized by a circular building in which the guards could not be seen by the prisoners. The prisoners never knowing when they were being observed became overseers of their own behavior. The panopticon helps explain the role of the norm in disciplining participants whose world view differs from the norms of the dominant culture. The work of linguist Bakhtin is used to explore how through language participants privilege and "internalize" some of the racist messages in their environment. Freire's "adhesion" theory sheds light on participants who appear to

mimic some of the attitudes and behaviors of their dominant culture peers. The research points to the need for systemic recognition of students' cultures in educational settings in order to help avoid development of racist self perceptions.

For Radhika and Sumitra

I would like to acknowledge Dr. Celia Haig Brown, Dr. June Beynon and Dr. Suzanne de Castell for their support and guidance throughout my Masters program.

Table of Contents

Approval Page.....	p. ii
Abstract.....	p. iii
Dedication.....	p. v
Acknowledgements.....	p. vi
Introduction.....	p. 1
Chapter I	
CONSTRUCTING THE STORY.....	p. 4
Background Information on Participants' Schools.....	p. 7
"Internalized" Racism and My Role as Researcher.....	p. 10
Initiating the Study.....	p. 16
The Interviews.....	p. 21
Chapter II	
RE-PRESENTING PARTICIPANTS' VIEWS.....	p. 27
Chapter III	
COMPETING VOICES.....	p. 37
Race.....	p. 39
Classification and the Rationality of Racism.....	p. 42
The Culture of Power in Schools.....	p. 46
The Sociocultural Formation of Self: Learning as Participation.....	p. 47

Learning, Panopticism and the Construction of Identity.....	p. 51
"Adhesion" to the Oppressor.....	p. 55
Competing Voices: The Role of the Utterance, Voice, Dialogicality and Privileging in the Construction of Identity.....	p. 56
The Nature of Authoritative Text.....	p. 58
The Socialization of Mental Functioning.....	p. 61
 Chapter IV	
CONCLUSION	p. 64
 Chapter V	
RECOMMENDATIONS FOR TEACHERS	p. 67
Creating Text.....	p. 69
Creating Text: What are the Critical Issues Raised?.....	p. 73
REFERENCES	p. 75
 APPENDICES	
Appendix I-Consent / Permission Forms.....	p. 83
Appendix II-Field Notes.....	p. 90
Appendix III-Characteristics of Transcript Themes.....	p. 100

Introduction

This qualitative case study based on interviews focuses on the articulation of racist remarks by students of Chinese ancestry for whom English is a Second Language (ESL). The racist comments appear to have been "internalized" from the dominant culture and directed toward their own cultural groups. The original focus of the study was to explore "internalized" racism and class distinction as expressed in students' comments. The findings indicated that the relationship between classist attitudes and "internalized" racism could not be understood within the context of this study. It was impossible to determine whether classist attitudes between participants from Hong Kong and Taiwan existed prior to their arrival in Canada or were cultivated in Canada. Consequently, findings and analysis of findings pertain only to three issues: 1) whether "internalized" racism was at work; 2) what exactly is this concept of race and racism?; 3) how does the culture of power in schools facilitate "internalized" racism?

The study was made possible by the relationship of trust between myself, the participants, and the teachers of the participants. No student directly asked me if they could be involved in exploring and understanding their experiences relating to "internalized racism" in the classroom. The need for the study arose out of my concern that the grade four to seven Chinese ESL students I was teaching, did not have a positive view of themselves culturally. I heard a cry for help when students said, "I hate being Chinese" or "I wish I wasn't Chinese". When I

relayed these comments to the intermediate teachers from the two schools involved in the study all expressed concern and agreed to become involved. The study's importance lies in its identification of the systemic influence the dominant culture has in the educational system and its potential effect on some Chinese ESL students.

Findings from this study will help teachers by increasing understanding and knowledge of the institutional arrangements underlying "internalized" racism. This research underlines the need for a review of the structural practices that facilitate the internalizing of negative dominant culture messages such as, text which does not reflect the cultural make up of the educational setting, mono-racial teaching staff and mono-cultural curriculum. The study also suggests practices which teachers can undertake in the classroom to support their ESL students maintenance of a positive view of themselves culturally. The study is divided into three major sections: the method, findings and the analysis of the findings ("Competing Voices"). In the method section I review what was done in the study, how it was done and why. In the findings I briefly interpret and discuss themes from the interview transcripts that relate to "internalized" racism. In the analysis of findings I survey existing research related to "internalized" racism and discuss its relevance to my research. I then explore the ideas of social theorists, Foucault, Bakhtin and Freire to create an interpretive framework for better understanding the childrens' comments.

The theorists' ideas as they relate to my interpretive framework

can be briefly summarized as follows. Foucault's exploration of the panopticon provides a metaphor for the mechanics of disciplinary power in the education system. The panopticon, a type of prison, was characterized by a circular building in which the interior of the cells would face towards a viewing tower in the center of the structure. The viewing tower's windows were designed so that the guards could not be seen by the prisoners. Each of the prisoners' cells was illuminated by a window at the end of the chamber creating an outline of the prisoner. Any deviation from the institutions prescribed norms could be immediately detected. The panopticon helps explain the role of the norm in disciplining participants whose world view differs from that of the dominant culture. The linguist Bakhtin provides a vehicle for understanding how the panoptic messages operate within the linguistic mind of the participants. The reader comes to understand how through language, participants privilege and "internalize" some of the racist messages in their environment. Freire's "adhesion" theory sheds light on participants who appear to mimic some of the attitudes and behaviors of their dominant culture peers. Throughout the thesis I make reference to the dominant culture. When I use the term "dominant culture" I characterize it as: white, patriarchal, heterosexist, eurocentric and Judeo-Christian in origin. It exerts its view of the world through various institutions of power. These include, but are not exclusive to, the judiciary, health and education.

Chapter I

CONSTRUCTING THE STORY

A case study is a bounded system. Merriam (1988, p. 9) defines this type of study as, "an examination of a specific phenomenon such as a program, an event, a person, a process, an institution, or a social group". For this case study I have drawn upon sixteen intermediate level English as a Second Language (ESL) students from two schools in the Richmond School District, British Columbia. I have taught some of these participants in my role as an ESL instructor. A qualitative study was used because my intent was to elicit description and explanation of the "internalizing" process. Interviews and observations are two of the primary tools of qualitative research. I wanted to access the perspective of the participants as well as their priorities around comments and behaviors I had observed indicating "internalized" racism. Merriam states: "Interviewing is necessary when we cannot observe behavior, feelings or how people interpret the world around them. It is also necessary to interview when we are interested in past events that are impossible to replicate, (1988, p. 72)."

My interviews, are an attempt to create knowledge that is valid, reliable and accomplished in an ethical manner. Problems in achieving these qualities of knowledge are endemic to research and mine is no exception. The value of any research is partially dependent on demonstrating the findings credibility. As part of developing credible

research, validity and reliability are important (Le Compte, Goetz, 1982).

External and internal validity are concerned with determining the extent to which the researcher's conclusions reflect the observed "reality". External validity is the degree to which the findings can be applied to other situations. Sixteen volunteers participated in the study, consequently it is difficult to generalize the findings with such a small number of volunteers. Generalizing to other situations is questionable even if I had had a greater number of volunteers. The purpose of a case study is to provide a detailed account of how participants view themselves and their world, "not to know what is generally true of the many" (Merriam, 1988, p. 173). Only working hypotheses, not conclusions can be transferred to other case studies that have been studied in equally great detail (Merriam, 1988). Inextricably linked to validity is reliability. Reliability refers to the degree to which the findings can be replicated. Reliability in case study research is problematic. Human behavior is continually changing; consequently there can never be a single reality that can be studied repeatedly with the same results. It would be very difficult for anyone to replicate the study given my personal relationship with the participants, the teachers of the participants and the schools' administrations. For the purpose of this study the dependability of the findings is best discovered through exploring notions of internal validity.

Internal validity refers to the degree to which "scientific observations and measurements are authentic representations of some

reality" (Le Compte, Goetz, 1982, p. 32). Five strategies a researcher can use to ensure internal validity are: 1) clarifying the researchers' world view and theoretical assumptions; 2) making long term observation at the research site; 3) using interviews, observations and artifacts in order to gain a well rounded understanding of the situation to arrive at a plausible explanation of the phenomenon (triangulation); 4) asking colleagues to comment on findings; 5) taking interpretations of information back to participants (member checks) and asking them if the results are plausible (Merriam, 1988).

The following sections of the "method" are written as a narrative. My description of the "method" in part parallels the five strategies previously mentioned to ensure internal validity. Written within the step by step description of why and how the study was organized I chronicle my thoughts and feelings using these strategies. I have written the thesis using a variety of "voices". In the method section specialized vocabulary is used sparsely but changes as the study progresses towards the findings and the analysis of the findings. In part, the change from descriptive to technical, theoretical English reflects an efficient way of description that "simpler" English cannot convey. The shift also reflects the words of the theorists I'm using and with their words their authority. There is a slight irony in my writing style, as it is one of my criticisms in the analysis of findings that when certain speech types are privileged others are diminished. Consequently, I have attempted to convey the study in a simple and accurate writing style that recognizes the

importance of the contributions of various social theorists. The discussion of the study begins with an outline of the two schools' demographics. “Internalized” racism is defined and tied into who I am as the investigator and some of my teaching experiences. I then articulate the process of determining the themes within the interviews and the participants' and my own reaction to the member checks. The method section concludes with a brief description of the primary theorists used in the Analysis of the Findings and an explanation as to why I have used them.

Background Information on Participants' Schools

The sixteen Chinese students who participated in the study were selected from two elementary schools in the Richmond School District. In order to ensure participants' confidentiality I have labelled the schools “A” and “B”. The schools share similar demographics although there are some differences in terms of school services offered to students.

School “A” as of February 1996, has a student population of three hundred and eight students. Under school “A's” administrative umbrella is the “Centre”. The Centre is a district resource program for behaviourally challenged students. As well there is a primary annex serving fifty-two students. The annex is located approximately five blocks north of school “A”.

According to student population information at school “A” over the

last five years there has been a slow but steady increase of students who speak either Cantonese or Mandarin at home. This increase appears to reflect a change from a largely white neighborhood to an increasingly racially diverse community. The largest visible minority population in school "A's" area is of Chinese ancestry. This is reflected in the school, in which this group accounts for one hundred and fifteen students or thirty-two percent of the school population (School "A" Language Census, 1996). Seventy-six students of Chinese descent are presently requiring "pull out" ESL assistance. The two predominant Chinese cultural groups at the school are from Hong Kong and Taiwan. Until two years ago, those from Hong Kong were numerically dominant in the school at large, as well as within the participating ESL population. Within the last two years, however, there has been a significant increase in the numbers of students from Taiwan, the majority attending ESL classes (School "B" Language Census, 1996).

Cultural recognition of these two groups and other ethnic minorities by the school has for the most part been left to individual teachers. Recognition has largely rested on the celebration of various cultural festivals. During the 1992/93 school year, the staff designated "We are the World" as the school theme for the 1993/94 school term. Within the context of this theme, teachers were to focus on the socio-cultural commonalities shared amongst the various cultural groups in the school. Intermediate teachers planned common units under this theme. In the last two years there has been no "Multicultural" theme in

the school. Recognition of students from various cultural groups has again been left to individual teachers.

The cultural and gender make up of the staff at school "A" and its annex is fairly uniform. Except for one of the school's two custodians, who is of Asian ancestry, all employees (the administration, teaching staff, classroom assistants and child care workers) are of European ancestry. At school "A" there are twenty three teachers (eighteen females), six classroom assistants, (female) and five support staff or child care workers at the "Centre", (four females). There are two administrative officers, the Principal (male) and the Vice-Principal (female). Although the administrative officers at school "A" are legally responsible for the administration of the annex, it is in effect administered by a Head teacher who is responsible for the two teachers and students. The Head teacher and the two "regular" teachers are females of European ancestry.

A parent group has been formed as part of the support to the staff and school. Although membership periodically changes it is made up of a racially mixed group of parents who meet regularly and involve themselves in a number of activities to support students, teachers and administrators.

School "B" is somewhat similar to school "A" in its student and staff demographics. The largest visible minority population in school "B's" catchment area are people of Chinese ancestry. School "B" serves a student population of four hundred and fifty students. One hundred and fifty-five of these students (thirty-four percent) are listed by their

parents as having "Chinese" as their first language. Eighty-nine of these students require "pull out" ESL assistance. Similar to school "A," the majority of school "B's" Chinese population (ninety-six students) listed their birth place as Hong Kong. Unlike school "A", however, only three listed their place of birth as Taiwan.

The teaching staff at school "B" are comprised of twenty teachers (fifteen females) and six class room assistants. There are two administrative officers, the Principal (female) and the Vice-Principal (male). Three of the teaching staff are of Japanese ancestry, the remaining seventeen teachers are of European ancestry.

Similar to school "A", school "B" has a racially mixed parent group that involves itself in a number of activities to support students' educational goals.

"Internalized" Racism and My Role as Researcher

"Internalized" racism as defined by Anzaldua (1990, p. 226) ...means the introjecting from: the dominant culture, negative images and prejudice against outsider groups such as people of color and the projection of prejudice by an oppressed person upon another oppressed person or upon her/himself.

In order to clearly understand "internalized" racism within the context of this study it is necessary to discuss the connection between

"internalized" racism and my role as researcher. I have asked participants to discuss their innermost thoughts and feelings not only about themselves but their cultural group. While I have taken every step to ensure participant confidentiality, the possibility remains that when this study is read it identifies an experience that may be seen as common to individuals in this cultural group. Consequently I feel it only fair that I share some of my personal reasons for exploring "internalized" racism.

My interest in understanding "internalized" racism arose from my father's and my own experience growing up "internalizing" the dominant culture's positive and negative messages about ourselves. I am a thirty five year old man of Mennonite ancestry. My ancestors left Kazakhstan a former republic of the Soviet Union for Canada in 1875. Although there is no mention of intermarriage between visible ethnic minorities my phenotypic qualities indicate there must have been some interracial mixing. My parents and siblings are fair skinned and have blonde and light brown hair, they do not share my darker features. My racial "type" appears distinct from theirs.

My father grew up in a insular Mennonite farming community in Saskatchewan. He grew up "internalizing" the negative messages he perceived the dominant culture held towards non integrating Mennonites. These messages included perceiving Mennonites, as ignorant and "backwards". As a young man he moved away from his religiously conservative community as soon as he was financially secure. During his adult years my father was ashamed of his origins and felt

uncomfortable disclosing his Mennonite ancestry.

The Okanagan community where I spent most of my childhood and adolescence generally mistook me as First Nations or South Asian. There were many incidents where South Asians spoke to me in their first language. Among groups of "whites" who did not know me it was not uncommon for racist slurs and threats to be made. Upon moving to a larger city I found I was easily accepted by various visible minority groups such as, South Asians and Latin Americans. I have been in a continual process of "internalizing" the dominant culture's positive and negative messages about about an alleged cultural / genetic history.

Reflection on my Father's and my own history in regard to "internalizing" dominant culture messages about ourselves was stimulated by the self deprecating remarks some of the Chinese students I taught made about their culture. My interest in exploring experiences and causes of "internalized" racism is in part an exploration of my own "racial" identity. My personal history has created a meeting point with the participants' experiences of "internalized" racism.

I have been teaching English as a Second Language (ESL) in the Richmond School District for the past five years. Three years ago (1993) I discovered a number of disturbing attitudes among some of the Chinese ESL elementary school children at school "A". Comments were made to me by Chinese students in the ESL classroom in regard to their dislike of Chinese languages and their own racial group. Remarks such as, "Chinese isn't good, Mr. Quiring, English is better," as well as "I hate

being Chinese" were made by a few students.

At that time there was an increase in the Taiwan population at school "A". This appeared to foster some tension between students from Taiwan and students from Hong Kong. This tension manifested itself in the classroom in a number of ways: 1) students from each group refused to sit and work with each other; 2) students from each group made ethnic slurs about the other group; 3) Mandarin and Cantonese speaking students complained mutually that the other group was responsible for perpetuating negative stereotypes about Chinese people, "they give us a bad name" (Mandarin student referring to Cantonese).

In November of 1993, I informally interviewed a number of students who had been involved in that particular ESL student grouping the previous year. I wanted to ask them directly what their perceptions were of my observations from that time. The questions and responses are as follows:

Question: I've noticed that there were some things happening last year in the ESL classroom that aren't happening this year, I'm wondering if you can help me understand why there is a difference. Last year the Mandarin and Cantonese speakers did not want to sit with each other. Why is it that this year, both groups sit together and seem to get along with each other ?

A: (Cantonese) said that the reason for students not sitting with each other, not liking each other was because of one girl, B (Mandarin) who attended the school last year.

According to A, B was telling everyone not to sit with the other group. "She was telling bad things, about the group. She was telling people from Taiwan not to sit with Cantonese people." Everything that was not good, was because of her." Another student (Mandarin) concurred with this.

Question: "Last year some people were telling me that they thought that the English language was better than Chinese."

When asked about the comments that have been made about English being better, they all immediately wanted to know who had said such a thing. One student thought that the person who said it probably meant that English was easier, and therefore better. Another became immediately animated and said, "I'll kill him."

Another student C. blurted out they are "bananas".

"What do you mean by that?" I asked.

C: "They are yellow on the outside, white on the inside."

Other students then asked for clarification, not having heard the term before.

C : "They are Chinese who act like white people, yellow on the outside, white on the inside

In order to better understand what my students were saying and to answer the questions that were forming about my own "racial" identity I enrolled in a Masters of Education program at Simon Fraser University. One of the courses I registered in was Qualitative Methods. It was during Qualitative Methods that I learned about the case study approach to research problems and ethnographic literature. The case study approach became a vehicle for me to explore "internalized" racism. The ethnographic literature I read provided a mirror that allowed me to question who I was as the investigator. It questioned my authority in addressing the question of "internalized" racism in the students I was

teaching and my impact as researcher on the findings.

Ethnography is based on the study of how human beings interact and make sense of their lives (Haig-Brown, 1992). Ethnographic knowledge is derived through research that is best established by working with people in their natural setting. The ethnographer's authority is established by observing and spending time with the people of a given place (Haig-Brown, 1992). The "reality" being researched lies in the examination of the world by the participants and the researcher. Clifford (1988 p. 41) states: "It becomes necessary to conceive of ethnography not as the experience and interpretation of a circumscribed "other" reality, but rather as a constructive negotiation involving at least two, and usually more, conscious, politically significant subjects."

The construction of the "other" reality in my study has been negotiated through my authority in a number of ways. My authority in the study begins in part through my awareness of "internalizing" dominant culture attitudes about my "race". I saw the participants' experiences through a lens which sought to explore the messages they received about themselves from the dominant culture and compared it with the messages I heard concerning my "race". My understanding of the meaning of what the participants were saying was also mediated by my understanding of theorists, Freire, Bakhtin and Foucault. My presentation of the information, headings, metaphors, narration used to "write up" the observations will influence how readers interpret the text. Consequently, it is important to clarify my authority in the study for it is

erroneous to believe participants’ comments speak for themselves.

Initiating the Study

The Simon Fraser University Ethics Committee and the Richmond School Board reviewed and approved the study. The Principals of both school “A” and “B” and the six teachers of the students selected were notified in person of the study’s objectives, questions and interview grouping prior to its start.

A total of sixteen participants took part in the study. Seven participants were from school A (three girls, four boys) and nine participants from school B (five girls, four boys). All participants were of Asian ancestry. Thirteen were from Hong Kong, (Cantonese speaking) and three were from Taiwan, (Mandarin speaking). Participants’ length of time spent in the Canadian (Richmond) educational system ranged from six months to two years. The English language competency of the participants was at an intermediate level or higher as designated by The Richmond School District wide measuring levels.

Prior to beginning the study I completed a pilot project in the same academic year with a group of four ESL students from school “A”. This pilot project was completed as part of the requirements for the course called Qualitative Research Methods. The questions posed in the pilot project were identical to those used in the other interviews. The findings from the interview have been used as part of the overall findings in this

study. As a result of this pilot interview, I noted that the mixed gender grouping of two boys and two girls resulted in the boys dominating conversation. Consequently, for future interviews I attempted to construct interview groups of the same gender, all boys or all girls. In seeking volunteers I had hoped to have an equal number of new Canadian Cantonese speaking (Hong Kong) and Mandarin speaking (Taiwan) students. While I was happy to have sixteen participants, thirteen were from Hong Kong. It was important to me to have an equal number of Taiwan and Hong Kong participants because I wanted to solicit participants' perceptions of the other cultural group. As part of understanding "internalized" racism I wanted to find out if these two groups of participants had racist or classist views of each other prior to arriving in Canada or if these views developed while living in Canada.

My ability to solicit students from the school I work at, school "A", was based on general cultural knowledge gained as a result of five years of teaching Chinese students, trust and shared experiences. I have observed that Chinese students from new immigrant families are not familiar with the idea of participating in research where one is formally interviewed about personal experiences. Strangers asking direct questions about personal matters is in general considered inappropriate. I was also aware that potential participants might refuse to be part of the research because of their discomfort with being audiotaped. Consequently, I took several steps before and during the interviews to facilitate comfort and trust with the potential participants.

As an English as Second Language (ESL) teacher from school "A" I have developed an ongoing relationship over the span of several years with many of the students. I am also somewhat familiar with the beliefs and customs of Chinese people from Hong Kong and Taiwan. I introduced the need for participants by stating how, I, like them, was in school and was involved in a project where I needed to interview students. I then handed out the translated (Chinese) permission form in which the goals and procedures of the interview process are outlined (Appendix I). The permission form was translated by a family acquaintance of Chinese ancestry. I reviewed orally with the students what was contained in the permission form. I emphasized that it would be a group interview, their names would be coded to assure confidentiality, students could refuse to answer any questions and withdraw at any time without fear of any negative consequences. I noted that night in my field notes, (Appendix II) which I kept over the course of the study, my anxiety over a student's comments. The student questioned my success in obtaining participants after reading the conversation would be taped:

One of my grade five students turned to me after I finished my explanation of what and why I was doing the interview and said, "You know Mr. Q, I think you're going to get this many people," as he held up his hand to make a zero. I gulped and could tell the kids were not overjoyed that the conversation was going to be taped, even though I had meticulously explained that they could quit at anytime and their conversation would be coded. Oh well... . (Field Notes, April 7th., 1995)(Appendix II, p. 84).

Trust was an important element in obtaining participants. All I could do was hope that the relationship I had cultivated over the years would be enough for them to feel comfortable sharing personal thoughts and feelings. Students are often guarded when discussing their experiences of living in Canada:

I know the kids are somewhat nauseated and suspicious when asked to talk about coming to Canada. Through various class exercises they've regurgitated "safe" versions of their story a hundred times, they are very careful as to what they talk and don't talk about. In my gut I know that they don't want to leave any "trails" especially when they fear there's even the remotest chance their parents will find out what they've said. (Field Notes, April 7th., 1995)(Appendix II, p. 84).

Three participants agreed to be interviewed from school "A". I was disappointed I did not get a greater response. I knew, however, that no number of assurances would quell some students' concerns that their parents would find out what they really thought and felt about living in Canada. I was getting a little nervous that I would only have seven respondents:

There's a quantitative monkey on my back screaming "a total of seven interviews is sad social science!" I'm not sure whether to ask if students from another school in Richmond would like to participate. If my students are apprehensive I don't see why some other kids would want to "spill their guts" to a stranger. (Field Notes, April, 10th., 1995.)(Appendix II p. 85)

I called my advisor, Celia Haig-Brown and expressed my concerns about only having a total of seven respondents. She asked me if I felt they were "rich" in themes relating to "internalized" racism. I told

her I wasn't sure; she suggested soliciting participants from another school.

The following day I phoned the Principal, (May, 4th., 1995) at school "B". I had previously worked at school "B" and had maintained my relationship with many of the staff. I briefly explained the goals of the study and we agreed to meet to discuss the project in more detail. During the meeting the principal agreed to let his school participate in the study as long as staff and students were comfortable participating. A meeting was held on May 12th., at school "B" with the Vice-Principal, also an ESL instructor, and the full time ESL instructor to review the objectives of the study, the criterion for selecting participants, confidentiality concerns, the study questions and the "member checks" to follow. The three intermediate teachers of the ESL students were informed of the nature of the study by the Vice-Principal and the ESL teacher. I was told by the ESL instructor that the teachers had agreed to have their students participate in the study if any students were interested. Scheduling a group meeting with all three teachers proved difficult because of conflicting timetables. Consequently, I met with two of the three teachers, outlined the nature of the study and answered questions in regard to the type of questions being asked. I met with the third teacher a few days later and outlined the nature of the study and the difficulties many ESL students faced adjusting to Canadian life. The three teachers of the potential participants were comfortable with the study and agreed to participate. The Vice-Principal and the ESL

instructor handed out the translated permission forms to their ESL students and explained the goals and process of the study to them. A few weeks passed, interested students handed back their permission forms and an interview date was set, June 4th., 1995. Surprisingly, there were nine respondents, two more than from the school where I was working. I felt embarrassed. I felt strongly that I had a trusting relationship with the students I taught. I cannot escape my authority as teacher and it seems the students I teach can't either. Trust only goes so far. As well, it is perhaps my anonymity as interviewer and a more effective delivery of information about the study to students by the teachers of school "B" that account for the greater response.

The Interviews

My approach to research is to see researchers as conversationalists and interviews as dialogues rather than a process of extracting information. The interviews took place in the schools of the respective students during class time. The interviews were conducted in English using a semi-structured interview guide. A semi structured interview allowed me to respond to situations as they arose and also allowed for some parameters in which the dialogue could take place. The general questions were therefore continually supplemented by reflective questions to stimulate deep discussion. The questions used in

the interviews were:

1. Can you tell if someone is from Hong Kong if they are visiting Taiwan and vice versa? How? How did you learn this? What about here in Canada?
2. Are you happy that people in Hong Kong and Taiwan are choosing Canada as their new home?
3. After 1997 if the Chinese government is good to people in Hong Kong do you think many people will want to move back ? Why?
4. If you had a magic wand and could change anything about Canadians what would it be?
5. If you could create your own school what would it look like in terms of teachers, things you learned, books?
6. If you could, would you have Chinese (Mandarin or Cantonese) taught to everyone in the school? Why or why not?

The interview questions were meant to access the thoughts and feelings of the participants in relation to their perceptions of people from Hong Kong and Taiwan and their experience of living in Canada. I hoped that in response to these questions students would comment about "internalized" racism.

Prior to each group interview participants were reminded they did not have to participate in the study, they could withdraw from the interview process at anytime and could refuse to answer any question. A group interview format was chosen over individual interviews for several reasons. In the past when I have conducted informal interviews in the classroom students have appeared more relaxed in a group interview rather than a one to one interview. It has also been my experience that group interviews stimulate a greater number of

responses as students listen and respond to each others' experiences and ideas. Interviews at school "A" were completed in an empty classroom. Interviews at school "B" were held in an empty library behind room separators.

My perception of the tone of the interviews, except for one, was relaxed. Many participants at various times in the interview would make jokes about each other or the comments someone had made. The one group of girls I interviewed at school "B," however, appeared shy. At the beginning of the interview only one or two of the five participants spoke, and only in short, "yes", "no" or similarly muted responses. I was unsure how to get them to relax, after a few questions other participants joined in on the conversation although responses to questions were often short. I was also aware that the participants might censor or share information based on who they perceived me to be. I am not sure how to account for the girls' reluctance to speak other than to say I was a man they did not know asking them personal questions. Interestingly, some participants had questions regarding their perception of my ancestry.

Many participants wanted to know where I was born, what languages did I speak, had I been an ESL student, where exactly were my ancestors from. These questions were often asked near the end of the interviews when I had run out of questions and had asked if they had any for me. My "race" appeared important to some of the participants. Many of the participants did not see me as "Canadian". One participant asked if "Canadians" liked me as a child:

G: What about the Canadian did they like you?

Q: Did they like me? How do you mean?

G: Like, you are black hair and black skin and the Canadians are white skin and they got gold hair or that then they saw you and they like, they hate Chinese and they hate, you know they hate black skin.

Q: Well when I was growing up, sometimes I had the same things that happen to you, people shouting at me and people kind of, when I was your age kind of not liking me cause of that [color]

F: But you are black people?

Q: Well I'm not a black person, no, but they didn't like me because of how I looked different from them, right? So they would kind of do the same things like call me names and want to fight with me and things like that.

Within a few days of each focus group interview I began the task of transcribing the audiotapes verbatim on computer using square brackets to add words for clarity. I then reviewed the transcript simultaneously with the interview tapes. I wanted as much as possible to maintain accuracy of the information. During transcription I renamed all participants in the study by letter as a convenient way to identify members of a common interview group and to ensure confidentiality. The two interview groups from school "A" are A, B, C, D and E, F and G. Unfortunately because of a low response for participants, group E, F and G were a mixed gender group, one girl "F" and two boys E and G. The two interview groups from school "B" were H, I, J, K (boys) and L, M, N, O, P (girls). I also created an appendix found at the back of the document for permission forms, (Appendix I) and field notes (Appendix II). The appendices were created so that the reader has another tool to confirm the validity of the material used in the study.

The transcriptions in addition to some field notes became my primary information for analysis. I read each group interview transcript

repeatedly as I looked for thematic patterns. I began writing what I thought were the themes of a given section of text in the margins. Using masking tape I made four, six foot columns on my study floor. Each column had the heading of one of the interview groups, e.g., School "A" group one, (participants, A, B, C, D). I cut out the labelled thematic transcript sections from each interview group and placed them under their respective group column. I placed common themes from each interview group across from each other. Organizing the transcripts this way allowed me to see variations of common themes and absences of themes from particular interview groups. I wrote down what I had placed on the floor and described some of the characteristics of each theme (see Appendix, III). I began "playing" with the themes, collapsing some and discarding others. The salient themes slowly came into focus. Two broad categories finally emerged: feelings of exclusion of which "internalized" racism was a main component, and participants' perceptions of Hong Kong, Taiwan and "Canadian" cultures. While participants' perceptions of Hong Kong, Taiwan and "Canadian" cultures were interesting and classist attitudes towards Hong Kong and Taiwan cultures were expressed by participants, the "class" questions could not shed light on the relationship between "internalized" racism and classist attitudes. "Class" questions did not prove as fruitful as other aspects of the inquiry. In order to begin to explore if the participants had "internalized" the Canadian dominant culture's attitudes about Taiwan and Hong Kong culture's, I would need to first interview participants in

regard to their attitude towards the other culture (Hong Kong / Taiwan) prior to their coming to Canada. Consequently only findings relating to "internalized" racism are discussed in the findings and the analysis of findings. The findings which relate to participants' perceptions of Hong Kong, Taiwan and "Canadian" cultures are included for the readers interest.

After I had completed categorizing the findings I went back to the participants for a "member check" (Guba and Lincoln, 1981). I wanted to "feed back" the themes to the participants see if they felt they were plausible. I found this process frustrating, no interview group disagreed with the summarized findings or wished to alter them. The member checks for any of the interview groups took a maximum of fifteen minutes. Only one group from school "B" wished to add comments. They stated they felt half the teachers in public schools should be of Chinese ancestry and in regard to changing their physical appearance wished they were taller. My authority as teacher could have played a part in the lack of disagreement with the themes I generated but a more likely explanation is that they weren't interested in participating in a discussion which took them away from year end "fun" activities. Students in the last week of the year are often participating in non academic activities such as art and physical education. As one student remarked during a member check, "It's been five minutes, can we go?" (Field Notes, June 27th, 1995)(Appendix II, p. 93).

Chapter II

RE-PRESENTING PARTICIPANTS’ VIEWS

The findings fell under two broad categories: feelings of exclusion and participants’ perceptions of Hong Kong, Taiwan and “Canadian” cultures. Participants’ responses to the interview questions were most often short statements with few supporting ideas. I attribute their short responses in part to their intermediate English language level as well as their age. The participants were between the ages of seven and eleven, or in Piagetian terms the participants were at a concrete operational stage of cognitive development. This period is characterized by a limited ability to think and articulate in hypothetical terms (Evans, 1973, p. 26). Comments by participants relating to “internalized” racism is the focus of the study. The other category of findings, participants’ perceptions of Hong Kong, Taiwan and “Canadian” cultures as mentioned in the method section are inconclusive. Nevertheless, they are interesting and worth mentioning.

Briefly, many participants felt Canadians lacked a strong work ethic. The lack of a vigorous work ethic was felt by some participants to feed into the jealousy of “Canadians” towards wealthy Chinese. As well, some participants felt “Canadians” saw Chinese in Richmond as being obsessed with money. A number of participants saw “Canadians” as friendlier than Asians from Hong Kong and Taiwan. This perception of friendliness was seen as extending to the compassionate treatment of the elderly. In regard to Mandarin and Cantonese

speakers' perceptions of each other, many felt that one group could distinguish the other according to dress, physical characteristics and at times by behavior. Many participants perceived Mainland Chinese as uncaring, aggressive and often dressed in “old cheap clothing”.

The binding theme amongst the various forms of “internalized” racism was the feeling of exclusion many participants felt from Richmond society. The participants' comments broke down into three sub categories: self censorship and the privileging of particular physical and social qualities possessed by “Canadians”, “internalizing” racist stereotypes and the desire to have greater cultural representation in schools at a systemic level. The three sub categories appear to be symptoms of the overarching theme of exclusion.

Although participants were never asked, “What is a Canadian?”, most of the participants did not refer to themselves or Canadians of Chinese ancestry as Canadian but as Chinese. “Canadian” for many participants appears to have meant “whites” living in Canada. The feeling of not being part of the “Canadian” norm and the desire to be part of the norm by some participants extended to the point where some participants privileged particular physical and social qualities possessed by “Canadians”. “Privileging” physical and social qualities of another cultural group over one's own seems to involve a process of censoring oneself. Self censorship for those not of the dominant culture appears to be the end effect of “internalizing” dominant culture messages about themselves. As hooks, (1990, p. 157) states, “...one of the deepest expressions of our internalization of the colonizers' mentality has been self censorship...”. The power of norms in society and the censoring of oneself

to be part of the norm is reflected in many participants' comments. Some participants viewed certain physical qualities possessed by "Canadians" as more desirable than Asian physical characteristics:

Q: Okay, what about you G, what do you think? If you had a magic wand and could change anything about the Chinese here in Richmond what would it be?

G: Put all the Chinese in like, they become Canadian.

Q: What does become a "Canadian" mean?

G: Their skin like Canadian. Their hair like Canadian.

F, G: [Interject excitedly, speak at same time] "Yeah!"

F: Blonde,

Q: Would you like to have blonde hair?

F: White skin.

Q: Would you like to have blonde hair? [referring to F]

F: Yeah!

Self censorship appears to work at a conscious and unconscious level with some of the participants. In order to feel accepted in the Canadian milieu one female participant "F" remarked: "I'm scared. I'm scared that the Canadians don't like me, so I make myself nicer, friendlier." In the following example other participants appear to have "internalized" racist dominant culture attitudes about Chinese.

Many participants felt certain social qualities of "Canadians" and aspects of "Canadian" culture were superior. In the example which follows participants first mention that "Canadians" are better because the streets of Canada are cleaner. The participants then speak of certain personality characteristics that "Canadians" possess which they perceive lacking in people from Hong Kong:

K: I think the Canadians is better.

H: You can see many garbage from Hong Kong and the road and the street.

I: Yeah, lots of garbage.

K: [Unclear]

Q: Okay now you're saying, correct me if I'm wrong, so you're saying Canadians are better?

J, K: Yeah.

Q: How are they better?

J: Like their personality.

Q: Their personalities are better?

J: Like they stuff like say, if you do something wrong they just say nice try, but in Hong Kong they will just get mad at you.

K: How come you do that? And in the morning when you see him, he always say: How are you and hi. In Hong Kong, no.

Q: So, okay so...

I: And they help.

Q: So if I go to Hong Kong they won't help?

Group: No.

K: You've got to pay for it.

Other participants also felt "Canadians" were "better" but one participant added that she felt Chinese were smarter:

G: Canadians are better than Chinese because Chinese just working. They don't like sports, some like sports, and in China they just farming, cleaning the house, they don't do anything.

Q: Do you think Chinese are generally smarter than Canadians or what?

E: No, not everybody.

Q: Not everyone, okay.

E: Only a little bit

Q: A little bit.

F: Chinese people is smarter than the Canadian because Chinese people have to use their brain, 'cause they have to make more money.

In addition to privileging dominant culture perceptions of beauty and certain social qualities, some participants appear to have "internalized" stereotypes held by many members of the dominant culture about Chinese. Self censorship appears to create a ground work that enables racist messages

and stereotypes towards one's group to be "internalized" more easily. Some of these participants do not appear to be aware of consciously engaging in a process of "denying" who they are culturally and the right of Chinese to be in Canada:

Q: Okay what about here, Chinese in Richmond, Vancouver would you want to change anything with your magic wand? You've mentioned some things.

K: You mean in Canada? The Chinese in Canada?

Q: In Canada. The Chinese people in Canada.

I: The Chinese change some manner, manners.

Q: Like what exactly?

K: I don't want the Hong Kong people again.

J: I don't like the Chinese.

H: Excuse me J, you're Chinese.

A number of participants held a variety of stereotypes about Chinese in the Lower Mainland. One stereotype contends that Chinese are uniformly wealthy and like to show off their wealth.

Q: Anything else you'd like to change about the Chinese, here in Richmond?

F: Not so show off. The Chinese people are show off.

Q: What do they show off?

F: I have a necklace, I have a big car, I have a big house, like that.

Q: Well, what's wrong with doing that? Canadians who have money do that?

F: They show off. "See I have big house, you don't have."

Q: Yeah, but some Canadians do that.

F, G: Just some.

F: But the Chinese always do that.

While these participants appear to have "internalized" the stereotype that Chinese as a whole are wealthy and like to show off their wealth, they were also aware that "Canadians" have stereotypes about Chinese:

F: The Canadians think the Chinese is...

E: Stupid

F: No like crazy. They think the Chinese people want a lot of money but they don't.

E: They do!

F: They don't need so much money.

Q: They don't. [rephrasing]

F: They think that the Chinese people don't need to have so much money.

Some participants appear to have felt Chinese in Richmond were violating dominant culture norms by open displays of wealth, thereby attracting negative attention in spite of many "Canadians" engaging in the same behavior. Some of the participants felt that an open display of wealth by Chinese triggered the resentment and racism of "Canadians" :

Q: What about you, if you could change anything about Canadians?

G: I know why the Canadians don't like Chinese, 'cause they make a house so expensive and build more buildings but if the Chinese don't come and build the buildings, they don't have the house that's that beautiful...

Some participants felt their efforts to quietly integrate into "Canadian" society were being undermined by Chinese who did not know "Canadian" norms. Those who were seen as not knowing "the rules" appeared to cause some embarrassment and anxiety to those who felt they knew "the rules" :

Q: What exactly do you mean? When people from Hong Kong and Taiwan come here, they...?

A: They're not like Canadians, they don't know the rules, they just keep breaking the rules. They talk super loud, when they're out [unclear]. In a few years they know the rules and stuff.

Q: And that makes you feel uncomfortable?

A: Yeah.

Q: So do the rest of you kind of feel that way, or don't feel that way about what "A" was saying about how sometime people from Hong Kong and Taiwan speak

too loud? Do you feel that way?

D: Yeah.

Q: What would you like them to do?

A: Talk not too loud.

The desire by some "established" Chinese ESL students to have their peers fit "Canadian" norms in one school extends to "games" played in the classroom. In one of the participants' schools, some grade four and five ESL students were caught playing a "game" they called "Good Guy, Bad Guy". In this "game" some Chinese ESL students who have been in Canada for some time hide books, steal materials and generally verbally harass those ESL students who are new to the country. After a year or so of this kind of harassment the "Bad Guy" becomes a "Good Guy" and is able to carry on this initiation ritual with the next set of newcomers. The harassment that the "Good Guys" inflict upon the "Bad Guys" is not unlike the alienating treatment that some new ESL students receive from some "Canadians." Similarly, some ESL female grade seven students have complained to me about certain former ESL students who share their first language that pretend not to understand them. As one of the complainants said to me about a former ESL student, "She thinks she is more like Canadian now."

Being part of the "norm" was very important to some participants. Some participants felt their ability to be part of the norm was being impeded by the number of Chinese in Richmond. As one participant "K" said referring to Chinese in Richmond, "I don't think I'm so happy because now in Richmond it's crowded". Some of the participants' perceptions of the numbers of Chinese in

Canada were grossly inflated. The exaggerated perception of the number of Chinese in Canada might have come from their parents. The parents' perception of the numbers of Chinese in the Lower Mainland, like their childrens' perception, however, might also in part be due to the “internalization” of the dominant culture's growing fear of the number of Chinese immigrants in Canada:

Q: What if you had a magic wand, a magic stick, if you could change anything about Canada, or Canadians, what would it be?

A: Only one thing? or tons of things?

Q: Whatever you want.

A: No crimes, no robberies, and not as many Chinese coming.

Q: You wouldn't want as many Chinese coming?

A: Half of Canada is almost Chinese.

Q: Do you think that, really?

D: Yeah...

It appears that many participants strongly desired to be part of Canadian norms in terms of physical and social characteristics, numbers, and social conventions such as the “appropriate” display of wealth. Many participants also wanted Mandarin and Cantonese, as well as other languages, as subjects for study in school. Some participants during “member checks” mentioned they wanted Chinese books and greater representation of teachers of Chinese ancestry in their school. Some participants in addition to wanting Chinese in Richmond to speak English well, wanted Canadians to speak “Chinese” as well as having “Chinese” as an official third language:

J: Uh, I will just [take] the magic wand to make the Chinese people to

speaking perfect English, okay and that Canadian can speak perfect Chinese.

Q: Oh, okay.

J: Or can write [Chinese].

I: And Chinese be a third language.

Q: A third language?

I: In Canada.

A few participants however, had mixed feelings as to whether relations would improve between speakers and non speakers of Mandarin and Cantonese. One participant felt little if anything could be done to improve race relations between Chinese and "Canadians" because "Canadians" judged Chinese as a whole by the bad actions of a few. "G" said, "If the Chinese are bad or the Canadians are bad the Canadians don't like the bad Chinese people and they think all the Chinese are bad".

In order to better understand why participants have made comments associated with "internalized" racism I introduce my analysis of the findings with a review of existing literature related to "internalized" racism. As a result of the scarcity of existing theory on the social arrangements that precipitate the "internalizing" of racist messages, I have woven together some of the ideas of Lave and Wenger, Blumer, Foucault, Freire and Bakhtin to create an interpretive framework. My interpretive framework emphasizes the ideas of Bakhtin's socio-cultural approach to mediated action, Freire's theory of "adhesion" and Foucault's examination of the Panopticon. The works of Foucault, Bakhtin and Freire appeared to best explain how and why the "internalization" was occurring in the educational system without

distorting what the participants had said.

I will begin the analysis by first arriving at some working definitions of race and racism. My analysis begins with race and racism in order to shed light on the connection between the concepts of race and racism and the experiences of participants “internalizing” dominant culture messages about themselves.

Chapter III

COMPETING VOICES

Although various social theorists, (Fanon, 1952; Erikson, 1968; Freire, 1993) have discussed the notion of "internalized" racism, as a result of their own observations, no research based information was found. A review of the 1971-1994 education, sociology, psychology and social work literature uncovered no research on children identified as ESL learners and "internalized" racism, or similar terms. Conceptually related literature, however, exists on internal colonialism, (Perley, 1993; Welch, 1988; Maldonado, 1979, van den Berghe, 1978). Internal colonialism describes systemic conditions where "internalized" racism has operated. As well, many other social scientists identify in some detail the psychological effects of "internalizing" messages about one's cultural group from the dominant culture and other sources. Marin (1993), in his analysis of the influence acculturation has on familialism and self identification among Hispanics, argues acculturation provides new information about behaviors and attitudes. The new behaviors and attitudes learned from the dominant culture modifies Hispanics' attitudes towards their own group and promotes changes in self identification that remove them from their own group and closer to more positively perceived groups. Aboud and Doyle (1993) explored the relationship between ethnic identity and self concept in white and black children. As

part of their results they came to no conclusion regarding why some black children were in favor of their cultural group while others were biased against it. The previously mentioned social theorists focus on the effects these sometimes racist messages have on participants or sections of particular societies. They do not explore in any depth the social arrangements that precipitate in group identification or racist self perceptions. These studies also do not discuss how these voices became “internalized”. Fanon (1967), in his seminal work, *Black Skin White Mask* (1967, p. 147) recognizes the effects of dominant culture texts in shaping the identity and cultural self perception of children. He also acknowledges the “internalized” racism some children express towards themselves and other black people of African ancestry (1967, p. 153). However, he does not explain in any detail the process of “internalizing” racist messages other than to say:

When the Negro makes contact with the white world, a certain sensitizing action takes place. If his (sic) psychic structure is weak, one observes the collapse of the ego. The blackman stops behaving as an actional person. The goal of his behavior will be the Other (in the guise of the white man), for The Other alone can give him worth (Fanon, 1967, p. 154).

As Aboud and Doyle (1993, p. 58) state: we need to know more about the sources of information used by young children to inform them about their ethnicity and their ethnic status in the ethnic status hierarchy of their community, how they interpret such information, and how the need for approval influences the integration of such information into the self concept.

One of the sources of information participants use to inform them about their ethnicity and ethnic status are the dominant culture’s construction of race.

An examination of race and racism seems necessary in order to understand how participants’ sense of exclusion from the educational setting is related to the dominant culture’s construction of race.

Race

Race, for many is an unproblematic construct. One is simply one’s race: a member of one of the four racial categories, white, yellow, red, black or a mixture of these groups. The notion that race is somehow innate, however, fails to explain what is meant by race in two ways: first, it does not take into account the social and historical complexities that inform the construct of race; second, it denies the performative aspect of race, that is the social conditions that individuals and groups must manage that often give conflicting and inconsistent meanings and identities (Omi / Winant, 1993). In the following discussion I will briefly expand my critique of race as innate as well as explore the performative aspects of race. I will also explain my conception of race as it relates to my field work. I will accomplish this through framing my understanding of race largely through Goldberg’s work on race as a political category and the “rationality” of racism.

Race has often been viewed as a biologically determined category operating outside of history. The problem with this conceptualization is that it assumes there were discreet peoples at one time. Even if four separate races did exist there has been so much genetic drift over human history, “genetically pure” races do not exist. For example, it would also be difficult to categorize many Brazilians where historically there has been extensive mixing between

those of African, Spanish and First Nations ancestry. The genetic mixing in some Brazilian families extends to, within one family, brothers and sisters being seen as representatives of opposite racial types (Harris, 1968). The four color categories also do not account for the variety of racial interpretations a person may encounter based on the racial stereotypes a group may have of him or her. In my own case, my “race” will be perceived differently depending on the country or for that matter the neighborhood I’m in and the people in my company. Race appears to be an amorphous construct that bends to peoples’ prevailing conceptions of race at a given time. Ng (1993, p.51) points out that during the colonization of Canada the struggle between French and English was “perceived by themselves as the struggle between two “races”. Furthermore Ng (1993) adds, while today people of Irish and Scottish descent in Atlantic Canada are seen as ethnic groups, they at one time interacted with each other as distinct races with identifiable characteristics.

Although understandings of race have changed over time, race has never been illusory. Race thinking has historically been one of the foundations of social organization and identity formation. How can one ignore the present effects of race thinking and acting on our every day lives? Race is an integral part of identities. Its conceptual power rests in its ability to define people as self and other in various socio-historical settings. It has informed conceptualizations of social relations by facilitating understandings of inclusion and exclusion. Goldberg (1993) contends that in order for race to facilitate understandings of inclusion and exclusion it must be *almost* empty as a construct. It is a social relation with an amorphous nature that has to do with how people define

themselves, and how they are to participate in society (Ng 1993). Race’s continued salience over time has rested in its capacity for extending understandings of group formation. It appears that the concept of race has been woven into the social conditions of the time. Race seems to operate as a chameleon-like social construct. Its meaning and specific designations are contextually informed by the history of the social setting and the histories of the actors engaged in the setting. The range of “race” references is broad. Goldberg contends that they function most clearly as a, “form of imagined groupings” (Goldberg, 1993, p. 82). Race as “imagined groupings” suggests that conceptions of race are socially and linguistically constructed and that historical and material conditions have aided peoples “imaginings”.

The state, including schools, may be implicated in managing established and creating new racial distinctions. Creating racial formations involves structurally determining groups into a racialized form that previously lacked them. By doing so, race serves to define who is part of the norm and who isn’t. Race as a concept is related to “prevailing conceptions of self and otherness, of acceptability and excludability” (Goldberg, 1993, p. 89). But what is self and otherness and acceptance and exclusion presently based upon and how is this basis justified? In order to answer this question I will explore how racism is related to rationality and classification.

Classification and the Rationality of Racism

In order for racialized discourse to occur there must be a number of factors which reflect a structure of power which includes the dominant culture's values and dispositions. It is the power relations between subjects as determined by their particular social history that creates racialized categories. For example, the terms Indian, Hindu, Indo-Canadian and South Asian all identify a group with ancestral links to India. These labels, however, are based upon different understandings of power relations. These power relations reflect: classification, order, value and hierarchy; differentiation and identity, discrimination and identification; exclusion, domination, entitlement and restriction (Goldberg, 1993). The power relations that these terms name are embedded in present social discourses. Racialized expression has been normalized. It has been normalized primarily through the scientific drive to classify. The scientific method catalogues, establishes an ordering of information. Ordering and classifying presupposes valuing. Underlying ordering and classifying is an assumption of what is to be described and explained that is reflective of a particular world view. That which is important or not important to a particular world view will be ordered and classified in particular ways. An example of how “valuing” is embedded in ordering and classifying and reflective of a particular world view was a professionally produced poster I saw in a Vancouver elementary school. The poster which was placed in the school library proclaimed the richness and wonder of the world's languages. Eight European languages were labelled with non

European languages designated as “other”. The school’s population is largely made up of students of Chinese and South Asian ancestry.

The scientific method of the Western world has long figured as “the” understanding of rationality. The employment of rational thinking has historically been taken as the mark of civilized humanity. Historically, anthropology began to order, classify races into a hierarchy: of course the race doing the classifying was at the apex. Creating hierarchal classifications of race has never been irrational; it has been embedded in “rationality” and continues to be so.

Although the principle of racial hierarchy has been largely abandoned by social theorists, racial classification by difference has not. What is to be considered different is informed by the socio-cultural framework of the person or group. Discrimination between races is not necessarily racist. It is only when a particular way of viewing the world becomes exclusive, will not entertain and negotiate with competing world views that racial differentiation becomes racist. Racism does not have to contain a reference to “color” differences. Exclusion of names, clothes, language, customs and other present expressions of race may be an implicit outcome of “rational” deliberation in a social domain such as, legislation, economics or pedagogy. It has been my observation as an ESL teacher that some non Chinese teachers interpret some Chinese parents from Hong Kong or Taiwan as emotionally negligent parents because of different understandings of parent-child love. Instead of participating in various interactive activities with their child such as baseball and hockey or giving them “free time”, some Chinese parents show their love by lavishing their child with

material goods or enrolling them in various studies after school. "What makes sense," is based upon a particular "rationality" or way of ordering and classifying the world common to a particular group. The authority of a particular rationality resides in the institutional or personal body with whom group members identify. A culture's regime of "rationality" operates as a social canopy under which group members establish common meaning, a common world view. It is also a place where cultural identities are forged. When a particular "rationality" or way of looking at the world assumes state power, racialized discourse and its instruments of exclusion become normalized in state institutions. The exclusion of culturally reflective text, teachers and curriculum in the school will not be noticed because it will not be seen as having value to the dominant culture's world view. It is this "normative rationality" (Rabinow, 1984, p. 20) and its creation of "other" that under pins discrimination on the basis of "race." How the culture of power informs normative rationality in the school setting and the effects of its "internalization" by the ESL students under study is where I will now direct my attention.

Racism operates primarily through exclusion by difference. In relation to the study's findings it appears that exclusion is a predominant theme. Exclusion appears to be manifested in a variety of ways at both the individual and systemic levels. Some participants felt there was a lack of culturally reflective language, text, teachers and curriculum in the schools. Some participants also wished to exclude socially, members of their own cultural community who do not "know the rules" or "Canadian" social norms. A few participants excluded their own physical and social cultural characteristics from categories of social

desirability which members of the dominant culture possess. Exclusion of differing ways of viewing the world associated with race effects racial identities. West (1996, p. 57) states:

Identity has to do with protection, association, and recognition. People identify themselves in certain ways in order to protect their bodies, their labour, their communities, their way of life, in order to be associated with people who ascribe value to them... So that at any time we talk about the identity of a particular group over time and space, we have to be very specific about what the credible options are for them at any given moment.

While some participants may identify with their own cultural group for protection, association, and recognition in particular social contexts, it appears some participants may also identify with the dominant culture for the same reasons. To borrow West's assertion that identity is based on protection, association and recognition, many participants strongly desire to be part of the "Canadian" norm. The participants like many other students their age do not want to stick out, they want to "fit in", they want to feel "protected". They can feel "protected" by operating within "Canadian" norms so that they can associate and receive the acceptance and respect from their "Canadian" peers and the educational system. In light of some of the participants' experiences of exclusion, few options appear to remain for some participants other than to censor who they are culturally.

While the participants' individual experiences of racism are very real and painful for them the individual cannot be separated from the systemic influences of the particular educational milieu and its surrounding society. The student is in a continual process of negotiating meaning between herself, the complex

composite of various culturally informed experiences and the educational milieu which is largely reflective of the prevailing norms of the dominant culture. In order to explore how and why the messages of exclusion are being "internalized" or learned I will approach the problem in three stages. I will begin by exploring the socio-cultural formation of self within the context of the culture of power in schools. I will extend this inquiry by examining how learning is involved in the construction of identity. Since language is the primary participatory tool of learning I will conclude by reviewing some of the ideas of linguist Mikhail Bakhtin as they relate to communication in the educational milieu.

The Culture of Power in Schools

Many administrators and teachers feel the school setting is culturally, a power neutral environment. Those with power are often the least likely to be aware of its existence (Delpit 1987). Their world view and power hold is so complete that it has been normalized and consequently rendered invisible, or to use Bannerji's (1987) phrase has become "common sense racism." Many issues of power are in fact enacted in the classroom. Power issues range from: the curriculum design, textbooks and the world view purveyed; the race/class/gender/sexual orientation of the teachers hired; the power of the teacher over the students as expressed linguistically and through norm referenced testing (Delpit 1987).

In the case of a visible minority ESL student in an elementary school the table is clearly set: they culturally and linguistically diverge from the "Canadian"

norm. As discussed in the findings there is a tremendous power imbalance between members of the “dominant” culture and the ESL student in terms of culturally reflective curriculum, texts, and teaching staff and feelings of cultural equality in the school setting. Not being part of the “norm” has, I believe, led them to consider themselves most often in terms of being “other.” Many of the messages they receive about themselves from the dominant culture have been negative. The behaviors I have noted in the classroom and inferred from the interviews appear to confirm this sense of exclusivity and are what I would term symptoms of this “otherness.” The question then to be asked is, how are these messages learned ?

The Socio-Cultural formation of Self: Learning as Participation

Historically, psychologists saw learning as a process where information is internalized, somehow absorbed and assimilated through discovery or interaction (Lave and Wenger, 1990). The relationship between the learner and the world, however, remained unexamined.

Lave and Wenger (1990) contend that learning is a feature of practice which might be present in a variety of activities. Participation emphasizes the connectedness between person, world, activity, meaning, cognition, learning and knowing. It recognizes that the use of meanings is an interpretive process. Learning, thinking and knowing are products of social interaction in a socially and culturally structured world. One’s perception of the world is mediated through activities. Meaning and the social relationships within this perception

are produced, reproduced and changed within the course of activity which includes speech and thought but is reducible to neither, (Lave and Wenger 1990, p.51). It is important to know how participants gain meaning in their environment because the things to which they are responding to are being informed by a new set of culturally laden meanings. The new cultural meanings do not override what they have been brought up with but one must question how much contestation there is between existing and new cultural views in the classroom.

When participants participate in class activities, meanings are handled and modified through an interpretive process. Blumer, (1969) argues that this process of interpretation has two steps. First, the participants point out that which has meaning. That which has meaning for the participants is informed by their socio-cultural history and the competing norms of the dominant culture. The act of indicating is an “internalized” social process in that each participant is interacting with him or herself. In effect, the participants engage in a process of communication with themselves. The second step, is that in the act of communicating with themselves, interpretation becomes a matter of handling meanings. The participants check, select, regroup and transform the meanings in respect to the context and the direction of their action. Interpretation is a formative process in which meanings are used and revised as instruments for the guidance of action. I would like to emphasize that although it is questionable how much choice, if any, is involved in pointing out things that have meaning, and consequently the degree and shape of Blumer’s “internalized” social process, it appears that systems of relations are produced

and reproduced by participants. Consequently, these relations in a sense define the participants as well as being defined by the participants engaging in them. The activities in the classroom are reflective of a particular world view. Participants engage in the various activities in the school setting, interpret the activity which in turn guides their actions. Learning is participation and through this activity identity changes as a result of these systems of relations (Lave and Wenger 1990). When participants identify themselves with dominant culture norms such as those identified in the findings, (beauty, courtesy, piety) they come to know part of themselves as members in the dominant culture. Unfortunately, they see few competing expressions of their culture in the media and the educational setting as part of Canadian culture. While I have focused on the preeminence of messages from the dominant culture shaping the identity of study participants, this does not negate the resiliency and influence of the participants' own cultural messages or other competing voices. The competing world views reflect the complexity of understanding issues of race in the educational setting. McCarthy (1990), contends that issues of racial inequality cannot be adequately understood without considering how class and gender interact with issues of race. McCarthy puts forward a non synchronous approach to the study of inequality in schools. The non synchronous approach "alerts us to the fact that different race-class-gender groups not only have qualitatively different experiences in schools but actually exist in constitutive tension, often engage in competition with each other, receive different forms of rewards, sanctions and evaluation, and are ultimately structured into differential futures" (McCarthy, 1990, p. 95). The complex system of relations in the

educational setting means that an interpretivist approach similar to that found in the work of Spring (1985) and McCarthy (1990) is needed in order to understand the various determinants of power in the school setting. In regard to the participants, however, I question the strength and pervasiveness of non dominant culture world views. If these competing world views had any great currency amongst participants and their peers why did I as researcher hear the symptoms of exclusion: self censorship and the privileging of particular physical and social qualities possessed by “Canadians”, “internalizing” racist stereotypes and the desire to have greater cultural representation in schools at a systemic level? In the diverse social environment of the school, what kind of people are the participants becoming? How successfully can they become full participants when their languages, histories and general world views are not represented by the educational establishment? Equal representation in the educational establishment can only occur through culturally representative curriculum, text and teachers.

In order to better understand how and why participants “internalize” racist messages I will use the ideas of social theorists, Foucault, Freire and Bakhtin to shape an interpretive framework. I will relate participants’ comments and some of the messages from the Chinese community in the Lower Mainland to Foucault’s exploration of disciplinary power, Freire’s “adhesion” theory and Bakhtin’s examination of language and its relationship to identity. While these three theorists are not generally associated with each other they each provide a link in the chain of understanding how racist messages are “internalized” by participants. Foucault’s examination of the panopticon provides a metaphor for

the way in which dominant culture norms discipline or shape the participants' world view. The overwhelming power of these norms extends to the point where the participants carry the gaze of the dominant culture with them. Freire's “adhesion” theory is a clear articulation of the effect carrying these norms have on participants' identities as they become overseers of their own and others behavior. The participants wishing to be part of the norm come to understand that to be “Canadian” is to act like a “Canadian”. In part to act like a “Canadian” is to mimic their racist attitudes. The work of linguist Bakhtin provides a framework to understand how through language participants privilege and “internalize” some of the racist messages in their environment.

Panopticism, and the Construction of Identity

Foucault (1977) describes the mechanics of power that communities and institutions exert. He provides a genealogical description of social controlling practices which he traces back to the birth of incarceration systems in the nineteenth century. His purpose is to unearth the historical changes that have shaped individuals' views of themselves and their relationships to modern institutions. His goal was to gain greater understanding of the interaction between competing varieties of power / knowledge structures. The disciplinary power manifested in these institutions shapes individuals through practices that are normative and normalizing in their effect (Hall and Millard, 1994). In regard to the education system the “rationality” inherent in its normative gaze by its nature disqualifies other bodies of knowledge which do

not fit its view of what is to be described and explained in the world. The sensibility that a particular rationality is common to, "is part of the centralizing powers which are linked to the institution and functioning of an organized scientific discourse" (Foucault, 1980, p.84). Foucault identifies hierarchal observation, normalizing judgment and regulatory practices such as testing, as technologies in education which forge docile bodies in order that they may be transformed and "improved". In order to best understand how normalizing judgment operates generally in society, and specifically in regard to educational systems, Foucault explores a nineteenth century invention, the Panopticon, as a metaphor for the effects of disciplinary technology.

Panopticism as explained by Foucault (1977) describes how disciplinary power operates in society. Discipline is a type of power comprising a set of instruments, techniques and procedures. It may be used by "specialized" institutions or by existing authorities to reinforce or reorganize mechanisms of power. This particular notion of power is taken from a form of architecture, the panopticon, which was described as the perfect disciplinary mechanism for observing, recording and training. This architecture, best illustrated by a type of prison, was characterized by a circular building in which the interior of the cells would face towards a viewing tower in the center of the structure. The viewing tower's windows were designed so that the guards could not be seen by the prisoners. Each of the prisoners' cells was illuminated by a window at the end of the chamber creating an outline of the prisoner. The panopticon offered a logic not only of efficiency but of normalization. The prisoners would never know when they were being observed; any deviation from the prevailing

rationality or norms in this controlled distribution could be immediately detected and corrected. The punishment of disciplinary technology relies on the penalty of the norm. Rather than a simple bifurcation between the permitted and forbidden, disciplinary power is gradated between poles of positive and negative (Hall and Millard, 1994).

In the education system dominant culture norms are privileged and competing discourses penalized through the absence of culturally reflective text, teaching staff and the absence of time spent learning curricula that reflect their cultural interests. The world of the ESL students interviewed appears to be one they walk through, rapidly acquiring a new panoptic halo. This halo amounts to a world view of a very new set of social relations. This is not a process without collisions, scrapes and bruises. Cultural conflict between existing and new world views becomes exacerbated in the parent-child arena. The students' ability to choose their social world in the school environment is largely curtailed by the educational setting, unlike their parents, who are often able to maintain culturally similar work and social relationships. The effect of the logic of a panoptic halo and panoptic technology in general is self surveillance to the point of diminishing the wish to commit wrong (Foucault, 1980, p.155).

In regard to the students who were interviewed the effects of normative disciplines are evident. Some participants appear to have “internalized” various negative stereotypes of Chinese. Many participants perceived Chinese in Canada as a group who are uniformly wealthy, and account for a large percentage of the Canadian population. Participants felt this made them, as a

cultural group, not part of the Canadian norm and consequently incurred the resentment of “Canadians”, a group seen as Caucasian. Some students take on responsibility for the racism because certain members of the Chinese community “do not know the rules” and consequently attract unwanted attention. The participants who resent those who “do not know the rules” sometimes become overseers of their peers’ behavior. This is evident in the desire by some participants to have other Chinese not drive expensive cars, live in large houses and speak their language “loudly” in public.

The panopticon and the panoptic world the participants find themselves in serves as a metaphor for the ways in which a particular norm of a given rationality shapes an individual’s social functioning. In the educational system, students interact daily with numerous “norms” which “discipline” them. Dominant culture “norms” may vary in kind from academic and “beauty”, as in the example of the previously mentioned participant effacing her own Asian features, to various types of cultural knowledge. Norms classify, specialize and hierarchize. Students are subject to these disciplines. They are at such a pervasive, often invisible, level that, when one defies these imbalances of power, the transgression is often placed at the foot of morality rather than seen as a set of “physico-political techniques” (Foucault, 1975, p. 223). The normative disciplines that participants are subject to in the education system also appear to be felt by many members of the Chinese community in the Lower Mainland. A case in point is a translated editorial in the Vancouver Sun (September 11th., 1995, p. A1) from the Ming Pao Daily News, one of Vancouver’s major Chinese newspapers. Chinese leaders (sic) told Ming Pao

that Greater Vancouver’s ethnic Chinese should re-evaluate their own potentially annoying habits. The paper quoted these leaders suggesting ways the Chinese community could avoid upsetting non-Chinese. They suggested that members of the Chinese community should, “avoid speaking Chinese loudly in mixed language settings, avoid picking ears or cutting nails in public...avoid building a big house or buying a fancy car to flaunt wealth”.

“Adhesion” to the Oppressor

Freire (1993) in his work Pedagogy of the Oppressed discusses the relationship between the oppressed and oppressor. One of the permutations of this relationship in the initial stages of liberation, Freire contends, is the tendency of “adhesion” by the oppressed to the oppressor, “...the oppressed instead of striving for liberation tend themselves to become oppressors or sub oppressors. The very structure of their thought has been conditioned by the contradictions of the concrete existential situation by which they were shaped” (Freire, 1993, p. 27). The oppressed, the author contends, internalize the image of the oppressor: they are not yet able to clearly objectify them outside of themselves. They are fearful of freedom, for freedom would require them to eject this image and replace it with autonomy and responsibility. The internalized duality of oppressed and oppressor does not allow for an authentic existence. Comments made by participants in the study and in my classroom over the years appear to support the notion of a process of “adhesion” to those who oppress. In the findings the desire for “adhesion” is to the point where one

student privileges non Asian physical characteristics such as hair and eye color and feels she must censor herself out of fear that “Canadians” will not like her. Internalization of the image of the oppressor appears to extend itself to the point where a participant says, “I don’t like the Chinese”. Since language is the primary participatory tool, and by this I mean that it is central to the interpretive process of handling meanings, it is necessary to look at the role of the utterance in communication so that more light may be shed on learning and the construction of the participants’ identity.

Competing Voices: The Role of the Utterance, Voice, Ventriloquation, Dialogicality and Privileging in the Construction of Identity

The linguist Bakhtin offers a number of critical insights into the nature of language and its effect on the construction of identity through his analysis of the utterance. His insights help explain why and how some participants have censored themselves, privileged certain social and physical characteristics possessed by “Canadians”, “internalized” racist stereotypes and desired greater cultural representation in schools at a systemic level. Bakhtin holds that, whether spoken or written, the utterance always comes from a particular socio-cultural view. It is contextualized within a historical, cultural, institutional, and individual setting (Moll, 1990).

When people communicate with each other it is not simply an A to B transmission. The type of response given in a dialogue will be shaped by who is doing the speaking and who is being addressed, or in Bakhtin’s terms, addressivity. Addressivity is where every utterance is associated with at least

two voices. For example, the voice of the teacher in the classroom is in part reflective of the institutional outlook embedded in teacher training, as well as a multitude of other voices the teacher has "internalized" in the school environment. The voice exists within a social milieu. The listener of this dialogism is also decoding the meaning and actively responding to it. She agrees or disagrees, using various knowledge constructs, and prepares a response. The response reflects a multidimensionality of other voices or dialogicality; voices that have arisen from knowledge constructs such as texts or social interactions. In effect, the process of communication is an act of ventriloquism where one speaks through another. The kind of utterance used reflects the sphere or genre the language represents (Emerson and Holquist, 1981).

In the case of many ESL participants, which might include some of the study participants, they must adopt the culturally different educational speech genre of the teacher, otherwise many of their answers will not appear to make sense. For example, the ESL student who retells a story by beginning at the climax and then provides the details of the story such as the setting and character descriptions at the end confuses the teacher. Students who are able to match the way in which the dominant culture's ideas are categorized and expressed are rewarded in the present educational setting. Students who deviate from dominant culture norms in how they organize and express information learn to censor themselves in order to succeed. The act of ventriloquation becomes increasingly based on an exclusive set of voices, largely reflective of the dominant culture. What is still unclear, however, is how

and why certain discourses are privileged?

The Nature of Authoritative Text

Wertsch (1991), contends that Bakhtin distinguishes between two forms of discourse: authoritative and internally persuasive. Authoritative discourse is based on the position that certain utterances and meanings are fixed and cannot be changed as they come into contact with new voices. Wertsch, (1991, p. 78) quotes Bakhtin: "The authoritative word demands that we acknowledge it, that we make it our own; it binds us, quite independent of any power it might have to persuade us internally; we encounter it with its authority fused to it". Bakhtin holds that the authoritative text demands our allegiance, the meaning structure of this discourse allows *no* inter animation with other voices. This categorical claim is somewhat contentious in light of the open questioning of the authority of various institutions and texts previously held sacrosanct. Bakhtin gives several examples of authoritative texts: religious, political, moral, the words of fathers, adults and teachers. In relation to authoritative texts which strongly impact participants, I would add socio-cultural messages received from the mass media. The mass media appears to exert great influence for perpetuating dominant culture norms and attitudes. While Asians do appear on television, in newspapers and in various magazines, the various features present dominant culture values of beauty, success, modesty and interpretations of community events. Most articles relating to the Chinese community in the lower mainland are few and generally take a, "let's find out what they do and eat during their celebrations" perspective. The absence of

exists between univocal and internally persuasive discourse. To what degree settings like the classroom, however, one must question how much "tension" sociocultural context will strongly inform which discourse will dominate. In knee jerk response where the message is interpreted in an exclusive way. The communication occurs, one listens, but this does not necessarily stimulate a Univocal and persuasive discourse operate in a plane of tension. When used

internally persuasive words is open in each of the new contexts in which it is The word is half ours, half someone else's. The interpretation of the meaning of allows words to serve as a catalyst to stimulate new words, new connections in contrast to authoritative discourse, internally persuasive discourse

(1981, pp.342-343)

accept but not completely another part, reject utterly a third part with that authority. One cannot divide it up - agree with one part, authority-with political power, an institution-and it stands or falls together must totally affirm it, or totally reject it. It is indissolubly fused with its enter our verbal consciousness as a compact and indivisible mass, one ascribe to it as normal. Texts such as these Bakhtin states in the libraries perpetuate the dominant culture's world view and those who privileged. At the school level, the texts of the curriculum and many of the texts internalization of its dominance so it comes to see itself as the norm and its texts absence of competing world views perpetuates the dominant cultures' contribute to the participants' sense of exclusion from Canadian society. The any culturally competing presence in the "mainstream" media appears to "Internalized" Racism

are children, (participants) capable of questioning and playing with ideas in the classroom in ways which contradict the authority of the teacher and the curriculum's world view?

A common, and at times, invisible example of authoritative text is school based instructional language. Instructional language is almost exclusively taught in the voice of decontextualized rationality, language that represents objects and events, a voice associated historically with the emergence of the Enlightenment (Moll, 1990 p.120). As previously discussed, rationality is a result of a value laden approach to ordering and classifying. In Bakhtin's view of the utterance, decontextualized rationality is concerned with the perspective the speaker takes towards the subject being identified or discussed. This perspective involves a speech type, which by its nature reflects a social stratification of the language, e.g., professional, gender and in the case of the ESL students in question, immersion in a particular cultural view. A great deal of effort is spent in the school system grounding children in this form of discourse, even though it has been found that adults do not always invoke this kind of discourse in everyday problem solving. While English as a first language speakers may be having a form of rationality consolidated by being immersed in an educational system that instructs in this speech type, ESL students must confront the task of acquiring a new language as well as possibly learning another world view. In the case of the participants in the study, it is a world view that in text is largely bereft of any messages about themselves.

It would appear then that one of the implicit messages of schooling is the authority of this speech genre. The privileging of a decontextualized

rational voice does not limit itself to the school setting but extends to many social settings. The end effect of privileging a voice can be the silencing of other voices. A question which then arises is, how does the dialogic organization of inner speech shape expressive speech?

The Socialization of Mental Functioning

Wertsch's (1991) conception of the "internalization" of voice is closely related to Bakhtin's notion of "hidden dialogicality". Bakhtin characterizes this process as follows:

Imagine a dialogue of two persons in which the statements of the second speaker are omitted, but in such a way that the general overall sense is not violated. The second speaker is present invisibly, his words are not there, but deep traces left by these words have a determining influence on all the present and visible words of the first speaker. We sense this is a conversation, although only one person is speaking, and it is a conversation of the most intense kind, for each present uttered word responds and reacts with its every fiber to the invisible speaker, points to something outside itself, beyond its own limits, to the unspoken words of another person. (1984, p.197)

Wertsch's analysis of a dialogue between a mother and toddler points to Bakhtin's idea of hidden dialogicality. Wertsch reviews a problem solving session in which the mother verbally assists her child. Over the course of the exchange the child needs less help to solve the problem but more interestingly, the child becomes less reliant on the mother to provide a regulative utterance. The child presupposes the utterance in an abbreviated form that would have occurred in a complete form in expressive speech. What appeared in the

child's overt speech were the "answers," not the questions. The questions were presupposed. (Wertsch, 1991, p. 89). Wertsch contends that the primary reason these utterances appear to be answers is that they mediate the action in ways which are similar to utterances in earlier exchanges that were replies to overt questions. Wertsch posits Vygotsky's writings which in his view suggest that the questions to which the answers relate occur in inner speech (Wertsch, 1991, p. 90).

Bakhtin's conception of dialogicality suggests that what becomes incorporated into or presupposed by an utterance are voices that operated on the expressive speech level. The issue, as Wertsch states, "is how one voice comes into contact with another, thereby changing the meaning of what it is saying by becoming increasingly dialogical or multivoiced" (Wertsch, 1991, p. 90). The word becomes half someone else's and summons Bakhtin's question of, "who is doing the talking?" In regard to the dialogues between mother and child, it would appear that both the child and the adult are speaking. The meaning of the child's utterances in effect reflect the outside interference of another's voice.

The exchange of information between the adult and child also reflects the role of the adult's utterances as a thinking tool for the child. As quoted by Wertsch, Lotman states, "the text of the two participants' utterances is, "a semiotic space in which languages interact, interfere, and organize themselves hierarchically" (Wertsch, 1991, p. 91). The influence of this exchange as Wertsch points out, occurs primarily from the adult to the child, although this does not rule out the influence of the child on the adult. But if one takes into

account Lotman's notion of hierarchical language organization, the focus of change is in the child's thinking and speech. This brings us back to Bakhtin's idea of authority and text, for it was the child's utterances that changed as they increasingly reflected the hidden dialogicality that came from incorporating the mother's meanings into her own. The issue of "authoritative voice," then, comes to mean, "the ways in which the dynamics between two voices are played out as they come into contact" (Wertsch, 1991, p. 92).

Thus far we can see a process in which authoritative texts and privileged voices in expressive speech become presupposed on the inner speech plane. Study participants, like the toddler in Wertsch's analysis of the dialogue between mother and child, appear to express the "answers" to the "questions" they hear daily. The "answers" are of course the racist comments they have "internalized" and are expressing about their own cultural group. "Internalized" racism appears to be a symptom of living in an environment where one's sense of cultural legitimacy is diminished relative to the authoritative voice of the dominant culture. The voice of the dominant culture is heard not only through peers who fit the cultural norms but also by new Canadian students who desperately wish to be part of the social and cultural norms. The voices of those who represent cultural norms encounter few if any competing discourses at the individual or institutional level.

Chapter IV

CONCLUSION

The ESL study participants' experiences in the educational system appear to be largely predicated on feelings of exclusion. Exclusion is the operating basis for systemic and "individually experienced" racism. Not unlike sexism, the racism experienced at the systemic level is not based upon an active hatred of groups sharing similar hateful views but is rather based upon a rationality that by its nature orders and classifies according to certain rules, which reflect a particular value system held in common by a particular group. In the case of the ESL study participants it means encountering voices that are not theirs or reflective of their world view. The participants appear to walk through a world where they have little or no sense of themselves other than they are part of the largest visible minority in the Richmond area. They are very aware of not conforming to dominant culture norms and are strongly influenced by the normalizing judgments of the dominant culture in which they are immersed. Participants' desire to fit in to "Canadian" society extends to the point where some participants censor who they are culturally. Their view of themselves in the school system and Richmond is distorted and has been "internalized" to the point where some believe the racist stereotypes about themselves. These stereotypes include the views that the Chinese are uniformly wealthy, there are too many Chinese in Richmond, and that certain social qualities some "Canadians" possess make them better although Chinese

are smarter. Reaction by some members of the Chinese community in the Lower Mainland to growing racism against the Chinese community is not dissimilar to the students reaction of "adhesion" to those who discriminate against them. As previously mentioned, an article in the Vancouver Sun (September, 11th., 1995) offered advice to those Chinese who "do not know the rules" on how to curb "negative" behaviors as perceived by the dominant culture. It seems that for many of the participants in the study and for some Chinese in the Lower Mainland there is great pressure to be "Canadian". In part it appears that their sense of becoming "Canadian" is not to be persons of Chinese ancestry with Canadian citizenship who choose the best of both worlds but rather to act like "Canadians" or the "White" people in their community. When participants asked me about my experiences in the "Canadian" educational system, they wanted to know from someone they assumed wasn't white how I had dealt with some of the problems they are currently facing. The need for bridging cultures through teachers who culturally reflect their students is real. The participants' ability to successfully negotiate between two world views and consciously "choose", is at best difficult in spite of an educational system which sincerely aims to accept differences. Accepting differences, however, begins by recognizing that power differences exist between cultural communities in the educational setting as expressed through teacher representation, text and curriculum. It also means beginning the process of power sharing. Many participants see themselves as they are defined and they are defined in spoken and instructional language, text, teachers, and curriculum, as "other" When students make racist comments about their own

cultural group one can ask Bakhtin's question: "Who is doing the talking?" It appears that they have presupposed the utterances of their new panoptic world because of the authoritative legitimacy rendered by a given rationality, which by its authoritative nature privileges one way of perceiving the world above others. It can of course be argued that privileging a particular world view is always the case. "Seeing the world" presupposes that it is seen in a particular way, and not other ways. There is no one way of being, or perceiving the world (Heidegger, 1927). What there are, rather, are particular ways of being (Heidegger, 1927). Perhaps what is most important to come out of this study is the degree to which participants' lives are affected by the the lack of arenas in education for competing ways of being.

Chapter V

RECOMMENDATIONS FOR TEACHERS

Throughout the thesis I have advocated the hiring of teachers reflective of the students' ancestry and changes in curriculum to reflect the cultural reality of the classroom. I have advocated these two measures to give systemic recognition of the Chinese community in Richmond. Systemic recognition of the cultural diversity in education is the beginning of equal representation. Racism as I have argued is based upon comments or actions that allow no negotiation of competing world views around a perceived attribute of race, such as color or culture. Racism is about exclusion. As mentioned in the study, the exclusion of culturally reflective text, teachers and curriculum in the school will not be noticed because it will not be seen as having value to the dominant culture's world view. The need for differing "voices" that can compete with dominant culture messages is necessary if non dominant culture students are to have a positive cultural self perception in the educational setting. The censoring of cultural self that appears to take place with some of the participants is a great loss to themselves and the dominant culture students. For some teachers and administrators, advocating greater systemic representation of the cultural diversity found in the classrooms might appear politically risky. However, a practical approach for addressing "internalized" racism outside of advocating a greater representation of minority teachers is to parallel existing resources in the educational system. In Richmond schools, French is taught to grade six and

seven students. A parallel Mandarin or Cantonese language program could be established as part of the curriculum, or initially as a before or after school program. Teachers could also create units on Hong Kong or Taiwan and use their students as subject experts. Presently in many school districts First Nation cultural workers visit schools on a regular basis to work with First Nation students. Through discussion and hands on activities they explore their heritage. A parallel program could be used with other minority students. Cultural workers representative of the particular childrens' group could make regular visits to schools to discuss and engage in activities that explore what it means to be of a given minority group in the Canadian context. Issues of "internalized" racism could be directly addressed through the cultural worker discussing her or his own experiences. The sensitivity of the topic merits a facilitator who has some direct experience with racism in the Canadian educational system and "internalized" racism.

In the classroom, the absence of culturally reflective text is perhaps the easiest point where teachers can begin to address the problem of students' "internalizing" racist messages. The process can begin with discussions with the school librarian concerning the acquisition of culturally reflective text. Students and teachers can also create their own texts. The process of creating text for students is the process of students and teachers uncovering the themes in their lives. Learning is participation, consequently students and teachers must look at what activities they are active in and what those activities mean to them. By so doing they can begin to recognize and unpack the voices they are hearing, question their origin and validity in their lives. The focus of these

suggested exercises is as much on the teacher and his or her authority as expressed by color, gender, class and sexual orientation as the students. My experience with participants asking me about my heritage indicates that how students construct their image of their instructor or interviewer as based on these qualities will affect how they respond to sensitive issues like "internalized" racism. Teachers can only teach as the people they are. It is important to remember that while visible minority students may be "internalizing" racist messages about themselves, the dominant culture teachers are "internalizing" their own dominance and that they are part of the norm. At present I am not aware of any textual materials dealing with issues of race and racism that discuss "internalized" racism. The texts which students and teachers can create privileges their own lives, their own voices. It can present to the students, and especially to the teacher another way of looking at the world. It has the potential to create "internally persuasive dialogue" that will create new words, new associations for the teacher and students. If the students' own experiences can be seen as a privileged text there is a possibility that these voices will be one of the many voices drawn upon in other situations. While the study dealt with the experiences of elementary ESL students I have included a set of exercises for highschool teachers since the process of "internalizing" racism also applies to older students.

Creating Text

This activity is for elementary students and one I have tried with some success. Students and teacher keep a "living" journal. A "living" journal is a

note book where weekly experiences important to the student are recorded. The recording can take many forms. For example, a ticket stub from a movie, coins from a trip outside the country, pencil shavings to show how much work they've been doing on a project. The "codifications" are then shared every one or two weeks in a group setting. The purpose is to allow students to share what is happening in their lives in a concrete way as well as to provide an indicator of the common themes shared amongst the students. The codifications allow the teacher and the student to see and hear the various messages, or in Bakhtin's terms, the voices, they are receiving in their environment. What students say and how they say it depends on who they are speaking to (addressivity). It is important for teachers to remember that their presence plays a key role in what is shared or not shared. Students are asked what the various or common themes have been in during the sharing. These themes are then fed back to the students by the teacher in the form of one or more problems. The problem is to be solved through activities that involve language learning such as creating a script for a play that is to be videotaped. It is through writing and discussing the ideas from the themes that students begin to analyze in more detail the nature and source of the voices they're hearing. A space has then been created where systemic recognition can be given to some of the themes in students' lives. A number of students in one group I worked with mentioned having to do household chores as well as discussing the various outings they went on during the weekend. These themes were fed back to them in the following language activity problem: Create a play around one of the following two themes: 1) A child refuses to clean his / her room every Saturday. Show how this problem

could be solved; 2) A child wants to go out with his/her friends, the parents, however don't like the friends. How can this problem be resolved? Whether or not students ever discuss issues around racial identity is not important. Again, what is important is that a space is created where students can discuss and choose to work on the themes they consider meaningful and that the teacher be reflective of their own life themes.

Another approach to create a venue for systemic validity of students' experiences is for teachers to write stories that include some of the common adjustment experiences many new Canadian students experience coming to Canada. The cultural adjustment experiences need not be the focus of the story but rather one of many different experiences characters have as part of an adventure in Canada. I have found that most intermediate students are willing to discuss "heavy" topics like experiences of ("internalized") racism but appear more comfortable when it's done occasionally and in an indirect manner.

A set of assignments I have created for grades seven to twelve, but haven't tried, revolve around students deconstructing their lives through the question, "What's a good life?". After receiving some instruction on the use of the cam corder students are to complete this five part assignment.

Part A: Create a video presentation that depicts your answer to what a "good life" is. Who are the people, what are the places, things, ideas, beliefs that have made or will make your life a "good life"? In what way does your color, race, gender, sexual orientation affect what you think is the "good" life.

The video exercise is another method of identifying and exploring the

source of the voices dominant culture and visible minority students have "internalized". Students have an opportunity to analyze why certain voices are privileged, evaluate their validity and explore how these messages affect their lives.

Evaluation: A brief one page written reflection by the student and teacher on what he or she liked about the video presentation, areas to be improved on, and what was special or interesting in the presentation of the video.

Part B: Write a brief explanation as to why you have chosen the images in your video to answer your understanding of what a "good life" is. To what degree have T.V., movies, computers, video games, books, radio influenced your understanding of the "good life." You will be asked to present, explain informally your ideas after your video has been shown to the class.

Evaluation: The written paper will be evaluated on: organization, punctuation, clarity of ideas.

Part C: For class discussion. As a class were there any common themes that emerged? What were they? If there were / weren't common themes how do you account for the similarities, dissimilarities ?

Part D: Written assignment :

With a partner compare and contrast the themes that emerged in your respective videos. How do you account for the similarities and differences?

Evaluation: The written paper will be evaluated on: organization, punctuation,

clarity of ideas.

Part E: Written assignment:

If school is to prepare you for life, in what way does your education reflect what you feel is a good life? What themes do you feel need to be addressed in the school system in order to help you realize the "good life"? How can the educational system do this?

Evaluation: The written paper will be evaluated on: organization, punctuation, clarity of ideas.

Creating Text: What are the Critical Issues Raised ?

Presently, educational themes are based on a dominant culture perspective of the world. As ESL students enter the educational system the heterogeneity of voices that swirl within each of them grows but becomes progressively muted, as in the case of many of the study participants. At times their voices become censored to reflect "acceptable" voices, allowing "acceptable" choices. Parts of selves are confirmed, deemed, "to make sense" if aspects of them fit with existing norms. It seems a screen is needed where what students know can be shown to help them recognize what they know and how have they come to know it. The video and the "living" journal become tools that allow comparison. A comparison with others and "others" that may result in empty differences but one in which spanners can be thrown by delving into why

images and artifacts were chosen and how were these "choices" made.

These simple assignments are no panacea for any student deconstructing their place in the educational system or who they are culturally. Unless spaces are created for students to begin to unwrap the various elements of their identity, students and teachers will continue to perpetuate diversity without honouring differences.

References

Aboud, F. (1988). Children and Prejudice. Oxford: Blackwell.

Aboud F., Doyle, A. (1993). The Early Development of Ethnic Identity and Attitudes. In Bernal and Knight (Ed.), Ethnic Identity: Formation and Transmission Among Hispanics and Other Minorities (pp. 47-59). Published by State University of New York Press, Albany.

Anzaldua, G. (1990). Bridge, Drawbridge, Sandbar or Island. *Lesbians - of - Color Hacienda Alianzas*. In Albrecht and Brewer (Ed.), Bridges of Power: Women's Multicultural Alliances. (pp. 216-231). New Society Publishers, Gabriola Island, B.C.

Bakhtin M.M. (1981). The dialogic imagination: Four essays by M.M. Bakhtin, ed. Michael Holquist, trans. Caryl Emerson and Michael Holquist. Austin: University of Texas Press.

Bannerji, H. (1987). Introducing racism: Notes towards an anti-racist feminism. Resources for Feminist Research, 16 (1), 10-13.

Bannerji, H. (1993). Popular Images of South Asian Women. In H. Bannerji (Ed.), Returning the Gaze: Essays on Racism Feminism and Politics. (p.148)

Toronto, Ontario : Sister Vision Press.

Blumer, H. (1969). Symbolic Interactionism: Perspective and Method. The University of California Press.

Borland, K. "That's Not What I Said": Interpretive Conflict in Oral Narrative Research. In Sherna Berger Gluck and Daphne Patai (Ed.), Women's Words: The Feminist Practice of Oral History

Clifford, J. (1988). "On Ethnographic Authority," The Predicament of Culture: Twentieth Century Ethnography, Literature and Art. Cambridge Mass. Harvard University Press, 1988. pp. 21-54.

Delpit, L. (1993). The Silenced Dialogue Power and Pedagogy in Educating Other People's Children In Lois Weis and Michelle Fine (Ed.), Beyond Silenced Voices: Class, Race and Gender in United States Schools (pp. 119-139). State University of New York Press.

Erikson, E. (1950). Childhood and Society. W.W. Norton and Company. New York

Fanon, F. (1967). Black Skin White Masks. Grove Press, New York.

Fields, B. (1990). Slavery, Race and Ideology, in the United States of America.

New Left Review, 181, (pp. 95-118.)

Foucault, M. (1982). The Subject and Power. In Michel Foucault : Beyond Structuralism and Hermeneutics, by Hubert Dreyfus and Paul Rabinow. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.

Foucault, M. (1975). Discipline and Punish. New York. Vintage Books.

Foucault, M. (1978). On Governmentality. Ideology and Consciousness. No. 6.

Foucault, M. (1980). Power / Knowledge: Selected Interviews & Other Writings 1972-1977. ed. Colin Gordon, trans. Colin Gordon, Leo Marshall, John Mepham, Kate Soper. Pantheon Books New York.

Freire, P. (1993). Pedagogy of the Oppressed. New York: Continuum Publishing

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

Guba, E.G. , Lincoln, Y.S. (1981). Effective Evaluation. San Francisco: Jossey-Bass.

Haig-Brown, C. "Choosing Borderwork." Canadian Journal of Native Education. Vol. 19 No. 1 1992. pp. 96-116.

Harris, M. (1968). The Rise of Anthropological Theory. New York: Thomas Crowell.

Hatcher, R., Troyna, B. (1993) Racialization and Children. In McCarthy and Crichlow (Ed.), Race, Identity and Representation in Education (pp. 109-125). Published by Routledge.

Heidegger, M. (1962) . Being and Time. (John Mac Quarrie and Edward Robinson trans). Harper and Row, New York, 1962. (Original work published in 1927)

hooks, b. (1990). Yearning: Race, Gender, and Cultural Politics. Boston, MA: South End Press.

Klor De Alva, J., Shorris, E., West, C. (1996, April) Our Next Race Question: The Uneasiness between Blacks and Latinos. Harper's Magazine, pp. 55-63.

Lather P. (1986) "Issues of Validity in Openly Ideological Research: Between a Rock and a Soft Place." Interchange. Vol.17, No. 4. pp. 63-84.

Le Compte, M. and Goetz, J. (1982) Problems of Reliability and Validity in

Ethnographic Research. Review of Educational Research. Vol. 52, No.1 pp. 31-60.

Lo, F. (1995, September, 11th.) "Members of the Community: Dig Our Scar First". (Editorial) The Vancouver Sun.

Maldonado, L. (1979). Internal Colonialism and Triangulation: A Research Example. Social Service Review, 464-473.

Marin, G. (1993). Influence of Acculturation on Familialism and Self - Identification among Hispanics. In Bernal and Knight (Ed.), Ethnic Identity: Formation and Transmission Among Hispanics and Other Minorities. (pp. 181-197). Published by State University of New York Press, Albany.

McCarthy C. and Crichlow W. (1993). Introduction: Theories of Identity, Theories of Representation, Theories of Race. In McCarthy and Crichlow (Ed.), Race, Identity and Representation in Education (pp. xiii-xxix). Published by Routledge.

McCarthy, C. (1990) Race and Curriculum: Social Inequality and the Theories and Politics of Difference in Contemporary Research on Schooling. New York : The Falmer Press.

Merriam, S. B. (1988). Case Study Research in Education: A Qualitative Approach. Jossey-Bass Publishers Inc. San Francisco, California.

Milner, D. (1983) Children and Race Sage Publications. Beverly Hills

Moll, L. (1990). Vygotsky and Education : Instructional Implications and Applications of Sociohistorical Psychology. Cambridge University Press

Ng, R. (1993) Racism, Sexism and Nation Building in Canada. In McCarthy and Crichlow (Ed.), Race, Identity and Representation in Education (pp. 50-59). Published by Routledge.

Omi, M., Winant, H. (1993). On the Theoretical Status of the Concept of Race. In McCarthy and Crichlow (Ed.), Race, Identity and Representation in Education (pp. 3-10). Published by Routledge.

Opie, A. (1992). Qualitative Research, Appropriation of the 'Other' and Empowerment.
Feminist Review. Spring, Vol. 40. pp. 52-69.

Perley, D.G. (1993). Aboriginal Education in Canada as Internal Colonialism. Canadian Journal of Native Education. Vol. 20, n1. pp. 118-128.

Rabinow, P. (Ed.), (1984). The Foucault Reader. Pantheon Books, New York.

Rizvi, F. (1993) Children and the Grammar of Popular Racism. In McCarthy and Crichlow (Ed.), Race, Identity and Representation in Education (pp. 126-139). Published by Routledge.

Said, E. (1978). Orientalism. London: Penguin

Sawyer, J. (1989). "Internalized Dominance". Quarterly Interchange 1: 4, 1989
p. 16-23

Spring, J.H. (1985). American Education: An Introduction to Social and Political Aspects. New York, Longman.

Van Den Berghe, P.L. (1978). Education, Class and Ethnicity in Southern Peru: Revolutionary Colonialism. P.G. Altbach & G.P. Kelly (Eds.), Education and Colonialism. New York: Longman.

Vygotsky, L.S. (1987). Thinking and Speech (N. Minick, Trans.). New York: Plenum. In Wertsch and Minick, N. (1987) Negotiating sense in the zone of proximal development. Paper presented at the conference. Thinking and problem solving in the developmental process International perspectives," Rutgers University, New Brunswick New Jersey.

Welch, A.R. (1988). Aboriginal Education as Internal Colonialism: The Schooling of an indigenous minority in Australia. Comparative Education, 24,

pp. 203-215.

West, C. (1993). Race Matters. Boston : Beacon Press

Wertsch, J.V. (1991). Voices of the Mind: A Sociocultural Approach to Mediated Action. Cambridge Massachusetts: Harvard University Press.

Whittaker, E. "Creating Anthropological Knowledge" The Mainland Haole: The White Experience in Hawaii. New York: Columbia University Press, 1986. pp. xv-xxxiv.

APPENDIX I
Permission Forms

Date.

Dear Parents:

My name is Dean Quiring and I am your child's ESL teacher. I am presently completing a Masters of Arts in Education. As part of this program I am conducting a study looking at experiences of Blundell elementary ESL students settling in Richmond. Results from the study will be used by myself and other teachers in Richmond to better meet the needs of ESL learners.

The study will consist of audiotaped interviews with ESL students in a group setting held at Blundell elementary. Students will be told they are participating in a study concerning their experiences of settling in Canada. They will also be told that they can withdraw from the study prior to its commencement or anytime during the study. Students may also refuse to answer any question during the study. The interview is completely voluntary. Student names will be coded in the study in order to maintain confidentiality. Withdrawal from the study will in no way affect their school performance. Tapes containing audiotaped interviews will be destroyed upon completion of the study. Inquiries or concerns about the study may be directed to Dr. Robert Robin, Faculty Dean of Education (Ph: 291-3148).

I would like your permission to involve your child in this group interview. On completion of the study parents will be notified. Results of the study will be available upon request. Thank you for your consideration.

Sincerely,

Dean Quiring, B. A., B. Ed.
ESL teacher, Blundell Elementary
(H) 321-0971, (O) 668-6562

I _____ give permission for my child _____ to
(Parent / Guardian) (Child's Name)

participate in the group interview.

Signature of Parent / Guardian

Signature of Child

Date

Date

Chinese translation of
permission form.

日期:

致各家長:

本人 Zean Quiring 現任英語為第二語言教師 (ESL), 本人現正修讀教育碩士課程, 因為本人的碩士課程研究, 須搜集一些有關在烈治文 Blundell 小學修讀 ESL 的學生如何在加拿大及烈治文這新環境內適應的資料, 本人及烈治文教師將會利用這研究結果去改進 ESL 課程。

這項研究將會在 Blundell 小學以集體會面討論形式進行, 而所有會面過程將會被收錄於錄影帶內。學生會被問及一些有關如何在加拿大適應新生活的問題, 學生是有權隨時終止參與這項研究, 同時學生可以拒絕回答任何問題, 這項研究全是自願參與, 學生的姓名會被保密, 中途退出參與的學生

將不會對他們的學校成績有影響，
而錄影帶會在研究完成後被毀
滅，如果對這項研究有任何問題，
可直接來電詢問 Robin Farrow 先生，
(電話：) 他是教育學院
院長。

本人現徵求各家長同意准許
各子弟參與這項研究，研究完
成後，本人會通知家長，家長可以
要求參閱研究報告，為謝你
們的合作。

上
教育學士
ESL 教師, Blundell 小學
電： (家)
(公司)

本人 _____ 同意我的
(父母或監護人)
子女 _____ 參與這項集體
面會討論。
子女姓名

簽名(父母或監護人)

子女簽名

日期

日期

SCHOOL DISTRICT No. 38



(RICHMOND)

7811 GRANVILLE AVENUE / RICHMOND / B.C. / V6Y 3E3 (604) 688-8000
FAX (604) 688-8006

Office of the Superintendent of Schools

April 3, 1995

Mr. D. Quiring
575 E. 62nd Avenue
Vancouver, BC
V5X 2G3

Dear Mr. Quiring:

Thank you for your letter describing your research project, "Exploring Internalized Racism in Elementary ESL Students," with accompanying materials.

This study is consistent with district policy and, consequently, I am pleased to give you permission to approach members of our staff for their voluntary participation in your study.

Please coordinate all teacher and student contact through the office of the principal of Blundell School, Mr. D. Bradley. Keep in mind that the final decision for participation in your project rests with the principal, the teachers, and the parents of the students you have identified for possible inclusion in your study.

Once your study is complete, I would appreciate receiving a copy of your conclusions for the information of our district. If I can be of any further assistance in this research project, do not hesitate to contact me.

Yours truly,

Bryan Eyjolfson
Coordinating Principal

BE:dg

cc. Bob Paul, Coordinating Principal
D. Bradley, Principal, Blundell Elementary School

SIMON FRASER UNIVERSITY

"Internalized" Racism

VICE PRESIDENT, RESEARCH



BURNABY, BRITISH COLUMBIA
CANADA V5A 1S6
Telephone: (604) 291-4152
FAX: (604) 291-4860

March 1, 1995

Mr. Dean Quiring
Graduate Student
Education
Simon Fraser University

Dear Mr. Quiring:


Re: Exploring Internalized Racism in Elementary ESL Students

I am pleased to inform you on behalf of the University Research Ethics Review Committee that the above referenced Request for Ethical Approval of Research has been approved contingent upon this office receiving a letter of acknowledgment and approval from Blundell Elementary School authorizing your research to be conducted. Once this letter has been received by this office, you may proceed with your research.

This approval is in effect for twenty-four months from the above date. Any changes in the procedures affecting interaction with human subjects should be reported to the University Research Ethics Review Committee. Significant changes will require the submission of a revised Request for Ethical Approval of Research. This approval is in effect only while you are a registered SFU student.

Best wishes for success in this research.

Sincerely,

 Bruce P. Clayman, Chair
University Research Ethics Review
Committee

/hmc

c C. Haig-Brown, Supervisor
P. Winne

APPENDIX II
Field Notes

April 7th , 1995:

Well I'm finally on the road of intellectual hope, fear and loathing. I received permission for my proposal just last Thursday after a month of it winding through the Richmond School District bureaucracy. I quickly photocopied my Chinese permission forms on today and after a brief explanation to students handed them out this afternoon. One of my grade five students turned to me after I finished my explanation of what and why I was doing the interview and said, "You know Mr. Q, I think you're going to get this many people," as he held up his hand to to make a zero." I gulped and could tell the kids were not overjoyed that the conversation was going to be taped, even though I meticulously explained that they could quit at anytime and their conversation would be coded. Oh well... . I know the kids are somewhat nauseated and suspicious when asked to talk about coming to Canada. Through various class exercises they've regurgitated "safe" versions of their story a hundred times, they are very careful as to what they talk and don't talk about. In my gut I know that they don't want to leave any "trails" especially when they fear their's even the remotest chance their parents will find out what they've said.

April 10 th., 1995

Today, Monday, I received three permission slips back and I don't really see a hell of a lot of hope in getting back many more. I feel I'm on a desperate, slippery continuum which begins with asking students to participate and then deteriorates into pleading and begging. I guess I'll make do with the few I do get back. I'm getting a little anxious about this. There's a quantative monkey on my back screaming a total of seven interviews is sad social science. I'm not sure whether to ask if students from another school in Richmond would like to participate. If my students are apprehensive I don't see why some other kids would want to "spill their guts" to a stranger.

April 24th.,

I asked one student who is generally pretty talkative why he was not interested in participating in the study. He hummed and hawed and generally looked a little uncomfortable, so I quickly told him if he didn't want to answer he didn't have to.

It has taken three to four days of frustrating arranging to find a place and a time in the school where I can actually conduct the interviews and take the students out of their class for an hour. I've finally been able to arrange for two periods in the L.A. room. I don't really feel that comfortable with mixing the students by gender and language which is what I originally proposed but given that students and parents have agreed to a group interview I don't see any other

option.

April 25th.,

I had really wanted to feel more prepared before I began the interviews since it's an all or nothing situation. I checked the tape deck the night before, bought new batteries, a new tape but basically rushed around the evening before trying to get my baby ready for her to stay at her grandmothers for the day. I made it into the school a little later than I had wanted. I quickly set up the tape deck and arranged the chairs, choosing the "adult" sized table and chairs as opposed to the smaller "child sized table and chairs. I reasoned that my size might be somewhat exaggerated at the smaller setting and consequently my "control" of the environment. I left the tape deck on the table rather on a table immediately east of it. I've found students less distracted by recording devices when it is initially recognized and openly discussed prior to the interview rather than simply reminding them that the conversation will be taped.

I was somewhat anxious as I went down the hall to pick up the students. As I walked down the hall with the students towards the room where the conversation was to take place I reminded them that they didn't have to participate if they didn't want it was completely up to them. One of them remarked he was quite happy to participate as we was missing a subject he did not enjoy. As we entered the room I showed them the tape recorder and began testing it with them to make sure it worked. One student asked me why I needed to tape the conversation and I briefly explained that my memory was not good enough to remember everything so I had a tape recorder to help me, this

seemed to satisfy him.

April 25th., 1995.

Well I interviewed my three students today. It went really well, I'm really happy about it. I think my questions indicate that they're on target. I initially explained to them that they could refuse to answer any question and then proceeded with how it was nice that they were in a position to help me with my homework (the interview). The participants appeared to enjoy this twist and were very open especially as the interview progressed. The students were so interested in continuing the interview that two of them wanted to stay and continue through recess and this was after an hour and a half of discussion. Before the the discussion began I was initially concerned that the boys would continually drown out the one girl. Although I haven't re-listened to the tape I don't think this happened. During the discussion I was really surprised by some of the comments some of the students made especially regarding wanting to have blonde hair and blue eyes and not wanting Chinese staff. When the students left for recess one student came back after leaving the class and said she would prefer to play with Canadian Kids but they were not interested in playing with her. When I said to her well what would you say if you heard that some Canadian kids say, "the Chinese never want to mix, they always stick to their own group." She responded by dropping her mouth open in surprise and exclaiming, "no way." She could not believe that Canadian students would see the lack of mixing in this way.

I had very mixed feelings about my response to the question, "do you like Chinese people?" posed by one of the participants. I answered by telling him that I did like Chinese people and that "one of my best friends is Chinese" Well, I guess we've all heard that sappy line before, but at the time I thought how am I going to make my comment meaningful to a ten year old in the space of a few seconds. To me it came off sounding hokey as hell, but he understood it.

May 4th,

I've been transcribing this conversation for what seems forever. I'm about half way through and what is standing out for me is my own authority in the dialogue. By this I mean my dogged determination in having the participants discuss attitudes towards each other and my interruptions to guide the conversation. On reflection I'm wondering why I was so persistent. I suppose the pilot interview influenced me, in that conversation there were very clear examples of racism towards one's own group and I hoped to solicit a similar response. I really wish I had had more participants for this interview. I feel the lack of participants, and consequently my inability to group them according to linguistic group and gender greatly influenced what was said. I could sense quite strongly at certain points during the conversation a reluctance to discuss openly feelings about the other linguistic group.

Spoke to Celia in regard to my positivist monkey that's prodding, cajoling me to get more participants. She asked if I felt my interviews were rich enough to in a sense stand on their own. Yes they're rich but I know I'd feel a little more

secure if I had a few more, especially if they were from another school. I know this would ease some of my concerns, especially in terms of internal validity. Consequently, I've arranged to tentatively speak to other students at a school in Richmond I use to work at. The Principal was surprisingly cooperative. I was a little hesitant at first given the nature of my inquiry, which could be crudely stated as how and why in the educational system visible minorities become bananas, apples, almonds and coconuts. The discussion with the teachers involved went well, they're quite excited by the study. I suppose it's reflective of the value of front line experience as opposed to the lack of academic interest or awareness of such issues.

May 15th.

My lack of consistent study time is catching up on me. Some of the more complex analytical arguments are becoming fuzzy, not rolling off the tongue as I would like them to. This is unnerving me slightly, gotta get reading, gotta get going. The "lost time" has gone into my daughter which has been great but I must strike a better balance.

The reading I have done lately has been bell hooks, Yearning and a review of some of the articles out of Race Identity and Representation in Education.

Yearning has evoked a number of ideas and feelings about a number of issues circulating primarily around liberatory education and the role of the teacher. She quotes a Cuban writer who mentions how he always hears about censorship in Communist countries and yet censorship occurs all the time in the

West through the rejection of articles by publishers because they may be deemed too radical or simply not understood because of the publishers' race, class, gender, sex orientation. Coincidentally I received a rejection of a manuscript from TESOL who found my work with ESL students around issues of creating their own text, "quite stimulating", however, they felt it had more to do with "culture learning" and "pedagogy" than ESL. While accurate to some degree, this comment reflects the lack of interest and awareness of how the acquisition of language is only part of what happens when a language is learned. Anyway, I'll keep flogging my paper and see what happens.

...we must determine how we will be and not rely on colonizing responses to determine our legitimacy. We are not looking to that other for recognition. We are recognizing ourselves and willingly make contact with all who would engage us in constructive manner. p.22.

Who are these field notes for?

Good luck bell. I wish bell were right about not relying on colonizing responses to determine legitimacy, but she is engaged in a struggle that has been completely determined by colonizing responses, she would not be there, could not be the person she is without them. If race is socially constructed then why do many members of "visible minorities" use definitions of race that are ultimately genetic at root. bell in many ways contradicts herself. She claims on one hand to critique pressures from the outside and inside a narrow constricting notion of blackness. She contends that "authentic" forms of blackness are part colonialization and yet she continually speaks of blackness, especially as it relates to herself, as if there were an essential, "authentic" quality to blackness.

"One of the deepest expressions of our internalization of the colonizers mentality has been self censorship, reluctance to speak about aspects of our reality, that do not further assimilation or racial or ethnic uplift. p. 157.

June 6th.

I arrived at school "B" close to 9:00 a.m. and felt fortunate that my old teaching partner went to the effort that she did in order to stimulate students interest in the project. The Vice-Principal was also very helpful. In the library he cordoned off a small area so that I could conduct my interviews. I was hoping for a private room considering the sensitivity of the topic, but considering I was able to get the number of participants I did at such a short notice one can't have everything. The boys, initially three, bounced in the room, the fourth came a few minutes later. I quickly explained who I was and how like them I was doing a project for school. I also told them that again like them I had questions to ask my teachers, however in this case my teachers were them, for their experiences were uniquely theirs. I went on to tell them that their names would be coded, a few were unhappy with this for they wanted their names to remain known. I suppose they thought this interview would make them famous. The boys were in a great mood laughing and joking quite excited to be part of the study.

Although I haven't listened to the tape yet, my sense is that a lot of the same themes came up as compared with the interviews with students at school "A". The intensity of the responses, however is quite a bit less. Whether or not the degree of intimacy between the two groups of students and myself accounts for this or the intensity of experiences which my questions touched upon is simply

less, or some combination of the two and who knows what else. I guess I'll eventually find out.

Arrived at school "B" June 27th, 9:30 a.m., for "member checks" re-interview. After some confusion of where students were located, all female participants were eventually found. We met in the library which was not open to students as it was the year end book count. The girls were very quiet. As I went over the themes the girls added a few comments to the themes that came out of the conversations, however, no themes were contradicted or dismissed. The responses to the themes were as follows:

In response to the theme of participants being happy people from Taiwan and Hong Kong were choosing Canada to live, they added that the "shopping in Hong Kong was better". In response to the question, "If you had a magic wand would you change anything about the Chinese in Canada?", students responded by saying that they wished Chinese students would stop swearing in their own language and that Chinese people should speak more English.

Unfortunately, the end of the year was working against me. As one of the girls remarked, "Its been five minutes, can we go? We're painting in class, you know". The students were very preoccupied with returning to year end "fun" activities and my visit was getting in the way. C'est la vie.

The boys on other hand came from classes where apparently not so fun activities were happening, like cleaning up the classroom and year end math reviews. Perhaps as a consequence they were more willing to spend some time listening and adding missed points. Again none of themes were

dismissed or contradicted.

After going through the themes, I mentioned the comment that had been made in the interview about the participants feeling that Canadians didn't know much about Taiwan or Hong Kong. They mentioned that Canadian students know that in Taiwan and Hong Kong students get lots of homework and teachers hit students. I again asked them if they could create their own school what would it look like they responded more fully by saying that they wished there were Chinese books in the library, bilingual teachers, "one half should be Chinese". Lastly, in response to the theme of wanting to look like Canadians the boys said "no," except in regard to wanting to be taller.

APPENDIX III
Characteristics of Transcript Themes

"Internalized" Racism

♀ - Don't want anymore Chinese teachers - Don't want to hear anymore Chinese -
 - Didn't think Chinese would want more Chinese teachers.

<p>Questions coming this time were previously asked.</p>	<p>Felt learning of language not important felt it was "hard" that I didn't know my ancestors lang. Felt it important to understand parents trials as well as for travelling.</p> <p><u>Comments on the course of keeping lang. for students</u></p> <p>Wanted to know where exactly my ancestors came from.</p>	<p>Who is the Investigator</p> <p>Reason if I improved reason because of how I looked - Did I get into fights.</p>	<p>Where was I from, or I am ESL student, who did my ancestors come from? Was I married did I have children.</p>
--	--	--	--

<p>Want Chinese taught in school as subject "it would attract more students."</p>	<p>Language Representation</p> <p>World like Mandarin + Cantonese taught Teachers 1/2, 1/2 Can. + Chinese teachers. Chinese books in school. Have all white teachers speak Cantonese Mandarin. Would like students to learn all Chinese lang.</p> <p><u>Most desired theme in interview</u></p>	<p>Would like more languages in the class. Have Chinese teach Chinese books. - Have Chinese be a third language Canada. Want Can. to speak English + C.</p>
---	---	---

Cultural Identity

Distances to what do they feel Can. or half/half. p. 84