ABANDONING EQUITY POLICY

(Re)membering the Queen's University 1991 Principal's Advisory Committee Report on Race-Relations

by

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Abstract

"The most dangerous form of 'white supremacy' is not the obvious and extreme fascistic posturing of small neo-nazi groups, but rather the taken for granted routine privileging of white interests that goes unremarked in the political mainstream" (Gilbourn, 2005, p.485). This genealogical (Foucault, 1979; 1990) research study interrogates the political nature of universities and their role in the maintenance of racial oppression. Using Queen's University, Ontario, Canada as a case study, it analyzes and explores the racist historical underpinnings of the institution and the response of the university to incidents of racial discrimination in the early 1990's— particularly the creation of the 1989 Principals Advisory Committee (PAC) on Race Relations. This work documents and examines the institutional, political, and ideological obstacles in implementing this comprehensive, university-wide anti-racism policy. This research reveals and traces the discourses of racism at Queen's University. It analyzes how the histories, ideologies, and institutional policy responses toward racism have produced and perpetuated processes that function to control and oppress racialized minorities. The study begins with a chronological analysis of racism at the university and identifies and examines the discursive strategies and techniques that are employed to sustain racist practices. The study concludes with an analysis of qualitative interviews with original members of 1989 Principal's Advisory Committee on Race Relations who drafted the 1991 Race Relations Report, and captures their reflections on the institutional challenges and obstacles in implementing this monumental anti-racism policy at Queen's University.

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Chapter 1: Race [STILL] Matters

Grade School: Vignette 1

We were in grade 6 and he said "Your dad is on T.V. and complaining about people not allowing him to wear his turban at the legion. You guys are all troublemakers. I can't believe your dad wears a turban." My heart was beating so fast. My hands were sweaty. I denied it. "That's not my dad," I said. "No, you have the wrong person." I was so ashamed. I was so embarrassed.

* * *

Grade School: Vignette 2

I remember like it was yesterday. "Hey you Paki, get off the basket ball court, Pakis can't walk on the basketball court." I walked away quickly, looking at the floor, my heart racing, my stomach hurting, and my palms sweaty. I just kept walking. I never really liked basketball, anyway.

* * *

Grade School: Vignette 3

"I don't want to sit behind her, she smells like curry, like a Paki, and has flies in her hair," the boy said. My teacher remarked, "Now don't be rude, take your seat." That's what she said. That's all. I went home and scrubbed the curry off my skin. But every French class, he would say the same thing. My self-consciousness was a powerful paralyser.

* * *

University: Vignette 4

"I like you. But I have some reservations about you. You ask too many questions, and are too critical about things. I want to make sure you will be okay with being in my group. Just to let you know I prefer not to have [academic designation] with accents, they are too difficult to understand. But you will be okay. I know you are not a "foreigner" or immigrant--you are alright."

Introduction

> *"I don't think it is sufficiently understood, even by us who suffer from various kinds of negative otherings, how intensively/ extensively violent the experience of racism is. This violence is everywhere in a society based on "race," in the basic social organization of presences and absences in spaces, in the production of silences and denials, in erasing and representing."*
> (Himani Bannerji, 1995)

I begin with these vignettes, as these types of experiences characterized much of my elementary and secondary (indeed post-secondary) educational experiences in Canada, and poignantly illustrate the fact that "race [still] matters" (West, 1993).

Throughout all of my educational life, I have experienced numerous forms of racism. This racism has manifested itself in overt harassment and discrimination, and also in subtle, systemic barriers and exclusion. Both forms have been powerful, violating, and difficult to confront. These experiences reified the fact that racism and other forms of inequity continue to be central sites of struggle and dissonance in Canadian institutions of education. In his work on racism in Canadian schools, George Dei (1999) states: "Racial hierarchies shape and/or demarcate our schools, communities, workplaces, social practices and lived experiences" (p. 19). Increasingly, allegations of systemic and institutional racism have been levelled at universities across the country (Nakhaie, 2004; Henry & Tator, 1994a; Canadian Association of University Teachers [CAUT], 2004; Samuel & Burney, 2003; Dei, 1993, 1996). The manifestations of racism are reflected in a multiplicity of ways. In addition to overt incidents of racial harassment, more subtle forms of racism include: lack of minority representation at faculty and administrative levels; teaching of a Euro-centric curriculum; paucity of research and courses on racism; absence of an anti-racist pedagogy; incidents of racial harassment; lack of resources allocated to implement

equity and anti-racism policies and practices effectively; power relations between White majority and other minority faculty and staff; polarization between White students and students of colour; and resistance to social change processes designed to eliminate racism (Henry & Tator, 1994a). Although many universities have responded to racial incidents and systemic racism by developing lofty recommendations and policies, and by establishing various offices whose mandate it is to represent the institution in such instances, the implementation, reception, and effectiveness of these offices and policies are often left wanting (Henry & Tator, 1994a). Furthermore, while a number of studies have documented the ways in which people of colour experience discrimination in higher education, such studies are often buried, and their recommendations rarely followed (Henry & Tator, 1994a).

Research on implementing equity policies in universities in Canada indicates that resistance to equity policies and programs and the backlash to anti-racism initiatives operate at the level of individuals, administrators, and the entire institutional culture (Henry & Tator, 1994b). According to Henry and Tator (1994b), although lip service is paid by many Canadian university administrators to the need to ensure racial equality by implementing race relations task forces, equity policies and offices, in reality, many university administrators do not have sufficient dedication, skills, commitment, or resources to address racial inequality. The relationship between the pervasiveness of racism in universities and the lack of administrative commitment to address these inequities points to entrenched hegemonies within the institution. More simply, addressing racial inequality is not seen to be in the interest of the institution.

William Stokes (1997) highlights the contradictory aspirations of racial equality by many university institutions, and how these contradictions articulate into the perpetuation of racism. "It is a feature of our national myths to profess to aspire toward equality and the end of discriminatory practices (to have constitutional and legal protections), but to simultaneously remain blind to the 'savage inequalities' that exist" (p. 219).

Furthermore, as critical theorist Henry Giroux (2000) explains, diversity initiatives in the academy have come under attack for refusing to link cultural differences to relations of power:

> Multiculturalists of the academy have been rightly criticized for attempting to manage diversity through policies designed to incorporate resistance by paying lip service to the celebration of cultural distinctions. Such strategies simultaneously undermine challenges faced by minority students against the misdistribution of power and resources in higher education. (p. 65)

In this context of multiculturalism in higher education, race and difference is neutralized within the inclusive but homogenous logic of assimilation or the power-insensitive discourse of pluralism (Giroux, 2000).

Problematic

As instances of racism continue to be raised in post secondary institutions, many universities and colleges have developed their own committees and policies for dealing with racism complaints and grievances. However, resistance to equity policies and programs and the backlash to anti-racism initiatives also continue to operate at the level of individuals, administrators, and the entire institutional culture. The 1991 Queen's University Race Relations Policy Report provides a concrete example of how one Canadian university responded to numerous incidents of racial and systemic discrimination. Between 1989 and 1991, under the advisory of the then principal's special task force, Queen's University produced an extensive and detailed policy report on race relations, in which many significant anti-racist policies were proposed. The report was commissioned after a number of racial incidents and acts of

discrimination were repeatedly reported in the Queen's community and in local newspapers such as *The Queen's Journal*, *The Kingston Whig- Standard*, and *The Gazette*. Following the publication of this report few, if any, of the recommendations appear to have been implemented, and a lack of concrete accountability, leadership, and guidance prevented any monitoring or follow up of this historic report (Henry, 2004). As a result, this significant report on racism at Queen's University was abandoned, "deep sixed," for over 15 years.[1] In 2001, another subcommittee was commissioned, this time by the vice principal academic to investigate the experiences of visible minority and Aboriginal faculty members after a significant number of faculty members had resigned from their positions because of experiences with racism (Henry, 2004). This investigation produced another lengthy policy report entitled *Systemic Racism Towards Faculty of Colour and Aboriginal Faculty at Queen's University: Report on the 2003 Study*. This report indicated that Queen's University continued to have a poor retention rate of visible minority and Aboriginal faculty, and the academic climate perpetuated a culture of Whiteness (Henry, 2004). Even more unsettling, this report was not made available or publicized to the Queen's community or to the general public until April 1, 2006— three years after the study was completed.

In this thesis I will document the events and processes by which Queen's University has arrived at the place it currently resides. I am referring to what appears to be the continued presence of systemic and institutional discrimination of visible minorities, the lack of visible minority and student representation, and the chilly climate experienced by many visible minority faculty members and graduate students. I will be (re)visiting and (re)covering the processes that continue to fail to monitor and institute the recommendations of the 1991 anti-racism policy

[1] This term refers to the disposal and/or rejection of a given phenomenon. It is derived from nautical slang of the 1920s for tossing something overboard (to its watery grave). It was transferred to more general kinds of disposal in the 1940s and gave rise to the verb deep-six, for "toss overboard" or "discard". (Merriam-Webster)

document and the relationship between this inaction and the continuing racial inequality at Queen's University. I hope to gain valuable insight to better understand how the processes of deep sixing anti-racist policy reports transpired at Queen's University in order to identify the key institutional obstacles in achieving racial equality at a Canadian university, facilitate awareness and institutional dialogue to prevent such inaction(s) toward addressing racial inequities from occurring in the future, and to reiterate the importance of the role of universities and their administrators in spearheading social change and remedying racial injustices.

Using the *1991 PAC Race Relations Report,* the 2003 report entitled *Systemic Racism Towards Faculty of Colour and Aboriginal Faculty at Queen's University: Report on the 2003 Study,* publicly available Senate documents, Queen's archival documents and newspapers, and interviews with the original members of the 1991 PAC and other members involved in anti-racism initiatives at Queen's as a springboard, my research will: provide a historical and contextual examination of the "culture" of Queen's University; examine the ways in which academic institutions such as Queen's University have responded to systemic and institutional racism; uncover and analyze the inconsistencies, power inequities, obstacles, and contradictions that surround the implementation, monitoring, and dissemination of the *1991 PAC Race Relations Report* ; and, finally, make recommendations that will point to ways to bring about institutional change strategies to encourage that racial equity be a priority at Queen's University. As historian and philosopher Ronald Wright (2004) profoundly states: "If we see clearly what we are and what we have done, we can recognize human behaviour that persists through many times and cultures. Knowing this can tell us what we are likely to do, where we are likely to go from here" (p. 2).

It is important to reiterate that, in focusing on Queen's University as a case study to examine institutional resistance to anti-racism initiatives and policies, I am not suggesting that

Queen's University is unique among other universities in this regard. Other Canadian universities are struggling with the same problems (Dei, 1999; Bannerji, 1995; Henry & Tator, 1994a). Rather, in using Queen's University as a case in point and documenting the historical processes by which it abandoned the *1991 Race Relations Report,* I can better examine the intricacies and workings of racism at the everyday level in higher education institutions. Furthermore, this research could also serve as a site of analysis for other researchers engaging in similar work about other educational institutions.

Purpose

"*It is not only what we do, but also what we do not do for which we are accountable."* (Moliere, French playwright, 1622-1673)

"The way relations of power and knowledge are organized in and through the university makes it possible to live these relations without reflecting on them" (Bannerji, Carty, Delhi, Heald, & McKenna, 1991, p. 4). My thesis work aspires to better understand the context in which the *1991 PAC Report* was commissioned and undertaken, and to provide an opportunity for those directly involved in producing the report to reflect on their insights as to what they perceived to have taken place both during the production of the report, and in subsequent years. In revisiting the *1991 PAC Race Relations Report,* I will apply an analogy similar to the one articulated by Ronald Wright (2004):

> In the fates of such societies—lie the most instructive lessons of our own. Their ruins are shipwrecks that mark the shoals of progress. Or— to use a more modern analogy—they are fallen airliners whose black boxes can tell us what went wrong. (p. 8)

In this thesis, I will re-read and re-visit the context and development of the *1991 PAC Race Relations Report* as a black box "in order to avoid repeating past mistakes, of flight plan, crew selection and design" (Wright, 2004, p. 8). More broadly, my work will interrogate the political

nature of Queen's University and by extension the role of other universities in maintaining racial oppression, and in doing so make visible that which is invisible.

Cornel West eloquently explains that "to engage in serious discussion of racism we must begin not with the problems of [racialized people] but with the flaws of society, flaws rooted in historic inequalities and longstanding cultural stereotypes" (1993, p. 3). My research echoes these sentiments. To engage in serious dialogue and discussion about the pervasiveness of racial inequity in Canadian educational institutions, we first must begin by addressing the existing power and social inequities that are embedded in the institution's histories. The following questions will guide my research:

1) How have the origins and histories of Queen's contributed to a culture of racism?

2) What does it mean to deep six an anti-racist policy at a prominent Canadian university?

3) What factors caused the policy to be abandoned?

4) What are some of the obstacles in achieving diversity and racial equity at an institution of higher learning such as Queen's University?

Rationale

Higher education has, until recently, remained relatively insulated from the kinds of policies that have developed in local authorities, schools, and the health service, that challenge racism and promote ethnic and cultural diversity. This can be largely attributed to its refusal to acknowledge inequity (Law, Phillips, & Turney, 2004). Racism and institutional racism have not been on the public agenda in higher education in the last decade, largely because their existence was denied and there were few if any champions of the cause (Henry, Tator, Mattis, & Rees,

1999.) Recent research has indicated that racialized communities in universities are experiencing tension and discrimination in various facets of academic life and asserts that universities have no right to be complacent because of their responsibility and role in setting the standards for social justice in society (Nakhaie, 2004; Russell & Wright, 1992; Bannerji, 1991; hooks, 1989, Henry & Tator, 1994a; CAUT, 2004; Samuel & Burney, 2003; Dei 1993, 1996, 2005). Although many universities have now begun to address the system inequities in their institutions, the pace of these responses has been slow (Henry, Tator, Mattis, & Rees, 1999) and the effectiveness, sincerity, and dedication to these initiatives questionable.

Over the past several decades, Canada has become increasingly ethnically and culturally diverse, boasting a large visible minority population. The visible minority population is defined by the Canadian Employment Equity Act as "persons, other than Aboriginal peoples who are non-Caucasian in race or non-white in colour" (Statistics Canada, 2001). It is noteworthy that between 1981 and 2001, the visible minority population in Canada almost quadrupled from 1.1 million to nearly 4.0 million (Statistics Canada, 2005). This represents a change from 5% to 13% of the population in 20 years (Statistics Canada, 2003). The population of visible minority persons in Canada is expected to increase from approximately 4 million in 2001 to a level estimated between 6.3 million and 8.5 million in 2017. Approximately one in four (between 21% and 26%) Canadians in 2017 will be foreign-born immigrants (Statistics Canada, 2001).

As the Canadian student population is becoming increasingly diverse, their educational and social experiences are becoming increasingly multi-layered and complex. In light of scholarly evidence that faculty and faculty composition can indeed have an impact on student

behaviour and academic performance, one would assume that universities are making deliberate attempts to diversify their teaching staff for more multifaceted and multicultural educational programs. However, this is not the case. According to a 2004 study by the Canadian Association of University Teachers (CAUT) entitled *"Closing the Equity Gap,"* the average Canadian university professor is still a White, middle-class man and those who are not tend to be White, middle-class women. The report highlighted some key findings, namely that people of colour and different class backgrounds remain highly underrepresented within the university.

Henry, Tator, Mattis, and Rees (1999) demonstrate how racist attitudes continue to be embedded in the policies and practices of many Canadian institutions including universities, despite the fact that Canadians pride themselves on their commitment to principles of equality, tolerance, and social harmony. Many universities have responded to racial incidents, systemic racism, and inequities in employment by instituting policies and establishing offices expressly for diversity issues. However, the effectiveness of these policies and offices are open to question. Solutions to equity issues have leaned toward modest reform such as additional courses on race relations or sensitivity training, all of which provided a temporary departure from conventional norms, but do not disrupt institutional structures, curriculum content, standards of merit, and hierarchies that shore up entrenched interests (Fleras & Elliot, 1996).

To date, very little academic research has examined the development or effectiveness of policy responses of Canadian universities to systemic and institutional forms of racial inequity. More specifically, current academic literature has done little to provide an accurate analysis of the production of racial inequity in Canadian higher education, and how universities have been

responding to these injustices. My work aspires to create a space in which tacit understandings, cultures and policies on race and racism are made explicit (Northfield & Loughran, 1996). It will analyze the context in which the *1991 PAC Race Relations Report* was developed at Queen's, and examine the factors that may have contributed to the report being abandoned. Finally, and most importantly, my thesis work will confront educators, administrators and students to (re)vision institutions of higher education "as moral and political spaces in which administrators, policy makers, and intellectuals assert themselves not merely as professional academics, but as citizens whose knowledge and actions assume specific visions of public life, community, and moral accountability" (Giroux, 2007, p.8).

Situating the Researcher and Why I Research

> *"So the question is not, 'Does my story reflect the past accurately?' As if I were holding up a mirror to my past. Rather I must ask, 'What are the consequences my story produces? What kind of a person does it shape me into? What new possibilities does it introduce for living my life?'"* (Ellis & Bochner, 2003, p. 221)

Anita Sheth (1997) poignantly states that before engaging in the process of academic writing, "I would prefer if we start with asking ourselves why we engaged in this project from our differentially located positions" (in Sheth and Dei, 1997, p. 152). I believe this is an important task in any academic endeavour. As a South Asian Canadian, who attended elementary and secondary school with predominantly White populations (including teachers and students), who experienced overt, traumatic forms of racism throughout my youth, who subsequently experienced institutional and subtle forms of racism during my undergraduate and graduate years at university, I am now pursuing research in the very area(s) of interest which lingered as a tremendous source of struggle in my years of formal education. I often wonder about the implications of these years. I wonder about the gaps in what I knew and what I know now, the

knowledge and critical consciousness which developed exponentially in graduate school (and continues to do so every day), and their pedagogical effects in informing my current intellectual work on racism and policy responses in higher education.

Himani Bannerji (1991) importantly states:

> There is no better point of entry into a critique or reflection than one's own experience. It is not the end point, but the beginning of the exploration of the relationship between the personal and the social and therefore the political. And this connecting process, which is also a discovery, is the real pedagogic process, the 'science' of social science. (p. 46)

In beginning the process of writing this thesis, I could not help but recall some educational experiences or "stories" that have informed my thoughts about racism in Canadian education institutions. My experiences and stories of racism are important in situating myself as researcher- "who I am, what I believe, what experiences I have had because it affects what, how, and why I research" (Ladson-Billings, 2003a, p. 4). I feel it is important to recognize how my social background, experiences, and assumptions can intervene in the research process. As Mishra (1997) poetically states: "How this thesis tells/is written is as important as that it is being told, is as important as who is telling it. I am a woman of colour, a child of immigrants, a first generation Canadian, a student" (p. 32). My role as a researcher also includes being aware of my current positionality, the types of questions I ask, and the way I collect and analyze my data. Indeed, "issues of difference impact all phases of the research process" (Hesse-Biber & Leavy, 2006, p. 132.) I acknowledge that in writing this thesis, I am writing in and from a position of privilege— as a middle-class student attending graduate school, afforded to write in the safety of familiar circumstances. Yet, with this privilege, many contradictions and struggles emerge. It is from writing this thesis that I am now compelled to re-examine what these struggles might mean.

There are many memories of racism; memories that have been long forgotten, yet, now, in the midst of writing this thesis are emerging from the shadows. It is from these memories and the telling of my narratives of victimhood that I hope to more fully understand what and how these experiences mean (Dei, 2005). Perhaps, the remembering and the sharing of my stories of racism is part of the larger task of remembering myself.

Each of my racist experiences is specific and unique, and as such, reflects the complexity of how racism is manifested in both subtle and overt forms. My earliest memories of racism occurred in my junior high years. In the following paragraphs I will describe some of my memories.

I remember…feeling ashamed

I was in grade 8, attending a junior high school in one of the Prairie provinces. I had got into some trouble with some other students and my father was coming in to my school to meet with my principal. I remember feeling so scared and nervous but not because of the trouble I was going to be in with my parents, but because I was worried the kids at school would finally see my "Sikh father"; my father, the tall man with the thick black beard and turban. I was so afraid of losing my popularity, losing my "coolness" once the kids saw that I was an Indian, with a "very Indian" father. My fears were realized. I vividly remember my father walking down our grade 8 hallway looking to meet me at my locker and the loud snickers and laughter from the other students about what my father was wearing on his head. "You are a Paki? Is that a turban? Look at her dad. That is so gross" were the phrases that were buzzing in the hallway. I remember trying to walk ahead of my father so the kids would think that the tall Indian man was not related to me.

But it was too late. I was now labelled a Paki and was ridiculed because of my "true" identity. I was embarrassed. More importantly, I felt guilty and ashamed of this embarrassment. Ironically, the symbol of Kesh in Sikhism my father proudly wore served as a source a severe anxiety for me.[2]

I remember…feeling powerless

I recall the Euro-centric content of most social science courses taught in my high school, university, and graduate classes. I remember my personal frustrations in my grade 10 Canadian history class, where I had discovered and researched about the Komagata Maru incident and wondered why this significant piece of racist Canadian history was never presented in our textbooks or in our lessons.[3] I also recall my undergraduate classes in psychology and sociology, in which numerous professors would provide ignorant and racist lessons in classes, which were supposedly focused on multiculturalism or were diversity related. One incident was particularly disturbing. It was a university course in cultural psychology in which the professor delivered an inaccurate lecture about arranged marriages in South Asian families, and portrayed South Asian culture as completely backward and negative. I remember feeling paralysed, humiliated, and alone. I wanted to put up my hand and tell my professor her "facts" were wrong and misconstrued. Yet, I remained silent.

[2] *"Kesh"* or unshorn hair is regarded as a symbol of saintliness in the Sikh religion. Guru Nanak started the practice of keeping the hair unshorn. The keeping of hair in its natural state is regarded as living in harmony with the will of God. It represents the inviolability of the human body. The keeping of unshorn hair represents the Sikh belief in the accepting of God's will. The unshorn hair is to be covered at all times by the dastar (turban). The turban also serves as an outward form of recognition of Sikh men and women.

[3] The *Komagata Maru* was a Japanese steam liner that sailed from Hong Kong to Shanghai, China, Yokohama, Japan, and then to British Columbia, Canada, in 1914, carrying 376 passengers from Punjab, India, most of whom were not allowed to land in Canada and were returned to Hong Kong and India. Of these, 340 were Sikhs, and all were British subjects. This was one of the most notorious "incidents" in the history of exclusion laws in Canada designed to keep out immigrants of Asian origin.

In another undergraduate class, I encountered a similar experience. The final assignment was to write a paper about a controversial female figure and her experiences in affecting change in the world. I chose to write about a controversial Indian woman, Phoolan Devi, otherwise known as the Bandit Queen.[4] To make a long story short, I received the paper back with a low mark and comments which questioned the validity of the paper, since the female figure I chose to write about was not known to the teaching assistant (TA) marking my paper. I was very upset. I spoke to the professor about this unjust low mark and she echoed the sentiments of the TA. Their rationale for the low mark for the paper was the fact that Phoolan Devi was not someone with whom they were familiar, since she was not a North American prominent female figure. This apparently made the paper more difficult to assess. I was upset by this blatant Euro-centric assessment, and yet powerless. My inaction to take this issue any further repeated another story of silence.

Reflecting back, similarities emerge in all of these stories and experiences: silence, powerlessness, and fear. I did not feel safe to challenge or question my White professors in a classroom of forty other White students. I didn't feel confident enough to question the dominant group, to speak my voice, to talk back. Yet, ironically during my graduate educational experiences, when I did speak up, ask questions, and raise issues about inequitable educational policies or practices, I was told by a professor that my questions in class were too critical and that I spoke out too much. What might this contradiction mean? It seems that silence and

[4] Phoolan Devi came from a low caste fisherman's family. She suffered indescribable atrocities as a youth, and then went on to join a powerful gang of dacoits or bandits. She eventually became the leader of one of the most dangerous bandit gangs in Indian history. She gained the romantic image of a female, Indian Robin Hood; fighting and stealing for the lower castes of India. (Metcalf & Metcalf, 2008, p. 279)

acquiescence is the expected state for visible minority persons. It seems that speaking up was considered a liability, so the pressure to stay silent increased. In many ways, this thesis is the dissecting and intersecting of the private spaces of oppression (my stories of racism) and public realities of institutional structures (racism at Queen's University as a case in point). It is about finally creating the space in which I can question and "talk back" (hooks, 1989, p. 9). The writing of this thesis is an attempt by me to disrupt my past powerlessness and inability to stand up to racial injustice. As discussed in a conversation with a fellow graduate student, I am using my past experiences as a guide to understand the present circumstances of racial injustice at Queen's University. I hope to relate my own experiences and transformations not simply as a personal story, but rather as a site where the personal and political meet. It is through this writing that I hope to understand myself in deeper ways "and in understanding yourself comes understanding others" (Ellis & Bochner, 2003, p. 207). bell hooks (1989) recognizes personal narrative as a powerful method for making meaning from lived experience, and to question dominant forms of power:

> When we dare to speak in a liberatory voice, we threaten even those who may initially claim to want our words. In the act of overcoming our fear of speech, of being seen as threatening, the process of learning to speak as subjects, we participate in the global struggle to end domination. When we end our silence, when we speak in a liberated voice, our words connect us with anyone, anywhere who lives in silence…it is that act of speech, of talking back…that is no mere gesture of empty words, that is the expression of our movement from object to subject- the liberated voice (p. 18).

By weaving together my personal narratives, retrospective interviews, and archival data analysis, my goal in writing this thesis is in part to explore the tensions that exist in implementing anti-racist policies structures in institutions of Canadian higher education.

Thesis Map

This thesis will be divided into seven chapters. This introduction functions as the first chapter. Chapter two, the review of literature, will present existing work in the area of racism and faculty diversity in higher education. It will also outline the various terms and definitions that will be used throughout this thesis, the different forms of racism present in many institutions of higher education, and the ways in which universities have been addressing systemic racism in their institutions.

Chapter three highlights my conceptual lens and outlines how and why I intend to use the theoretical underpinnings of critical race theory and anti-racism education combined with critical discourse analysis in my thesis research. The purpose of this section is to introduce the reader to some major concepts surrounding these theoretical frameworks, and to demonstrate how they offer a way of seeing and making sense of my data.

Chapter four, the methodology chapter, will provide a thorough description as to how I conducted the collection and analysis of my data and discuss the various challenges and obstacles I encountered throughout the process.

Chapter five presents a historical context and backdrop of racism at Queen's University over the past fifty years. It consists of an archival based, historical timeline of racism at Queen's University, and presents and re-creates the context and culture of Queen's University during the 1980s and 1990s when racism flourished at the institution. Its purpose is to provide a glimpse into the histories of inequality and discrimination at the university in order to better understand how the *1991 PAC Race Relations Report* emerged at the university. This section also documents the emergence of the *1989 PAC on Race Relations* and a subsequent report on racism conducted by Francis Henry in 2003.

Chapter six is presented in two parts. The first half of the chapter consists of data analysis in which I present the stories and "rememberings of three members of the 1989 PAC on Race Relations committee and two anti-racist activists at Queen's University.Their retrospective rememberings address a particular set of questions relative to how the *1989 PAC on Race Relations* emerged and what happened to the final report produced by the committee. The analysis draws meaning from their thoughts and memories. The second half of the chapter provides a discursive analysis of twenty-eight public letters of opposition toward the implementation of the *1991 Race Relations Report*. This chapter examines the discursive regimes through which resistance to anti-racism is articulated using the lens of anti-racist and critical discourse frameworks. My analysis discusses how elite institutions such as universities veil their language, policies, and political actions in tolerance and acceptance, and how they linguistically institutionalize and perpetuate the power of the White majority over racialized minorities in society.

Chapter seven is the conclusion and the last chapter of this thesis, the conclusion. This chapter synthesizes and summarizes the findings of this thesis and discusses what this all might mean in the larger social context. It provides some final thoughts that will hopefully inspire conversation and wondering, and will continue the ongoing literature that seeks to explore and create possibilities for critically understanding the tacit privileging of White interests in higher education.

Chapter 2: The Myth of Equality: A Review of Literature

This chapter will summarize and present the works of scholarly literature in the area of racism in higher education. One of the challenges confronted in analysing racism is identifying appropriate terminology (Henry, Tator, Mattis, & Rees, 1999). I will begin this literature review by first identifying and clarifying the various terms that will continually

surface throughout this thesis. It is necessary to define these terms in order to understand the framework from which this research will be based, and to gain a clearer understanding of the terminology surrounding the nature of racism and inequality in Canadian higher education.

Forms of Racism

What do we mean by racism? Racism is not a uniform concept and operates in many forms, and the context in which it occurs largely determines the form it takes. Racism refers to the "assumptions, attitudes, beliefs, and behaviours of individuals as well as to the institutional policies, processes, and practices that flow from those understandings" (Henry, Tator, Mattis, & Rees, 1999, p. 5). The following sections will compare and contrast the variations and types of racism that manifest in a variety of contexts. They include: red-necked racism, polite racism, individual racism, and systemic/institutional racism.

Red-neck Racism

Red-neck racism refers to the kind of old fashioned racism that prevailed and (continues to exist) in the American "deep South" (Fleras and Elliott, 1996, p.71). It flourished during the frontier expansion in Canada and the United States, particularly with the arrival of immigrants from outside Northern Europe. Red-neck racism is characterized by the explicit, highly personalized character of its expression including physical or verbal abuse. It consists of highly personal attacks on those who are perceived to be culturally or biologically inferior and include derogatory name calling. The United States have many publicly noted examples of red-neck racism (Klu-Klux Klan) particularly revolving around the histories of slavery and the civil rights movement. However, although it may appear that the impact of red-neck racism in Canada has been minimal, many anti-racist theorists point out that Canada's treatment of racial, Aboriginal minorities since Confederation has also been very overtly discriminatory (Fleras and Elliott, p. 72). "The Chinese, Japanese, Indo-Pakistani, First Nations, Jews, and Blacks have been and continue to be the object of intense racism" (p. 72). Evidence suggests that

red-neck racism is now less acceptable than was the case in the past. It has been displaced by more subtle, tacit forms of racism.

Polite Racism

> *If racists as a category all wore horns, the battle against them would be a great deal easier…The type that chilled me the most, in-fact, was not the hard-nosed bully who wanted to kick somebody's teeth in, but rather the highly educated man, wealthy and sophisticated, who sat sipping his cognac while elaborating on the nobility of the white race and the necessity of excising the "mud people" from our midst.* (Barrett, 1987)

Polite racism is seen as a contrived attempt to disguise a dislike of others through behaviour that appears outwardly non-discriminatory (Fleras and Elliott, p.74). Polite racism is often demonstrated when visible minorities are ignored or passed up for promotions, jobs, or accommodation on a regular basis. A common example is where a landlord may claim an apartment or housing is filled rather than admit "no Blacks need apply" when approached by an undesired tenant. "Polite racism may appear more sophisticated than its red-necked equivilent; nevertheless, the effect on the victim is similar: It serves to sustain prevailing relationships of control, exclusion, or exploitation (Fleras and Elliott, 1996, p.74).

Both red-neck and polite racism are forms of 'individual racism' where individuals hold negative attitudes regarding others based on physical characteristics (i.e. primarily skin colour). (Henry, Tator, Mattis & Rees, 1995) assert: "Individual racism has been defined as an attitude, belief or opinion that one's own racial group has superior values, customs, and norms, and conversely, that other racial groups possess inferior traits and attributes" (p. 45). Individual racism usually involves the attitude held by an individual and the overt behaviour initiated by the attitude. Anthias and Yuval-Davis (1992) speak to how racism operates in implicit and highly structured forms and is a "set of postulates…which serve to differentiate and dominate" (p. 15). Individual racism is a form of prejudice because it is rooted in the individual's belief system. "It involves not only pre-judgement

but…misjudgement as well. It is categorical thinking that systematically misinterprets the facts" (Wellman, 1977, p. 24).

Systemic/Institutional Racism

Systemic/institutional racism, which will largely be the focus of this thesis, is "manifested in the policies, practices, and procedures of various institutions, which may, directly or indirectly, consciously or unwittingly, promote, sustain, or entrench differential advantage or privilege" (Henry, Tator, Mattis & Rees, 1995, p. 48). Institutional and/or systemic racism produces differential treatment of various groups within an institution, which is used to "maintain social control and the status quo in favour of the dominant group" (Dobbins & Skillings, 1991, p. 42). More simply, "institutional racism involve rules and procedures that directly and deliberately prevent minorities from full and equal involvement within society (Fleras and Elliott, p.78). Examples of institutional racism include policies or practices (regardless of intent) that are disadvantageous to racialized minorities such as: "internal" hiring and recruitment practices, lack of recognition of foreign credentials, and unequal access to educational opportunities. According to Carl James (1994) there is a reciprocal relationship between institutional racism and individual racism:

> The racist policies and practices of institutions are developed and implemented by individuals who, because of their training and allegiance to the organization, understand that they must adhere to the norms (including the role relationships) and sanctions to maintain the 'order of things'. (p. 135)

Another form of institutional racism that comes across as unconscious or unintentional, is systemic racism. The tacit, unobtrusive nature of systemic nature make it difficult to name or detect. According to Fleras and Elliott (1996):

> Systemic racism in the name given to this subtle yet powerful form of discrimination within the institutional framework of society. It is entrenched within the structure (rules, organization), function (norms, goals), and process (procedures) of social institutions. The standards and expectations inherent within these organizations may be universal and

> ostensibly colour-blind. Yet, they have the unintended but real effect of excluding those outside the mainstream. (p.81)

With systemic racism, it is not the intentions or motivations that count, but rather the consequences of the discriminatory practices. Systemic racism rests on the belief that institutional rules, cultures, and practices can be racist even if the actors themselves are free of racial prejudice.

Henry, et al.,(1999) assert that it is important to note the convergence of individual attitudes and cultural ideologies in institutional contexts result in innumerable examples of both intended and unintended racism.

Racialized/ Racial Minorities

The terms *visible minority* and *racialized minority* will be used throughout this thesis. By these terms, I am referring to the groups of people who, because of their physical appearance, are subjected to differential and unequal treatment in Canada. According to the Canadian employment equity act, the term visible minority encapsulates those individuals who have experienced racial bias and discrimination based on the colour of their skin. Of course, there are significant differences among racial minorities and people of colour, as there are within any ethno-racial group (i.e. Aboriginal peoples); however, for the purposes of this thesis, they will be grouped together. In addition, the term racialized has been defined as "processes by which meanings are attributed to particular objects, features and processes, in such a way that the latter are given special significance and are embodied with a set of additional meanings" (Miles, 1982, p. 70). For example, Stam (1993) asserts that skin colour carries with it more than the significance of colour:

> It also carried with it a set of meanings attached to cultural traits of those who are a certain colour, and these meanings are incorporated in everyday language and the discursive practices of politicians, bureaucrats, institutional authorities, the media, and other opinion shapers. (p. 65)

Systemic Racism in Higher Education: Sustaining Oppression

> *"It always amazes me when people express surprise that there might be a 'race problem' in Canada, or when they attribute the "problem" to a minority of prejudiced individuals. Racism is, and always has been, one of the bedrock institutions of Canadian society, embedded in the very fabric of our thinking, our personality."* (Shadd, 1994, p.9)

Fundamental racial inequality continues to affect the lives of people of colour and Aboriginal peoples in Canada (Tator, 2005). Furthermore, the school and university are sites of overt and subtle struggle and inequity for racialized students and staff (Tator, 2005), as power and privilege are perceived to be granted on the basis of race, gender, and other socially structured characteristics (Ng, 1994).

According to Henry and Tator (1994a), the university has always been considered part of, and yet detached from society. The concept "ivory tower" suggests that the university is removed from many of the social forces operating in society. Yet, universities are not, "hermetically sealed worlds" (p. 1). In her paper "Can values be taught in the university," Toni Morrison (2000) notes that the genesis of higher education is "unabashedly theological and conscientiously value ridden and value seeking" (p. 1). She exposes the fallacies of impartiality and neutrality that are often invoked in the debate about education and social inequity and are worth quoting at length:

> The university's reinvention of itself and its mission responded to major historical upheavals: wars, transformations in economy, new populations etc. and as newer, better, and more likely provable knowledge accumulated in the sciences, the shift in the goals of universities was dramatic and may have led some to think that the secular education offered by the academy strives only for value-free, objective, pure, research, analysis and exposition. Yet today, biological and medical sciences are being perpetually transformed by their own innovations. Education in the law is similarly scoured by its own practitioners employing new technologies to concepts of justice- all kinds of disciplines are responding to modern ethical issues with the same ferocity as its predecessors, ancient, medieval, or colonial. Thus, the real or imagined search for "goodness" in some figuration is still part of the justifying, legitimizing language of the academy…The innate feature of the university is that not only does it examine, it also produces power-laden and value-

> ridden discourse. Much scholarship is often, even habitually, entangled in or regulated by ideology. (pp. 2-3)

When it is understood that the university is a microcosm of society, it becomes easier to accept that despite its venerable pursuit of truth and knowledge, it too can be permeated with racist attitudes and behaviours.

Recognizing universities as explicit or implicit value-ridden and value-seeking institutions raises a number of critical questions related to racial inequality and social justice: What types of values do universities, such as Queen's University consider important today? Is racial equality valued? What is the ethical responsibility of the university for ensuring racial equality? How close are we toward realizing a "real" multicultural, anti-racist university? In order for universities to move forward to address and take action on issues of racism and systemic discrimination, they first must realize and

> take seriously and rigorously its role as guardian of wider civic freedoms, as interrogator of more and more complex and ethical problems, as servant and preserver of deeper democratic practices, then some other regime or ménage of regimes will do it for us, in spite of us. (Morrison, 2000, p. 4)

Black (2004) echoes these sentiments, asserting that simply developing more equitable, multicultural curriculum or ensuring fair treatment of Black and visible minority students and faculty does not ensure a democratic and inclusive university. It involves raising issues of ethics and responsibility in intellectual life in the academy. The university has traditionally defined itself as an institution of higher learning devoted to the pursuit and communication of knowledge (Henry & Tator, 1994a). The foundation of the academic quest for truth and learning rests on those values associated with honest intellectual endeavour, stimulated by adherence to the most valid methods of inquiry; complete dependence on the principle of merit by those who engage in the primary activity of research and teaching; the creation and maintenance of standards of

excellence in all of its activities, and the strict adherence to freedom of thought and expression (Henry & Tator, 1994a).

Yet, historical and contemporary research in racism in higher education suggests that the culpability and ignorance of the academy to problems of racism deny, reproduce, and legitimize racism.

The Denial of Racism in Academia

bell hooks (1994) considers the addiction to lying and denial as one of the major forces hindering the academy from moving forward from a culture of domination and oppression. This lying includes the denial of racism- that racism doesn't exist anymore:

> It becomes most evident that part of our contemporary crisis is created by a lack of meaningful access to truth. That is to say, individuals are not just presented untruths, but are told them in a manner that enables the most effective communication. When this cultural consumption and attachment to misinformation is coupled with the layers of lying individuals do in their personal lives, our capacity to face reality is severely diminished as is our will to intervene and change unjust circumstances. (p. 29)

Here hooks critiques the traditional role of the university in pursuit of knowledge and truth and asserts that "it is painfully clear that biases [in the academy] that uphold and maintain white supremacy, imperialism, sexism, and racism have distorted education so that it is no longer about the practice of freedom" (p. 29).

The university has long been named a place of racial struggle by students and faculty of colour. Himani Bannerji, a visible minority scholar, feminist and anti-racist (1991) expresses how racism is mirrored in processes of schooling and academia: "We need to understand that this is a racist, classist, and heterosexist society and that the university is structured to perpetuate those relations" (p. 38). Yet despite the numerous cases and accounts of incidents of overt and systemic racism expressed by racialized minorities, many Canadian universities have refused to accept the existence of racism at its campuses (Henry & Tator, 1999). In functioning to explain away and

deny racism and its impact, anti-racist theorists believe such arguments manoeuvre us "to believe that we are the ones with the problem" (Dei, Karumanchery, & Karumanchery-Luik, 2004, p. 15). Racism and its impact on the lives of people of colour are often minimized when observations about the progression of our society and the current lack of racism are made. This assertion that racism simply does not exist in democratic societies such as Canada is referred to as "the discourse of denial" (Henry and Tator, 1999; Van Dijk, 1999). The argument in the discourse of denial is that racism could not possibly exist in a society that upholds the ideals of democracy, equality, and liberalism. Consequently, when incidents of racism surface they are identified as only isolated occurrences stemming from a small number of social deviants, or "undemocratic traditions" which are slowly disappearing. "This discourse resists the notion that racism is systemic and inherently embedded in Canada's cultural values and democratic institutions" (Henry, et al., 1999, p. 27).

Furthermore, Van Dijk (1999) importantly notes:

> Whether in the streets of the inner city, in the press or in parliament [or in institutions of higher learning] dominant group members are often engaged in discourse about 'them': ethnic minority groups, immigrants or refugees, who have come to live in the country. Such discourses, as well as the social cognitions underlying them, are complex and full of contradictions. They may be inspired by general norms of tolerance and acceptance, but also, and sometimes at the same time, by feelings of distrust, resentment or frustration about those 'others'. (p. 69)

Law, Phillips and Turney (2004), anti-racist experts in the United Kingdom assert: "We face a future where university racisms are likely to be highly durable, protean and impervious to intervention. They are likely to co-exist alongside a wide range of progressive, anti-racist, multicultural and inclusive ideas, programmes, practices and initiatives" (p. vii). Henry et al.'s work (1995) on racism in the university examines and identifies the disjuncture between racism and academic freedom in the academy.

Institutions of higher learning are expected to comport themselves in an exemplary fashion. They are looked upon as fortresses of enlightenment; and they are burdened with the messy responsibility of spearheading progressive social change. Because many colleges and universities have taken an increasingly active role in helping foster an appreciation for diversity among members of their communities over the last 20 years, we have seen small gains in representation of minority faculty in high administrative ranks. However, minority faculty continue to be dramatically under-represented at all stages of faculty positions (Milem & Astin, 1993).

Critical theorists and radical educators have long argued that the academy and the classroom itself are not mere sites of instruction. Mohanty (1994) asserts that classrooms "are also political and cultural sites that represent accommodations and contestations over knowledge by differently empowered social constituencies" (p. 147). Thus, teachers and students produce, reinforce, recreate, resist, and transform ideas about race, equity, gender, and difference in the classroom. Similarly, academic institutions also create paradigms, principles, and voices that exemplify and transcribe equity and race. The growing national recognition of the importance of racial diversity in institutions of higher learning, the increased numbers of racial harassment, systemic and overt discrimination, and the under representation of visible minority faculty in universities have only recently prompted many universities to address these concerns in their policies and programs.

Manifestations of Institutional Racism

Faculty Under-Representation

It is important to note that in September 1986 many Canadian universities became signatories of the Federal Contractors Program, which allows the university to bid on federal

contracts over $200, 000. In becoming participants, the universities certified their commitment to implement employment equity in accordance with eleven criteria. Criterion six states the university must comply by "establishment of goals and timetables for the hiring, training, and promotion of designated group employees" (Shah, 2000). Yet, as Shah points out, "In spite of our good intentions, we have not made any gains in increasing the visible minority composition of our tenured and tenured stream faculty" (2000).

Equity policies and pro-active hiring practices have been disappointingly ineffective in increasing representation in educational administrative positions. "Such policies will continue to be ineffective until a better understanding is gained of the typical experiences that minorities have in organizations, and, in particular, of the factors which impede and facilitate promotion of minority people to leadership positions in organizations" (Russell & Wright, 1992, p. 127). A summary of the pertinent literature suggests that visible minorities are rarely represented in university administration and tenured or full time faculty positions, despite a significant increase in their population share (Nakhaie, 2004). The universities are in a particular conundrum as they confront pressures and demands from racial minority students and external groups within the community for greater access and increased representation of minorities at all levels, at a time when financial constraints prevent substantive hiring (Henry & Tator, 2002). Nevertheless, universities, like other institutions (especially in Ontario, where legislated employment equity is now a reality), are required to review their hiring policies and practices. Many have already done employee workforce audits, and their results with respect to minorities, women, and other disadvantaged groups are less than impressive. For example, at the University of Toronto, the country's largest university, there is a relatively small number of minority staff (Henry & Tator, 1994b). Visible minority student enrolment at the University of Toronto is almost 40 percent, yet less than 10 percent of its faculty were members of racial minority groups (Henry & Tator,

1994b). Even more revealing is the fact that minority faculty were heavily concentrated in a few fields, such as engineering and computer sciences. Disciplines such as the social sciences had very few minority faculty members. Racial minority faculty are also sometimes "ghettoized" in other specialized thematic fields such as Asian Studies, African Studies, Native Studies, and the like. Kobayashi (2001) affirms that women of colour in Canadian academia are notable for being "unseen," and illustrates the severe disproportion between the rising visible minority student enrolment and low percentage of visible minority faculty:

> Members of visible minority groups hold 18.7 of PhD's in Canada, yet make up on average 10.3% of university faculties across the country. In contrast, the number of visible minority students in Canadian universities have risen sharply, approaching or even exceeding 50% of the total student bodies of several institutions, including the University of Toronto, York University, the University of British Columbia and the University of Calgary…the university has long been, and remains, a zone of white privilege. (p. 1)

A recent statistical study by Shah (2000) found that hypothetically, even if an average of 15% of all new faculty members hired by the University of Toronto were visible minorities, it would take more than 25 years before the minority complement represented 15% of the professoriate. According to the *Equity Census* conducted by the University Advisor of Equity at Queen's University (2003), women, Aboriginal people, visible minorities, and persons with a disability continue to be underrepresented faculty members at Queen's University. Visible minority faculty consist of 9.4% of all faculty staff- a figure that rose from 6.8% in 1994. Another study by the Canadian Association of University Teachers (CAUT, 2004) revealed that women, First Nations groups, and visible minorities continue to be under-represented amongst academic staff in Canadian universities.

In regards to pay equity, the study revealed a significant pay gap for visible minority professors, resulting from a number of possible factors including both overt discrimination in hiring and promotional decisions, as well as institutional practices and salary structures that may

be discriminatory in effect (CAUT, 2004). The article outlined the employment and pay gaps are explained by practices and patterns of discrimination that limit opportunities for individuals from marginalized groups. However, the CAUT did not provide statistics on how many visible minority applicants actually apply to faculty positions, or whether some departments are more under-represented than others. Nakhaie's (2004) national study entitled *Ethnoracial Origins of Canadian University Administrators and Faculty's Perception of Mistreatment* exposed a gross under-representation of visible minority and non- European origins among those who control Canadian universities. There are very few visible minority presidents or principals, and only recently have they been appointed.

A Chilly Climate: Visible Minority Experiences in Academia

The experiences and voices of visible minority faculty in academia have been traditionally left out of the educational mainstream, and their stories have often been silenced. Emerging research in this area continues to profile the lives and experiences of visible minority faculty in academia as marginalized and as sites of struggle (hooks, 1994; Luther, Whitmore, & Moreau, 2003; Razack, 2003; Turner & Myers Jr., 2000; McLaughin & Tierney, 1993). At Canadian university campuses across the country, many minority students and faculty have stated that the university campus is a location of serious racial tension. Examples include: York University, where a group of Black students claiming they had been harassed by security guards staged a protest at the president's door (Henry et al., 1999); and Winnipeg's campuses have been faced with brutal racist attacks such as death threats painted on elevator walls and discriminatory and stereotypical lectures presented by professors about Aboriginal peoples (IBID). Razack (1998) suggested that in many universities there is a chilly climate in terms of attempting to alter racialized forms of power.

In a recent report conducted by Luther, Whitmore, and Moreau (2003) entitled "Making visible the invisible: The experiences of faculty of colour and Aboriginal faculty in Canadian universities," the authors interviewed visible minority staff and faculty at universities across the province of Ontario to gain more in-depth information about their experiences. A variety of interesting themes emerged from the interviews, including the need for more institutional support for visible minority faculty and students. This support included financial and professional support and also personal support from deans, directors, chairs, and colleagues.

In her paper entitled "Racialized Immigrant Women as Native Informants in the Academy," Razack (2001) asserts: "In liberal spaces rights now, issues of race and racism are not considered to be the rule but the exception." (p.52) She states that the way in which the academy deals with the problem of "difference" is by advocating for an approach that includes "learning more about those people" and bringing them into spaces from which they have been excluded. However, she argues that this approach rarely recognizes the power inequities embedded in the space of the university. Instead, people of colour and Aboriginal peoples are managed and contained by the dominant group. Furthermore, she suggests that racialized women in the academy are hired primarily as *Native informants*. She uses this term from an anthropological stance in that the Native informant is the person who helps the anthropologist negotiate his or her way through alien culture- being seen as the authentic object of reference. As such, this enables the academy to think it has dealt with and mastered difference, when it has only "confined those of us who are bodies of colour inside the academy to the role of raw experience" (p. 61).

In their book *Faculty of Colour in Academe,* Turner and Myers (2000) outline that challenges to the successful recruitment, retention, and development of faculty of colour include significant barriers within academia itself that discourage people of colour from becoming productive and satisfied members of the professoriate. Their findings indicated that a large barrier

visible minority faculty face in academia is an unwelcoming and unsupportive work environment--the effects of a chilly work environment. Garza (1993) conducted a national study in the US, where he surveyed 238 Latino faculty members. He found that 40 percent of the Chicano and Puerto Rican faculty in his study felt that their colleagues devalued their research, particularly if it related to their own ethnic/ racial group. In addition, the top three reasons for the denial of tenure for many Latino faculty members were department politics, racism, and a devaluing of their research interests.

Tenure

The academic community has, over many years, devised procedures for promotion and tenure in the system. These rules generally relate to the need to establish excellence in research, in teaching, and in service to the university. Traditional measures of excellence may, in fact, discriminate against women and minorities. Minority scholars face the same barriers because they are often, but not exclusively, in fields that relate to the study of race and ethnicity. The denigration of the fields of specialization of "minority" faculty takes many forms. For example, Henry and Tator (1994b) outline that publishing in peer-assessed “refereed” journals is an important criterion of academic assessment. Minority scholars may publish in smaller, community-oriented or advocacy publications, which are often given far less weight in promotion and tenure decisions. Similarly, many minority scholars participate in less prestigious locally organized conferences, which also carry less consequence than do the larger national and international disciplinary conferences. Henry and Tator (1994b) demonstrate that minority academics also have a heavier burden of student counselling, advising, and graduate student supervision because there are too few academics to meet the demands of the growing student body. Yet, these additional commitments are rarely given the weight they deserve. Minority academics are also required to participate in more university committees and organizations

because these bodies now demand the participation of "a woman" and, increasingly, of a racial minority. Yet, these extra service commitments are not valued in tenure considerations.

Diversity at Queen's University

According to the *2004 Equity Census* conducted by the University Advisor of Equity at Queen's University, women, Aboriginal people, visible minorities, and persons with a disability continue to be underrepresented employees at Queen's University- including faculty members. Visible minority faculty constitute 9.4% of all faculty staff-- a figure that rose from 6.8% in 1994. Aboriginal faculty members continue to be the most underrepresented with only 0.5% in faculty positions. Women went up in representation from 26.5% in 1994 to 34.4% in 2004-- although they are still not as prominent as their male counterparts. According to another study on hiring and termination, 34 out of 268 or 14.3% of terminations at Queen's University (including self termination, etc.) are visible minority faculty. What is most interesting, are the retention rates of visible minority faculty at Queen's University. The pattern is consistent. Although the university might be improving in its hiring of visible minority faculty, the retention rate of these professors is very low. Why are so many visible minority faculty members leaving Queen's?

Chapter 3: Theoretical Framework

The theoretical basis of this thesis work begins with acknowledging educational institutions as political sites with unequal distributions of power. Foucault (1980) discusses the pervasiveness of power: "Power is everywhere, not because it embraces everything but because it comes from everywhere" (p. 93).

I will be conducting my thesis work through two qualitative research paradigms: critical race theory and policy discourse analysis. These two conceptual lenses are the most conducive in examining the underlying questions and assumptions that will be guiding my research. Both

research paradigms interrogate the textual, discursive, historical, and tacit social processes of academic institutions and place emphasis on the connections between race, gender, and class in analyzing and understanding oppression. My reason for choosing the lens of critical discourse and policy analysis of historical documents at Queen's University stems from my interest in understanding how institutions such as universities work to enact, maintain, and perpetuate systemic racism and how these practices work. The institutional discourses, thoughts, and practices about racism and anti-racism play a significant role in shaping how anti-racism policies are implemented. This chapter will outline the key tenets of each paradigm and how they function as a catalyst for my research.

Critical Race Theory

Using critical race theory (CRT), I will look at ways in which social organizations, such as universities, provide privilege for some at the expense of others. Critical race studies in education call into question the larger socio-political context and ideological forces of domination, and consider how race can be linked to critical pedagogy (Parker & Stoval, 2004). It begins with the notion that racism in normal, not aberrant in society (Delgado, 1995).

> Because racism is viewed is an ingrained feature of our landscape, it looks ordinary and natural to persons in the culture. Formal equality can do little about the business as usual forms of racism that people of colour confront every day and that account for much misery, alienation, and despair. (Delgado, 1995, p. xiv)

Critical race studies in education evolved from an earlier movement in the mid- 1970s called critical legal studies (CLS). CLS is a legal movement that "challenged the traditional legal scholarship that focused on doctrinal and policy analysis in favour of a form of law that spoke to the specificity of individuals and groups in social and cultural contextss" (Ladson-Billings, 1998, p. 10). Scholars from this movement analysed existing legal doctrines and exposed its internal and external consistencies and revealed the ways in which "legal ideology has helped create,

support, and legitimate America's present class structure" (Crenshaw, et al, 1995, p. 1350). However, CLS became the centre of a wide variety of public and academic critique due to its failure to include racism in its attack on American meritocracy. "In a racialized society whiteness is positioned as normative, and everyone is ranked and categorized in relation to these points of opposition" (Ladson-Billings, 1998, p. 4). Thus, CRT became a logical outgrowth of the discontent of legal scholars of colour. According to Delgado (1995), CRT emerged in the 1970s primarily from the work of Derrick Bell and Alan Freeman. CRT became an important intellectual and social tool for deconstruction, reconstruction, and construction: deconstruction of oppressive structures and discourses, reconstruction of human agency, and construction of equitable and socially just relations of power" (Ladson- Billings, 1998, p. 4). Although CRT focuses its attention on the injustices facing African Americans in the United States, its application is relevant to any people who are constructed outside and excluded from the dominant paradigm. According to Matsuda, Laurence, Delgado and Crenshaw (1993), there are six major constructs that define the CRT movement:

1) CRT recognizes that racism is endemic to American life.
2) CRT challenges dominant ideology. It expresses scepticism toward dominant legal claims of neutrality, objectivity, colour blindness, and meritocracy.
3) CRT challenges ahistoricism and insists on a contextual/ historical analysis of the law. CRT theorists adopt a stance that presumes racism has contributed to all contemporary manifestations of group advantage and disadvantage.
4) CRT insists on recognition of the experiential knowledge of people of colour and our communities of origin in analysing law and society.
5) CRT is committed to social justice.
6) CRT is interdisciplinary.

7) CRT works toward the end of eliminating racial oppression as part of the broader goal of ending all forms of oppression (p. 6).

Another important function of CRT in challenging racial oppression is the use of formal storytelling, in which writers begin with the premise that society and culture constructs social reality in ways that promotes its own self-interest (or that of the dominant or elite group). Voice and storytelling are integral components of CRT, in particular, the knowledge(s) and experiences of people of colour are highly valued. "Those who have experienced discrimination speak with a special voice to which we should listen" (Matsuda, Laurence, Delgado, & Crenshaw, 1993, p. 63). Storytelling in CRT analyses and confronts the myths, assumptions, values, and wisdoms that make up the common culture about race and racial inequality, and by writing and speaking against them so "we may hope to contribute to a better, fairer world" (p. xiv). As Native novelist and scholar, Thomas King (2003) notes: "The truth about stories is that that's all we are" (p. 2). Anishibabe writer Gerald Vizenor mirrors these sentiments: "You can't understand the world without telling a story. There isn't any centre to the world but a story" (as cited in King, 2003, p. 3).

Storytelling and narratives are considered important amongst critical race theorists in that they create a space of resistance to question the objectivity of positivist standpoints, and counteract "stories" of the dominant group. In my research, using the critical theory framework, I will also attempt to tell my stories of racism in the educational system and academia. These stories are important in situating myself as researcher- "who I am, what I believe, what experiences I have had because it affects what, how, and why I research" (Ladson-Billings, 2003a). CRT rests on the belief that stories are powerful aspects of the human condition, and the knowledge and stories of and by visible minorities have been repressed, distorted, and denied by Euro-centrism. CRT seeks to address the power inequities of different storytellers- by way of

engaging in active counter-storytelling. CRT does not suggest that these counter-stories be viewed as "the truth," but rather create the conditions under which we can highlight the point of our difference- and the social, political, economic basis of this difference (Lewis, 2005).

Another key feature of CRT is the concept of *interest convergence*. Developed by Derrick Bell (1980), it asserts that White elites will tolerate or encourage racial advances for Blacks (or other visible minorities) only when they also promote White self-interest. The interest of Blacks in achieving racial equality will be accommodated only when it converges with the interest of Whites; however, the fourteenth amendment, standing alone, will not authorize a judicial remedy providing effective racial equality for Blacks where the remedy sought threatens the superior societal status of middle and upper class Whites (p. 90). When applying critical race theory to education, education then can no longer be "race neutral" or "colour blind." CRT recognizes that visible minority students, regardless of their economic standing and/or gender, suffer the insidious effects of a racist society. "Thus a critical race perspective always foregrounds race as an explanatory tool for the persistence of inequality. The power of racial coding allows even the poorest White in society to define the most credentialed, wealthy, (visible minority) to be referred to as 'nigger'" (Ladson- Billings, 1997, p. 131). Using CRT, I am attempting to speak to the ways in which relations of inequality are organized in and through the university, and how relations of power make it possible to live these relations without reflecting or deconstructing them. CRT calls into question the larger socio-political context and ideological forces of domination, and considers how race can be linked to critical pedagogy (Parker & Stoval, 2004). The analysis will be directed at better understanding power relations within institutions of higher education for the purpose of explicating processes of change (Parker & Stoval, 2004). CRT will help to raise questions in my research about the control and production of knowledge(s) about the visible minority experience and systemic racism in academia.

Critical Policy and Discourse

What is policy?

Harman (1984) defines policy as:

> The implicit or explicit specification of courses of purposive action being followed or to be followed in dealing with a recognized problem or matter of concern, and directed towards the accomplishment of some intended or desired set of goals. Policy also can be thought of as a position or stance developed in response to a problem or issue of conflict, and directed towards a particular objective (p. 13).

However, Taylor, Rizvi, Lingard and Henry (1997) outlined many shortcomings with this definition, and stressed the need to recognize policy as a process, and how policy works in practice, including the role of politics and power relations in identifying policy "problems." Taylor et al. (1997) assert that Harman's definition gives the impression that there is general agreement when policies are formulated and that they are implemented in an unproblematic way. In contrast to more linear or distinct policy models, they view policy as struggled over at all stages by competing interests and as being more complex and multi-layered. Viewed as both product and production, "policy involves the production of the text, the text itself, ongoing modifications to the text, and processes of implementation into practice" (p. 25). Ball (1994) asserts that "policy is both text and action, words and deeds, it is what is enacted as well as intended. Policies are always incomplete insofar as they relate to or map to the 'wild profusion' of local practice"

(p. 10).

The approach to policy and document text in this thesis will also focus on and highlight the political character of both the policy process and the text. Taylor et al. (1997) note that political struggles will always be present over whose voices will be heard and whose values will

be reflected in policies. The document and policy analysis will be framed around the conceptual framework of critical policy analysis, which not only focuses on the content of policy, but also on the processes of policy development and implementation. This approach involves studying the ways in which meaning serves to establish and sustain relations of domination. According to Stein (2004), "The field of cultural and literary policy study provides an analytical option for viewing such policy 'texts' as exposing belief systems and organizing thought" (p. x). Questions surrounding the interests of policy makers and processes of consultation are brought to the forefront.

Stein (2004) asserts:

> Attention is most often paid to the characteristics of individuals rather than the structures of society that contribute to unequal and inequitable life circumstances. Interrogation of the cultural dimensions of a policy unveils the often obscure assumptions built into policies, and the structural inequalities of power and privilege in which they exist. Cultural analysis reveals how policy provides a limited- indeed- distorted lens for viewing people and their life conditions. (p. 7)

Critical policy studies makes a deliberate attempt to deconstruct the historical, political, and ideological contexts under which the policies were formed and implemented. Taylor et al. (1997) outline some general observations as central to understanding the process of policy development and implementation, which are paraphrased below:

Policy is more than the text: Policies are more than just words written on a document, they are dynamic and interactive. One must also pay attention to the nuances and subtleties of the context, which give the text meaning and significance.

Policy is multi-dimensional: Policy develops and works by the influence of various policy players involved in the process. However, not all influence the policy process equally, as conflicts and contradictions of perspectives often arise.

Policy is value laden: Values pervade policy processes, and are inextricably linked to the way one might approach policy analysis- particularly in a field such as education in which the moral purposes are varied. Policies are embedded in value systems, however the question becomes: whose values and in whose interest?

Policies exist in context: Policy development and implementation exist in a particular context, with a history, within a political and ideological climate-which all affect and shape the outcome of the policy.

Education policies interact with policies in other fields: Policies that are seemingly school/ education based can usually be connected to broader policy development such as anti-racism, rural development projects, human rights etc.

Policies result in unintended as well as intended consequences: Policy making is an uncertain business. Given the complex inter-relationship of contextual factors, different and sometimes opposing interests, linguistic ambiguities, and the variety of key players involved in policy processes.

A number of Canadian universities have developed their policies on equity, employment equity, multiculturalism, and anti-racism from mandated requests by federal government bodies to provide accountability and a means for dealing with human rights issues. A concrete example is the Canadian Federal Contractors Program (FCP). This program was developed in 1986

through a Cabinet decision and is governed through the Human Resources and Social Development Canada. According to the program:

> Whereas the Employment Equity Act (1995) covers federally regulated employers of the LEEP (legislated employment equity program,) FCP applies to provincially regulated employers with a national workforce in Canada of 100 or more employees. Specifically, FCP applies to contractors (such as universities) - those provincially regulated employers which receive federal government goods or services contracts of $200,000 or more. As a condition for bidding on large federal contracts, such contractors are required to certify in writing their commitment to employment equity. The program is administered by workplace equity staff of Labour Standards & Workplace Equity from national headquarters, as well as by a network of regional Workplace Equity Officers across Canada. These same officers enforce the program by conducting periodic on-site compliance reviews at the premises of contractors. Contractors which refuse to honour their commitment to employment equity and are found in non-compliance with program criteria may lose the right to bid on further federal government contracts. (Employment Equity Act: Annual Report, 2006)

Queen's University is regulated by this program and is required to fulfil the following duties: collect data on members of designated employment equity groups such as women, visible minorities, people with disabilities, and Aboriginal people; develop and implement employment equity plans; communicate equity responsibilities to the university community; and comply with federal auditing procedures designed to monitor equity initiatives (Office of the University on Equity, Queen's University, 2006).

Policies for diversity are generally considered to be important, but the legitimacy of these policies and their purposes constitute differing and disputed discourses (Chan, 2005). The emphasis on policy processes and the power relations embedded in these processes are located within a "politics as discourse framework." In this framework, policies are seen as a way to represent the outcome of political struggles over meaning, and to indicate the significance of power relations in framing and interpreting policy texts (Ball, 1994; Codd, 1988; Taylor et al.,

1997). Codd (1988) asserts: "Fundamentally policy is about the exercise of political power and the language that is used to legitimate that process" (p. 235). Codd (1988) further elaborates:

> Policy documents can be said to constitute the official discourse of the state (Codd, 1988). Thus policies produced by and for the state are obvious instances in which language serves a political purpose, constructing particular meanings and signs that work to mask social conflict and foster commitment to the notion of universal public interest. In this way, policy documents produce real social effects through the production and maintenance of consent. (p. 237)

Institutional Discourse Analysis

Defining Discourse

Recognizing the profound effect of talk and text in everyday life is a critical component of discourse analysis. My approach to the study of discourse and its relation to racism is focused not only on the uses of language, but also, on *language in use.* As Jaworski and Coupland (1999) assert: "Discourse is language use relative to social, political, and cultural formations— it is language reflecting social order but also language shaping social order, and shaping individuals interaction with society" (p. 3). Discourse can be explained as the ways in which an issue or topic is 'spoken of' through the analysis of speech, texts, writing, and documents (Carabine, 2001). For Foucault (1980), discourses are constructive and productive in that "they produce the objects of which they speak" such as sexuality or madness or in the case of this thesis, racism at Queen's University (as cited in Carabine, 2001, p. 266). Policy documents and texts at Queen's University on the subject of anti-racism initiatives are powerful in producing how racism and anti-racism were spoken of, defined, and validated.

Social inequalities, such as racism, are produced and made real through discourses, and the realities of racism in academic institutions such as exclusion and opposition to anti-racist polices and initiatives cannot be fully understood without reference to the discourses that give

them meaning. Discourse analysis focuses on the role of discursive activity in creating and legitimising unequal power relations. “It should describe and explain how power abuse is enacted, reproduced or legitimised by the talk and text of dominant groups and institutions” (van Dijk, 1996, p. 84). According to Fairclough (1995), one of the founders of critical discourse analysis (CDA), discourse analysis aims to

> systematically explore often opaque relationships of causality and determination between a) discursive practices, events and texts, and b) wider social and cultural structures, relations, and processes; to investigate how such practices, events and texts arise out of and are ideologically shaped by relations of power and struggles over power (p. 132).

Discourse analysis includes focusing on tacit language conventions and capturing the meanings that are created amongst people through their interactive talk, their written narratives, and institutional documents and policies. Using the “relations of ruling” framework of Smith (1987), I am able to dissect and recognize power relations not only embedded in every day practices, but also in language and text. “‘Relations of ruling’ is a concept that grasps power, organization, direction, and regulation as more pervasively structured than can be expressed in traditional concepts provided by the discourses of power” (Smith, 1987, p. 3). Relations of ruling are helpful in thinking about how power in university institutions becomes entrenched in policy actions and documents, even though individuals may have no awareness of consciousness of the power that these actions and documents communicate (Chan, 2005). Furthermore, diversity, race, and other notions of difference are also political because they are about power relation experiences in everyday institutional life. In this thesis, I will be using the relations of ruling framework to consider how dominant ideologies often reproduce and maintain inequitable systems and policies in educational institutions.

Policy and Discourse

Drawing upon the work of Bacchi's (2000) on policy-as-discourse, my purpose in invoking a discourse analysis approach to examine equity policy at Queen's University is to draw attention to how meaning making and the inclusion and exclusion of particular issues affect the outcome of policy reform initiatives.

As Bacchi (2000) states:

> I would suggest that policy-as-discourse theorists define discourse then in ways that identify what they see to be constraints on change, while attempting to maintain a space for a kind of activism…The goal is to illustrate that change is difficult, not only because reform efforts are opposed, but because the ways in which issues get represented have a number of effects that limit the impact of reform gestures…Issues get represented in ways that mystify power relations and often create individuals responsible for their own 'failures,' drawing attention away from structures that create unequal outcomes. The focus on 'the ways issues get represented' produces a focus on language and on 'discourse,' meaning the conceptual framework available to describe social processes. (p. 46)

This approach draws attention to the discursive knowledges and practices that complicate attempts at policy change. It recognizes the tacit, intentional ways in which problems get framed within policy proposals, how the frames will affect what can be thought about and how this affects possibilities for action (Bacchi, 1999).

The work of Foucault (1977, 1980) has also been instrumental in examining how particular conceptions of truth about the social, political, and economic conditions of the world in places such as institutions of higher learning are seen to reign over other oppositional versions- and how this process is perpetuated. To Foucault (1977), discourses are then "practices that systemically form the objects of which they speak; they do not identify objects, they constitute them and in the practice of doing so conceal their own invention" (p. 17). An example of this can be seen in the effectiveness and support of state or institutional policies on equity and anti-

racism. Foucault's discourse analysis calls into question the idea of knowledge as a neutral, and argues that the humanities and social sciences are particularly inseparable from moralizing projects. These disciplines establish regimes of truth and knowledge "that regulate our approach to ourselves, each other and our surroundings respectively" (Andersen, 2003, p. 2). Andersen (2003) elaborates on Foucault's questioning of discursive assumptions:

> Foucault wants to show how any discourse involves excluding procedures, which not only exclude themes, arguments, and speech positions form the discourse, but also produce outsiders, denounce groups of people as sick, abnormal or irrational, and grant other groups the right and legitimacy to treat these people…He shows that power in society cannot be pinpointed and thus separated and isolated from…the social sciences and public welfare institutions such as schools, hospitals and [institutions of higher learning]. (p. 3)

Foucault (1972, 1980) highlights discourses not as something to be interpreted in order to determine what lies behind them, "but as 'monuments' whose very description provides an understanding of the relations and objects that are constituted in the discourse; in turn, the archaeological metaphor" (Shapiro, 1981, p. 132).

Lewis (1993) articulates, "Power is having access to those processes which legitimate and enforce meaning as this is inscribed in language and supported by concrete practices" (p. 114). The discursive practices such as text, writing, discussions, and tensions surrounding policy development in institutions become clear political acts "when we realize that who 'speaks' and by what authority their 'speaking' is governed cannot be disassociated from those relations of power that mark the social, political, and economic structures within which individuals live their daily lives" (Lewis, 1993, p. 114). Giroux (1988) has specified the importance of ideology in organizational institutions:

> Ideology has to be conceived as both source and effect of social and institutional practices as they operate within a society that is characterized by relations of domination, a society in which men and women are basically unfree in both objective and subjective terms. (p. 68)

Henry et al. (2005) also assert that ideologies that drive organizations, such as institutions of higher learning, are social constructs that act through a network of social relations, which produce racist and racialized discourses. This process produces tensions "between the collective values, beliefs, and practices of the dominant White culture and the discourse of racism buried in our language, national narratives and myths, public accounts, and everyday commonsense interpretations, explanations, and rationalizations". (p. 2) The practices of social systems are influenced by the organization's values, the values and beliefs of the individuals in the institution, their functional responsibilities, and society's "established" political and social ideologies prevailing at the time. Culture has proved to be a critical component in understanding the barriers to and processes of change and transformation in universities. A discursive analysis of can uncover the historical patterns of social inequity at Queen's University to locate how racism emerged and flourished at the university.

Institutional ethnography, a term used by Dorothy Smith (1987), has shed important insight on the relationship between the social dynamics of institutions and the formation of official policy. According to Sutton and Levinson (2001):

> Institutional ethnography shares intellectual ground with another set of approaches to the study of power and policy that are particularly critical to the socio-cultural conception of power…particularly those inspired by Foucault (1971, 1972, 1979) and by feminist and other critical epistemologies. (p. 8)

In applying a discursive approach, institutional documents and policies are analysed as more than just simply texts; it also involves analysing the processes and contexts prior to the articulation of

the text and the processes which continue after the text has been produced, both in modifications to it as a statement of values and desired action and in actual practice (Taylor et al., 1997).

Genealogy: Analysing Histories of the Present

> *"Whenever I have tried to carry out a piece of theoretical work it has been on the basis of my own experience, and always in relation to processes that I saw taking place around me. It is because I thought I could recognize in the things I saw, in the institutions with which I dealt, in my relations with others, cracks, silent shocks, malfunctionings…that I undertook a particular piece of work, a few fragments of autobiography."* (Foucault, as cited in Kritzman, 1988, p. 156)

Foucault (1971) was interested in understanding how operations of power developed through discourses and knowledge(s). "Genealogy was the name given to the methodological approach he used to study discourse to reveal power/knowledge networks (Carabine, 2001, p. 275). Foucault's genealogy is characterized as a method for analysing history but is not concerned with finding or revealing "the real truth." Rather, it is concerned with "describing the procedures, practices, apparatuses, and institutions involved in the production of discourses and knowledges, and their power effects" (Carabine, 2001, p. 276). Foucault (1971) also describes genealogy as an exploration into particular moments and traditions which "we tend to feel [are] without history" (p. 48) such as sexuality and mental illness. Genealogy is not the search for origins, and is not the creation of a linear development of history. It seeks to locate the multiple and sometimes contradictory past(s) that reveal the influence that power has had on given truths. Foucault (1971) writes:

> The body: a surface on which events are inscribed (whereas language marks events and ideas dissolve them), place where the Me is dissociated (a Me to which it tries to lend the illusion of a substantial unity), it is a volume perpetually crumbling away. Genealogy, as an analysis of where things come from is thus situated at the point of articulation of the body and history. Its task is to show a body totally imprinted with history, and history destroying the body. (p. 83)

A genealogical analysis can expose the processes through which discourses about racism are produced in institutions of higher learning, and how they are practiced and supported institutionally. Carabine (2001) argues that in examining the past:

> Foucault sought to trace the development of knowledges and their power effects in order to reveal something about the nature of power/knowledge in modern society. Genealogy is concerned to map those strategies, relations, and practices of power in which knowledges are embedded and connected. (p. 276)

In also adopting a genealogical theoretical framework in my own thesis work, in a sense, I will be conducting a genealogy of the production of the *1991 Race Relations Report* and also of its abandonment. In doing so, I will be revealing the power inequities, complexities, and tensions embedded in institutional power and practices.

Foucault (1980) argues that power in educational institutions such as universities, plays a significant role in creating and controlling dominant ideologies, and this power is manifested in everyday structures and practices that we consider "ordinary"- including policy. His work on genealogy points out the unreliability of truth, and the power interests often embedded in particular truths. By deconstructing truth, we are able uncover how relations of ruling operate. Foucault (1981) writes:

> Thought does exist, both beyond and underneath systems and edifices of discourse. It is something that is often hidden but always drives everyday behaviours. There is always a little thought occurring even in the most stupid institutions; there is always thought even in silent habits. Criticism consists in uncovering that thought and trying to change it: showing that things are not as obvious as people believe, making it so that what is taken for granted is no longer taken for granted. To practise criticism is to make harder those acts which are now too easy... [A]s soon as people begin to no longer be able to think things the way they have been thinking them, transformation becomes at the same time very urgent, very difficult and entirely possible. (p. 456)

Within the frameworks mentioned in the above paragraphs, the Queen's University *1991 PAC Race Relations Policy Report* can be understood as an official discourse of the university, and its

subsequent abandonment, as another discourse of the university. The examination of the policy processes and outcomes regarding this anti-racism policy will be located as an "archaeological metaphor" in an attempt to map out the social and political culture that resides at Queen's University and gain a clearer understanding of the relationship between these "practices" and the discourses in which they occur. To analyze policy discourse within Foucault's understanding of it, is to understand not only the way in which various groups within institutions exercise control over others, but also to understand how institutions are produced and maintained by discursive practices. Questions such as: why was the *1991 Queen's Race Relations Policy* mandated/ created? What are/were the discursive ideas and ideologies framing the abandonment of the *Race Relations Policy Report*, and on what grounds were these selections made and justified? How do institutions create self-protecting practices? —will be explored in the discursive analysis of the public letters of opposition to the report and qualitative interviews with members of the original 1991 PAC on Race Relations and other active anti-racism advocates.

Chapter 4: Methodology

This chapter will document the processes by which this research was conducted. The first section of this chapter will outline the processes by which I conducted the document and text analysis of archival documents related to the 1991 PAC on Race Relations. The final section will provide an overview of the processes involved in conducting qualitative interviews with original members of this committee. This chapter will also outline the processes and the various obstacles I experienced in conducting this research.

Providing the Context: The Emergence of Racism at Queen's University

The first part of this research consisted of document analysis of material available in the Queen's University archives and in Queen's University library related to the origins of Queen's

University, and to the emergence of racism on campus. These documents included a selection of archival books on the history of Queen's, public letters, draft reports, newspaper articles, and senate reports minutes related to the 1991 PAC Race Relations committee. Hodder (2003) importantly notes: "Material items [such as texts] are continually being reinterpreted in new contexts…Text and context are in a continual state of tension, each defining and re-defining the other, saying and doing things differently through time" (p. 12). In this thesis, I have treated these documents as special examples of artefacts, with intended and unintended residues, to be interpreted and analysed for the purposes of providing insight into how racism has been perceived and addressed at Queen's University throughout the years.

It is important to note and clarify the limitations and scope of this research in regards to the data selection and analysis of this study. In conducting the first part of this research, I selected archival textual material related to the emergence of the PAC report and to the subsequent abandonment of this report. The second part of the data collection consists of qualitative interview data. These data were used to provide retrospective insight on how particular people interpreted the emergence and outcomes of the PAC report's proposed policy changes. My intention in using and analysing both types of data was to provide a historical backdrop for understanding how racism emerged and flourished at the university, in order to provide a clear context for the emergence and resistance to the implementation of the PAC report.

According to Patton (2002), records, documents, artefacts, and archives constitute a rich source of information in conducting field research and evaluation. Hodder (2003) also asserts that texts are of importance to qualitative research because the information provided may differ from and not be available in spoken form. Texts endure and give historical insight. In the archaeology of historical periods, it has often been assumed that written texts provide a clearer indication of original meanings than do other types of evidence. My intention in detailing the histories of

Queen's University was to contextual racism and racial discrimination within a broader historical, political, and ideological framework of the institution in its historical context in order to make sense of the emergence and continuance of racism at institutions of higher learning.

In creating this historical context, I drew heavily on the work of notable Queen's historians: Hilda Neatby (1978), Federick Gibson (1983), and D.D. Calvin (1941). In preparing a brief biography of Queen's University, I was able to contextualize many of its cultural traditions, practices, and historical ideologies, and create the conditions under which one could begin to make connections between these histories and the persistence of racism on campus. I created a timeline of incidents of racism that had occurred at Queen's beginning from the 1920s until the early 1990s. These incidents were retrieved from newspaper articles such as *The Kingston Whig-Standard* and *The Journal*, from public letters written to the principal by target groups, and letters written by the race relations advisors who worked at the university during that time. My purpose in creating this timeline of racism at Queen's was to reveal the political, ideological, and social picture of the conditions of race relations at the university, and illustrate how these conditions eventually manifested in the creation of the 1989 PAC on Race Relations. In my view, understanding the conditions under which the PAC was formed, the mandate purpose, and the actions of the committee would be critical to understanding how the report was resisted and abandoned. According to Carabine (2001), in conducting a discursive analysis, "it is also important to know the context of the issue, topic or document that you are researching" (p. 285). My objective in this analysis was to establish the background to the 1991 PAC on Race Relations and identify key historical influences for the issue of racism on campus.

The second stage of my research included conducting a critical discursive analysis of archival, public letters which were written by various members of the Queen's community (faculty, students, student organizations, and administrators) addressed to the Principal, and the

Chair of 1989 PAC on Race Relations. In December of 1990, when the 1989 PAC on Race Relations released its first draft report to the Queen's community, they asserted the following:

> This is a draft report intended for wide circulation and comment. It likely contains errors, inconsistencies, redundancies and omissions; however we are submitting it at this time in order to stimulate discussions and to receive feedback. Responses (both written and oral) are invited by the committee. Please contact the chair, or any member of the committee, to make comments. (PAC on Race Relations, Draft Report, 1990, p. 1)

Between December 7 and February 28 of 1990-1991, the PAC on Race Relations and Principal David Smith received a large number of responses from the Queen's community toward the committee's first draft report. These responses included individual responses from faculty members, deans, administrators, students, and also group responses from faculty board meetings, departments, and student and faculty organizations. The letters were made available to the public with the approval and consent of all authors. I obtained a total of sixty-two of these letters from Queen's University Archives. While many university members supported the anti-racism policy report and its recommendations, almost half of the responses received by the committee were in strong opposition to the report, its mandate, and its initiatives. I identified twenty-eight letters of opposition, each of which were characterized by a strong resistance toward implementing some or all of the report's anti-racist policy recommendations.

My interest in analysing these particular letters is to gain a deeper conceptual understanding around the questions of: why would someone be in opposition to anti-racist policies and recommendations, what types of ideologies would drive not supporting the recommendations of this report, and for what reasons? While appearing as mere feedback or opinion, the discourse of these letters reveals a form of racial hegemony— legitimizing the ideologies and attitudes of members of the dominant group. The discourse of these letters of opposition provides a clearer understanding to why the Queen's administration may have been

delayed or prevented the *PAC Race Relations Report* from being fully implemented and monitored.

The release of the draft report in 1990 and the final report in 1991 created considerable controversy on the campus, and many individuals submitted open letters to express either their support for the proposed policy changes or strong opposition and resistance to the anti-racism policy recommendations. The letters were retrieved from Queen's University archives and were also available in the senate office. My initial difficulties with accessing the letters will be discussed further in the sub-section entitled "Challenges to Obtaining the Letters".

CDA refers to a multiplicity of intersecting systems for the study of textual practice and language use as social and cultural practices (Fairclough, 1992). As Luke (1998) suggests, it is based on three broad theoretical orientations:

> First, it draws from poststructuralism the view that discourse operates laterally across local institutional sites, and that texts have a constructive function in forming up and shaping human identities and actions. Second, it draws from Bourdieu's sociology the assumption that actual textual practices and interactions with texts become "embodied" forms of "cultural capital" with exchange value in particular social fields. Third, it draws from neomarxist cultural theory the assumption that these discourses are produced and used within political economies, and that they thus produce and articulate broader ideological interests, social formations and movements within those fields. (p. 151)

In conducting a critical discourse analysis of the letters, I was interested in exploring how socially produced ideas (such as resistance to anti-racism) at Queen's University are created, and how they are maintained and held in place over time (Phillips & Hardy, 2002). This analysis will be discussed in chapter six. According to Foucault (1980):

> Each society has a regime of truth, its 'general politics' of truth: that is, the types of discourse which it accepts and makes function as true; the mechanisms and instances which enable one to distinguish true and false statements, the means by which each is sanctioned; the techniques and procedures accorded value in the acquisition of truth; the status of those who are charged with saying what counts as true. (p. 131)

Foucault (1980) argues that institutions such as schools and universities in society operate for the benefit of specific people— particularly those persons in positions of power. He further elaborates:

> It seems to me that the real political task in a society such as ours is to criticize the working of institutions which appear to be both neutral and independent; to criticize them in such a manner that the political violence which has always exercised itself obscurely through them will be unmasked, so that one can fight them. (p. 6)

Similarly, my research suggests that Queen's University operates to benefit particular individuals from particular racial, gender, and class backgrounds. Following the ideas of Foucault, my thesis seeks to deconstruct the resistance around issues of racial equality at Canadian universities. In Foucault's words, "One needs to investigate historically, and beginning from the lowest level, how mechanisms of power have been able to function" (1980, p. 100).

The Analysis of the Letters

I obtained a total of 62 open letters written by members of the Queen's community (faculty members, deans, department heads, social organizations) in regards to implementing the recommendations of the draft and final report from Queen's University archives. The first part of the analysis involved sorting the letters into piles categorized as 'in support of the policy recommendations' or 'against the policy recommendations.' I was surprised by how easy it was to categorize the letters under these binary headings; none of the letters lent themselves to a "grey area."

Twenty-eight of the letters were identified as being in strong opposition to the mandate of the report's recommendations. I based this selection on the language used in letters. For example, if the letters were characterized by mainly negative, angry, demeaning, critical, and unsupportive language toward the *PAC on Race Relations Policy* recommendations, the letters were deemed oppositional. I focused specifically on the 28 letters of opposition that were written

by Queen's members in response to the anti-racism policy. The letters were each assigned a number from 1 to 28, in order to organize and track quotes and ideas contained within them. The letters varied in length from one to eight pages, most were detailed, and many provided lengthy arguments for what they were either supporting or refuting. My purpose in conducting a discursive analysis of these particular letters of opposition was to use the content of letters as a way to reflect and represent the reality of the social and ideological tensions within the university, and understand how these tensions may have inadvertently affected the outcome and implementation of the final report. My research asked in what ways does resistance to anti-racism perpetuate the continuance of racism. Also, how might have these letters of resistance have functioned to position the report in such a way so as to be unimplemented?

I approached these letters as tacit knowledge(s) and ideologies present among the university, in which a discursive analysis could provide a concrete mapping of the social and political culture residing at the university. Referring to the work of Fairclough (2002):

> Language is widely misperceived as transparent, so that the social and ideological 'work' that language does in producing, reproducing or transforming social structures, relations and identities is routinely overlooked…social analysis of discourse entails going beyond this natural attitude towards language in order to reveal the precise mechanisms and modalities of the social and ideological work of language….Texts constitute a major source of evidence for grounding claims about social structures, relations, and processes…and are sensitive barometers of social processes, movement and diversity and textual analysis can provide particularly good indicators of social change. (p. 204)

In approaching these letters as discourses of the university, such discourses are not simply innocent forms of language use or subsidiary types of verbal social interaction.

> Rather, they have a fundamental impact on the social cognitions of dominant group members, on the acquisition, confirmation, and uses of opinions, attitudes, and ideologies underlying social perceptions, actions, and structures. In other words, racism is socially learned, and discourse is essential in the process of its ideological production and reproduction. (van Dijk, 1990, p. 3)

Researchers using discursive analysis assert discursive activity does not occur in a vacuum, and discourse in and of itself does not hold a meaning. In order to begin to understand discourse, we must also understand the *context,* in which they arise (van Dijk 1997, Titscher et al., 2000).

In conducting the analysis of the letters, I followed the framework of Carabine's (2001) "guide to doing a Foucauldian genealogical discourse analysis" (p. 281). I began by reading and re-reading the letters; familiarizing myself with key terms, arguments, and rationalizations in regards to opposing the implementation of the proposed anti-racist policies. I then identified emerging themes and categories amongst the letters and looked for inter-relationships between these discourses. This part of the analysis was the most time consuming, and the most important. I pulled out the multiple meanings and discourses the letters were tacitly presenting. Secondly, I established where racism and systemic racism entered into the discussion. Thirdly, I analysed how resistance to anti-racism was "spoken of" and how it was justified. Many of the categories and themes were inter-related. The discursive strategies, or "the ways that a discourse is deployed… [and] the means by which a discourse is given meaning and force" (Carabine, 2001, p. 288) were also analysed and identified. These included the tone, language, absences, and silences revealed in the texts. Once the themes and categories were identified, I extracted direct quotes from the letters to present, and placed them in various categories to understand how resistance to anti-racism at Queen's University was rationalized and justified. Each of the themes or dominant discourses was presented and analysed and a discussion about what these discourses tell us about resistance to anti-racism at Queen's concluded the analysis.

Challenges to Obtaining the Letters

I first came across the letters at the University Senate Office. I had approached the Senate Office, and told the office personnel that I was writing my master's thesis on the *1991 Race Relations Report*, and hoped they could provide me with documentation related to the report and

the committee. I was presented with a large number of documents including senate meeting minutes, draft reports, and copies of the approximately 62 public responses to the draft report. I was informed by office personnel that all of the information provided to me was public archival material, and I would be able to use all documents to use for my thesis. I planned to return to the senate office in a few days to begin work on the documents. However, it seems that the controversy that surrounded the PAC report in 1991 would also be following me in my thesis work in 2006!

The following week, I received an e-mail from the senate office indicating that I would no longer be able to access the approximately 62 public letters written to the principal regarding the 1991 draft report. I was informed that they had been advised that the letters were to be destroyed and were not available for public perusal. I found this to be very strange because the destruction of these letters would constitute the disappearance of an importance set of historical documents. After a lengthy and tumultuous discussion with the Queen's archives office and members of the university secretariat office, it was finally decided that the letters were in fact public property and would be made available to researchers as historical material. It is important to note how fragile such material is in conducting archival research and once it is destroyed it cannot be retrieved. Yet decisions about the destruction or preservation of archival and historical material are sometimes made rather idiosyncratically.

It was determined that these letters were historic documents which should be preserved for archival and documentation purposes for the university. This material was a critical piece of data for my thesis, instrumental in understanding the *1991 PAC Race Relations Report*. It is important to note that it remains the case that no clear policy exists to help the institution decide what materials ought to be conserved for the public record and what materials are destroyed to protect the interests of the institution. My time-consuming and frustrating experience in obtaining

the historical data of the university highlighted the importance of preserving the documented history of an institution. This experience also indicated the often serendipitous process by which the institutional memory is erased.

I became acutely aware of the importance of protecting historical documents, which can help present and future researchers better understand the historical trajectory and growth of an institution with regard to social issues such as racism.

This process of obtaining these letters raised many questions for me: What are the university's embedded interests in destroying historical documents? Who benefits from this? Who loses? How might this incident function to be a self-protecting mechanism for the university? Is this not another example of how power is exercised and maintained in an educational site? If I had not fought for access to the historical documents, what might have happened to them? What message does this send to future researchers engaging in similar work? What are the larger institutional ideologies driving a response such as this one? What I found very interesting were the opposing responses to accessing the data that I received from two governing bodies from the same campus. Most notable, was how these opposing responses functioned as a metaphor for the internal institutional ideological tensions and power struggles that continue to exist in universities. It profoundly brought to my attention the subtle ways in which institutions legitimate processes for the exercise of power.

Retrospective Remembering: Interviews with the PAC on Race Relations Members

The third stage of my research concluded with conducting open-ended, semi- structured interviews (Patton, 2002) with six participants who were original committee members on the Queen's University's PAC on Race Relations, and Queen's members actively involved in anti-racism policy process and initiatives in the 1990's. Semi-structured interviews are designed to explore the extent, nature, and quality of the participants' thoughts and feelings about a range of

personal, interpersonal phenomena (Creswell, 2005). This component of the research received approval from the general research ethics board (GREB) at Queen's University.

Participants

Participants interviewed for this study included members of various constituencies (i.e. faculty and students) of the PAC on Race Relations. These members of the Queen's community assisted in drafting and developing the final race relations report, or actively followed the policy process and participated in anti-racism initiatives. These individuals possessed a great depth and breadth of knowledge concerning the development, presentation, and eventual shelving of the race relation report. My purpose in conducting qualitative interviews was to capture the complexities of the individuals' perceptions (Patton, 2002, p. 348) of the events surrounding the development and subsequent status of the *PAC Race Relations Report*. Gubrium and Holstein (1997) note that the interview has become an example of contemporary storytelling, where persons reveal life accounts in response to interview inquires. Since the original PAC was a public committee, and the individuals were part of the Queen's community, the names of individuals were widely accessible and available. The five participants were located both by referral, through my personal and professional contacts in the Queen's community and by the e-mail directory from Queen's University. I recruited all participants by e-mailing a letter of invitation and information to take part in the research. I assured all of the participants that their identities would be masked and confidential. All of the participants responded positively to my proposed research and were very enthusiastic about participating in a retrospective interview. The participants consisted of two males and three females, and of the group, two participants were identified as visible minorities. The two male participants whom I will call Raj and Peter were retired faculty who had both worked at Queen's University for over 30 years and worked and participated in many anti-racism and diversity initiatives and were actively involved in drafting

the report. Rita, one of the four females, was a student in the late 80s and early 1990s and actively involved in campus anti-racism, and is still employed at Queen's University. Lucy has worked at the university for over 15 years and was involved in drafting the report and participated in anti-racism coalitions on campus. Gloria has worked at the university for 16 years and also has been involved in many social justice and anti-racism initiatives on campus. One interview was conducted with each participant, and the length of each interview was approximately 60 minutes.

The Interviews: Oral Histories

> In exchange for the immediacy of diaries or correspondence, the retrospective interview offers a dialog between the participant and the informed interviewer. Having prepared sufficient preliminary research, interviewers can direct the discussion into areas long since "forgotten," or no longer considered of consequence. . . .The quality of the interview, its candidness and its depth, generally will depend as much on the interviewer as the interviewee, and the confidence and rapport between the two adds a special dimension to the spoken memoir. (Fenzi & Nelson, 1994, p.3)

Semi- structured, quasi-oral history interviews were conducted with the original members of the 1989 PAC on Race Relations and anti-racist activists as another primary source of data. Methodologically, the interviews followed the process of an oral history, or retrospective interview, capturing the historical recollections of the committee members about the role, processes, and outcomes(s) of the *1991 Race Relations Report*. Often oral histories or retrospective interviews are not published, and are usually found in archival libraries waiting for their testimony to be brought to life (Fontana & Frey, 2003). As Hesse-Biber and Leavy (2006) assert: "If you are interested in studying a historical event or historical time period and how a certain population experienced that event or lived in that period, oral history may be the best method" (p. 153). Perhaps the most profound component of oral histories is their ability to tap into the intersection of personal experience, historical circumstance and cultural and political

framing (Hesse-Biber & Leavy, 2006). Memory and its relation to recall are critically important in understanding retrospective or oral history interviews (Fontana & Frey, 2003). Schwartz (1999) examined the way in which we recall important moments in our lives: "Biographic memory…is better understood as a social process and as we look back, we find ourselves remembering our lives in terms of our experiences with others" (p. 15).

The interviews were conducted in a semi-structure format. According to Hesse-Biber and Leavy (2006):

> Semi-structured interviews rely on a certain set of questions and try to guide the conversation to remain, more loosely on those questions. However, semi-structured interviews allow individual respondents some latitude and freedom to talk about what is of interest or important to them. In other words, while the researcher does try to ask each respondent a certain set of questions, she allows the conversation to flow more naturally, making room for the conversation to go in new and unexpected directions. (p. 125)

The interview questions were framed around four main points of focus:

1) Why the 1991 Race Relations committee was formed.
2) The mandate of the committee, what did they imagine would happen with the *1991 Race Relations Report* once it was completed.
3) The obstacles in implementing the recommendations of the final report.
4) What the report accomplished and achieved.

The interviews followed a semi-structured interview guide, in which all interviews followed the same interview questions, but allowed the conversations to flow naturally and veer in directions as determined by the participants during the interview. At the beginning of each interview, a demographic/ background information question was asked to help the participants become comfortable and create some context for how they became involved in the race relations committee. For a sample of the interview questions please see Appendix, Figure A. Each interview lasted approximately one hour and was conducted in a private, causal, and neutral

environment of the participant's choice. It is also important to note that since the interviews were retrospective, participants had to recall a specific event that occurred over 15 years ago, and many of the participants pointed out candidly that their memories were a bit foggy, and had some difficulty recalling exact incidents and dates as such. Since an individual's story or experiences are narrated through memory, it their *recollection* of those specific experiences that give meaning to those experiences; making it about more than just accuracy, but also the process of (re)-membering (Hesse-Biber & Leavy, 2006). Through this process of remembering, tensions arise and thoughts are filtered and interpreted. "There is a tension between history and memory, the collective recorded history and the individual experience of that collective history, that can be revealed, exposed, and explicated through oral history" (p. 156).

Unfortunately, during the interview and recording process I experienced some cumbersome difficulties. My second interview was conducted with a tape recorder that I had borrowed from a friend who indicated that the device was a high calibre machine. I used the tape recorder at the interview (which I thought went very well), and followed all the necessary directions and precautions. But it seems that the tape had not recorded and I was left in tears and with a blank tape. Luckily, I was able to reschedule the interview with participant number two, but acknowledge the effects of conducting a second interview with the same person may have lent to other unintentional problems, such as saturated questions (and answers), the lack of spontaneity or natural flow of conversation etc.

Another tension that I experienced during and after the interview process was realizing the potential of this thesis research to be used for multiple purposes- such as archival information, administrative policy development, material for the human rights office etc. I realized the potential of possible outcome of this thesis research may have affected and influenced the way in which participants told their stories.

As Wilmsen (2001) writes:

> The deliberate consideration of what can and should be said, and how it should be said, is pronounced when interview transcripts are specifically prepared for archival purposes because narrators will seek to prepare their narratives for an undetermined public audience. This has a double edged effect. On the one hand, it can produce more accurate recollections and fuller accounts if narrators take the time to refresh their memories by consulting old documents, and/ or other people who experienced the same events. On the other hand, however, it may produce more of a 'canned speech,' or a more carefully crafted statement that is sensitive to wider implications of what is said. (p. 72)

Data Analysis

Patton (2002) highlights the key goals in the process of data analysis: "Data interpretation and analysis involves making sense out of what people have said, looking for patterns, putting together what is said on place with what is said in another place, and integrating what different people have said" (p. 380). The first part of my analysis consisted of transcribing all of the recorded interviews and the hand-written notes I had written during each of the interviews. Once all the interviews were finally transcribed, only one interview required additional clarification—in which communication was conducted over e-mail. Three of the interviews were recorded in a digital software program and were stored and transcribed from my personal computer, and the two others were transcribed from a tape recorder. All interviews were transcribed on a computer. During this processes I became very familiar with the data, and used a notepad to take notes and memos on my reflections about the data. After all of the interviews were transcribed, I became overwhelmed at the monstrous amount of paper work I had accumulated and started to feel intimidated about analysing the data. I began to sift through each interview individually to identify and underline reoccurring themes and patterns in words, phrases, and ideas. This inductive approach involved "discovering patterns and categories in one's data… through the analyst's interactions with the data" (Patton, 2002, p. 453). Using a content and thematic analysis

approach (Patton, 2002; Hesse-Biber & Leavy, 2006), I identified and memoed chunks of information in each of the interviews and gave these pieces of information labels from which I was able to generate a set of key categories from which to frame my analysis. "This consists of literally reading line by line" (Hesse-Biber & Leavy, 2006, p. 348). Using various colours of highlighters and pens, I began to colour-code each theme/ category, based on my initial points of focus as mentioned earlier. Once the overarching themes were identified, a more focused coding procedure began and I began to highlight the data according to the specific colour-coded themes. All of the data were coded into one of the categories and then organized into thematic groups. "In focused coding, a researcher examines all the data in a category, compares each piece of data with every other piece, and finally builds a clear working definition of each concept, which is then named" (Ibid., p. 352). It is noteworthy that during the coding process, some contradictions and competing ideas arose in the data, which will be further discussed in chapter six.

Other Considerations

"More recently, sociologists have come to grips with the reflexive, problematic, and, at times, contradictory nature of data and with the tremendous, if unspoken, influence of the researcher as an author" (Fontana & Frey, 2003, p. 87). During this process, transcribing and analysing the data presented their own challenges. As a researcher, my analysis, interpretation, and writing of my findings is part of the meaning making, and producing this work can be likened with producing meaning— and knowledge itself. I realized after the transcription process that in omitting some pauses, "ums" and "like" and the other informal ways people speak, my actions overtly affect meaning construction. My power as a researcher is interwoven throughout this process, and the choices I make are interlinked with social power and affect the interpretation and representation of the data. I became acutely aware of the repercussions of seemingly mundane acts in editing and analysing, which in turn shape and implicate how meaning in data is

produced. I acknowledge that my choice of methodology is also a political action. It shapes the research process (including the questions asked and the answers I received), and it privileges specific ways of knowing.

In conclusion, this chapter summarized the processes by which I conducted my research. It identified: the tools used in gathering my data; the various stages of the research process; and the theories, values, and cultural protocols used to inform my methodology. The next chapter, chapter five, will begin the data analysis piece of this thesis. The data analysis will begin with a historical re-counting of incidents of racism at Queen's University and how the 1989 PAC on Race Relations Committee emerged and developed at the university.

Chapter 5: Remembering Racism: Queen's University, Past and Present

In this chapter, I will begin by documenting the origins, culture, and tacit policies and practices of Queen's University toward racial equality as a backdrop to gain a clearer understanding as to how racism flourished at the institution in the 1980s.

This section draws upon the work of notable Queen's University historians D.D. Calvin (1941), Hilda Neatby (1978), and Frederick Gibson (1983). All have written extensively on the histories and key events surrounding Queen's University, and use personal/public documents of principals, proceedings and minutes of governing bodies such as the Senate, and records of university administrative officers. Finally, the overview I will provide about the history of Queen's University will not be lavish in detail or depth, as my intentions are only to provide snapshots of the culture of Queen's at various points in time.

A Brief History of Queen's University as Relevant to this Thesis

In his book *Queen's University at Kingston*, D.D. Calvin describes the origins of Queen's University as a Scottish-Canadian Foundation. Queen's University was established on October

16, 1841 as a university staffed and managed by members of the Presbyterian Church in communion with the Church of Scotland. The founding of Queen's University at Kingston was characterized by religious controversy. Canada in the1820s experienced a significant increase in immigration from Scotland. As the Presbyterian community was growing, so were the numbers of ministers from the Church of Scotland. In 1831, with over twenty ministers in both Quebec and Ontario, the Presbyterian community formed their own Synod with the Church of Scotland. A primary goal was to look after the religious interests of Scottish colonists abroad (Neatby, 1978). In 1840, the United Presbyterian Synod (of Upper Canada) and the Synod of the Presbyterian Church (Quebec and Ontario) in connection with the Church of Scotland amalgamated together as one unifying body, and became particularly concerned with "Presbyterian claims on public endowment for the support and training of ministers and for higher education in general" (Neatby, 1978, p. 15). In addition, there was concern that land and property rights were being quickly afforded to the benefit of the Church of England colonies. The Church of England exercised its power to obtain large acres of land to upon which to house the scholars of King's College, York (an Anglican run institution for Anglican students). This caused an outrage within members of the Presbyterian colonies. Neatby (1978) outlines:

> Morris, [a leading laymen of the Church of Scotland, and one of the original founders of Queen's College at Kingston] in spite of his constant references to the unjustifiable diversion of the lands, seems to have felt that he could accept King's College if both the established churches could be represented on the governing body and on the faculty. (p. 18)

Furthermore, Neatby (1978) asserts: "Scots did not resent favours to the Church of England, but they demanded the same favour to every member of the Church of Scotland" (p. 19). On August 2, 1832, the Synod of the Presbyterian Church of Canada, in partnership with the Church of Scotland made their first effort to attempt to secure a share in the public endowment of higher education (Calvin, 1941). Members of the Synod were becoming increasingly interested in

creating a university that would be based on Scottish foundations and independent from ecclesiastical control, but closely linked to the Church (Neatby, 1978). The intent was to model their university on others such as the Universities of Edinburgh and Glasgow, which were also Protestant and Presbyterian in their beginnings. In 1839, the commission of the Synod drafted and presented a bill for the establishment of a college in close connection with the Church of Scotland. Neatby (1978) asserts:

> The act to establish a college by the name and style of the University at Kingston had for its object the education of youth in the principals of Christian religion and…their instruction in the various branches in sciences and literature…the act named a board of 27 trustees, compromising fifteen laymen and twelve clergymen all to be in full communion with the Church of Scotland. (p.42)

After a long struggle, "The act to establish a college by the name and style of the University at Kingston was passed by the parliament of Upper Canada on February 10, 1840- the wedding day of the young Queen whose royal title the college was to bear" (Calvin, 1941, p. 30). Interestingly, according to Calvin (1941),

> The founders of Queen's do not seem to have realized, in 1840, that they were setting up a university just as closely controlled by the Presbyterians as was King's College by the Anglicans…in the matter of rigid control, however, there was no difference; one was Presbyterian, one Anglican, but both were sectarian. (p. 32)

Despite these gains, the future of Queen's remained insecure. The practical difficulties of establishing a college as a teaching institution were far greater than getting the act of corporation passed by Parliament (Calvin, 1978). In its subsequent years, Queen's experienced and faced financial ruin, as many of its founding principals and officials including Principal Snodgrass, rescued the university by engaging in a desperate fundraising campaign across the country to save the university. By 1877, under the leadership of the 8th Principal, Rev. George Munro Grant, Queen's achieved a position of stature as one of Canada's leading universities. The university

was extensively expanded, as many faculties and departments were established and financial security was achieved.

Principal Grant who played a fundamental role in the advancement of Queen's University is regarded as the "definitive principal of Queen's" (Gibson, 1983, p. 4). He was also a deeply religious man:

> He felt that all Canadian churches must take up together the work of Christian mission and social service, making of the west a Christian, orderly society, helpful to immigrants…[Grant] held up the idea of a practical, ecumenical Christianity…and appeared ever more prominently as a Christian reformer and moral guardian. (p. 4)

At this point in history, it is also important to note and recognize the significance of another man who played a pivotal role in saving Queen's University from financial ruin, Mr. Robert Sutherland. Robert Sutherland was the first man of colour at Queen's University. Robert Sutherland was born in Jamaica and entered Queen's in 1849, just eight years after the university was founded. "He may have been the first student of colour in Canada, as well as at Queen's; the subject has not been fully researched, but none of the handful of other universities that existed then have uncovered records of an earlier entrant" (Queen's Encyclopedia, 2006, p. 4). Sutherland held an extremely successful academic career at Queen's, winning 14 academic prizes, including one for general merit in Latin that was awarded after a vote by fellow students. Upon graduating in 1852 with honours in classics and mathematics, he went on to study law at Toronto's Osgoode Hall. He died in 1878 after contracting pneumonia, and just three weeks before his death, he left his entire $12,000 estate to Queen's. His donation was the largest that any one person had yet given to the university and came at a time when Queen's was still battling its way out of poverty (Queen's Encyclopedia, 2006).

After Principal Grant died in 1902, he was succeeded by the Rev. Daniel Milner Gordon. In 1912, under the direction of Principal Gordon, Queen's separated from the Presbyterian

Church- a move which brought it in touch with an increasingly secular age and to financial stability. By the spring of 1905, it had become clear that the Church was not going to provide the $500,000 which was being sought for Queen's (Calvin, 1978). However, despite the ongoing constitutional changes that started to separate Queen's and the Theological College, the good relations between the Church and Queen's were not weakened by the change. Throughout the years, the leadership of Queen's remained closely allied with the Church and conservatism. As Calvin notes (1941):

> On the contrary there has been in Queen's a long tradition of conservatism, or of continuity of method, which has had in its effect in holding the balance between old and new. There has been a determination to teach fundamentals, rather than to train specialists- in other words to distinguish between education and technical training. These are an inheritance from the old Scottish tradition; not for nothing have all the first 10 principals of Queen's been graduates of British universities- nine of Edinburgh or Glasgow, and one of Oxford [and all Presbyterian ministers]. (p.78)

Queen's University went on to experience many challenges, changes, and feats during the First World War, the Great Depression, and the Second World War, despite the dramatic changes in physical, demographic and financial structures at Queen's University. It seemed that particular structures remained the same for decades, and continue to remain the same today. For instance, the White male dominated administrative configurations including principals, rectors, and members of the Board of Trustees, the understated elitism, the lack of women and visible minorities in high rank decision positions, and the continued presence and close ties with the members of the Church.

Hidden Histories: Racism at Queen's

Black Students and Medical School

According to the Queen's Encyclopedia (2006), perhaps one of the most extreme cases of racism at Queen's University occurred in 1918 with the Faculty of Medicine. A small number of

Black students, mainly from Caribbean descent, attended medical school early in the century and appeared to be happily integrated into university life, but they were more tolerated than accepted by local patients. The tolerance turned into hostility in 1917 when wounded soldiers who returned from the war in Europe refused to be treated by Black doctors or interns. The faculty, staff, and administration did nothing to rectify these prejudices, but instead started the process of expelling all of the 15 Black students in the medical faculty, even those who were not yet required to complete clinical work. In 1918, the Queen's Senate supported Dean James' decision that all Black medical students be transferred to cities with larger Black communities. What is even more tragic about this episode is that there are no records of the reactions of the Black students or where they were transferred to complete their studies. It is likely that many of them were transferred to Dalhousie, where Connell had recommended. Black students were not permitted to attend the Faculty of Medicine until after the Second World War. Interestingly, there were never any recorded restrictions against Black students in other faculties (Queen's Encyclopedia, 2006). Perhaps, at this point, it may be important to highlight the continuing issue of the lack of records by which to convey the history of this institution, particularly relating to incidents of racism and social injustice.

Japanese Exclusion

Japan's attack on Pearl Harbour and the mood of fear, panic, and anger that it created, triggered the Canadian government to evacuate approximately 20,000 Japanese Canadians from the Coastal region of British Columbia into the interior and farther east (Gibson, 1983). In 1942, as a result of this displacement, many Japanese Canadians applied for admission to eastern universities such as Queen's. Since there was no policy governing the admittance of these students, Dean Clark solicited the advice of the Senate to "decide on a policy" (Gibson, 1983). The university decided it would admit a number of Japanese Canadian students in the 1942-1943

academic session which provoked strong opposition from the Queen's Alumni Association in Ottawa. The response was as follows: "It seems to be the general view that with Canada at war with Japan, no good purpose would be served by admitting new Japanese students to Queen's University, and the prestige of the university might be seriously prejudiced" (Gisbon, 1983, p.198). Principal Wallace did not like the tone of the Queen's Alumni letter; however, at the same time

> the Ontario government, under the terms of a tripartite agreement which it had entered into with governments of Canada and British Columbia, a number of Japanese-Canadians had been relocated in Ontario but only to engage in farm work, war industry or domestic service; those not occupied in these activities were to be returned to British Columbia. (Gibson, 1983, p. 198)

In light of this, the university decided not to allow Japanese Canadian students to enrol at Queen's University during the 1942-1943 academic year.

Anti-Semitism at Queen's in the 1940s

With the admission of Japanese students being ironed out, another racial tension was emerging— the high number of Jewish students enrolled at Queen's University. Gibson (1983) provides a clear context of the situation:

> In the 1942-43 academic session, with intramural enrolment down to 1, 640, there were 127 Jewish students [a significant increase from the 1938-39 session]. Principal Wallace drew attention to the change in his report to the trustees in the fall of 1942, offering two possible explanations. McGill University, it was believed, was limiting the number of Jewish students by requiring them a higher than normal admission standard; and Jewish students were coming from other places because there seemed to be the feeling that Queen's was hospitable to Jews. The trustees requested the Principal to explore the matter further. (p. 199)

The board met in 1943 and Principal Wallace indicated that Jewish enrolment had doubled over the previous year and stated the increase had created "problems." These problems included the fact that orthodox Jews were prevented by their religious practices from attending classes on Saturday. This state of affairs was causing a great deal of tension at the university. However,

Principal Wallace did not feel pressed to address this issue at that point. Yet, six months later, the issue was raised again. The Jewish student population had increased again and Principal Wallace and the Board of Trustees decided to authorize the appointment of a joint Trustee-Senate Committee "to consider the problem created by the rapid increase in the number of Jewish students" (Gibson, 1983, p. 200). Some possible explanations included that McGill University was implementing double-standard admission regulations. For instance, Jewish students were not accepted to the Faculty of Arts at McGill unless they had a 75 percent overall average, though other students were being accepted with a 60 percent average. The double standard in admission requirements for Jewish students at McGill University caused a great deal of distress for Queen's officials (Gibson, 1983). "The practical effect of the McGill regulation is to send the less competent Jews to Queen's" (p. 200). Anti-Semitic beliefs were found in numerous members of the Board of Trustees as well as other members of the Joint Senate Committee. Gibson (1983) documents Principal Wallace's comments:

> The race discrimination problem is difficult…and I can understand and share the apprehension. But I have seen no way as yet except a raising in standards all round, which would have some effect, but would confessedly not meet the whole problem. But I think that it is the only thing we can do. (p. 201)

Another trustee member D.H. Laird also made some suggestions to address the 'Jewish problem': "All applicants for admission should be required to make written application prior to registration; and the university offices should conduct personal interviews in Montreal with applicants from the province of Quebec, after which they might select 'a certain number of Jews,' and refuse the others" (Gibson, 1983, p. 201). These suggestions were deliberately designed to limit the number of Jewish applications at an early stage in the admissions process without the violating the Ontario Racial Discrimination Act (Gibson, 1983).

In the end, Principal Wallace and the joint committees did not implement any of the actions proposed by some committee members, due to the fact that the Faculty of Arts was already raising admissions standards (for different reasons) and they would wait to see how the revisions would affect the Jewish enrolment

Racism at Queen's in the 1980s and 1990s

"Racism at Queen's you say? I haven't seen it."
(*The Queen's Journal*, February 12, 1990)

"I went to [the kingston pub] the Duke of Kingston with some friends of mine, two guys and two girls, all of whom happened to be white. We walk in and we sit down, and two guys start banging on their table and calling 'get out nigger, blackie…they were both pretty big."
(Wube Girma, Arts '91, *The Queen's Journal,* 1991)

In this section, I will begin by recounting the numerous reported stories of racism experienced at Queen's during the late eighties and early nineties. However, the stories I tell here are not the only stories to be told (Lewis, 1993). There were countless numbers of individuals who faced disturbing encounters of racism while at Queen's, many of whom either left the institution, or buried their *dangerous memories* (Welch, 1985). Their silence will also be remembered in this text. The stories and cases of racism at Queen's University have been retrieved from archival documents including Queen's University newspapers such as *The Journal* and *The Gazette*; the Kingston newspaper, *The Kingston- Whig Standard;* and other public documents such as letters to the Principal or informal newsletters.

Setting the Stage: The Gordon House Fiasco

It is important to note that, during the late eighties, 1989 to be exact, Queen's University experienced an ugly backlash toward a women's rights "NO MEANS NO" campaign. This campaign was organized by the undergraduate students of the Alma Mater Society's Gender Issues Committee to raise awareness about date rape.

The notable incident (which garnered significant media coverage) was the reaction to this campaign by factions of male students, particularly male residents of the Gordon House, a student residence. Male students responded to this campaign with a "counter sign" campaign, posting large signs and posters in and around the student residences with slogans such as: "No means tie me up," "No means kick her in the teeth," "No means more beer."

Magda Lewis (1993), a feminist professor at the university notes: "The sign campaign made explicit their belief [the men's] that women's refusal of male sexual demands could appropriately be countered with violence…to the extent that the signs were accompanied by active verbal threats and physical intimidation, many women experienced the atmosphere as misogynist" (p. 150).

However, what was most disturbing about these events was the lack of action and reaction by university officials to this incident. Alison Dickie (1990) documented this event in an article on sexism at Queen's:

> Although the Dean of Women ordered the signs taken down, they were still up a week later. The only faculty member besides the Dean of Women to publicly criticize the students and administration was Christine Overall, a young untenured professor in the philosophy department, who wrote a condemnation of the activities in the Kingston Whig-Standard. The university's principal remained silent. (p.2)

The silence of the administration reiterated the hard truths of misogyny at many Canadian campuses, such as Queen's. This silence from the administration triggered what is now known as the largest women's protest and "sit-in" in the history of Queen's University. Approximately one hundred women calling themselves "A Group of Women" staged a twenty-nine-hour sit-in in Principal David Smith's office. The women wore scarves across their faces and sunglasses to protect their identities, and demanded immediate action from the offices of the administration.

The Gordon House incident became a media disaster for Queen's University. Gidget Bardot (1993), a writer from a now discontinued Queen's underground magazine entitled *Surface* writes:

> The whole Gordon house incident was a public relations nightmare for the Queen's Administration. They were embarrassed, not because the signs were inherently wrong but because they received negative media coverage. Everyone knows negative image is not good for alumni and corporate funding. It seemed they were concerned with covering it up, not rectifying the problems, and this can be seen through their handling of the problem. Instead of acting quickly by prosecuting the perpetrators, administration dragged their feet. It took two and half years to come to some sort of resolution. Too little, too late, women were put in further danger by the inaction of the Queen's men. (p. 5)

Philip Goldman (1990) a professor from the Faculty of Law echoed those sentiments in an article in *The Kingston Whig-Standard* entitled "Queen's must deal with misogyny, not media". Goldman (1990) speaks to how Queen's University was preoccupied with damage control, and nit picking over validity of facts being reported on, rather than acknowledging and denouncing the incidents themselves. He writes:

> Surely, and in light of what we know about the grim realities of our world, Queen's should have said: 'we are not immune to misogyny and perhaps unthinkingly, do our part to perpetuate it.' Instead, Queen's University asked The Whig for an apology and has threatened further action…Queen's University is ill-served by flailing away at The Whig, and by finding scapegoats. It is a squalid exercise in damage control. (p.3)

This incident acted as a catalyst to force the administration of Queen's University to examine the university's political and social culture, and adopt a new approach to addressing social issues. It also opened the floodgates for other incidents of discrimination, such as racism to be brought to the forefront.

Racist Campus Advertising

Racism in campus advertising emerged in two highly publicized instances at Queen's University in 1988 and 1989. The first one was a poster advertisement by the campus bookstore.

It featured an exaggerated, primitive picture of a Black man taking a bite out of a book with the caption "Don't bite the book that feeds the mind" above the picture. Below the picture was the campus bookstore advertisement for a large sale. The posters were distributed all over campus (see Appendix, Figure B for a copy of the advertisement). Soon after, a group of concerned students wrote a letter to Principal Smith in the student newspaper, *The Queen's Journal* editorial section detailing the incident and asking the Principal to take action:

> We would like to bring to your attention a matter of grave concern to us. We refer to a poster used by the Campus bookstore to advertise its recent book sale. This poster features a picture of a black man attempting to bite a book. Clearly, the message conveyed is that people of African descent are ignorant, barbaric and primitive. We find this highly offensive and deeply disturbing. It is disturbing not only because it is blatantly racist, but also because it demonstrates that racism exists at the institutional level at this university. Consequently, we feel it would be a serious mistake to treat this matter lightly. It would also be wrong to dismiss it as an isolated incident which a simple rebuke will put to right, for as I am sure as you are aware, this is not the first time that concerns of this nature have been raised about advertising at Queen's". (Concerned Students [authors unknown], 1998)

Subsequently, the campus bookstore issued an apology to the university through a letter to the Principal and the Race Relations advisors on December 16, 1988. However, no one officially and publicly denounced this incident.

Another similar incident occurred in 1991, this time in the Department of English. The School of English published a newsletter on July 12 in which it included a "funny" cartoon comic strip entitled "Burger Queen's." The cartoon began with the caption "Somewhere in Africa" and depicted an African ('savage') man hunting down a White man, and practicing cannibilism. The comic was an extremely offensive text, and portrayed members of the African community in a very savage light. The Kingston Coalition Against Racism drafted a letter of complaint to Principal Smith outlining their disdain for the cartoon:

> The School of English newsletter (containing the racist cartoon) was circulated in the Kingston community and has been seen by many people. This has been very

> hurtful to members of the African and Black communities who reside in Kingston. Many children have also seen this cartoon and have taken it to be a "funny" cartoon…May we remind the Principal that it is 1991 and we as Canadians have worked hard to promote an environment of multiculturalism and tolerance. We hope Queen's University will abandon such archaic pedagogy and make a firm commitment to anti-racist education. (Kingston Coalition Against Racism, July 26, 1991)

An important question posed by one of the Race Relations advisors, who was also involved in bringing this to the attention of the Principal, was how this publication was sent out without someone identifying the potential problems. A month passed, and then in August of 1991 the administration was still unsure as to how to proceed with publicly addressing this incident.

Inequitable Hiring at Queen's

In November of 1989, the Queen's Law School held a conference to examine institutional racism. Hadley (1989) reported that Dr. Barry Batchelor, one of the few Black professors at Queen's University, was disappointed in the hiring inequities at Queen's University and the under-representation of visible minorities in faculty and staff:

> Racism is prevalent in the hiring practices at Queen's. The administration is a group of WASPish people that don't have time for minorities…I will be damn sure when I leave this place Queen's has a race relations policy in place. We must aggressively do something to get good quality [minority] people before legislation forces all universities to do it." "There are as far as I know, four black faculty at Queen's. It will soon be down to three…then two…The numbers have to increase at Queen's. We are doing it for women, why not for minorities? (p.8)

Dr. Barry Batchelor was also interviewed for another article in *The Kingston Whig-Standard* (November 20, 1989) entitled "Queen's top brass blamed for paucity of Blacks on staff". He reiterated the lack of Black faculty of Queen's:

> There are as far as I know, four Black faculty at Queen's. It will soon be down to three…then two…" He urged the university to hire more visible minority faculty: "The numbers have to increase at Queen's. We are doing it for women, why not for minorities? (p.6)

Overt Racism at Queen's

In August of 1990 a crude, anti-Muslim, hand-scribbled poster was posted in the New Technology building. The poster read "Muslims Go Home" (see Appendix, Figure C for poster). This poster was tacked in the centre of the foyer of the building, shortly after the Iraqi invasion of Kuwait and its neighbouring states was announced to the world (*The Journal*, September 14, 1990). *The Journal* newspaper reported the incident promptly in its September issue condemning the act: "Like these other incidents, this latest display of generalized racist thinking shows the dark underside of Canadian society…Now is the time for all levels of the university administration and student government to provide support for Muslims at our university" (p. 4).

In late August, a group of 23 Muslim and non-Muslim students from the Department of Engineering wrote a letter to their department heads, the International Centre, and Race Relations advisors asking for the Queen's administration to respond to the incident. Soon after, another letter was written to the Principal on September 24 by a Race Relations advisor pressing the Principal to respond to the incident especially since *The Queen's Journal* made the incident public. Finally, in October a formal statement by Principal Smith was delivered to the university denouncing the incident.

Another similar incident occurred in October of 1991 when the Jewish Student Society "Hillel" received an anti-Semitic letter from a Queen's Engineering Alumni member publicly revealing his identity in the letter. His letter was written on Queen's University stationery and expressed several anti-Semitic sentiments on the Jewish presence at Queen's. He referred to the excessive Jewish influence at Queen's and asserted that Jews have negatively impacted other universities such as McGill and the University of Toronto. He characterized Jews as noisy, bullish, confusing and greedy. Both members of Queen's Hillel and the Alma Mater Society (AMS) Racism and Ethnic Discrimination Committee wrote letters to the Principal outlining their

outrage of this incident and asked the Principal to prohibit the identified perpetrator from entering Queen's campus. Principal Smith responded to Queen's Hillel in November 1991 and decided that the perpetrator would no longer be welcome to use the facilities in the Engineering Departmental.

In Hogan's (1990) article entitled "Queen's must do more to fight racism on campus, student leaders say", he articulates that Queen's University is not doing enough to protect its students from racially motivated assaults. Reporting from the Kingston Coalition Against Racism open meeting, he asserts: "Just last Thursday, Queen's student Ali Rahnema found a note addressed to him in a campus mailbox reading 'if you and your commie paki faggot dyke nigger proabortion friends don't like it here, leave before something happens to you' (p.3). He further reported:

> Other incidents cited by the coalition include a racist message left of the telephone answering machine of Queen's student Atif Ghani in September by a fellow student living in the same campus residence. Immediately after he heard the racist message left on his answering machine, he approached the administration about the incident, but the response he received was limited, he said. (p. 3)

A Catalyst for Change: The Story of Madhu Bhalla

Perhaps known as the most prominent case of overt racism at Queen's University during this time occurred on November 29, 1988 to an East Indian, female history professor. Professor Madhu Bhalla received an anonymous envelope in her department mailbox. The envelope included an unsigned note that read: "Your students would appreciate it if you please washed more often. It might help if you would change your blue sweater. Thank you for your consideration." Also included in the envelope was a bar of soap. Horrified by the incident, Professor Bhalla promptly wrote a letter to Principal Smith on December 23, 1988, which was published in *The Kingston Whig- Standard* on January 11, 1989. She described her experiences at

the university, making it very clear that she planned to demand serious action to address this issue. She writes:

> As an Indian woman in Kingston these past seven years I thought I had encountered the full range of racist reaction…and yet this note, and the deep black hole that is the face of my faceless note writer threatens with a hatred I cannot understand…it allows me no hope of walking away from it…I am face to face with my faceless companion once again. With it, age, gender, place and immediate purpose are ever changing, but it is relentless in its pursuit. I have walked away from it at the street corner and the house where Indians and Chinese are not wanted. But I find it waiting for me in the one place I cannot allow it to take over. For here it speaks in the people I know. It undermines relationships that make my work possible, the value of the very ideas we discuss together in the classroom. But, more than anything else, it brings home the fact that there are no safe havens anywhere…I address this to the two groups who in different ways constitute the problem- the victims and the victimizers. The victim has two choices: either to come out of the woodwork or else dream dreams of white fathers. To the victimizer I serve notice she must no longer expect easy victories. This is not because I fancy myself as a latter-day Joan of Arc, but because the conditions of my life and work are constrained by your stupidities. And because, because I am, quite simply fed up. (Bhalla, 1989, p. 3)

What is of particular importance in this incidence of racism is the proactive and assertive manner in which Professor Bhalla brought her story into the media limelight. On January 13, 1989, *The Journal* featured Professor's Bhalla's story which elicited other student responses from the Queen's community who felt that Principal Smith did not recognize the extent of the bigotry problem on campus, but saw it only as a sporadic problem with only a few bigots on campus.

Professor Bhalla's disturbing story, made widely available to the public soon after the incident occurred, triggered alarm bells in the Canadian public, the Kingston community, the Queen's community, and most importantly the Queen's administration. Racism was emerging as a far too common occurrence at Queen's University. Furthermore, a lack of administrative action, process , or policy to address and prevent these types of incidents from occurring was missing from the university structure.

It is important to note the many more recent cases of racism continue to take place on Queen's campus. A few examples include: the white supremacist group The Heritage Front was active on campus in 1994 through the activities of an undergraduate student; in 2005 a Queen's undergraduate student dressed in Blackface as Miss Ethiopia at a Halloween party; in 2006, a banner near the Queen's Muslim Student Associatin (QUMSA) was set on fire; in November 2007, a racialized female faculty member was forced off a sidewalk on campus after being harassed by Queen's students, in 2008, the The Arts and Science Undergraduate Society (ASUS) president made an Islamophobic comment on a friend's Facebook page and refused to apologize for his comments.

Confronting Racism in the Academy: The Creation of 1989 Principal's Advisory's Committee on Race Relations

After the enormous pressure placed on the Principal to take action on the acts of racism that had been surrounding the Queen's community, in January 1989, Principal David Smith of Queen's University announced that he would be establishing a Principal's Advisory Committee on Race Relations. In his formal announcement in the faculty newspaper, he outlined the committee would make recommendations on all aspects of race relations on campus. Committee members were appointed by the Principal, and consisted of 14 members— both student and faculty and external members of the Queen's community. The terms of reference established for the committee were as follows:

1. To survey the steps taken at other Canadian universities, to review the situation of minority groups in the university , and to promote good race relations; and from this survey to identify policies and suggestions which might be applicable to Queen's.

2. To consult broadly within the university and the Kingston community concerning the present state of race relations at Queen's and to recommend educative and other measures which will tend to promote harmonious race relations in the university
3. To review support services available in the university to Canadian and international students who are members of visible minority groups and to make recommendations.
4. To recommend long term institutional means of giving advice to the university on race relation issues, including, if appropriate, the establishment of a Principal's Advisory's Committee on Race Relations and to recommend terms of reference.

On March 28, the committee held their first meeting and a work plan was developed to organize the tasks and develop a timeline for achieving the committee's goals. There was, however, criticism levelled at the various systemic processes in which the committee operated. These included: the decision by the Principal to appoint a White male as chairperson for the committee which was opposed by many members of the Queen's community; the rationale behind choosing specific members to sit on the committee (i.e. we must have an East Indian person, even though they are not diversity or anti-racism experts); and finally the "closed" process of the committee's operations (Anderson, 2005). After a year of working, the committee began to amend some changes to the formal bureaucratic structure of the committee and opened the meetings to student activist groups, and organized a series of working sessions to bring Queen's and Kingston community members together to discuss recommendations for the final report.

Despite the various obstacles, the committee worked tirelessly for two years in preparing an interim draft, and a final report on improving the context of race relations at Queen's University. The final report was completed on February 28, 1991.

The final report entitled *Towards Diversity and Equity at Queen's: A Strategy for Change* included a set of over 114 recommendations under the following headings: Recruitment and Admission of Students, Hiring and Appointments, Curriculum and Library, University Climate. Under each heading, specific faculty and administrative offices (i.e. the registrar, department heads and Deans, the Senate, student awards) were held accountable to oversee and implement the designated goals. The final section of the report consisted of implementation objectives and principals to guide the implementation process and suggested the creation of a Race Relations Council and Race Relations Centre with a director to oversee the implementation of the report's recommendations. The committee held the Principal of the university responsible to ensure the designated offices followed the committee's recommendations, and that a Race Relations Centre be created to monitor the report.

Remembering Racism: Conclusion

What do these histories of Queen's University reveal? What do they tell us? What do they tell us about how racism re-emerged and flourished in the 1980s? These histories raise critical questions and shed light on how social relations and practices of power are put together at Queen's University. Since its earliest beginnings, the traditions and cultures of Euro-centric superiority at Queen's have been passed down from one generation to another, but always with the best intentions of maintaining academic excellence and reputation. Many of its policies and practices have been deeply committed to the maintenance of racial, ethnic, and gender barriers. Minority professors have been highly under-represented in almost all disciplines and particularly in administrative positions. Various forms of racism continually surfaced in many chapters of the book of Queen's, sometimes overt and ugly, other times disguised and unintended. The histories also revealed a trend on the part of the administration — a denial that racism is a serious problem that warrants serious attention and action. The unsettling relations of racism at Queen's

University characterize a long and continuous struggle and tension with inequality. These histories provide the context in which we are able to recognize how and why racism emerged so strongly in the 1980s, and how the 1991 PAC Race Relations was created.

In locating and examining the historical origins, practices, and tacit culture of racial discrimination at Queen's University, we are (re)telling *dangerous histories*. I use the term dangerous histories in the same capacity Sharon Welch (1985) initially used the term dangerous memories to describe the subordination of women:

> Dangerous memory…is not only a memory of conflict and exclusion as in Foucault's genealogies. It is also a memory of hope, a memory of freedom and resistance…In order for there to be resistance and affirmation that is implied in the presentation of the memory of suffering, there must be an experience that includes some degree of liberation from the devaluation of human life by the dominant apparatus of power/knowledge. (p. 39)

In remembering these dangerous histories, the conditions are created where one can begin to deconstruct how the organizational origins and culture of Queen's University may have contributed and sustained systemic and institutional racism, and by understanding this, we can hopefully move toward change. As Magda Lewis (1993) similarly asserts, the telling of these dangerous [histories] serve powerful purposes.

> They are the basis of our collective consciousness of resistance, subversion, and political action… and are pedagogically powerful because of the possibilities such memories afford for learning and action for change… To be politically effective, our [dangerous histories] require that we hold the past in the present. (p. 9)

In revisiting histories of racism at Queen's University, particular trends are revealed. The Trends include: elitist, meritocratic leadership styles; conservative belief systems; strong ties to the Presbyterian Church and Christian religious beliefs; male dominated administrative structures; patriarchal cultural traditions; exclusionary practice and policies; conservative stances on political/ social issues; an intolerance for diversity or difference; delayed action in response to

reported racist incidents; resistance to strategies of change; and a lack of strong governing equity policy and grievance process.

Within the everyday practices, policies, and ideological constructs at Queen's University, ideas about race and racism have been produced, preserved, promoted, and perpetuated. The racist ideologies of Queen's University emerged throughout its history—assuming different shapes and articulated in ways that are not particular to Queen's but are, nonetheless, rendered in way peculiar to the institution. As Henry, et al., (1999) note, "Racist ideology creates and preserves a system of dominance based on race and is communicated and reproduced through agencies of socialization and cultural transmission, such as schools and universities" (p. 17).

The historical and contemporary examples of racism at Queen's University cited in this chapter demonstrate the highly complex nature of racism and the diverse forms it takes (Henry, et al., 1999). These examples of racism illustrate the cultural and ideological racism embedded in the tacit networks, beliefs, and values of Queen's University— justifying discriminatory practices. The histories of Queen's European origins and religious and cultural practices, the university's exclusionary policies and practices toward various religious and visible minorities, and the lack of tolerance or acceptance for diversity of difference- make it impossible to fathom that racism could ever be completely eliminated at this institution. Himani Bannerji (1995) speaks to the colonial and historical origins of racism in European societies:

> The fact of the matter is that it is almost impossible for European societies as they are to eliminate racism in a thorough going way. Racism is not simply a set of attitudes and practices that they level toward us, their socially constructed 'other', but it is the very principal of self-definition of European/ Western societies. It could be said that what is otherwise known as European civilization— as manifested in the realm of arts and ideas in daily life— is a sublimated, formalized, or simply a practiced version of racism…Europe or America created (and continued to create myths) of imperialism, of barbarism/savagery, a general inferiority of the conquered, enslaved and colonized peoples and also created myths of exoticism at the same instant as it defined itself also as an 'other' of these. (p. 47)

The resistance of the university to respond to racist incidents and implement anti-racist or employment equity policies reflects an array of tension and conflict between racialized minorities and White educators and administrators. As Henry, et al. (1999) assert: "The confluence of individual attitudes and cultural ideologies in institutional contexts results in innumerable examples of both intended and unintended racism" (p. 62).

Chapter 6: Abandoning Equity Policy: Retrospective Interviews

"Understanding things makes it possible to change them. Coming to see things differently, we are able to make out possibilities for liberating collective as well as for unprecedented personal growth." (Bartkey, as cited in Lewis, 1993 p. 18)

This chapter analysizes the findings that emerged from interviews conducted with five members of the Queen's University 1989 Principal's Advisory Committee on Race Relations. I was fortunate to have the opportunity to conduct these interviews as many of the original members of the Committee had either retired or were out of the country, or otherwise unavailable for an interview. I was equally grateful for the depth and range of expertise that each of the individuals I interviewed brought to the interviews. As original members of the Committee, each person I interviewed had been directly involved in the development of the Report from the time of its inception through to its publication. Furthermore, several of these members were involved in anti-racist work prior to their membership in the PAC and were strongly interested and directly involved in issues related to anti-oppression and social justice. Given the first-hand experience that each of the members had with the Report, the stories and reflections of these interviewees offer unique insights into the climate of racism at Queen's at the time. To ensure the identities of the interviewees remained anonymous and the information they provided confidential, pseudonyms were applied to each committee member. The following names are the pseudonyms

used in this chapter: Peter, Raj, Lucy, Gloria, and Rita. Each interviewee was assigned a number for coding purposes.

These members shared their reflections on the 1991 PAC Report and what they remember about the emergence, resistance to, and implementation of the policy Report. The interviews provided the opportunity for these individuals to reflect upon the following points: How the *1991 Race Relations Report* affected the Queen's community, what the Committee members remember about its emergence and the obstacles and resistance they encountered in undertaking the production of such a report at Queen's University.

The interview analysis will be presented and discussed in the four following questions/subsections:

1) How did the Report emerge?

2) What happened with the *1991 PAC Race Relations Reports*?

3) What did the Report accomplish?

4) What were the obstacles and resistance that arose in attempts to implement the Report?

It is interesting to note that all of the interviewed members of the 1989 Principal's Advisory Committee on Race Relations expressed the feeling that the recommendations included in the final Report had not been implemented by the university administration. More importantly, they expressed concern that at the time of the interviews (in June 2005) there had not been a review of what parts of the 1991 Report may have been implemented.

The Creation of the 1989 Principal's Advisory Committee and Final Report

In discussing the emergence of the 1989 Principal's Advisory Committee on Race Relations, all interviewed members indicated that there were numerous examples of direct and hostile cases of racism and sexism occurring on campus. The extreme cases of discrimination acted as the catalyst for the creation of the Committee. As one committee member, Rita, states:

> My understanding was there was quite a lot of concern and anxiety on campus about the ways in which student and faculty in particular were being treated, and their place in the institution as racialized people. I think…well there were so just so many factors that converged into people's overall concern about racism in Canada, but then there were things that happened that were very particular to Queen's. There were a number of incidents, as I understand it that had to do with very direct and blatant racism and people subject to the most direct forms of racism you can imagine. Like for instance, name calling, threats, hostility in and out of the classroom. I can recall a South Asian professor being targeted by her students. Also, racialized students experienced the same kind of treatment… who were becoming more public about the types of things that were happening to them. So I think people were…there was a sense of alienation that was spilling everywhere. People were vocally and publicly beginning to question the myth of multiculturalism and the kinds of discrimination people were facing on a daily basis. (R, interview # 3, p. 1)

Peter discusses how serious acts of sexism occurring on campus at the time influenced the backlash toward racist acts and policies that many Queen's members were experiencing:

> Prior to the committee being struck, there was agitation around issues of sexism. With a good deal of sit ins of the Principal's office. And issues of racism, lack of representativeness, and lack of curriculum change were beginning to surface…mainly by undergraduate students. I think that was the driving force. There was another inciting incident that happened and that was an advertisement that was in *The Journal* by the Queen's Bookstore. It was a stereotypical cartoon of an African with a big mouth and flashing teeth, eating a book! And, it was so outrageously inappropriate, I can't remember the caption exactly, but it was something like 'Eat knowledge instead of people' just something terrible. It was a paid advertisement in *The Journal* by the Queen's Bookstore. It was in the late 80s. I think I, we, may have skipped over too much the agitation against sexism that was also happening. That got a lot of people organized, active, ready to change. The slogan was 'No means No.' And then the male dormitories at the time put slogans that said 'No means more beer', 'No means kick her in the face.' There was a carryover from that kind of concern into racism at Queen's. It was almost a natural progression…from sexim to racism… have to change. (P, interview #1, p. 2)

Lucy, expressed similar thoughts in regard to how and why the 1991 PAC Race Relations Committee was commissioned by the Principal:

> There were events that took place in the community and on campus that brought racism into sharp focus. Unavoidable, you know, people could not pretend it was not happening. And there were individuals on the campus who were prepared to make their experiences very public. And that was unusual, 'cause very often of course, when people are discriminated against, the last thing they want to do is

> risk some public scrutiny around that. But, in this case, there were a couple of people to put themselves out there. So there was a climate on campus… (L, interview #5, p. 1)

Consequently, the persistence of racism and discrimination at the university gave rise to the creation of the 1989 PAC on Race Relations. Peter discussed the role that community uprising and crisis played in confronting racism in the academy:

> In fact, to jump way ahead, though I can't remember if it's in the Report or not… but three or four years after the Report appeared, I gave workshops to universities in Canada, some in Quebec, some in Canada, in which I proposed that that there are three components to motivate change. One, you need a bunch of people who are angry as hell about a situation and are willing to agitate strongly for change. And that's what was beginning to appear at Queen's. Secondly, you need morally and ethically, clear leadership from the top. You need to hear people say- "Racism will not be tolerated. And I intend to change this university climate so that it has no more place." Thirdly, you need to have all those in place, those bureaucratic structures, what constitutes knowledge, what gets taught, who gets hired, which students are we recruiting, which students are from which backgrounds, what is allowed as equivalent credit etc. All of those Bureaucratic rules and structures need to change. But to me the key is the agitation and turmoil and raising hell from below. That was happening at Queen's. (P, interview #1, p. 3)

The committee members all asserted that collective organization, community uprising, and individuals publicly revealing their experiences with racism directly contributed to the creation of 1989 PAC on Race Relations. Marginalized groups were coming forward with their racist experiences at the university and making them public to the media. Student organizations and faculty members were speaking out to challenge traditional norms, and most importantly, racialized groups were angry and demanding change.

In their study entitled "Making Visible The Invisible: The Experience of Faculty of Colour and Aboriginal Faculty in Canadian Universities," Luther, Whitmore, and Moreau (2003) highlight the importance of a critical mass as a means to challenging racism and inequity within the academy:

> Critical mass, which means having sufficient numbers of a group reflected in an institution, is both a means to equity and an end itself. In tangible terms, critical mass can encompass both the presence of significant numbers of general supporters of members of equity target groups, such as Aboriginal individuals and people of colour…Within the academy, there is a crucial reliance on internal allies to provide mass support in the move toward race equity. Such allies can include supportive individuals found among feminist faculty members, university equity and human rights officers, 'progressive' scholars and administrators and student groups and organizations. (p. 25)

According to Luther et al. the need for this type of critical mass is one of the primary goals of achieving equity. Without such a critical mass, the potential to significantly alter or transform the inequities of the academy, and its day-to-day thinking and functioning, remains elusive at best. In the Queen's University setting, a critical mass of anti-racist faculty, students, and community members was quickly forming in the late 1980s, and this group's protest and agitation that provoked the institution to take action.

Racism and Rage: A Catalyst for Social Change

In speaking about the emergence of the 1989 PAC on Race Relations, interviewees discussed the agitation and anger that was brewing on campus. They explained that marginalized members of the Queen's community were openly expressing their anger and resistance to the racist incidents that were occurring on campus. This uprising and rage of key community groups played a key role in the university's response to take action. How might one understand "rage" to be a necessary, constructive element in motivating social change and engaging in anti-racist praxis? First, what is "rage"? According to the Merriam-Webster online dictionary (2008), rage refers to "violent and uncontrolled anger;" "an intense feeling;" "a violent action."

Many critical anti-racist researchers have explored the uses and importance of rage as a tool of empowerment in anti-racist and anti-hegemonic social change. In her book *Killing Rage: Ending Racism*, bell hooks (1996) illustrates the link between rage and a strong passion for justice. hooks' (1996) book begins with a particular racial incident that left her in a state of

"killing rage" and powerlessness. She describes a sequence of racialized events she experienced involving a White man sitting next to her on an airplane who became overtly rude and racist. She explains that her anger was triggered by a ticket/boarding pass error involving her Black and female friend. In this incident, hooks' friend and travelling companion has been called to the front of the plane and publicly attacked by White female stewardesses who accuse her of trying to occupy a seat in first class that is not assigned to her. Although her friend was assigned to the seat, she was not given the appropriate boarding pass. hooks explains: "When she tries to explain they ignore her. They keep explaining to her in loud voices as though she is a child, as though she is a foreigner who does not speak airline English, that she must take another seat." (p.18). hooks sees this dispute as symbolic of the role of racism and sexism in American society.

In an interview, hooks explains:

> It was as if all the pain of racism and white supremacy had just descended on me in that moment. And I was struck by just how rage can also empower you. I began to write the lead essay in the book. And one of the things I keep saying in the book is that rage is healthy. None of us imagine that we can have a love relationship where we're never angry. The question becomes: what do you do with your anger? How do you utilize it? (hooks, 1996, p. 17)

hooks emphasizes that colonization and other hegemonic processes all contribute to teachings that encourage racialized people to repress their rage and anger about issues concerning racism and injustice. hooks (1996) frequently referred to the philosophies of civil rights activist Malcolm X, and expressed that contemporary reassessments of Malcolm X's political career tend to deflect away from his "killing rage." She remarks,

> Malcolm X's passionate ethical commitment to justice served as a catalyst for his rage. That rage was not altered by shifts in his thinking about white folks, racial integration etc. It is the clear defiant articulation of rage that continues to set Malcolm X apart from contemporary black thinkers and leaders who feel "rage" has no place in anti- racist struggle. (p. 13)

hooks expresses that it is "rage" for social justice justice that clearly pushes toward greater and greater awareness and change in society. hooks (1996) fervently expresses rage as a necessary and powerful catalyst to develop critical consciousness and come to full decolonized self-awareness In confronting her rage, she slowly began to realize she was undergoing a process of radical politicization and self-recovery. The process and act of writing her book *Killing Rage: Ending Racism* is an example of how she used her rage to empower:

> Then and now I understand rage to be a necessary aspect of resistance and struggle. Rage can act as a catalyst inspiring courageous action. By demanding that black people repress and annihilate our rage to assimilate, to reap benefits of material privilege in white supremacist capitalist patriarchal culture, white folks urge us to remain complicit with their efforts to colonize, oppress, and exploit. (p. 16)

Thus, in her reflections and analysis of the concept of rage, hooks highlights the magnitude of using rage to engage in, and launch individual or organized collective resistance in various types of oppression. Here rage is imagined and used as an act of courage…of justice. In her essay "The uses of anger: women responding to racism" feminist writer Audre Lorde (1984) warns against being fearful or dismissive of allowing racialized individuals to express their anger toward incidences of racism. She writes:

> My response to racism is anger. I have lived with that anger, ignoring it, feeding upon it, learning to use it before it laid my visions to waste, for most of my life. Once I did it in silence, afraid of the weight. My fear of anger taught me nothing. You fear of that anger will teach you nothing also. Women responding to racism means women responding to anger; the anger of exclusion, of unquestioned privilege, of racial distortions, of silence, ill-use, stereotyping, defensiveness, misnaming, betrayal, and co-optation. (p 124)

She also states that "anger is loaded with information and energy" (p 131). In many respects, the rage and anger that bell hooks (1995) and Audre Lorde (1984) speak about as being a critical component in achieving anti-racist social change can be directly applied to the circumstances that were occurring at Queen's University in the late 1980s. The blatant incidents

of racism, such as the note that Professor Madhu Bhalla received in her mailbox as mentioned in the previous chapter, the racist propaganda and advertisements being used by the campus bookstore, and the critical mass that was challenging the administration, all played a significant role in why and how the 1989 PAC on Race Relations was formed.

Reactive Response to Racism: Struggles and Conflict

Some of the respondents talked about the way in which the Committee was mandated. In particular, the way in which the Committee was mandated was viewed as a reactionary measure to address the problem of racism on campus. Raj commented on the reactive rather than proactive response of the University to remedy the troubling incidents of racism occurring on campus:

> Many of these incidents were made public and the University seemed forced to act upon these issues. But there was also the discrimination against women incident…the Gordon House incident, a lot of things were happening at Queen's at the same time. So David Smith [the Principal of the University] was being hammered from different equity directions to take action…not just on one front. (R, interview # 2, p. 3)

Lucy commented on the University's fears of public scrutiny and "bad press" in their efforts to address racism on campus:

> But the University was afraid in 1991, really they were…the reputation of Queen's was at stake. They had something to lose by not buying into this, the Report, and addressing this issue somehow. (L, interview # 5, p. 8)

Rita discussed the factors of fear and panic that must strike a university before it begins to take equity issues seriously:

> Unless (equity) is clearly and poignantly placed on the agenda by the upper administration as a foremost goal, it will always be lost to other considerations-unless there is a crisis and then people panic. We needed to have six visible minority faculty leave the university and make a stink about their experiences before anyone paid any attention to it. So, yea, it's not preventative. I think that's probably typical of institutional culture. Institutions sort of lurch from one crisis to another with fear being an underlying motivator that is going to make national media or whatever. (R, interview #3, p. 7)

What does it mean when a university institution is forced into responding toward racist incidents on campus? How might reactive reactions on behalf of university administrators contribute to magnifying racial tensions rather than dampen hostilities? According to Critical Race and Anti-Racism frameworks, equity policies emerging in educational settings have historically been characterized as reactionary, not proactive or preventative. David Gillborn (2005) speaks to how policies regarding race/ inequity have a trend of being mandated only when the public (particularly marginalized individuals) push for it:

> Policy makers (and many educationalists) tend to imagine education policy as evolving over time, sometimes with dramatic changes in focus, but always (as policy makers assure us) with the best of intentions for all. This sanitized (white washed) version of history envisions policy as rational processes of change, with each step building incrementally on its predecessor in a more or less linear and evolutionary fashion. But such an approach is contrary to the reality of race and politics in England, where virtually every major public policy meant to improve race equity has arisen directly from resistance and protest by Black and other minoritized communities. (p. 486)

Indeed, this example can be applied to the circumstances at Queen's University in which the university administration finally decided to take action toward racism on campus. Gillborn (2005) stresses that there is a pressing need to view educational policies, including equity policies through a lens, which recognizes the existing structural and historical relations of domination.

Anti-racist theorists Fleras and Elliot (1996) express that racism in the "ivory towers" has elicited institutional responses ranging from denial, to bandwagon, to acceptance. Responses and remedies to combating racism are not so much about what happens, but more with what doesn't happen: "To date, many anti-racist concessions are seen as devices for calming 'troublesome constituents' through conflict management or damage control. Nor can we be sure that solutions will fall into place…" (p. 382). Fleras and Elliot identify two types of institutional responses that universities carry out to improve equity relations on campus: reactive strategies and proactive strategies.

Reactive institutional responses concentrate on crisis management through damage control and conflict resolution. Rules, procedures, and resources are put in place to deal with racist incidents as expeditiously as possible for the preservation of peace and order on campus (Fleras & Elliot, 1996). In this type of response, resource persons are appointed to provide advisory and consultative service for the marginalized members in need, to develop policy, and to deter future racist incidents. However, the effectiveness of reactionary response measures is debated by many anti-racist theorists (Henry et al., 1995; Kobayashi, 2002; Dei, 2004; Fleras & Elliot, 1996). Reactionary responses lean toward moderate reform such as additional courses or sensitivity training, the establishment of committees or offices to examine the severity of the issue, to "punish" would be offenders. Nevertheless, many anti-racist theorists critique the nature of reactionary responses as not clearly articulating or adopting an anti-racist stance. This includes the inability of these responses to disrupt "institutional structures, curriculum content, academic freedom, standards of merit, and hierarchies that shore up entrenched interests" (Fleras & Elliot, 1996, p. 256). In addition, reactionary responses usually do not recognize the routine privileging of White interests, and the patterning of racial advantage and inequity that is structured in domination on the part of White power holders in university institutions (Gillborn, 2005).

Carol Tator (2005) expresses the importance of adopting a clear anti-racist stance in the vision statement of an anti-racist policy:

> The need for a clear, concrete and comprehensive vision statement and policy is critical to the success of any anti-racism policy. A vision statement sets out the organization's goal and binds it and its members to work toward achieving that goal. However, very few organizations or institutions have explicitly incorporated anti-racism or racial equity in their vision statements or their policies. When an organization consciously omits anti-racism from its agenda, it is a sign of a reactive strategy. (p. 3)

In a similar fashion, the administration at Queen's University mandated the PAC on Race Relations at Queen's University following significant public campaigning and social upheaval by

racialized members of the Queen's community. Reactionary responses to racial inequity typically fail to recognize the very real struggles and tensions that lie at the heart of the processes through which policy and practice are mandated and shaped (Gillborn, 2005). Critical race scholarship calls into question many of the reassuring myths that self-proclaimed democratic institutions tell about themselves in examples such as equity policy development. It examines who and what equity policy is for, and who wins and who loses as a result of the policy priorities and intentions. How might a reactive policy response to racial inequity play an active role in affirming the types of racist structures and inequities it seeks to remedy? The reactionary response of the Queen's administration to establish a committee on Race Relations calls into question how willing and committed the University was, and universities are in general, in establishing racial equality on campus.

What Happened to the 1991 PAC Final Report on Race Relations?

After discussing with the interviewees the conditions under which the 1989 PAC on Race Relations emerged, I then turned the discussion toward the question of what exactly happened with the anti-racist policy report produced by the advisory committee. Perhaps, at this time, it might be helpful to reiterate a few facts on the purpose of the Committee. The Committee was originally mandated by the then Principal, David Smith. The Committee members were selected by the Principal to examine the problem of racism on campus and were expected to provide recommendations on how the University could move forward toward creating an anti-racist university. All of the Committee members indicated that from their understanding, the implementation of the Report would be the responsibility of the University administration under the leadership of the Principal since the Committee was originally mandated by the Principal's Office. After the Committee completed their research, workshops, public inquiries and consultations, community outreach etc. over a period of two years, they created and produced

their final report. The report was entitled *Towards Diversity and Equity at Queens: A Strategy for Change*. This report was in essence, a call to action for the University to implement specific anti-racist institutional policy recommendations deemed important by the Committee. The recommendations were grouped into five main sections: 1) Recruitment and Admission of Students, 2) Hiring/ Appointment, Promotion and Tenure, 3) Curriculum and Library, 4) University Climate, 5) Implementation and Complaints Procedure. Each section clearly identified objectives and recommendations to groups/parties on campus that the Committee deemed responsible in implementing these recommendations. The monitoring and implementation of these recommendations would be overseen by the Principal. In the introductory section of the final report, the Committee indicated how they imagined the Report's recommendations would be achieved:

> In this report we identify objectives, and make recommendations and indicate to whom we believe the recommendations should be conveyed by the Principal for appropriate action. This structure, we believe, allows for the building of consensus in the University around the objectives. (Final Report of the Principal's Advisory's Committee on Race Relations, 1991, p. 1)

At the end of the Report, the Committee included a section entitled "Implementation." In this section, they proposed the establishment of a Race Relations Centre to oversee and ensure that the recommendations contained in the report were implemented and that the changes would be monitored. The centre would be appointed with a Race Relations Director and Officer who would assist in the development of policy and procedures for dealing with racism on campus (p. 12). The establishment of this centre was deemed the responsibility of the Principal.

As Peter recollects:

> We imagined the recommendations that were directed in each category…to each group. Like a couple of students who had been on committees earlier, had said if you just make recommendations and not direct it to a particular individual for their attention and response for action- then nothing gets done. So, we expected each person from the category group where the recommendations were directed would

> report back to the Principal. And there were some reports done…then the implementation would be the responsibility of the university administration. (P, interview #1, p. 8)

The Committee members imagined the Principal would oversee the Report's recommendations, and the recommendations would slowly, category by category, become addressed. However, this did not happen. All of the respondents specified that after they submitted their policy report to the Principal to be implemented, little action occurred with regard to implementing the majority of the Report's recommendations.

The Report Became Buried or "Shelved"

A common sentiment among the interviewees as to what they perceive happened with the final report's recommendations was that the Report became buried and shelved in bureaucratic structures and ultimately was simply forgotten. The Committee members identified a number of factors, which may have contributed to how and why the document got buried. These included: administrative turnover; public backlash toward the Report; lack of clear leadership in monitoring the implementation of the Report; the worry that "race" was trumping other designated groups on campus; and the idiosyncrasies of bureaucratic structures in universities.

Rita recalls the bureaucracy, politics, and resistance involved in the University resisting the Report's recommendations:

> I simply, naively thought it would just be done. That the people who were bracketed in the report, the people who were named as those taking responsibility would simply do so. But of course, there is politics and bureaucracy involved in that sort of thing as well, and I know that there were departments who did respond to the PAC Report and those who did not respond in a particularly positive way. I may be missing some of the history here myself, but it seems to me that there were gaps in what would logically need to happen to get something implemented, and it would start from the very top levels, and an acceptance of all of the 144 recommendations if that's what they agreed to, than to put together a strategic plan to deal with it. I don't even know if we got to first base, which was an agreement that these recommendations need to be implemented and so be it, they

> will be. This may be why, very simply, why these things didn't get done. (R, interview #3, p. 2)

Gloria described the lack of leadership role in monitoring the Report:

> I wouldn't say that anyone in sort of a leadership position has taken the lead in actually monitoring or looking at the Report's recommendations and not letting the report sit on the shelf and then say… to the Human Right's Office, we'd like your opinion on how we could move forward on x or y. (G, interview #4, p. 1)

Raj and Peter's comments focused on similar themes:

> I think we identified who was responsible for each area, and it was really to the Principal, as far as I can remember, who was suppose to put the pressure on or give directions to each area. I know the registrar at that time, she was genuinely interested in doing something. She came to all the workshops, she did not just sit there, she was genuinely interested in doing things in her office so that some of the things we were proposing were implemented. Now what she did, I don't know…But I think the report was left to the Principal and the Senate to follow through. I would say that there was not anything concrete that was done by the administration…directed to the departments and so on…other than making everybody aware of the Report. I remember there wasn't any major direction coming from anybody. (R1, interview #2, p. 8)

> It got buried. Each of the recommendations were directed to specific target groups on campus and then he (Principal Smith) then sent them (the targeted groups) asking them for a response. But it got buried in paperwork. (P, interview #1, p. 7)

The interviewees indicated that few, if any, of the recommendations of the final report produced by the 1989 PAC on Race Relations were implemented by the University. It is interesting to note that many participants commented on the administration's role in not monitoring the potential implementation of the final report and how significantly that affected the final outcome of the Report.

Creating the Queen's Human's Right Office: Competing Marginalities

After one year of no action of the part of Queen's administration in establishing a Race Relations Centre, in the spring of 1992, the Principal funded the creation of a Human Rights Office with a full time director. This decision was based on opposition from the Queen's community on focussing a centre only on racial issues, and encouraged the administration to

establish an office mandate of which would be to address all human rights issues on campus. In his statement to the Senate on May 28, 1992, Principal Smith asserted:

> At this juncture, the approach which might be most helpful is move beyond further debate on the details of the Race Relations Report and to think instead of the steps needed to build consensus and to develop further our programme of education and harassment prevention on all of the human rights concerns. (Senate Meeting Minutes, May 28, 1992, p. 2)

The decision to create a Human Rights Office to address issues of racism on campus was met with much hostility and resistance from many student groups and faculty members, including the 1989 PAC members but of course for a variety of different reasons. Many of the original members of the PAC committee were in opposition to establishing a Human Rights office, as they imagined that the critical issues of racial inequality that were surrounding the university would get pushed to the back burner.

Gloria commented on how the creation of the Queen's Humans Rights Office detracted attention from actually focussing on the racial inequities occurring on campus:

> I think that one of the things that happened was that once the Human Rights office was in place, so now you have a unit that's called 'human rights' or if we were a 'race relations office'… surely they'll take care of it. And actually some of the people who were involved with the *1991 PAC Report* had said…they had a very good point, that putting an office like this in place in response to the Race Relations Report, that the administration was washing its hands of the rest of it. It would wash its hands of needing to do things. I think to a certain extent that did happen. (G, interview #4, p. 8)

Peter noted the way in which the Principal came to the decision to mandate a Human Rights office instead of a Race Relations Centre:

> The Principal…I'm sure he took advice. You know the expression the "wise men"? Well, I don't doubt that there is small group of people advising the principal on how to proceed on this. I don't know who they are…I know there is a small group of informal people advising the Principal…I'm sure he consulted with them. Instead of addressing the issue in specific and concrete ways…that's where the idea of the Human Rights Office came from. The Human Rights Office was not our idea. The idea to roll all these problems into one barrel came as part of the

> Principal's response, and I'm sure it came from him consulting the 'wise men'. (P, interview, #1, p. 7)

Raj echoed the views of his colleagues and talked about the possible motives behind mandating a human rights office:

> The only thing that strikingly came out was this Human Rights Office. And the Principal delayed the formation of that office. My impression is that he was worried that we had to look after all of the designated groups and not just visible minorities. It was a very long process…we were all wondering when he was going to do anything about it. (R1, interview #2, p. 7)

Rita focused on the institutional resistance in specifically isolating discussions around anti-racism:

> Anti-racism is the one that people in my opinion have the greatest difficulty understanding and getting their heads around on how to deal with it. They have a much easier time understanding gender issues. I think there is a tendency to think these things will just happen…or somebody else will take care of it…. People become very uncomfortable thinking about what actually needs to happen, what needs to be done. The trend is when people begin to get close to what makes them feel uncomfortable about racism…then we bring in diversity. It's like we can't talk about race and racism anymore. Surely, without bringing in sexuality…of course we need to talk about sexuality, and it certainly wouldn't be fair to not bring in disability or gender discrimination. We can't simply talk about racism issues. (R, interview #3, p. 6)

The decision to mandate a Human Rights Office instead of a Race Relations Centre as a response to implementing the recommendations of the 1991 PAC Report revealed the tensions and lack of solidarity within the equity movement at Queen's University. Despite the fact that racism was still present in the culture of the University, anti-racist responses to dealing with racism continue to have a low priority in terms of the public agenda of the institution (Henry, 2004). As some of the respondents articulated in the above paragraphs, race is an unsettling issue for many Euro-Americans (Dei, 1999). Dei asserts that educators, parents, policy makers, etc. often shy away from discussing race or engaging in anti-racist practices for the fear of offending individuals or in a concealed attempt to deny race privilege.

How might the act of creating a Human Rights Office instead of a Race Relations Office have operated as another attempt to deny racism at Queen's University? The respondents in this study viewed this administrative decision as a backlash to the efforts of the Committee members in proposing an anti-racist methodology in dealing with racial tensions on campus. According to Henry (2004), the backlash to anti-racist efforts to alter or challenge power relations and/or institutional Whiteness and maleness is manifested in the discourse of "equal opportunity." The discourse of equal opportunity suggests that if everyone is treated the same then fairness will be ensured. This notion is based on the premise that all individuals are inherently equal and access to resources occurs on a level playing field. The myth that everyone begins from the same starting point is reflective of an ideology that rejects the need to dismantle White institutional and educational spaces. Addressing equity issues from an equal opportunity perspective represents a passive approach to anti-racism and does not dismantle the White institutional power entrenched in many institutions, and demands no form of proactive anti-racist policies or procedures (Henry, 2004).

According to the interviewees, although the university created the Human Rights Office as a response to addressing racism on campus, most of the recommendations of the 1991 PAC Report on Race Relations were left unimplemented, and the Report buried.

Resistance Toward Implementing the Report

This section of the interview analysis focused on the question: What institutional barriers or resistance might have impeded the full implementation of the 1991 Anti-Racist Policy Report? During the interviews, overlapping themes emerged among all Committee members. The emerging themes were then grouped into four main barriers or forms or resistance to implementing the report:

a) Lack of administrative accountability and leadership.

b) Paralysis by analysis.

c) Public backlash by the Queen's community.

d) Climate of Whiteness at Queen's University and the City of Kingston.

In what follows, I present and critically reflect upon the discursive meanings and tensions embedded in the four identified obstacles. I am interested in unpacking the purposes, goals, and processes by which a university might resist implementing an anti-racist policy report.

Lack of administrative accountability and leadership

The lack of leadership monitoring and accountability of the report.The first obstacle identified by members of the Committee in implementing the Report was the lack of leadership for accountability by the top administrators to ensure the Report's anti-racist objectives and recommendations were implemented. All participants identified a lack of effort on the part of the University's key administers (registrar, student affairs office, the Principal, and so on) to fully monitor the recommendations of the Report.

Peter noted that once the Committee completed their final report, it was left to the Principal to facilitate change:

> We imagined that the recommendations that were directed in each category to a group... So, we expected each person from the category group where the recommendations were directed would report back to the Principal. Then the implementation would be the responsibility of the university administration. (P, interview #1, p. 8)

Raj commented on the lack of direction or leadership in deciding how to move forward on the implementing the Report's recommendations:

> I think the University administration should really have had someone dedicated to the problem- otherwise it doesn't work. Unless they have a dedicated position for the next one year or six months to look at this…exactly what needs to be done…how it needs to be done. Not what is already stated, but how it should be done. So that the registrar says to its committee do this and this…and the principal says do this. That's an important thing…Nobody was monitoring the Report. (R1, interview #2, p. 10)

Rita also spoke about the lack of concrete vision in implementing the report:

> In the sense, there was no sort of detailed plan attached to them…like and the institution shall do this, and well how…within what time frame and how is that action going to be done. And without those types of specifics to those recommendations, they just didn't have practical value. But my belief is really that nothing is going to change substantively unless action is taken from very high levels of the University. (R, interview #3, p. 4)

Participants found that many of the senior administrators, in particular the Principal, did not exercise their responsibility in overseeing the implementation of the Report. The participants did assert that while certain activities were achieved, for example the creation of the Human Rights Office, a pro-active, anti-racist process of change was not adopted. The Human Rights Office was created to respond to instances of racism on campus, while the Report's policy recommendations were intended as a pre-emptive approach aimed at changing the culture of the institution.

Furthermore, the participants mentioned that administrative turnover was also a challenge in keeping the recommendations at the forefront of the university's mandate. As new administrators entered the University and old ones left, the importance and emphasis in remembering and monitoring the Report quickly disappeared. If there were policies and attendant practices in place with the responsible parties named by position, rather than as individuals, then the system would be such that it would not matter who occupied that position—the policy would still need to be implemented. Gloria spoke to these issues in her interview:

> Because those people who were involved in the report started moving on and new people came in who weren't necessarily aware…and so when you have a new VP or a new dean…it's a huge task to get their attention, and get them to understand exactly what's been going on. One of the things I certainly believe was that the PAC Report wasn't going to go anywhere unless the leadership of the institution was going to take it there…you can toil away forever…but it's leadership. It creates the conditions under which social justice and social equality is valued and considered of the utmost importance. (G, interview #4, p. 7)

Peter addressed the critical importance of leadership continuity in addressing issues of equity and diversity:

> And of course, Principals change. And I might say, when Principal Legget came in, he spoke very highly of creating diversity at Queen's. But he never once made any note of this committee even existed or the work that we did. He never once approached me to provide advice to continue in this vain. And I myself was devoted to my family and work. It certainly wasn't in my mind to go knocking on his door. Because those recommendations came out of a request from the senior administration of the university and despite changes in who occupies that chair, the recommendations were to a position who was the Principal. It wasn't directed to Principal Smith, it was a Principal's Advisory Committee. All Principals thereafter have the responsibility to examine them and monitor them. (P, interview #1, p. 11)

Tator (2005) stresses the importance and need for clear and consistent leadership accountability to ensure the success of any anti-racist process of institutional change: "No institution can address the issue systemic racism without a system of both individual and organizational accountability" (p. 4).

As a result of the lack of leadership accountability and monitoring of the Report at Queen's University, there were some separate and narrowly focused initiatives and community awareness, but no overall systematic, holistic, and long term vision or implementation strategy of the anti-racist report. Furthermore, since the administration bodies often changed, so did the agendas and priorities of equity issues of these governing bodies. In creating a true anti-racist campus, all of the participants stressed that equity should be valued and considered of the utmost importance in the institution and should be embedded and respected in all facets of academia; and creating that tone should begin with the Principal and the administrative bodies over which he or she has control.

According to Tator (2005), anti-racism policy change emphasizes a holistic approach to the development of anti-racist goals and policies where effective monitoring mechanisms are put into place to ensure accountability throughout the organization:

> As an organizational response it requires the formation of new organizational structures; the introduction of new cultural norms and value systems; changes in power dynamics; the implementation of new employment systems; substantive changes in services delivered; support for new roles and relationships at all levels of the organization; new patterns and more inclusive styles of leadership and decision making; and reallocation of resources. Strategic planning, organizational audits and reviews, monitoring and accountability systems and training are all considered an integral part of the management of anti-racist change. (p. 4)

Finally, in collaboratively implementing a concrete anti-racist policy, leadership accountability and monitoring is a key component of the process of change. While the Committee members of the PAC on Race Relations made a noteworthy effort in drafting and proposing a well articulated vision of anti-racism policy at the University, the lack of commitment to implementing the Report on the part of the University administrators contributed to the silencing of it. A critical reading of this lack of commitment raises some key questions about the subtle ways in which racism is reproduced and reinforced in academia.

Paralysis by analysis

The second institutional barrier identified by the committee members toward implementing the anti-racist report was the over analysis of the Report, or otherwise referred to as "paralysis by analysis." This phenomenon is demonstrated by constant requests for more statistics, reports, studies, evaluations, and meetings resulting in an over-analysis of a specific issue. Ultimately it goes so far that the issue can no longer be recognized and the subject matter is completely saturated. It also means that no action ever need be taken because the focus is always on producing more data. This process is usually accompanied by little decision-making or real change because it is always seen that more "study" or research needs to be done. Paralysis by analysis is in some cases desired by institutions. Indeed, it often appears even purposeful, and can operate as bureaucratic delay or institutional stalling tactic in policy reform or social change.

Many of the interviewees commented on how the Queen's administration became preoccupied and over-consultative in wanting to "study" the final report's recommendations and analyze them for further information. The participants viewed this as a stalling tactic on behalf of the University to avoid moving toward concrete action in implementing the recommendations of the Report.

Raj described the how the administration provided a lengthy delay in concretely addressing the Report:

> See that's one of the problems. By the time you finish the Report, the problem becomes so stale nobody takes any interest in it. So that's one of the problems in the whole system…you're analyzing, analyzing it…you sort of kill it. What's the word? Oh yea… 'analysis by paralysis'. That's the sort of thing that happened. One of the problems that we had was the Report dragged on quite a bit. Cause there was so much consultation, consultation, after consultation. There were people defending the 'white' position too…you know it wasn't just one side. (R1, interview #2, p. 10)

Gloria also expressed how frustratingly slow the institutional response was to the final report. She also spoke to the ways in which institutional practices such as 'give me more information' could be understood as a purposeful act of *not* acting:

> So for me the problem is old…very old record player that plays over and over again— which is give me more information. As almost a way of not acting on something you already know…or not acting on something that might be new…but there is just no doubt in my mind at all. The literature will tell you that. Aboriginal faculty members and those faculty members who are visible minorities, whose talks have been listened to carefully, are still questioned all the way about the validity of what they are doing. (G, interview #4, p .6)

Rita commented on how administrative delays in seeking more studies and information about a policy proposal can be used as a means to halt anti-racist social change:

> What I see happening around the writing of the Report that speaks to the kind of resistance against anti-racism that we are seeing is that things need to be studied again and again as though we don't already know what the problem is. So, they'll be a study, and then there will be a discussion of the study, and then there will need to be a discussion about the discussion, and then a study of the discussion and the next thing you know it's been fifteen years! And now we need to have

> another report because things have changed. So the writing of a report can definitely be used as institutional stalling tactic around doing some real work and acting on anti-racist initiatives. (R, Interview #3, p. 8)

While organizational change theorists assert that institutional transformation is a tricky problem, with sometimes, unpredictable outcomes (Astin, 1982), a major factor of resistance to anti-racism reform is rooted in the extent to which organizational leaders believe that racial equality is valued and legitimate force to motivate change (Tator, 2005). How can anti-racism policy be viewed as legitimate and valued, when the policy itself endures lengthy over analysis, discussion, and study of its validity? One might conclude that these tactics serve to mask the reality that institutional culture is still operating under the focus of "proving" racism actually exists.

In exploring and deconstructing the process by which an anti-racist policy undergoes a lengthy period of analysis by paralysis, how might anti-racist theory or critical race theory make sense of ideologies embedded in this act?

Tator (2005) highlights that the prevailing role and power of dominant discourses of racism that deny, deflect and silence acts of anti-racism are prevalent in universities. Queen's University's preoccupation with analyzing and "studying" the recommendations, resulting in a lengthy delay of action, and contributing to the Report being buried, could be characterized as an act of deflecting or suppressing the processes of policy implementation. Henry and Tator (2002) refers to this discursive form of resistance as the *discourse of denial*. The discourse of denial reflects a refusal to accept the existence of racism in its overt, institutional, or systemic forms. Henry and Tator (2002) further explain:

> The assumption here is that because Canada is a society that upholds the ideals of liberal democracy, it could not possibly be racist. When racism is shown to exist, it tends to be identified as an isolated phenomenon relating to a limited number of social deviants, economic instability, or the consequence of "undemocratic" traditions. (p. 4)

The narratives from these interviews suggest that the act of over-analyzing, studying, and delaying in decision making was a façade to cover the lack of will and desire of the Queen's administration to sincerely address the pressing issues of racism occurring on campus.

Public Backlash and Lack of Support

Another critical form of resistance identified by the committee members in implementing the PAC Anti-racism report was the public backlash and lack of support toward the Report by some members of the Queen's community. In this respect, the Committee members expressed how the Report and its recommendations became a "contested site;" a battleground of sorts involving a struggle between opposing groups on campus in competition over power, status, and values. While the Report played a monumental role in bringing awareness to the racial injustices occurring on campus and garnered the support of many groups on campus, not everyone responded positively to the proposed institutional changes. The Committee members indicated that they did anticipate a backlash, but not to the extent they experienced with the 1991 PAC Anti-racist Report. Peter brought attention to his own struggles working on such a committee and "the tug of war" the committee experienced between opposing groups on campus:

> Well, I think it's probably the most difficult thing I've ever done in my life. And I've done a lot of interesting things. I think its because we were being battered from the left and right, so to speak. There were people who still wanted this place to be a Scots, Presbyterian institution and there were people who wanted to dramatically radicalize the place. And we wanted to produce change, but do it from a point of view positioned somewhere in between those. As I mentioned before, you can't achieve change, well sure you can, if you want to bring the place down and have a Bolshevik revolution. But you can't achieve change by advocating too much, too swiftly. It just created reaction, backlash, people dig in their heels. We tried to balance the two opposing sets of views on campus, but in a way that would achieve change, fairly dramatic change. Nowadays, if we look at the recommendations, they are sort of 'ho-hum'. But fifteen years ago, they were radical. (P, Interview #1, p. 5)

He also described the specific cases of pubic resistance toward the Committee and the report:

> Responses (to the Report) were from a lot of faculty. Like: 'If these recommendations are accepted by Queen's, this is not the type of place I would like to teach in.' 'It's going to lower standards,' And we had prepared for an argument for this. If the University is a circus…some people think it is, and you have trained animals to jump through hoops…how do you get more animals through the hoop? You can lower the hoop…or you can widen it…and we are proposing to widen it. In other ways, no change in standards, 'cause obviously that wasn't going to work at Queen's. But a massive change in criteria. What is acceptable as scholarship, what is acceptable as knowledge, what is acceptable as legitimate university work. So, the excellence of Queen's was a big, big issue for the faculty at Queen's. And some people whose opinion I still value, and who were very senior to me…good scholars… thought I had simply succumbed to political correctness. My response was that it was politically correct to be anti-Semtic in Germany in the 1930s. So the term political correctness has no meaning for me. It's simply a convenient put down. And at the time, these views were not politically correct. They were not widely espoused by many people. (P, Interview #1, p. 6)

Lucy also commented on backlash stirring at the university and how that may have influenced the Report being buried:

> Well absolutely the resistance from some members played a large part in the Principal putting the Report on the backburner. When senior people in their departments say: I am not taking part in this and a) I'm not calling a meeting on this report and b) I'm not wasting the time to discuss this nonsense, of course it would not be taken any farther. I know in the politics department at the time, there were meetings about it…people discussed it…what does this mean? When people say such and such, how does that reflect on us? Is that something even reasonable to implement? (L, Interview #5, p. 9)

Furthermore, Gloria spoke about the negative outpouring by the Queen's alumni toward the decision of the Principal to create a Human's Rights Office:

> Like opening the Human Rights Office was huge, because somehow that was seen as in the writing as dissent. And this huge negative outpouring from alumni was quite surprising to me. Because it showed the strength of that past that seemed to be hindering advancement to the future. (G, Interview #3, p. 8)

Rita described how the public resistance and challenges toward the Report were not met with further response from the Queen's administration, but that the Report was simply dropped:

> Well in general, I think there were things that were met with direct resistance that people were simply unwilling to do. The challenges to the PAC as I understand it, weren't really met with any further response from the institution. So, it was like people got upset or mad about some of the recommendations and that's where it stopped. There didn't seem to be any moving forward or any attempt to educate, or work through the issues to a positive result. So, that was one I guess sticking point around the PAC that kept it from moving forward. (R, Interview #3, p. 5)

Additionally, the resistance the interviewees speak about in this section was further demonstrated in the public letters of opposition toward the first draft of the PAC committee's recommendation report. In December of 1990, when the Committee released its first draft report to the Queen's community, they invited the Queen's community to respond to the recommendations and provide feedback. They inserted the following call attached to the Report:

> This is a draft report intended for wide circulation and comment. It likely contains errors, inconsistencies, redundancies, and omissions; however we are submitting it at this time in order to stimulate discussions and to receive feedback. Responses (both written and oral) are invited by the committee. Please contact the chair, or any member of the committee to make comments. (PAC on Race Relations, Draft Report, 1990, p. 1)

The Public Letters of Opposition

The Committee received a large number of individual and group letters of feedback from professors, staff, students, Deans, departments, and administrators. The letters were made available to the public with the approval and consent of all authors. The letters were available in Queen's University Archives and from a total of sixty-two, twenty-eight of the letters demonstrated a strong resistance toward implementing some or all of the Report's policy recommendations.

In the effort to supplement the interviewee perspectives in this area, the following paragraphs will introduce excerpts from the letters of opposition (as mentioned by the Committee members) written by members of the Queen's community toward the draft report of the Committee. The written text from the letters of opposition aids the interview analysis in gaining a

deeper understanding of the discursive, rhetorical, and linguistic strategies employed by the authors to deny and cast doubt over the "legitimacy" of recommendations contained within the Report. In framing the public letters, I draw upon the work of Henry and Tator (2002) and position the letters as what they refer to as discourses of denial—a discursive device that rests on the assumption that racism simply does not exist in a democratic society. It is a refusal to accept the reality of racism, despite the overwhelming evidence of racial prejudice and discrimination in the lives and on the life chances of people of colour. Henry and Tator (2002) explain:

> The assumption is that because Canada is a society that upholds the ideals of a liberal democracy, it cannot possibly be racist. The denial of racism is so habitual in the media that to even make the allegation of bias and discrimination and raise the possibility of its influence on social outcomes becomes a serious social infraction, incurring the wrath and ridicule of many journalists and editors. (p. 6)

Certain discourses of denials or themes for denying the Report's recommendations united the letters and included: the discourse of not providing enough evidence; the discourse of reverse racism; the discourse of being too politically correct; the discourse of equal opportunity and colour blindness. Some of these themes are discussed and analysed in the following paragraphs and reinforce the challenges faced by the PAC Committee.

The most commonly expressed critique of the *1991 PAC Report's* recommendations was the denial that racism existed on campus and there was not sufficient evidence to support this claim. Many of the respondents indicated they required more proof and "evidence" of racism at the University before they would support anti-racist policy changes. Their arguments and rationale for not supporting the Report used linguistic tricks and a strategy of excuses around the argument of a lack of data proving racism.

Letter # 4 expressed a need for more evidence that racism was a problem at Queen's University:

> I find the style of the Report itself too radical. I have only been at Queen's for four years, but I feel it is the most tolerant place I have worked and I have never witnessed racial discrimination. In order for the rest of us to appreciate the problem better we need hard facts. That is to say, accounts of incidents of discrimination, or racism, and statistics. We need to know exactly what and where the problems are before we can comment on the strength of the corrective measures. (R #4, letter)

Respondent # 4 assumes that because he has never witnessed racism on campus, there may not be a "real" problem. Henry and Tator (2002) explain that in liberal and democratic societies, denials of racism are often articulated in the context of doubt as to whether acts of discrimination actually occurred. They assert: "The assumption here is that because Canada is a society that upholds the values and ideals of a liberal democracy; it cannot be racist, nor can its major institutions be racist" (Henry & Tator, 2002, p. 82). Moreover, the letter # 4 comment illustrates a devaluing or doubting of the experiences of racism experienced at the institution. What constitutes an acceptable level of evidence to support that racism exists? The claim that existing evidence of racism on campus is not enough to prove its existence, and demand that more reliable data are needed is the very problem. Such denials and demands can be viewed as a defence strategy and part of the larger, powerful discourse of denial. Arguments such as these deny and, in turn, silence the stories and experiences of marginalization and racism that prompted the creating of the PAC Committee in the first place. Furthermore, the writers of the letters can make these arguments and denials, ignorant of their power to do so. Kincheloe & Steinberg (2000) assert: "Invisible privileges are perpetuated, regenerated, and recreated within a system that normalizes oppression by vesting the oppressor with power and social advantages that he himself not consider" (p. 179). The question is no longer about the experiences of racism, but *who* is defining what constitutes sufficient evidence of racism. If the answer is exclusively those people who are never targeted in or by racism, then the argument is problematic. Carr and Klassen (1996) assert that informal resistance toward anti-racist and equity initiatives often manifests

itself in the form of undervaluing and denying the significance of race in everyday lived experiences of racialized people.

Similarly, letters #3 and #7 and #12 expressed doubt about the incidences of racism on campus as outlined in the Report:

> There is in the report a reprehensible tone of insinuation and vagueness. I am not denying that there are racial incidences at Queen's. I do not know of any, but it would be astonishing if there were none in a university this size. Egregious instances can be brought to the attention of the Ontario Commission on Human Rights. I recommend to the Queen's community that the report be rejected completely as an analysis of conditions at Queen's and as a basis for reform. (R #3, letter)

> The draft report of Principal's Committee on Race Relations does not make any attempt to document the extent of racial imbalance or injustice at Queen's, yet it makes a multitude of recommendations aimed at correcting these inferred problems. (R#7, letter)

> The report makes a series of statements about reputedly factual situations without providing any evidence nor references to published evidence. This calls into question the validity of a large part of the report, especially since many among us suspect in fact your implied data are wrong: e.g. 'Racial minority students are underrepresented in the university population generally, and in particular, at Queen's.' We have no evidence, does the committee? (R#12, letter)

Many respondents counter-attacked the anti-racist nature of the Committee and accused the Committee of reverse racism toward the White majority. The authors of the letters accuse the Committee of being too caught up with race, thus alienating the White members of Queen's.

> Its approach is all too often one of ensuring racially correct thinking through heavily bureaucratic procedures…The report is offensive in its demand that the University and its members must collectively and individually admit to being guilty of systemic racism, in its implication that only members of racial minorities can be trusted to make unbiased decisions. (letter #7)

Similarly, letters #1 and #14 and #23 provided an argument of denial and reproach:

> When I finished reading the report, I had the distinct impression that I was being attacked in the report because I was a 'member of a definable group,' a white male. Since I felt I was being attacked, I had come to the conclusion that the Final Report of the Principal's Advisory Committee was racist in character. A bit of a paradox! (letter #1)

> The authors of the report place no trust in the fair-play and good-faith of the university community, but they expect the university community to place its trust in the fair-play and good-faith of a racially-loaded Race Relations Committee. (letter #14)

> Firstly, the titles Principals Race Committee and Advisory Committee on Race Relations are in themselves provocative and really quite inappropriate. They conjure up visions of Nazi Germany or of the old South Africa, and although we have may have some minor problems at Queen's, they are minor, and can be resolved without indulging the excesses of interest groups who would like to see discord where none exists. (letter #23)

The respondents' dissatisfaction with the committee's emphasis on racially correct thinking leads to an accusation of *reverse racism*. Notions of reverse racism are built on the argument that claims of racism are themselves racist turning those in positions of dominance into minority victims. In this case, the dispute becomes: we are not the racists; *they are* the racists. The victims now become the dominant White group, who are being forced to adopt policies and procedures that bring race and racial inequity to the forefront of the university. Henry , Tator, Mattis & Rees (1995) discuss the underpinnings of reverse racism:

> In a semantic reversal, those associated with the dominant culture contend that they are *now* the victims of a new form of oppression and exclusion. Anti-racism and equity policies are discredited by suggesting in strong, emotive, language that they are nothing more than 'apartheid in reverse,' 'a new inquisition,' or 'McCarthyite witch hunts'…Those concerned with addressing racial inequalities have frequently been accused of belonging to radical groups, extremist groups. The implication of these reproaches is that the issue of race is being used as a cover for promoting conflict in pursuit of other, questionable political ends. (pg. NEL)

Another linguistic trick exercised in this statement is the subtle redistribution of blame. In this reversal of the arguments against racism it is not "we" (the White majority) who are mainly responsible for the racial conflict and discrimination at the university. The oppressed are now being viewed and presented as irresponsible and reckless trouble makers in accusing the University of institutional and systemic racism. Patricia J. Williams (1993) speaks about this

redistribution of blame in denying institutional racism from her own experiences as a Black law professor:

> For people who don't believe that there is such a thing as institutional racism, statements alleging oppression sound like personal attacks, declarations of war. They seem to scrape deep from the cultural unconscious some childish feelings of wanting to belong by forever having others as extensions of oneself, of never being told of difference, of not being rent apart by the singularity of others, of the privilege of having the innocence of one's most whimsical likes respected. It is a feeling that many equate with the quintessence of freedom; this powerful fancy, the unconditionality of self-will along. It is as if no others exist and no consequences redound; it is as if the world were like a mirror, silent and infinitely flat, rather than finite and rippled like a pool of water. (p. 102)

More interestingly, respondent #23's statement can be read as a concession of sorts: yes, there are *some* problems, but…. Concessions are another form of denial masked in doubt, distance, and non acceptance in acknowledging racism. van Dijk (2002) points out that concessions play an implicit role in denying racism:

> Such apparent concessions are another major form of disclaimer in discourse about ethnic relations, as we have them in statements like: 'There are also intelligent blacks, but…' or 'I know that minorities sometimes have problems, but…'….The mitigation not only appears in the use of euphemisms, but also in the redistribution of responsibility, and hence in the denial of blame. It is not we (whites) who are mainly responsible for the tensions between the communities, but everybody is, as is suggested by the use of the impersonal existential phrase: 'There is misunderstanding'. (pp. 315-316)

Another discursive example of resistance expressed by many members of the Queen's community was that the Report was 'too politically correct.' The following excerpts are written by Queen's members who felt the Race Relations Report was censoring and stunting everything from pedagogy and curriculum language to hiring practices within the institution:

> If the Report's recommendations are adopted, there is a grave danger that Queen's University will become an institution in which race is the primary consideration for many of its activities. We reject this; rather, we believe we should strive for a state in which opportunity is assured, academic achievement is the paramount consideration, and race is of no consequence whatsoever. (letter #7)

> The document is so extensive and all-encompassing as to be unworkable. I had to force myself to read through it, choking on 'politically correct' catch phrases (for example ("…must celebrate, and give positive expression to, the impact which human diversity makes on the university"). It alienated me. (letter #2)
>
> We have from time to time resisted attempts by governments and university administrators to place limits on academic freedom because we believe that the freedom to express unpopular ideas is essential for the academic enterprise and for the preservation of a free and prosperous society. Are we now to put aside the University's tradition of freedom of speech in the name of something as ill-specified as systemic racism? (letter # 14)
>
> We believe we should strive for a state in which opportunity is assured, academic achievement is the paramount consideration, and race is of no consequence whatsoever. (letter #7)
>
> Queen's university has, at least as long as I have been here, used excellence as nearly the sole criterion for recruitment and promotion of both students and staff. The recommendations of the Draft Report would seriously compromise this, by requiring consideration of race in all such decisions. It seems inconceivable to me that we would be willing to return to an era in which the colour of a person's skin was a significant consideration in hiring and promotion. (letter #6)

These passages exemplify a strong resistance to the inclusion of non-dominant voices, stories, and concerns of racialized minorities in an institution such as Queen's University. The anti-racist recommendations proposed in the Report are now discredited as an overdose of political correctness. In these arguments, institutional and systemic racism are viewed as expressions for political or social sensationalism and have no merit. Giroux (2005) discusses the role of political correctedness in what he terms 'neoliberal racism': "Neoliberal racism asserts the insignificance of race as a social force and it aggressively roots out any vestige of race as a category at odds with an individualistic embrace of formal legal rights" (p. 69). Giroux explains that neoliberal racism focuses on individuals rather than groups and is unwilling to accept the role of the state or institutions as being guardians for public interest:

> Arguing that individual freedom is tarnished if not poisoned by the discourse of equality, right wing legal advocacy groups such as the Centre for Individual Rights and the Foundation for Individual Rights in Education argue that identity politics and pluralism weaken rather than strengthen American democracy because they pose a threat to what it means for the United States 'to remain recognizably American… Hence neoliberal racism provides the ideological and legal framework for asserting that since American society is now a meritocracy government should be race neutral, affirmative action programs should be dismantled, civil rights laws discarded and the welfare state eliminated. (p. 69)

From this perspective, the accusations made by these writers particularly the comment in letter # 14, *"Are we now to put aside the University's tradition of freedom of speech in the name of something as ill-specified as systemic racism?"* exemplifies how the individual interests of privileged classes at Queen's University override any belief that the University should be a guardian of public interests including those underrepresented groups. Systemic and institutional racism are silenced under the guise of the university's tradition of freedom of speech. Yet interestingly, at Queen's University, the tradition of freedom of speech has historically benefited those voices and writings that have supported and embraced the established status quo and established norms. What does freedom of speech really mean here? Whose "freedom of speeches" are valued, whose are denied and dismissed? In regards to the report, the voices, stories, and experiences of marginalized groups do not hold value or merit compared to the freedom of speech of those not represented in the report.

Through the discourses of racial/ political correctness, it is revealed that the established norms of the University in regards to language, hiring policies, campus speech codes and so on, operate outside of any moral or ethical responsibility for its societal consequences. In this case, the university is operating in a bubble and does not account for the ethical and societal responsibility in addressing issues of discrimination. The discourse of political correctness is used as a defence against significant social change, a defence for Queen's to remain recognizably Queen's. The arguments of the Report being too politically or racially correct become part of a

struggle in the exercise of power. As Miller, Swift, and Maggio, (1997) point out, "the definers want the power to name. And the defined are now taking the power away from them" (p. 54).

As the interviews and letters of opposition highlighted, not everyone was conceding ground to anti-racist change within the University. The public backlash at Queen's University toward implementing the PAC Report's recommendations illustrate implicit and strategic forms in denying racism that might have contributed to the Report's recommendations not being fully implemented and the Report being buried. By placing the letters in context of the racist history of the University, as these were presented in previous chapters, we can see the history of Queen's as having "a direction of domination, where that direction is intimately linked to the fortunes and interests of a certain group" (Wetherell & Potter, 1992, p. 81). The discourses embedded in the letters are disguised in language that is race-neutral, tolerant, preserves self-presentation, and mitigates the seriousness of racial inequality in higher education. Through and by this analysis, perhaps a space has been created where we can now see "the invisible power deployed by those who are best able to identify themselves within the boundaries of 'White reason' while notions/assumptions of irrationality…are projected onto the *other"* (Kincheloe & Steinberg, 2000, p. 189).

Queen's University and the city of Kingston: A "chilly" climate

The final form of resistance discussed during the interviews was the *chilly climate* and exclusive environment of Queen's University toward issues of inequality and marginalization on campus. According to Harvey (1991), "Campus climate is a term used to describe the culture, habits, decisions, practices, and policies that make up campus life. The degree to which the climate is hospitable determines the 'comfort factor' for African Americans and other nonwhite persons on campus" (p. 128). The term chilly climate refers to a university work environment characterized by feelings and experiences of isolation, little support from peers and superiors,

overt and subtle gender and racial bias, lack of mentorship, and unwelcoming and hostile academic environments (Turner & Myers, 2000). The Committee members all acknowledged that while most universities struggle with achieving equity and anti-racist social change across the many facets of university life, Queen's University faced particular challenges due to its legacy and history of exclusion. The interviewees discussed the specific characteristics and qualities about Queen's University and the city of Kingston, Ontario that they felt prevented the university from fully implementing the 1991 PAC Anti-racist Report.

Gloria discussed how racist traditions of the past that were considered "normal" are entrenched in the University's collective identity, making it exceedingly difficult to move forward to anti-racist change:

> Perhaps, part of the answer and I'm saying perhaps…is the very strong sense of tradition and belonging. And so much of Queen's is determined by its undergraduate body. So that makes a big difference right there. So much of it involves keeping it, the network of belonging or a group of people that's pretty homogenous for a long time- strong. And so these people… for them, in the past…this wasn't a problem and they did love and enjoy their experience. And things that threatened to change that for others…you know there is this whole sort of resistance. And I think that (traditions of racism) could be part of the problem. I mean it's the whole problem with orientation week…which is like the chants and things…like what is no longer considered a Mohawk from engineering faculty. Frankly, a couple of years ago, I saw a truck or something parked during orientation and it had sort of a cartoonish head…a big Mohawk on it. I mean those remnants are there and you can't take it away 'cause it's tradition. A ten year old tradition becomes tradition and you can't take it away…even if it's racist. You need to examine what those traditions mean… So I think that is part of the hindrance you know. (G, interview #4, p. 7)

Raj outlined that in some areas of equity at Queen's University such as in hiring practices, there seems to be a reoccurring problem:

> In other places people go out of the way to create spaces of inclusion, but I think for Queen's its just being forced upon them. I would say that its Queen's who's part of the problem. I don't know whether they…possibly some departments need special attention. 'Cause I look at departments and they are not bad. But there are some, where I can see all white still. Or all females. I can say where I think the

> problem is…I can say the problem was started maybe 50 years ago, and that culture is continuing. (R1, interview #2, p. 9)

Rita discussed the critical importance in developing a collective anti-racist stance throughout all aspects of the university, particularly the mission statement before true social change would be possible:

> I have to be honest, and say I don't think that Queen's does strive to create a culture of inclusivity. Again, I think that it's a responsibility that has been given to a few people, but my belief is really is that nothing is going to change substantively unless action is taken from very high levels of the university. The discussion around the Henry Report…what we are really talking about…and what I don't think that people are making the connection within their minds- is making Queen's an anti-racist campus. And projecting that to the broader community, that this is a campus that is anti-racist in its stance and doesn't tolerate x, y, z and doesn't tolerate that sort of thing. That kind of visioning can only happen at a certain level, it doesn't matter how much you toil in the human rights office, if people are not branding Queen's with that particular stance, that its just not going to come to be. It's not going to be believable. So, on that front, very little has been done, and there is a recognition that that's what needs to happen to be infused into everything. There needs to be a pedagogical re-directing of what happens at Queen's. It needs to be that deep. People are still looking at very surface kinds of initiatives, like a making a racism week longer etc. but that's not going to do it. But with that being said, the Humans Rights Office and the Equity Office have been fully funded with full time staff…there are other universities who are in more dire circumstances than us. But, institutionally, a movement toward anti-racism…is what's needed. There seems to have been a slight movement toward diversity and the need to respect diversity….but anti-racism in and of itself has fallen off the map. (R, interview #3, p. 6)

Peter described how the city of Kingston and its lack of diversity and inclusivity also acted as an impediment toward achieving equity at Queen's University:

> It's Kingston. Kingston is a lily white town. It is difficult for us to attract good people here and keep them….it's not just Queen's that's inhospitable, it's Kingston that inhospitable. It's the community. I have a book in my car on immigrant youth adaptation in 14 societies and it outlines very clearly and strongly how a very close strong attachment to heritage culture is a primary source of support generation after generation. It doesn't matter whether you are from Vietnam or China, or India or Argentina or Scottish, that heritage remains part of you think you are and how you behave. The myth of cultural loss and assimilation is really exposed. Cultural continuity is a fact of life….people don't want to be isolated from those with whom feel comfortable with and those who share similar cultural experiences during their life time or their family history. It's tough being

> a culturally isolated person, and the community of Kingston is not hospitable- just like Queen's. You don't have a critical mass of people to feel comfortable with. The ideal of anti-racism is that you should feel comfortable with anybody. Especially in a community which is not hospitable. (P, interview #1, p. 11)

These comments paint a picture of how Queen's University is troubled by a racist past, and how it faces its own unique challenges in achieving anti-racist social change. Questionable "traditions" and social practices (which have been deemed by some as blatantly racist) have been entrenched in the very bedrock of the University, hindering the implementation of an anti-racist policy mandate. In her work, St. Lewis (2003) characterized a chilly workplace climate for visible minorities and women with experiences of: tokenism, exclusion, professional isolation, intellectual bondage, marginalization, and academic imperialism. She refers to the hostile nature of the academy as "the belly of the beast." The interviews also highlighted how the demographics of Canadian cities play a large role in effecting how anti-racist movements are received by universities. Fleras and Elliot (1996) assert that demographic concentrations of visible minorities impact how Canadian race, ethnic, and Aboriginal relations are created and supported.

The four examples of resistance toward implementing the *1991 PAC Report on Race Relations* at Queen's University reflected on the deeply rooted tensions, conflicts, and contradictions about race and racism in institutions of higher learning. The interviews suggested that the obstacles of lack of administrative accountability and leadership; paralysis by analysis; formal/ informal public backlash; and the climate of racism at Queen's University and the city of Kingston abetted efforts to defend, justify, and perpetuate racial inequality at the University. The identified obstacles were often interrelated and interconnected, often manifesting themselves in subtle ways.

What did the Report Accomplish?

Creating the Conditions for Counter-Story Telling: A Voice for the Unheard

Perhaps one of the most important accomplishments of the 1991 PAC on Race Relations was its ability to create a space for discussion and dialogue about racism on campus. Students, faculty, staff, community members, and administration officials were encouraged to share their personal experiences, stories, and thoughts about the equity problems materializing at the University. The open weekly and monthly forums held by the Committee were characterized as particularly powerful and poignant for marginalized individuals and White people. Campus members who felt isolated, alone, or embarrassed about their experiences with racism were provided with an opportunity to discuss and openly share their experiences. Joe Kincheloe (2005) recognizes the importance of White groups listening to racialized groups in reinventing and redefining what he refers to as a new pedagogy of Whiteness:

> The process of inducing White people to listen to non-Whites is one of the key features of a pedagogy of Whiteness, but because Western socio-cultural frameworks encourage speaking over listening, those in positions of power and privilege have always been rewarded for their disregard of marginalized positions and experiences. Such anti-racist meaning making requires that White people not only accept the presence of non-White cultures, but that they also actively and proactively interrogate their implication and participation in the maintenance of oppression. (p. 157)

The weekly and monthly open forums provided by the 1989 PAC Committee on Race Relations was initiated and created by the Committee members themselves. This decision was initially met with some resistance from the Principal and the chair of the Committee was criticized for having done this.

Peter recollects this decision:

> I was criticized by the administration by having done this. Because it was a Principal's Advisory Committee, the Principal claimed right to choose who would be advising him. But, basically, I ignored that. During the course of the meetings, we met regularly, sometimes every week. Blocks appeared. Different interest

> groups appeared. Also, informal leadership appeared…The public meetings at which we encouraged the senior administration (Principals, Vice principals, Deans) to come hear and come learn directly were wild mostly. People were crying. People were telling stories that people would have not otherwise believed if they had not been recounted first hand. (P, interview #1, p. 3)

Peter goes on to discuss the emotional and heated aspects of some of the discussions that took place at the open meetings:

> We heard things like: An Afro-Caribbean student in English literature reporting a conversation with a professor of commonwealth saying that he understood now that there has been a substantial body of literature coming from India and the Caribbean and would this be part of the curriculum? And the answer was very hotly, 'we don't do that sort of thing at Queen's. The public meetings had a whole variety of opinions being expressed. One of the most poignant of them, I'm certainly not going to say who it was, a member of the faculty got up and said 'I am a Black man, I've been here for 30 years and I've experienced nothing but racism, discrimination, limited opportunity since I've been here.' And the next speaker was a young man, also from Caribbean origin, and he said 'Well I was born in Kingston, I grew up here, I went to high school here, I went to Queen's. I'm now in medical school and Dad, I don't know what you are talking about.' There was absolute silence in the room. Now that is an extremely poignant moment. Two guys, father and son, with totally radically different views on what it was like to be here… so there are individual differences… (P, interview #1, p. 4)

This passage highlights an important moment in recognizing the meaning making that takes place in and shapes one's experience of racism. Here we have two people, both from the same minority group (the only thing that differentiates them is age) and one is saying they have experienced nothing but racism on campus, and the other one says- "I don't know what you are talking about!" This is not confusion. The analysis of these narratives is not about assessing whether one position is right and the other is wrong, but about highlighting that these two people are operating out of two different perceptions of their experience. In both of these narratives, we can see how the world is perceived and more importantly, in how the individual is perceived in relation to their world (Dei, 2005). What investments might racial minorities (or any other minorities for that matter) have in "not seeing" racism? Is it possible not to experience racism in a culture of

Whiteness such as Queen's University? By a culture of whiteness, I draw on the work of Audrey Kobayashi (2002) who uses and describes the university setting as a culture of Whiteness:

> By 'whiteness' I do not mean simply the fact of being 'white.' I mean the construction of dominant discourses and the mobilization of power according to standards set within a white cultural framework. Whiteness is not necessarily male violence: it often takes forms that are benevolent, patronizing or condescending. It is not always direct discrimination, but the creation of difference by subtle cultural means that are every bit as excluding as restrictive covenants. Whiteness ranges from speech patterns to body language, from social distance to etiquette, and from friendship to collective action. (p. 52)

It is interesting to think about how both father and son made sense of their experiences as visible minorities at Queen's University.

Lucy also placed importance on the open discussion process of the Committee. She highlighted the effort the Committee made in including all underrepresented groups at the campus at the Committee's open meetings. She recollects that initially there was some discussion around the campus about whether the Committee should draft a survey to examine to what degree racism was occurring on campus. The Committee came to the conclusion that it didn't matter how often or to what degree that racism was happening on campus, but that it was evident that it was happening. The Committee members decided to focus their attention on consulting the public as much as possible throughout their term about racism on campus. She explains this in detail:

> I will take some responsibility for part of…and I claim credit for a particular turn the Committee made. We…there was discussion about whether to have a survey and to examine to what extent racism was a problem on campus. Because of course, reasonably, people think oh we need research to know…how do we know if we are making progress or not? And then the discussion went around to the conclusion that it didn't matter. The only thing that mattered was that some people (it didn't matter if it was one or two people) are unable to study and work comfortably in a campus where they feel discriminated against. So, something needs to happen. So rather than spending money and time examining and quantifying a circumstance- why not just get on with it. And it was that leap on to it that sort of put us into a place where we adapted quite a transparent process. So rather than being a committee that knocked behind doors…the Committee also invited groups to come and meet and make presentations in whatever form they wanted. And we determined that….consultation needed to be as public as

> possible, there needed to be more focus to it, that the focus wasn't now this topic versus that topic, but rather, lets identify general themes. Further to that, we wanted to make sure that the people who most negatively impacted by racism, the people who would be racially identified by others were the people that had the strongest voice. So within the meetings, there was kind of an inner circle…the terminology at the time was "people of colour" and on the outside of that were the observers, and the observers were the Vice Principal of the University…the registrar of the university came to almost all of the meetings. (L, interview #5, p. 3)

Raj talked about his shock, listening to the many stories of racism being told at the public meetings. He explains the Committee had not anticipated such a large response from the Queen's community about issues of racism on campus:

> I think the Committee in general (well, with the exception of the students) was not anticipating such a large response, as we didn't think the problem was that big. And the responses told us…what we heard in the public forums. And that's where the Committee was shocked too…when many students would stand up and talk about their issues when they were teaching assistants in their social sciences classes, or students that didn't speak English that well. And there were graduate students who were telling us that their supervisor refused to look at their thesis…you know these things we had not anticipated. But, it was widespread. (R1, interview # 2, p. 4)

Rita stated that the community forum meetings conducted by the Committee played an integral part in educating the Queen's community about the serious incidents of racism occurring on campus:

> People needed a forum to voice their concerns in a way they knew would become official. So, I think the creation of that document (1991 PAC Race Relations Report) served a couple of purposes. The first one was obviously an administrative purpose. The second one was filling a community function and allowing people to give expression to what was happening. Perhaps, today we wouldn't need to do quite the same thing. But people were very angry about racism and vocal about it at the time. (R, interview #3, p. 1)

The Importance of Voice in Anti-Racism

Why is voice and story so important in anti-racist initiatives? What does it do? Why is it so important in experiences of inequity and discrimination? CRT places a strong emphasis on employing story-telling and the telling of counter-narratives by racially marginalized individuals

to challenge current myths and wisdoms about racism in our society (Ladson-Billings, 1998). One of the central tenets of CRT includes the "recognition of the experimental knowledge of people of colour" (Matsuda et al., 1993, p. 6). Importance is placed on the voice and knowledge of people of colour: "Those who have experienced discrimination speak with a special voice to which we should listen" (Matsuda,et al.,1993, p. 63). CRT utilizes personal narratives and stories as valid forms of support to document inequity and discrimination based on a qualitative perspectives rather than a "numbers only" quantitative approach to documenting discrimination. One of the most important purposes of voice and stories in CRT scholarship is to counteract the stories of the dominant group (Delgado, 1995).

The 1991 PAC on Race Relations created the conditions during their open forum meetings for many racialized individuals to come forward and tell their stories. Listening to the Committee members recall the stories of racism they heard from the Queen's community, we are reminded of the disbelief that occurs when discriminatory situations are described by racialized individuals. Even though these discriminatory experiences are documented over and over again in the literature (Dei, 2005; Bannerji, 1995; Razack, 1998), it still appears the voices of faculty and students of colour are largely ignored in circles of academia. The Committee's attention to voice, narrative, and counter-story telling of racialized individuals acted as an important accomplishment in their examination of racism on campus. Importantly, the interviews with the committee members highlighted the fact that the 1991 PAC report was abandoned by the university administration and little to no follow up was made on the report's significant recommendations.

Anti-racist education and critical race education begin with acknowledging that racism is a normal part of North American society and a permanent fixture in North American life (Ladson-Billings, 1998). A major strategy of these frameworks becomes one of unmasking and

exposing racism in various forms. The Committee played an important role in unmasking and exposing the racism that was plaguing Queen's University.

Summary

In conclusion, the personal memories and narratives of the 1989 PAC Committee members provided a primary way of uncovering the myths, assumptions, and habits of thinking that made up the common sense understandings about what transpired with the monumental anti-racist report produced by the Committee. The narratives of the interviewees suggest: "The standard of measurement in the academy is still whiteness, and that success is dependent upon conformity and mimicking white knowledge and values" (Luther, Whitmore & Moreau, 2003, p.27).

This chapter also provided a small glimpse of how even the most well-intentioned and carefully drafted anti-racist policy reports still encounter considerable institutional resistance. Indeed, Queen's University reflects and mirrors the values of the larger society, and its difficulty in implementing the recommendations of the *1991 Race Relations Report* highlights the difficulty of institutional social change in general. The interviews also presented examples of myths, explanations, and rationalizations that have the effect of reinforcing racism in the academy (Henry & Tator, 2002). Mackey (1996) contends: "Liberal principles are the very language and conceptual framework through which intolerance and exclusion are enabled, reinforced, defined, and defended" (p. 305). Kobayashi (2002) discusses the changing nature of the "new racisms" of the 90s:

> Social processes of racialization have changed over the recent decades, to reflect the larger changes in dominant social attitudes. It speaks to the power of racism that is so readily transformed, that it adapts to the contours of the social times, naturalizing and normalizing, so that it becomes difficult to recognize and therefore all the more powerful. (p. 51)

Despite the challenges and resistances, it is important to note and commend the tremendous efforts and work of all of the original committee members of the 1989 PAC on Race Relations. While the report's recommendations may not have been embraced by the university, the Committee members worked tirelessly in conducting: research, public community consultations, focus groups, and creating a space for marginalized groups to tell and share their stories.

Chapter 7: Conclusion/Recommendations

My story

In revisiting the purpose of this thesis, I am also revisiting the purposes of my own motivations, interests and struggles in engaging in anti-racist research and writing. I am drawn to the words of Dei, Karumanchery & Karumanchery-Luik (2004) in this context:

> In doing academic work it is essential that we constantly check ourselves, the reasons that we write and who it is we write for…We are socially/politically located, situated, positioned and we bring these various objectivities to any and all or the work we do. (p. 1-2)

While the central purpose of this research has been to problematize the ways in which institutions of higher education respond to incidences of systemic and overt racism on campus, a deeper and perhaps more important outcome/purpose also emerged from engaging in this work— an exposure to a critical understanding of difference and race, and a language by which to name and understand systems of dominance. I wish to discuss and revisit his purpose first.

As a racially minoritized female student, my personal scars of racism were neatly and quickly stitched away by, and within educational and institutional contexts that did not create conditions for me to critically read race and racial inequality. The consequences of being blind to, and silenced by, these contexts for the majority of my teenage/adult life resulted in my stories,

experiences, questions, guilt, anger, and confusion around issues of race fading away to an uncontested hazy space. A space that remained locked away.

Being afforded the opportunity and privilege to attend graduate school and work closely with feminist/critical scholars such as Dr. Magda Lewis, I was introduced to theories and academics of critical pedagogy, anti-racist education, critical race theory, and critical discourse analysis. These various social justice theories privilege experience and identity as the source of knowledge and aim to identify the lines, sources, and effects of power. Through these theories I have developed a clearer awareness of the link between discourse and social inequality and how unequal relations of power are given meaning through the various uses of language.

By and through this exposure I was provided with a social vocabulary that allowed me to make sense of what Dei (2005) refers to as:

> the multiple sites through which our oppression is manufactured, multiple sites in/through which we are implicated as actors/subjects in those moments, and then again, multiple sites in/through which we might seek to rupture those relations of power. (p. 139)

The writing of this thesis was in many ways the forming of my critical eye toward experiences and incidences of racism that were/are difficult to name and prove during my life. Coincidently and simultaneously, this difficulty of naming and proving instances of systemic and overt racism was an endemic problem occurring at the very university I chose to engage in such research interests. Perhaps this was a coincidence. Perhaps, this was fate or destiny. What is clear is that the conditions were finally created for me to join other critical theorists in examining and exposing the dominant discourses around racism that have caused myself and many other racialized minorities to remain silent on the oppressions and unequal power relations that have characterized our lives. The writing of this thesis enabled my journey toward a greater social consciousness.

More concretely, the central purpose of this thesis was to use the 1991 Principal's Advisory Committe Policy Report on Race Relations as a case study to examine the multi-layered tensions and contradictions that exist in institutions of higher education in responding to incidents of racism on campus. On the one hand, institutions of higher learning, specifically those individuals who hold positions of power and authority within them, espouse overarching commitments to ideals of equity and inclusion. They invest in creating equity committees, anti-racism reports, and task forces. Yet, on the other hand, they continue to employ subtle, tacit, manipulative ways to oppress the very members they claim to help and value. What does this tension mean? How might one recognize it? How is it formed?

Connecting the Stories Together

In the literature I reviewed and through the collection of my theoretical framework, two main knowledge frameworks were used to understand unequal distributions of power: critical race theory and policy discourse analysis. Sometimes the sources for these conceptual frameworks were seen as overlapping, and there were a number of consistencies between my study and the academic theory and literature.

The scholarship on systemic racism in higher education indicates that racism continues to affect the experiences of racialized faculty and students at institutions of higher education (such as the University of Toronto, OISE, and Queen's University). Furthermore, critical race and anti-racist education scholars suggest that the culpability and ignorance of the academy in addressing racism is due to the larger culture of denying the existence of racism on campus (Bannerji, 1995; Razack,1998; Kobayashi, 2001). This denial of racism was also reflected in the interviews of many of the research participants and in the public letters of opposition to implementing the *1991 PAC Report*. The denial of racism was exercised through the use of liberal White discourses or discourses of denial which act to dismiss discussions on discrimination. The tactic was utilized at

Queen's through the public letters of opposition where members of the university sited various discourses of denial such as 'political correctness', 'merit', 'reverse discrimination,' and the need for 'proof'. These discursive tactics worked to prevent the report from moving forward and being implemented. Furthermore, the interviewees noted that the *1991 Report on Race Relations* was simply another form or structure put into place simply to pay 'lip service' to diversity and equity at Queen's but was never truly designed to diminish inequalities.

Critical discourse analyses, explain that racial prejudices are prominently acquired and shared within the dominant groups in institutions of higher education, particularly through 'everyday' institutional text and talk. When this 'everyday' talk is deconstructed, it reveals the ways in which dominant discourses legitimate, conceal or deny acts of discrimination and racism (van Dijk, 1992). Finally, critical discourse theorists, such as van Dijk, 1992, explain that one of the most powerful tactics that contribute to the maintenance of the discourse of denial is the act of "positive self-preservation or facekeeping" (p. 89). The law, as well as general norms and values, prohibit racial discrimination. As van Dijk (1992) points out, many, if not most, White group members are aware of these social taboos and constraints and also may acknowledge these taboos. Therefore, even the most racist discourses, attitudes, and opinions are often mitigated with justifications or denials of racism that preserve positive self-image and 'save face' as most individuals do not wish to be labeled as racist. In considering a statement from one of the letters of opposition to 1991 PAC Report (as presented in a previous section) - such as *'I have nothing against visible minorities, but if we use race as a criterion to determine academic admission in certain departments we run the risk of lowering our academic standards'*[5] - I have attempted to show how the expression of such sentiments is able to detract emphasis from the racial prejudice

[5] This is a paraphrasing of the general sentiment of responses within the report.

and assumption embedded in the statement under the guise of academic integrity. van Dijk (1992) explains this tactic in more detail:

> Hence, when speakers emphasize that 'they have nothing against blacks' (or other minority groups), such disclaimers focus on a more permanent attitude, rather than on the specific (negative) opinion now being expressed about some specific outgroup member or some specific ethnic or racial action or event. (p. 90)

The result of this tactic is racial hegemony as the tactic becomes embedded in the everyday social discourses of the university. Racial discrimination becomes natural and invisible making it difficult to identify, confront, and prove. This tactic was also demonstrated at Queen's University especially in the discourses of the public letters and through the comments and observations of the interviewees of why the PAC Report's recommendations did not get implemented. For example, one letter writer suggests dismissing the reports recommendations altogether by arguing that the university should not be held accountable to examine its systemic and institutional cultures of exclusion, but rather "one-off" instances of racism should be dealt with on a case by case basis:

> There is in the report a reprehensible tone of insinuation and vagueness. I am not denying that there are racial incidences at Queen's. I do not know of any, but it would be astonishing if there were none in a university this size. Egregious instances can be brought to the attention of the Ontario Commission on Human Rights. I recommend to the Queen's community that the report be rejected completely as an analysis of conditions at Queen's and as a basis for reform. (R #3, letter)

In re-presenting this example here from earlier in the thesis, I use it to emphasize the subtle and complex structure of racism as a discursive technology. The writer begins with a statement that attempts to preserve positive self image and demonstrates empathy: *"I am not denying there are racial incidences at Queens";* but then quickly questions and rejects that racial discrimination is taking place on campus because he/she has not witnessed it themselves. Instead, he/she suggests that the failings of individuals should be dealt with by legal measures rather than addressing the

culture of the institution more generally. The tendency to treat acts of racism as "one-off" or isolated incidences because one has not witnessed it- can have detrimental effects (such as self doubt and shame) to the victims of racist acts and adds to the slippery discursive slope of denial.

According to Henry and Tator (1994a) there is a tendency on the part of "White Canadians" to dismiss easily the accumulated body of evidence documenting racial prejudice and different treatment, including victims' testimonies and experiences" (p. 1).

Furthermore, according to the Henry Report, the Qualitative study conducted in 2003 to examine the experiences of racialized faculty on campus, Queen's University suffers from a culture of Whiteness and racism and the experiences described by racialized faculty are reflective of this culture of Whiteness. She noted that the demographic of the university faculty and students were mostly White individuals and the values and beliefs of the university are dominated by White men. She indicates because of the pervasive nature of Whiteness, Whites at the university are unaware of how their actions, beliefs, values, contribute to maintaining a culture of inequality. In her analysis and findings, Dr. Henry also reflected quite heavily on the 1991 PAC Report and explains while there was an initial drive to implement some of the recommendations in the PAC Report many of these initiatives simply provided lip service to equity and diversity leaders and few of the recommendations in the report have actually been implemented. (Henry, 2004)

The consistency between the interviewees' thoughts on why the PAC Report was abandoned and the discourses of denials demonstrated in the public letters suggest that Queen's lacked the full commitment and community support to anti-racism tenets to follow through on implementing the PAC Report's recommendations.

Ending the Story

My interviews with the original members of the 1991 PAC on Race Relations and analysis of the Queen's community public letters of opposition toward adopting the recommendations of

the Report have come together to create a piece of research which I hope provides a new perspective of remembering anti-racism at Queen's University. In adhering to a critical discourse and race studies approach to my research, I hope this work has created the conditions to deconstruct and penetrate the social veils that masked the rationales of opposition that contributed to the abandonment of the 1991 PAC Report. I wish for this research to provide an opportunity to question the culture, motivation, and contradictions that characterize the anti-racism policy development and inaction and how it reproduces racism in higher education.

Recommendations

The following section will highlight a number of recommendations that might be considered by the university in developing system wide anti-racism approaches and initiatives.

1. Create ongoing opportunities for social discussion and exchanges:

Institutions must recognize the ways in which everyday text, social talk, and behaviors can oppress and silence marginalized groups, and to develop and provide strategies and options for addressing them. Critical race scholars explain that the stories, beliefs, and values which most widely circulate in society are those which are forcefully and repeatedly told and exchanged by privileged groups. (Delgado, 1995). Thus, these scholars advocate for the creation and telling of "counter stories" or stories constructed by racialized people. The importance of regular and ongoing opportunities for dialogue and exchanges within and between racialized groups that are shared widely and publicly will challenge and transform dominant and supposedly 'objective' stories of notions of truth (Crenshaw et al., 1995; Delgado, 1995). Opportunities for social discussion and exchanges could take place through ongoing staff and faculty training, and regular open town hall forum discussions for students, faculty, staff and community members to share thoughts, experiences, and day to day life on attending/working at Queen's University. As Freire (1996) indicates, dialogue becomes central to the naming and renaming of human experience and

possibilities.

Indeed, counter stories provide a number of benefits to racialized people including sources of strength, power and knowledge. Furthermore, the public exchanges and distributions of counter stories can help to make the experiences of racialized people more accessible to the general public bringing greater awareness to their oppression and the ways in social institutions such as universities can perpetuate this oppression.

Another area to explore is the critical examination of the racial representation of the professoriate/administrative members and design recruitment and promotion strategies that attract and promote qualified racially diverse candidates. Queen's University has only ever seen White Deans and Principals. Henry and Tator (1994) express that this is not uncommon, as institutions of higher education are especially non-representative of racial diversity at senior management levels.

2. Implement existing policy recommendations:

The university must heighten efforts to revisit the recommendations of the PAC Report, conduct a thorough needs assessment of the university in regards to what has been achieved, and what needs to be accomplished, and hold someone in a position of power accountable to implement the crucial social, academic and administrative changes. The Report continues to act as a valuable springboard for offering new possibilities and commitments for achieving racial equality on campus, and is a powerful document whose implementation would serve the university well in its struggles to address the ongoing experiences of racism of members of the University community. It is my hope that administrators, faculty, students, and staff at Queen's engage in ongoing discussion about the experiences of racialized members on campus and whole-heartedly invest in time, money, resources, and systems to develop, monitor, and evaluate future anti-racism education efforts on campus. It is important to note though that the desire to change

the ingrained characteristics of institutional discriminatory thinking and acting require everyone's efforts. As bell hooks (1989) so eloquently concludes: "it is our collective responsibility as people of colour and as white people who are committed to ending white supremacy to help one another" (p. 118).

3. Collaborate with larger government bodies:

The university should collaborate with larger government agencies and bodies to engage in regular or annual systems-wide evaluation processes of the university campuses for the purpose of documenting perceptions, and experiences, by which to develop programmes of support and services aimed at addressing issues of discrimination proactively- not reactively.

While this recommendation is important, one must also keep in mind that:

> There is no blueprint for successful anti-racism, no one 'correct' way. What succeeds at one time, or in one context, may not be appropriate at a later date or in another context. Racism changes; it works differently through different processes ... and changes with particular institutional contexts. Anti-racism must recognize and adapt to this complexity. (Gillborn, 2000, p. 486)

Here Gillborn warns about approaching too simplistically the complexity of implementing an anti-racism framework and pedagogy. This caveat aside, the recommendation for systematic oversight remains a significant outcome of this research.

Post-Script

For myself, the undertaking of this research has brought with it a number of personal challenges and changes. Indeed, research is a transformative process, and by engaging in telling the story of how a monumental institutional policy recommendation was abandoned and neglected, I could also not help remember and revisit the many personal stories of racial neglect and abandonment I experienced throughout my life. Through this research, and the writing and telling of the stories I am left with a hope in new possibilities of activism, action, and change. Thus, I conclude my work here with a quote that inspires me to continuing remembering and telling forgotten stories:

We live by stories, we also live in them. One way or another we are living the stories planted in us early or along the way, or we are also living the stories we planted—knowingly or unknowingly—in ourselves. We live stories that either give our lives meaning or negate it with meaninglessness. If we change the stories we live by, quite possibly we change our lives. (Ben Okri, 1997, p.1)

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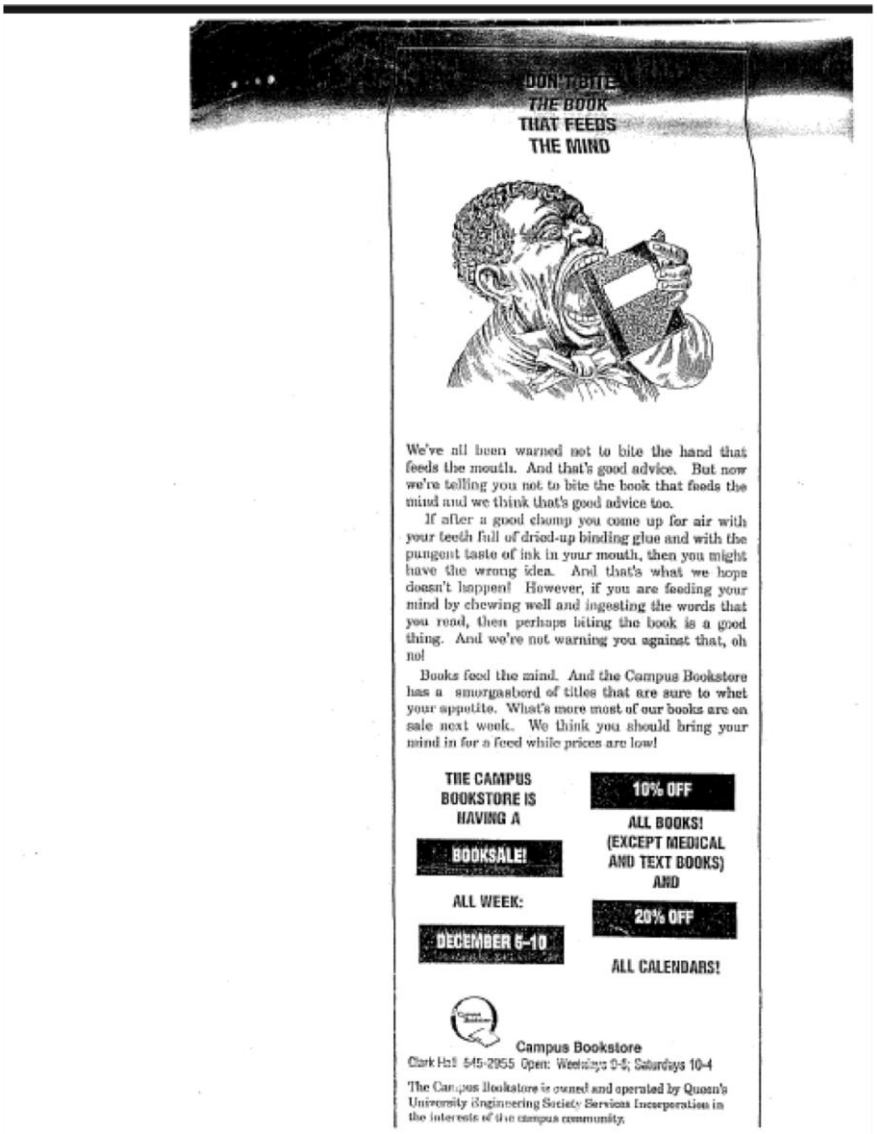
Appendix

Figure A: Sample of interview questions

I will be asking you questions concerning your participation and role on the 1991 Principal's Advisory Committee (PAC) on Race Relations. Also, I am interested in your thoughts and observations regarding the process and development of the PAC report, and the subsequent lack of implementation of the various policies proposed in the report. When possible, please provide as many concrete details and specific examples along with your own perspectives and experiences. All information will be confidential and your identity will be masked.

- How did you come to be involved with the 1991 Principal's Advisory Committee (PAC) on Race Relations? Were you a faculty representative, student representative, etc.?
- How did members come to sit on this committee? Was there a formal appointment process or a process of self- nomination?
- What were the circumstances under which the 1991 PAC on Race Relations was formed? What led to the formation of this task force?
- What was the main mandate or mission of this committee?
- How did you come to be interested in this committee?
- What did you see as the main purposes of the development of this policy?
- From your point of view, could you describe the *process* of developing the policy recommendations. How did the committee begin to develop the policy recommendations? How transparent was the process? Who was involved?
- What was your role in making, developing and/ or revising the policy?
- Were there any challenges in the process of doing so?
- From your point of view, did you find the policy development process effective? Why or why not?
- How did the rest of the Queen's community respond to and react to the policy initiative and the committee as a whole?
- What were the committee's expectations of the policy document after the final draft was completed?

Figure B: Copy of advertisement "Don't bite the hand that feeds"



DON'T BITE
THE BOOK
THAT FEEDS
THE MIND

We've all been warned not to bite the hand that feeds the mouth. And that's good advice. But now we're telling you not to bite the book that feeds the mind and we think that's good advice too.

If after a good chomp you come up for air with your teeth full of dried-up binding glue and with the pungent taste of ink in your mouth, then you might have the wrong idea. And that's what we hope doesn't happen! However, if you are feeding your mind by chewing well and ingesting the words that you read, then perhaps biting the book is a good thing. And we're not warning you against that, oh no!

Books feed the mind. And the Campus Bookstore has a smorgasbord of titles that are sure to whet your appetite. What's more most of our books are on sale next week. We think you should bring your mind in for a feed while prices are low!

THE CAMPUS BOOKSTORE IS HAVING A

BOOKSALE!

ALL WEEK:

DECEMBER 6–10

10% OFF

ALL BOOKS!
(EXCEPT MEDICAL AND TEXT BOOKS)
AND

20% OFF

ALL CALENDARS!

Campus Bookstore

Clark Hall 545-2955 Open: Weekdays 9-5; Saturdays 10-4

The Campus Bookstore is owned and operated by Queen's University Engineering Society Services Incorporation in the interests of the campus community.

Figure C: Copy of poster "Muslims go home"

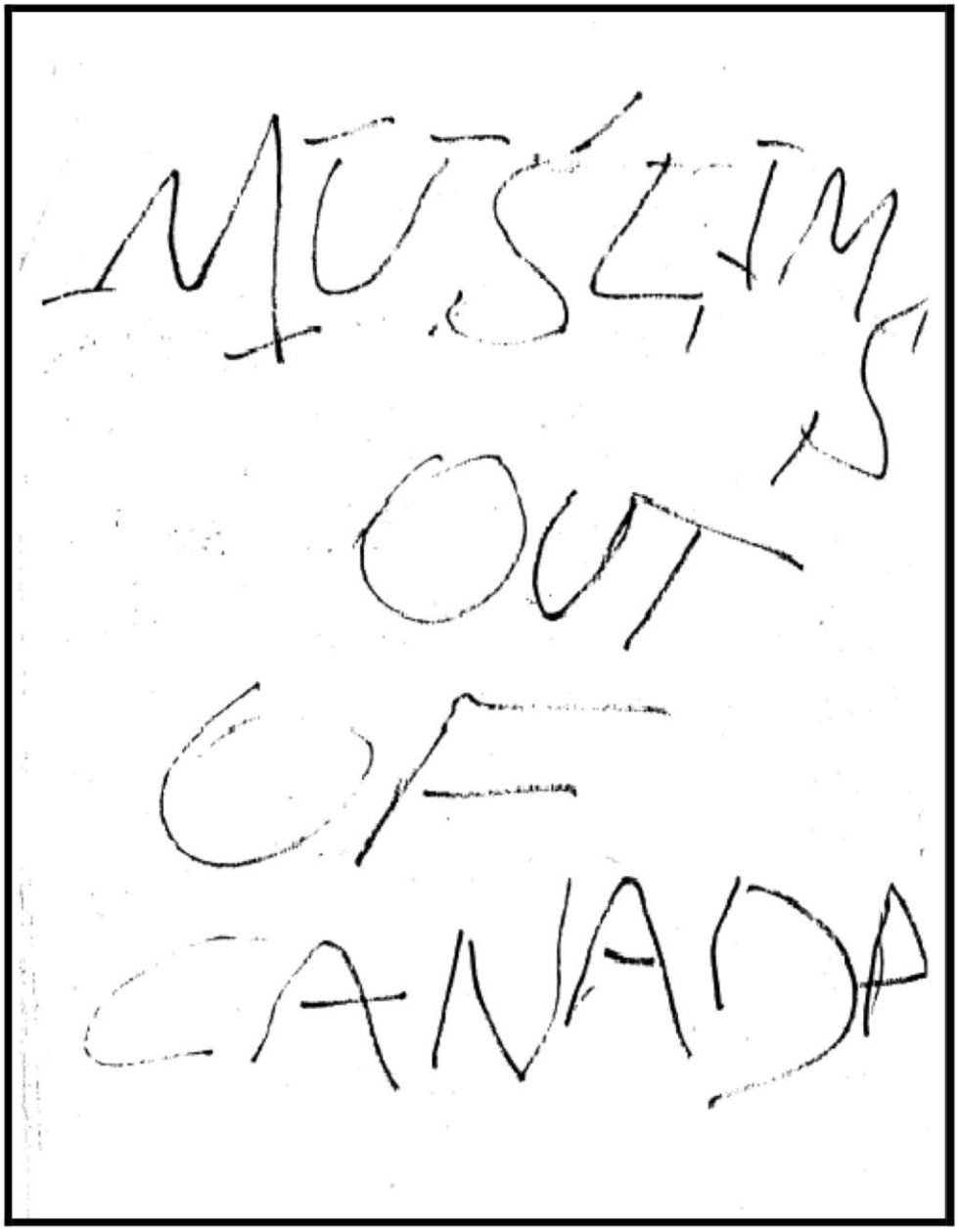
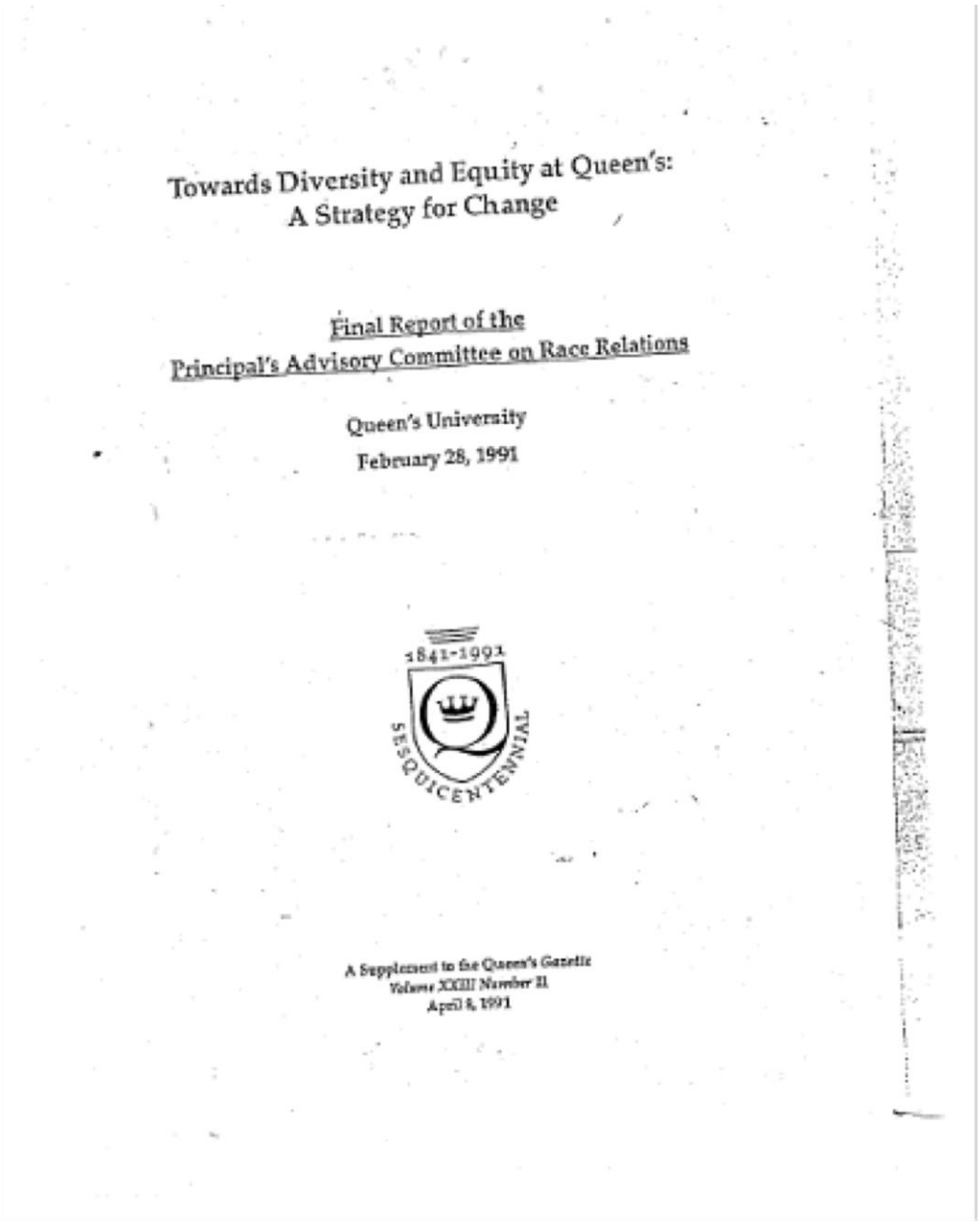


Figure D: Copy of final report of the Principal's Advisory Committee on Race Relations



Towards Diversity and Equity at Queen's:
A Strategy for Change

Final Report of the
Principal's Advisory Committee on Race Relations

Queen's University
February 28, 1991

1841-1991
SESQUICENTENNIAL

A Supplement to the Queen's Gazette
Volume XXIII Number II
April 8, 1991

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1 Introduction

The work of the Principal's Advisory Committee on Race Relations has been to set the University on a course of change to achieve an institution where 'Every member of the University-faculty, staff or student - has the right to freedom from discrimination in the University because of race, ancestry, place of origin, colour, ethnic origin, citizenship, and creed.'[1]

Our activity may be placed within a broader framework of change at Queen's, guided by the:

'principle of the equal dignity of every member of society as a rational and self-determining human being. The University cannot flourish if some members are made to feel their concerns and needs rate lower than those of others. Queen's has an obligation to create and maintain an environment in which all its members may pursue their common purpose without fear of [in]justices, indignity or bodily harm'.[2]

Canadian society has changed dramatically in the past three decades, not only demographically, but also in terms of public attitudes and social policies. Human diversity is a fact, and it will increase; there is both public and official acceptance of this diversity. Queen's has educational, ethical and legal obligations to embrace these changes. Many prefer that we be at the forefront of these changes, and expect that we will be so:

'Queen's University is expected to set standards: academic standards, ethical standards, standards of tolerance, and of human and social behaviour.'[3]

As a university of national standing, we must judge ourselves by national criteria. Institutions often lag behind political and demographic changes in society; however, at some point, the discrepancy needs to be addressed. This point has arrived, indeed is overdue, at Queen's.

Implementation of the recommendations of this Report, we believe, will be an important step toward such change at Queen's. It will enable us to take a proactive position with respect to racism, while at the same time establishing an effective means to deal with racial discrimination.

The Committee (See Appendix 1) has sought to fulfill its Terms of Reference (see Appendix 2) by consulting broadly in the University and the Kingston community, holding a number of public and private meetings, and examining race relations policies and practices at some other universities (see Appendix 3).

Over the course (since March 1989) the Committee has met forty-two times, has held two open forums (in November 1989) to discuss issues of racism generally, organized two sets of public Workshops (in March and October 1990) on ten specific topics (see Appendix 4) in order to receive suggestions for recommendations, and has held numerous discussions with individuals and groups. In addition, a Draft Report was presented in December, 1990 for comment and discussion. These further consultations have led to some clarifications and elaborations that appear in this Final Report. In particular, clarifications about some areas of common concern are included in Section 9, such as evidence for racism at Queen's, academic freedom, categorizing by race, quotas, and the meaning of excellence. The preparation of the recommendations was done in small working groups, with the assistance of many persons who were not members of the Committee. This Report is the result of this process of consultation and participation. We acknowledge and thank all those who assisted, challenged, and scoffed; without their concern, and their heated and pointed questions, we could not have achieved the range, or the depth of the contents of this Report.

Part way into the work of the Committee, (in November, 1989) we advised the Principal that there is a problem of racism at Queen's. This conclusion was based upon evidence gathered by the Committee from a large number of sources, including the examination of University publications (policies, calendars etc), and the statements of many individuals and groups who had observed, or been the victims of, racism at Queen's (see Section 9 a). Our finding prompted him to declare that 'Queen's University must be committed and strive to create a collegial learning environment where racism no longer exists. Racism should not be tolerated at this University'. The present Report is based upon the judgment that racism is a problem, and that it should not be tolerated at Queen's.

This Report is firmly rooted in principles of human rights. From the United Nations Declaration, to the Canadian Charter of Rights and Freedoms, and to the Ontario Human Rights Code, there is universal acceptance that individuals should be free from discrimination and harassment because of their inclusion in a definable group. In particular, Section 10 of the Ontario Human Rights Code places a responsibility upon the University to consider not only the intent, but also the effect of various policies and programmes upon racial minorities. Moreover, the Ontario Human Rights Code (Section 13) permits special programs to pursue collective rights for disadvantaged groups. Our Committee has adopted this human right perspective in an attempt to achieve consensus about what Queen's ought to strive for as an institution. The goal, quite simply, is to welcome diversity and achieve equity, so that we can better meet the needs of all members of Canadian society.

In this Report, we identify objectives, make recommendations, and indicate to whom we believe the recommendations should be conveyed by the Principal for appropriate action. This structure, we believe, allows for the building of consensus in the University around the objectives, even though there may be some disagreement about how to achieve these ob-

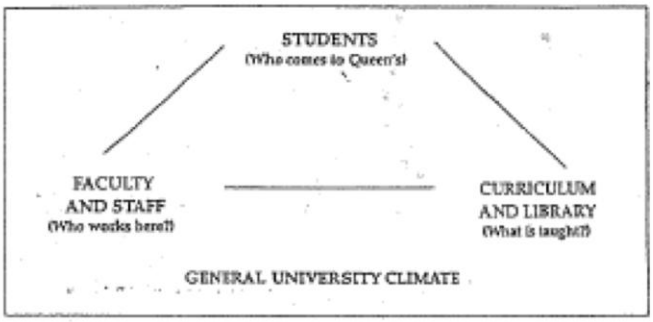
jectives, or who should be responsible for achieving them. We further believe that if the objectives can be agreed upon, then the resulting sense of common purpose and goodwill can form the basis for further agreement about specific actions and responsibilities.

We have examined racism at Queen's in a number of domains. Rather than reporting each domain separately, we attempt to present an integrated account, one that emphasizes the relationships among the issues. There are six main sections: Recruitment and Admission of Students; Hiring/Appointment, Promotion and Tenure; Curriculum and Library; University Climate; Implementation and Complaints Procedures.

The first three are intimately connected: who comes to study at Queen's, who teaches and provides services here, and what is taught and learned, are issues that affect each other, and must be addressed, and changed, together (see Figure). All three issues are set in a general university climate that includes:

- support services (counselling, housing, food);
- information (publications and promotional materials);
- cultural policy (art, concerts, lectures) and awards (including honorary degrees);
- religious observances and the scheduling of activities (exams, holidays);
- graduate supervision and research ethics;
- orientation;
- relationships with the broader Kingston community.

The final two sections deal with procedures for handling complaints and with implementation. The latter proposes a way in which Queen's can undertake, and monitor, the changes which are necessary to establish an anti-racist university, where every person can feel welcome, valued and justly treated.



2 Definitions

A Racism and Race

By *racism* we mean the negative valuing and discriminatory treatment of individuals and groups on the basis of their race. Beyond this definition, we wish to identify some aspects of racism that are meant in this Report:

(i) The term *race* is intended to focus on visible minorities and First Nations peoples. In keeping with the Ontario Human Rights Commission usage 4, the term *race* is also used to include all race-related grounds: race, ancestry, place of origin, colour, ethnic origin, citizenship and creed.

(ii) *Racism* can be manifested in both personal attacks and insults, and in the structure of social institutions. This is the well-known distinction between personal racism (insults, harassment and discrimination directed at individuals), and institutional or systemic racism (the conventional practices or structures of institutions whose effects are to exclude, or discriminate against individuals or groups). Thus, racism can be present in apparently neutral arrangements, as well as in hostile acts.

(iii) *Racism* may be intentional or unintentional. It can be the result of activity or arrangements that set out to discriminate or harm, or it can result from ignorance or inadvertance. The presence of racism can be detected by its effects, in addition to its intent.

(iv) *Racism* is more than prejudice: it involves differential power to act on such prejudice, leading to discrimination, inequality and exclusion. In this Report, we are particularly concerned with racism as it affects those in a minority position. However, discrimination directed towards any individual or group is unacceptable.

(v) *Racial minority group* is the term used to refer to visible minorities and First Nations peoples unless otherwise expanded to include other groups mentioned in (i) above.

B Anti-racist Perspective

This Report adopts an anti-racist stance. Not only does it not accept the promotion of racism at Queen's, it does not accept it as a legitimate point of view within the range of academic discourse (see Section 9 b). This Report advocates an explicit anti-racist position as the only ethically and educationally acceptable position for a just and humane institution. A university that is merely non-racist may be seen as tolerating racism as an acceptable point of view; this we reject.

C Human Diversity

While this Report focuses on the racial aspect of human diversity, we recognize that Canadian society has other dimensions to its diversity: gender, culture, disability, sexual orientation and economic disadvantage. After lengthy discussion, the Committee agreed that the racial issues would be blurred if all disadvantaged groups were addressed in one document. For example, sexism, racism and classism are inextricably linked, but the mandate of the Committee was to address racism. However, attention must be paid, and objectives set by the University, to change the double and sometimes triple disadvantage that some members of society face.

3 Recruitment and Admission of Students

Education is a basic human right which should be accessible to all segments of society. In reality it is not. Post secondary education is available, but it is not accessible to specific groups within our society for a multitude of reasons which include race and class inequality. In a society which values and rewards individual achievement, racism acts as an impediment to individual and group accomplishment for racial minority students. The consequences of past and present discrimination to these students are enormous and incalculable.

Racial minority students are underrepresented in the university population generally, and in particular, at Queen's. This under-representation is a direct result of the systemic racism which pervades all levels of the education process. In particular, streaming and assessment practices from the earliest years through to the end of secondary school, divert members of racial minority groups from the university track. University structures and procedures in areas such as recruiting and admissions maintain and reinforce barriers that racial and ethnic minority students face as they assert their right to a post secondary education.

Systemic racial discrimination within the education system is experienced from the point of entry for racial minority students, and continues unabated until their point of departure. For many students, the day to day struggle against historic and systemic racial discrimination culminates in an inadequate secondary education, and limited or restricted access to post secondary education.

Queen's University should, within its recruitment and admissions policies and procedures, find a method that incorporates recognition of this systemic racial discrimination. Further, it should recognize that this discrimination has and will continue to affect life opportunities, including access to post secondary institutions, for racial minority students. Policies and practices must be developed and implemented which are actively anti-racist and non-discriminatory.

A General recommendation for recruitment and admissions

1 Queen's University should make a concrete commitment to anti-racism and equality in recruitment and admissions. This commitment should include recognition and admission of past inequality, and should articulate the need to continue looking for ways to improve the accessibility to Queen's for racial minorities.
(Responsibility: Principal)

B Recruitment of Students

Recruitment of Students: Objectives

1 To ensure that recruitment policies and practices are actively non-discriminatory.

2 To recognize that the traditional recruitment process is discriminatory in its effect.

3 To develop and implement recruitment policies and practices which will make Queen's attractive and accessible to racial minority groups.

Recruitment of Students: Recommendations

1 The entire recruitment process should be examined; the goal is the elimination of racial and ethnic bias, and the implementation of a positive and affirmative recruitment policy for racial minorities.
(Responsibility: Registrar)

2 The selection of high schools from which Queen's recruits candidates should be analyzed for any bias, and the list should be expanded to include high schools with large populations of racial minority students.
(Responsibility: Registrar; AMS)

3 Queen's recruitment activities should extend into First Nations, visible and ethnic minority communities; and in so doing Queen's should acknowledge and articulate the existence of past and present inequalities in the recruitment and admissions process. Recruiters should address and directly convey the commitment of Queen's to anti-racist, non-discriminatory policies and practices.
(Responsibility: Registrar)

4 Individuals who represent Queen's in recruitment should include racial minorities.
(Responsibility: Registrar)

5 A review of the recruitment practices of other Canadian universities for racial minority students should be undertaken by Queen's in order to see what can be learned and what should be avoided.
(Responsibility: Registrar)

6 All promotional materials should portray a diversified Queen's.
(Responsibility: Registrar; Public Relations)

7 An active recruitment policy focussing on historically under-represented and disadvantaged racial minorities should be developed. This policy needs to specifically define disadvantaged and under-represented groups.
(Responsibility: Registrar)

8 One 'liaison officer' should have the following two responsibilities:

a) foster and maintain ongoing contact with racial minority groups

b) to integrate these objectives within the existing recruitment liaison positions.
(Responsibility: Registrar)

C Admissions

Admissions: Objectives

1 To ensure that the presence of systemic racism is acknowledged, and recognized as a factor to be considered in the admissions process.

2 To ensure that the selection process for admissions is free of racial bias and discriminatory practices.

3 To admit more racial minority students in the undergraduate/graduate/professional faculties, to a level that at least reflects their percentage in the Canadian population.

4 To increase accessibility to Queen's for racial minority students who may not meet traditional admissions criteria.

Admissions: Recommendations

1 Queen's should undertake to obtain data on diversity, based upon self-identification (see Section 9 c) in the Queen's student population for recruitment and admission purposes. These data should distinguish between international, permanent residents, and Canadian students. Racial minority students should sit on the committee which develops and reviews the questionnaire.
(Responsibility: University Registrar, Graduate Registrar)

2 Specific goals (see Section 9 d) need to be set which will at least make the number of racial minority students admitted to Queen's reflective of their percentage in the overall Canadian population.
(Responsibility: Registrars)

3 A substantial proportion of the existing bursary money should be designated for racial minority students. A new bursary fund should be developed to assist racial minority students. The availability of this money should be publicized in high schools, universities, appropriate communi-

ties and their media.
(Responsibility: Registrars)

4 An admissions equity program needs to be developed and implemented. This program should include a "tie breaker" process which factors in the additional barriers that racial minority students must have overcome in order to achieve academic excellence. Racial minority applicants should be viewed as special, and/or advantaged, rather than disadvantaged with respect to admissions requirements.
(Responsibility: Registrars)

*A tie breaker process may be defined as the following: When a racial minority student and a white student appear equal on paper, it should be remembered when deciding which applicant to accept, that the racial minority student has had to overcome systemic racism within the education system and is therefore likely to be the stronger applicant.

5 Racial minorities should be represented at every stage of the admissions process. This includes, but is not restricted to, positions on admissions selection committees.
(Responsibility: Registrars, Departmental Graduate Admissions Committees)

6 Faculties should implement ongoing yearly reviews of their admissions policies and criteria with respect to race and ethnic diversity.
(Responsibility: Deans)

7 A commitment should be made by each Faculty to establish yearly goals for racial minority admissions.
(Responsibility: Deans)

8 A professional development training program should be developed and implemented for admissions committees in order that they can learn new ways of evaluating scholarship without bias.
(Responsibility: Personnel; Registrar)

9 A comprehensive review should be undertaken of the process of application for admission in order to eliminate any inherent bias. This should include an assessment of the criteria necessary for admission to Queen's. Policies which determine the acceptability of non-Canadian qualifications and degrees should be reviewed for bias.
(Responsibility: Registrar)

10 A one-year preparatory program should be developed for students who wish to enter university and who have the potential, but who lack the required academic preparation and skills which would enable them to enter and succeed. Queen's should examine the existing programs currently in place at the University of Toronto and Dalhousie University before setting up its own program. (See Appendix 2)
(Responsibility: Principal, Deans)

4 Hiring, Appointments, Promotion, Tenure

The University needs to better represent the character of the Canadian workforce population, for two reasons: it is essential on educational and ethical grounds, and it is required to do so as part of the the Federal Contractors Program.

In June 1987, as part of an agreement to bid on Federal Government Contracts of over $200,000, Queen's University committed to implementing an employment equity program. Part of that commitment was to do a census to see how representative women, aboriginal people, visible minorities and persons with a disability are in the Queen's Workforce. The Employment Equity Census of January 29, 1990 (*Queen's Gazette* - October 22, 1990) showed that racial minority employees were under-represented on the Queen's campus. The second part of that commitment is to set numerical goals (see section 9 d) and timetables as well as institute special measures, as allowed under section 13 of the Ontario Human Rights Code, in order to correct the imbalance of qualified racial minority faculty and staff.

A Hiring/Appointments

Hiring/Appointments: Objectives

1 Hire/appoint more racial minority group members (visible minorities and First Nations peoples) in all of the major occupational groups (Abella Codes)5 since Queen's is below the provincial percentage for racial minorities, in the workplace, in all 12 occupational categories (Queen's Employment Equity Census 1989 and Statistics Canada Census 1986). The general objective is that the job distribution at least reflect the racial and ethnic diversity of the Canadian working population.

2 Appoint more racial minority persons into tenure track positions.

3 Hire/appoint more racial minority persons into higher positions or levels of responsibility throughout the University (Academic & Non-academic) so as to provide additional perspectives at the decision-making levels but also appropriate role models in the system.

4 Ensure a fair distribution of racial minorities in committee appointments in order to attain diversity.

Hiring/Appointments: Recommendations

1 Hire/appoint qualified racial minority group members in their areas of expertise, so that they reflect, but are not limited to their percentage in the Ontario workforce.
(Responsibility: Selection Committees)

2 Appoint qualified faculty from racial minority groups with the appropriate interest and expertise to teach courses on racial and cultural studies. Where this is not possible, then appoint qualified faculty with a demonstrated commitment to anti-racist education to teach these courses.
(Responsibility: Selection Committees)

3 Develop specially funded programs (or extend QNS) to recruit suitably qualified candidates from racial minority groups (this is not to be seen as a substitute for the regular appointment process).
(Responsibility: Principal)

4 Redefine, best qualified and excellence (see Section 9e), so as to acknowledge relevant life experiences, academic/training equivalences (eg foreign credentials), service on committees, counselling, contribution to racial minority publications, community service etc.
(Responsibility: Council on Employment Equity)

5 Focus advertisements to indicate the commitment to hiring/appointing members of racial minority groups.

a) Contents of advertisements should reflect a strong desire to attract candidates from racial minority groups, and that Queen's is signatory to the Federal Contractors Program.

b) In addition to standard professional journals, jobs should be advertised in publications specifically directed to members of racial minority groups (eg Share, and Contrast).

c) Request Chairs of university departments in Canada to suggest the names of possible candidates from racial minority groups.

d) Develop a proactive recruitment strategy which involves racial minority communities to attract qualified

candidates to fill available positions
(Responsibility: Personnel, Deans, Department Heads)

6 Ensure that a complete statistical review (see Section 9 c) is done on all hiring and appointments. Part of this applicant tracking review would include total number of applicants, numbers interviewed, numbers hired, and at what level. The number of candidates from racial minority groups must be clearly indicated at all stages of the hiring/appointments process. This is currently done for men and women and would be expanded through a self-identification applicant tracking process approved by Ontario Human Rights legislation (Section 13).
(Responsibility: Employment Equity Coordinator)

7 Develop a search committee information package to assist in conducting creative, affirmative searches from the time of identifying departmental needs through to the final choice among candidates. This package would contain facts on human rights issues including racism and relevant legislation.
(Responsibility: Personnel)

8 All selection committees should be prepared to justify their selection(s) and, where applicable, to account for the non-selection of candidates from racial minority groups.
(Responsibility: Personnel, Principal, Deans, Employment Equity)

9 Ensure that the University adheres to Federal Employment and Immigration Department policy of hiring Canadian citizens and permanent residents over foreign applicants. This allows qualified Canadians with a racial minority ancestry to be hired/appointed first.
(Responsibility: Principal)

10 Ensure that the top rated, suitably qualified candidate from a racial minority group is seriously entered into the competition. Such a candidate who has self-identified through the University's applicant tracking program, should be invited for an interview.
(Responsibility: Directors, Deans, Department Heads)

11 Ensure that distance is not a factor in bringing qualified candidates for interview. (Note: This takes into account the fact that, given the relative dearth of local candidates from racial minority groups, it may be necessary to recruit them from farther afield.)
(Responsibility: Directors, Deans, Department Heads)

12 Given that racial minority women have been identified as doubly disadvantaged, ensure in all recruitment interviews, issues of parental leave, child care, tenure expectations, available support systems and the quality of life in the surrounding community are addressed. Also allow for the possibility of flexible appointments, eg shared appointments, delayed appointments, etc.
(Responsibility: Directors, Deans, Department Heads

13 Provide incentives (such as additional full-time positions), to departments that succeed in hiring/appointing outstanding candidates from racial minority groups.
(Responsibility: Principal)

14 In order to ensure that representation of racial minority groups does not fall below current levels, any vacancies arising from retirement or resignation of such persons should be designated for replacement in the University and where possible in the department being vacated, by a qualified visible minority or First Nation person.
(Responsibility: Principal)

15 Encourage faculties and departments to define what constitutes 'success' or 'quality' in the world outside academe, and recruit from among these experienced practitioners.
(Responsibility: Deans, Department Heads)

16 A demonstrated commitment to hiring/appointment of racial minority faculty and staff should be tied into management performance reviews and merit pay increases.
(Responsibility: Principal, Vice-Principals, Directors, Deans, Department Heads, Managers)

17 Encourage the participation of, and appoint members of, racial minority groups to the Board of Trustees, Senate, Advisory Committees, in fund raising campaigns, etc.
(Responsibility: Principal, Vice-Principals)

18 Develop programs which bring in senior faculty from other universities from racial minority groups for short-term exchanges.
(Responsibility: Deans, Department Heads)

19 Review existing hiring and promotion practices in order to identify systemic barriers to employment at Queen's. This is a requirement of the Federal Contractors Program.
(Responsibility: Faculty Advisor on Employment Equity, Employment Equity Coordinator, Personnel)

20 Most international students are racial minorities; should they need to earn money they can only do so by finding work at the University. University employers should give first consideration to qualified candidates from this group when filling casual and temporary positions at all levels. The AMS Work Bursary program could be the vehicle for dealing with this area, as this mechanism is already in place.
(Responsibility: Personnel, Department Heads, Individual Supervisors, AMS)

B Tenure and Promotion

Tenure and Promotion: Objectives

1 Increase the number of racial minority group members (visible minorities and First Nations peoples) who are tenured.

2 Increase the number of racial minority persons who are assistant, associate and full professors.

3 Increase the number of racial minority persons who are in upper and middle management, and are managers/supervisors in the professional, semi-professional, supervisory and foremen/women categories.

Tenure and Promotion: Recommendations

1 Promote more racial minority group members into tenured positions so that they reflect but are not limited to their percentage in the Ontario workforce.
(Responsibility: Tenure Committees)

2 Promote more racial minority group members into higher faculty ranks/staff occupational categories so that they reflect but are not limited to their percentage in the Ontario workforce.
(Responsibility: Promotion and Selection Committees)

3 Ensure that appeal procedures, especially for appeal of promotion and tenure decisions and salary increments are free of racial bias.
(Responsibility: Senate)

4 Since numbers of racial minorities are low among faculty, and pressures to become involved in committee work are high, an effort should be made to balance teaching, research and committee responsibilities to enable new racial minority faculty to establish themselves.
(Responsibility: Deans, Department Heads)

5 Encourage faculty to seek out scholars from racial minority groups for collaborative teaching and research, etc.
(Responsibility: Faculty)

6 Seek ways to recognize the additional responsibilities (such as counselling and mentoring) that are an inevitable part of the life of racial minority faculty members.
(Responsibility: QUFA, QUSA, AWTAQ, Unions, Department Heads, Tenure & Promotion Committees)

7 Recognize the legitimacy of a variety of publication outlets, including those which cater to racial minority interests.
(Responsibility: Tenure and Promotion Committees)

8 Ensure, that as far as possible, at least one racial minority member should sit on Tenure and Promotion decision and Policy Committees.
(Responsibility: Department Heads, Senate)

9 Inform new racial minority faculty and staff fully about all aspects of review for tenure and promotion.
(Responsibility: Deans, Department Heads)

5 Curriculum and Library

What is taught at a university should meet the needs of the students, and be within the competence of the faculty. While no University can teach everything, from all points of view, our judgment is that Queen's has remained too narrow and exclusive, and could do more to meet the needs of diverse students in the Canadian, and international populations. The Eurocentric character of the Queen's curriculum is not in keeping with the multicultural character of the Canadian population, or with our international obligations.

A Curriculum

Curriculum: Objective

Establish a more balanced curriculum by addressing and correcting the lack of interdisciplinary studies, lack of curriculum dealing with non-European cultures, and the inadequate use of indigenous materials. In all respects, the concept of Canadian content in curricula should reflect the Canadian mosaic. The resistance to changes in curriculum by students and faculty must also be addressed in order to establish a curriculum that reflects a multicultural and multi racial Canadian society, and prepares our graduates to work in a diverse population.

Curriculum: Recommendations

1 The University should develop a policy that will promote anti-racist education. Priority should be given to finding new resources or reallocating existing resources. This may involve the consolidation of existing programs (eg African Studies, Latin American Studies).
(Responsibility: Principal, Senate)

2 Each department/faculty should be required to assess existing curriculum with regard to racism, identify problem areas and state a strategy for change.
(Responsibility: Principal, Deans, Department Heads)

3 To ensure that a wider range of racial and cultural issues will be covered, the process of curriculum development should be reviewed, with input from racial minority students and knowledgeable persons in the community.
(Responsibility: Faculty Boards, Deans, Department Heads)

4 All course descriptions should be reviewed for accuracy. Where course content does not reflect its description, the course should be renamed to reflect what it really is (eg. History of Political Thought should be renamed History of Western Political Thought to be consistent with the course description; otherwise revise course content).
(Responsibility: Deans, Faculty Boards, Department Heads)

5 In reviewing curricula, science should not be exempted from ethics with respect to anti-racist focus (ie perpetuation of myth that science is value-free)
(Responsibility: Deans, Department Heads, Faculty Boards)

6 Reformulate what are considered to be core courses by:

a restructuring core courses so that they address other than Eurocentric issues.

b making anti-racist courses mandatory in certain curricula in order to prepare graduates to work in a multi-racial society (eg. Education, Social Sciences, Law, Health and other professions.)

c using inclusive language and taking care not to deny the reality of people of colour. All courses should be presented in an anti-racist, non-discriminatory manner.
(Responsibility: Deans, Department Heads, Faculty)

7 The language requirement in some graduate programs should be examined for relevance, particularly with regard to students who already have proficiency in non-European languages.
(Responsibility: School of Graduate Studies and Research, Department Heads)

8 Where course material is racist, professors should acknowledge this to their classes and be prepared to treat the material in a manner that will benefit the entire class.
(Responsibility: Deans, Department Heads, Faculty)

9 In order to provide instruction in a wider range of courses, faculty should be hired who can deal effectively with courses with a focus other than the Eurocentric ones.
(Responsibility: Principal, Deans, Department Heads)

10 Consideration should be given to introducing certain special inter-disciplinary fields of concentration such as Black Studies, Native Studies.* The establishment of a Department of Anthropology should be considered.
(Responsibility: Board of Trustees, Principal, Deans)

11 Curricula in professional schools should provide appropriate training with respect to racism and human diversity in all its dimensions.
(Responsibility: Deans, Heads of Departments, Faculty Boards)

12 A review of methods of teacher evaluation should be done to examine the extent to which anti-racist education is being delivered. Questions regarding the instructor's attitude on racism, and course content, should be included in the evaluation.
(Responsibility: Deans, Department Heads)

13 Ensure that all courses are evaluated by students so that undesirable biases can be identified.
(Responsibility: Departmental Student Councils, or equivalent groups)

B Library

The library will obviously have a central role in moving Queen's towards a more hospitable environment for racial minorities. There is no point in moving to anti-racist, multicultural curricula if the material to support this approach is not available in the library.
(Responsibility: Principal, Senate)

Library: Objective

Change the process of acquisitions, and cataloguing where necessary in order to provide more balanced reference material. A less Eurocentric approach should be adopted. Appropriate steps should be taken in planning the library for the 21st century so as to ensure that the current situation is not perpetuated.

Library: Recommendations

1 Student input to library acquisitions should be actively encouraged. For example, announcements should be placed in the Queen's Journal and other student publications to elicit suggestions for new acquisitions.
(Responsibility: Library, University Publications)

2 Thematic bibliographies on racial issues should be developed to supplement Q-Line.
(Responsibility: Library)

3 Develop promotional and information guides to improve access to bibliographic information (eg bookmarks on racism).
(Responsibility: Library)

4 Use the "Planning for the 'Library of the 21st Century'" as an opportunity for critical action on acquisitions, organization of the access to holdings, special collections, staff recruitment and training, library environment, all in support of an anti-racist university.
(Responsibility: Planning Committee)

5 The library campaign and the Queen's Challenge should work towards the creation of an endowed special collection for library materials of an anti-racist, anti-ethnocentric nature, as required to address the recommendations for changes in the curricula.
(Responsibility: Queen's Challenge Campaign, Library)

6 University Climate

This section draws together a number of domains of concern, all of which establish the climate for teaching, learning and living at Queen's.

A General Climate

Climate: Objective

To correct the under-representation of racial minorities and their views at all levels of the University community, in order to make the climate more welcoming. To provide a learning and living environment and support services that will ensure that racial minority students, staff and faculty will feel welcome and valued, and will remain at Queen's.

Climate: Recommendations

1 Make a clear statement of commitment to the value and importance of human diversity among all those associated with the university.
(Responsibility: Principal, Board of Trustees, AMS)

2 Make a clear statement of commitment to attract applicants (students, faculty, staff) from racial minority groups.
(Responsibility: Principal, Board of Trustees, AMS)

3 Encourage the formation and maintenance of peer support groups in order to encourage racial minorities to stay once they have been hired/appointed.
(Responsibility: QUFA, QUSA, AWTAQ, Unions)

4 Support services for racial minority students needs to be developed. Information on racial minority organizations on campus should be sent out with orientation packages. Funds should be made available to these organizations in order that they can produce this material.
(Responsibility: Vice-Principal Operations, and University Relations)

5 Establish an 'open' process for the formation of all University committees to be comprised of faculty, staff and students. All members should have equal voting rights.
(Responsibility: Department Heads)

6 Provide education and training on anti-racism and cross-cultural sensitivity for all committees, with a special emphasis on committee chairs.
(Responsibility: Personnel)

7 All administrators should be accountable for their demonstrated contribution to the University's commitment to employment equity.
(Responsibility: Principal, Vice-Principals, Deans, Director, Department Heads, Managers)

8 Eliminate the possibility of racial bias in marking, for example by using student numbers on examinations, or by other appropriate means.
(Responsibility: Registrar, Faculty, Senate)

B Support Services

Objective

To provide services that are suitable and available to all students, staff and faculty.

A Policy Recommendations

1 A University policy should be written which affirms the role of services to traditionally disadvantaged groups within the context of the academic mission of the University.
(Responsibility: Vice-Principal, Human Services, Vice-Principal, Operations)

2 The policy should have the five following 'prongs' which will lead to changes in structures, behaviour and practices:

a) it should condemn discrimination against all persons and groups, including racial minorities.

b) it should celebrate, and give positive expression to, the impact which human diversity makes on the University;

c) it should make services available, accessible and sensitive to all individuals and groups;

d) it should provide for monitoring of services, with sanctions for violations. It should state that everyone should be held accountable for upholding this policy;

e) it should evolve from a full discussion in the Queen's community about the appropriate balance between a punitive and educational approach to transgressions of human rights;

f) in developing the policy, anti-racist and racial minority organizations should be consulted.
(Responsibility: Vice-Principal, Human Services, Vice-Principal, Operations)

B Personnel Services: Recommendations

These recommendations speak to Personnel Services as a support service in non-academic hiring.

1 Selection Committees for non-academic staff and the selection process should include racial minority groups in order to increase sensitivity.
(Responsibility: Personnel, individual employers)

2 Openness and sensitivity to diversity should be incorporated into job description requirements, with qualifications based solely on bona fide requirements of the job, with relevant non-Canadian training, experience and credentials treated equitably.
(Responsibility: Personnel, individ-

ual employers)

3 Accelerated timetables for change and goals should be set for the implementation of employment equity targets in hiring non-academic staff (for example, three years rather than five or ten).
(Responsibility: Council on Employment Equity)

C *Service Structure and Delivery: Recommendations*

1 Provision should be made for ongoing racism awareness and cross-cultural sensitivity training for all personnel and volunteers engaged in support services.
(Responsibility: Personnel)

2 Support Services should have an internal and external system of ongoing critical review and monitoring. These programs should be developed with the participation of racial minorities.
(Responsibility: All Support Services Directors)

3 Support Services should examine the cultural appropriateness and inclusiveness of their services and programs in order to eliminate racism and ethnocentrism.
(Responsibility: All Support Services Directors)

a) consideration should be given to providing more cultural diversity in food services under present and future contracts.
(Responsibility: Residences and Food Operations Manager)

b) consideration should be given to the provision of alternative housing for those who wish to live in residence without the food plan, and require kitchen facilities to meet cultural dietary needs. This could be achieved by transforming some of the Queen's off-campus housing into residences for students with such dietary needs.
(Responsibility: Director of Residences)

c) Apartments and Housing should establish and monitor criteria for the listing service, and investigate complaints about landlords who discriminate against racial minorities.
(Responsibility: Director of Apartments and Housing)

C Information, Publications and Promotional Materials

The University presents itself to others in part by way of its publications. The Committee has reviewed external publicity in the form of posters, high school liaison, pamphlets and internal publications (University, stu-

We have noted that in the images of Queen's life, racial minorities rarely appear in photographs, and where they do appear, they were depicted in a stereotypical manner. These pictures suggested that:

a) all members of racial minority groups are international students and that their social life revolves around the International Centre.

b) members of racial minority groups cannot be involved in integrated social activities at Queen's.

c) members of racial minority groups spend most of their free time engaging in their own social and cultural events, and that this is a sufficient outlet for their individual self-expression.

Objective

To develop Queen's publications so that they reflect the values and activities of all people at the University.

A General Recommendations

1 Develop a communications policy that provides standards, guidance, and advice on portraying diversity in Canada, and at Queen's.
(Responsibility: Race Relations Council)

2 Develop a list of dates of all major religious and similar holidays, and include these in various University publications and calendars.
(Responsibility: Public Relations)

B Queen's Journal, Gazette and Alumni Review Recommendations

1 Ensure that members of racial minority groups are presented in pictures in a variety of different situations.

2 Include members of racial minority groups in all facets of the publications.

3 Any advertising copy that depicts members of a racial minority group should be shown to a member of that group to ensure that the image portrayed is not stereotypical offensive.

4 Seek out stories and cover events that involve or would interest members of racial minority groups on campus and in Kingston by soliciting clubs for events and suggestions.

5 Messages such as 'Merry Christmas'or 'Happy Easter' sometimes appear in Queen's publications. This courtesy should be extended to the holidays of other racial minority groups.

6 The above recommendations apply as well to other University newspapers and newsletters, including Golden Words, Surface, QUSA Courier and QUFA QUFACTS.
(Responsibility for all: Editors of publications)

C Tricolour Yearbook Recommendations

1 Since the Yearbook is an important Queen's souvenir, it is imperative that these pages show the human diversity of Queen's campus.
(Responsibility: AMS, Tricolour Editor)

D What's Next: Recommendations

1 In the section on phone numbers, all important numbers (eg International Centre) should be included.

2 The list of clubs should be comprehensive and up-to-date, including clubs operated from the International Centre.

3 Under the Community Services section, ensure that the Kingston Community racial minority advocacy groups are included.

4 Ensure that holidays, other than Christian ones appear in the Calendar.

5 Ensure that the restaurant guide includes all types of restaurants (eg Chinese, Indian).
(Responsibility for all: AMS, *What's Next* Editor)

E Who's Where: Recommendations

1 Ensure that pictures include members of racial minority groups.

2 Ensure that the list of clubs is inclusive.

3 Outline the grievance procedure for cases of racial discrimination on campus, as is done for sexual harassment, and include the role of the Race Relations Officer.

4 Include a comprehensive listing of all religious institutions, not merely churches.
(Responsibility: AMS, Who's Where Editor)

F High School Liaison: Recommendation

1 Publications distributed by High School Liaison should be inclusive, and welcoming to people of all backgrounds. Many students (eg black students in Toronto) apparently do not come to Queen's because of its perceived racist image and unaccommodating climate.
(Responsibility: Registrar)

Public Communications
Recommendation

1 The Public Relations Department, Studio Q (Queen's television program broadcast weekly on Cablenet 13) and CFRC should portray the human diversity that is present at the University.
(Responsibility: Heads of respective operations)

D Cultural Policies and Awards

Objective:

To ensure that the range of cultural events held at, and awards given by Queen's University reflects the diverse character of Canadian and of world cultures.

Recommendations:

1 Adopt a policy of diversification and representativeness at the University with respect to its cultural activities, including the Art Centre, concerts, theatre, and public lectures.
(Responsibility: Art Centre, Performing Arts Office, all Lectureship committees)

2 Develop a nomination process for Honorary Degrees, so that nominations of individuals from diverse groups are generated.
(Responsibility: Registrar)

E Orientation

Objective:

An important objective of Orientation Week is to welcome all incoming students to the Queen's community (Jackson Report, 1990). To meet this objective the activities and the spirit of orientation must be inclusive. This general objective has been clearly defined by the Senate Committee on Student Affairs. In its 1987 report it declared that the purpose of orientation is to help students make a smooth transition into their new environment in all of its aspects. The report outlines four broad areas:

a) emphasizing the community of Queen's, with its intellectual, cultural and social resources;

b) providing optional events and support that will meet the variety of needs and interests of a diverse group of individuals;

c) fostering an awareness of the community of Kingston, with an emphasis on participating in that community and building responsible citizenship; and

d) generating enthusiasm and a sense of pride and responsibility in becoming a member of the Queen's family.

Recommendations:

The responsibility for the following recommendations rests with the AMS, and the Orientation Activities Review Board.

Orientation Week can become a more welcoming environment for all members of the Queen's community and better meet the objectives outlined by the Senate Committee on Student Affairs if the following recommendations are implemented:

1 A member of an anti-racist group should sit on the Orientation Activities Review Board. This person should not be the AMS Education Commissioner, since this person may not have sufficient expertise about racism.

2 Orientation leaders must be aware of, and responsive to, the climate of intolerance and insensitivity that is often generated in Orientation. The selection of Orientation leaders must specifically address this issue. In order to achieve this goal, anti-racist groups must be active participants in the selection process. Furthermore, mandatory anti-racist education seminars need to be implemented for Orientation leaders.

3 Ethnic campus clubs, and anti-racist committees should be actively solicited for advice. Orientation organizers should also seek advice on racism from former organizers, orientation committees at other universities and any other interested individual or party.

4 All incoming students should be made aware of the existence of the Race Relations Office. These advisers should hold regular office hours during Orientation Week.

5 Activities must be planned with a sensitivity towards racial minority groups. The practice of kneeling down and calling the Gaels 'god' is offensive to many religions. The offensive and subordinating activities such as Tindall Field must be abolished. The new events should be designed to promote individuality and equality.

6 Orientation activities must be diverse. A wide variety of events should take place in order to appeal to a diverse student body.

7 The central role of alcohol during Orientation Week causes many Muslim and other students to decline participation in all orientation activities. Reducing the role of alcohol during this week would help create a more welcoming atmosphere to an academic institution.

8 Ethnic campus clubs should be accessible during Orientation Week. A list of all the clubs and a contact person should be available in all orientation handbooks and at the orientation information centre (Nerve Centre).

9 An event, similar to clubs night, should take place to promote various campus and Kingston facilities to meet the needs of racial minorities.

10 Campus groups should plan orientation events geared towards the interests of the particular racial minority group that they serve.

11 The Give me a Break program should remain separate from the Chaplain's Office, and should be structured to be more welcoming to students from all religious and racial minority backgrounds.

12 The focus of Orientation must be redirected from stressing the historical traditions of elitism, to emphasizing the wide range of educational opportunities that exist in a university community. The speeches during Opening and Closing Ceremonies should be changed to meet this goal.

F Religious Observances and Scheduling

Almost 150 years after its founding, Queen's remains a largely Christian-centered institution. Members of non-Christian religious groups endure a significant measure of marginalization and discrimination. The pattern that emerges is one of systematic ethnocentrism.[7] Consequently, many members of the Queen's community are forced to choose between their jobs or courses, and religious observances. The result is unwanted assimilation. Rather than continuing this exclusion, Queen's should foster a multi-faith environment which sends a clear message of welcome to people of all religions.

Recommendations:

1 The function of the Chaplain's Office should be reviewed.[8] An alternative to the present arrangement would be to expand it to become a religious services group representing all religions of the Queen's community. All members of the group should have the same status within the group and within the University. Such a group would be a sounding board for members of the Queen's community needing counselling, support, and advocacy on a variety of issues relating to religious needs and University practice.

(Responsibility: Principal)

2 All departments of the administration, staff, faculty, and student government should be provided with a list of the significant religious holy days of all faiths. The scheduling of any and all University activities should be done with these dates in mind.
(Responsibility: Public Relations Department)

3 The current process for resolving scheduling conflicts during final examination periods should be expanded to cover all examinations including mid-terms, and should be widely publicized among faculty and students. Professors should emphasize that students having a scheduling conflict may use the established process, and that there will be no penalty for so doing.
(Responsibility: Registrar, Senate, Faculty)

4 There should be a simple, well-publicized 'opt-out' procedure for students not wishing to support campus events and operations serving alcohol, since this is against the practice of numerous religious groups.
(Responsibility: AMS)

5 There should be a comprehensive review of residence and support service practices which ignore the religious practices of any faith.
(Responsibility: Residence, Support Services Directors)

6 In order to ensure that sensitivity to religious concerns is a part of the agenda of the administration's response to racism and ethnocentrism, all offices, committees, advisers, (etc) relating to this area should include ethnic relations as well as race relations. It should be understood that the Race Relations Officers are in fact advisers on Race and Ethnic Relations in keeping with the definitions used in this Report.
(Responsibility: Principal)

G Graduate Supervision and Research Ethics

University Research is usually carried out by individuals working in close cooperation with others (either a supervisor or other team members). The intimate nature of this enterprise can sometimes give rise to conflictual interpersonal relationships, and at this point prejudices can intrude. And because of the private nature of the interactions, evidence about such conflicts is usually only available from the parties directly concerned.

Many research students at Queen's are international students who may arrive without benefit of an intercultural orientation program and their supervisors may not have had much intercultural experience. Such students' academic record may also be under-evaluated; they may lack sufficient information about the country, the University and the particular program; and they may be suffering from the financial burden of differential fees. These factors and stresses may contribute to a breakdown in the working relationship.

a Graduate Supervision: Objective

To improve the working relationships between supervisors and research students when they have different racial backgrounds.

b Graduate Supervision: Recommendations

1 Place information about Queen's that is relevant to racial minority students in a single specific section in the Graduate School Calendar.
(Responsibility: Dean of Graduate Studies)

2 Study the rationale for maintaining the differential fee structure for international students beyond two years of Masters, and three years of Doctoral studies.
(Responsibility: Dean of Graduate Studies)

3 Seek ways to strengthen information resources, and establish inter-university collaboration in order to have a basis for evaluating academic records of international student applications.
(Responsibility: Dean of Graduate Studies)

4 Encourage faculty to seek out graduate students from racial minority groups.
(Responsibility: Faculty)

5 Develop anti-racist and cross-cultural sensitivity training for faculty involved with supervising racial minority students.
(Responsibility: Dean of Graduate Studies)

c Research Ethics: Objective

To ensure that research with human subjects is free of racism or racial bias.

d Research Ethics: Recommendation

1 Examine the current research ethics review procedures to ensure that all ethics committees include racism and racial bias as a basis on which to judge the ethicality of a research proposal.
(Responsibility: ARC Committee and Research Ethics)

2 Affirm that there be no restrictions on the choice of research topics, but there is a need to judge the approach to topics for racism and racial bias.
(Responsibility: Principal, Dean of Graduate Studies)

H Relationships with Kingston Community

Queen's is an integral part of the larger Kingston community. It is a contributor to the diversity of the Kingston population, and enriches its cultural life.

Objective

To ensure that, as Queen's strives to become more diverse, there are open and positive relationships with the Kingston community.

Recommendations

1 The University Race Relations Council should seek to have formal meetings, at least annually, with the Kingston Mayor's Committee on Race and Ethnic Relations, and with the Kingston Police Race Relations Advisory Committee.
(Responsibility: Race Relations Council)

2 The University Race Relations Council should maintain close liaison with the Superintendents in charge of Race Relations in the area County Boards of Education with respect to curriculum and recruitment matters.
(Responsibility : Race Relations Council)

3 The University Race Relations Council should maintain close liaison with government organizations dealing with race relations (eg. Human Rights Commission, Race Relations Directorate).
(Responsibility: Race Relations Council)

4 The University Race Relations Council should develop communications with non-governmental organizations (eg. Kingston District Immigrant Services, various racial and ethnic organizations).
(Responsibility: Race Relations Council)

7 Implementation

Objective:

1 To ensure that the recommendations contained in this Report are implemented, and that the changes are monitored.

2 To address the Committee's fourth term of reference: 'To recommend long-term institutional means of giving advice to the University on race relations issues, and if appropriate, to recommend terms of reference'.

Considerations

On the basis of the materials collected, and the various opinions expressed, we propose six principles that should guide the implementation of the recommendations in this Report.

The procedures to be established should:

1 Facilitate the democratic involvement and commitment of all affected constituencies (faculty, staff and students) in developing the measures which will lead to an anti-racist environment. The perspectives of racial minorities should be seriously considered in shaping such measures.

2 Be kept as a distinct element, and not be merged with other issues (such as general grievance or gender) into a general procedure. This is essential for two reasons. The first is because racism is not well-understood, there may be a need for changes which would be more difficult to achieve within a complex structure. The second is because issues of racism may become lost in a large context.

3 Be able to carry out two distinct functions. One is proactive, concerned with implementation, and monitoring of the recommendations, and with education about racism for the Queen's community. The second is reactive, concerned with complaints and grievances that arise from racial harassment or discrimination. Although distinct, these two functions could be housed together in a single operation.

4 Permit the person acting proactively to be supportive of those seeking to make, and those who have already made, a complaint.

5 Be empowered by, but not under the direct control of, the University administration. Such an arm's length arrangement is necessary in order to be effective in the implementation of change.

6 Be supported by a high-level commitment to change, an allocation of resources, and a requirement that units within the University abide by this commitment. Within the context of this commitment, the pace and character of the change should continue to be influenced by those most affected by racism.

Recommendations:

1 It is recommended that individuals identified with specific responsibilities in this Report use appropriate mechanisms such as departmental student councils and departmental committees on curriculum, promotion, to develop implementation plans. Due consideration should be given to ensuring the democratic involvement of all levels of the organizational unit concerned. Assistance in the development of such plans should be sought from the Race Relations Centre (see Recommendation 5 below).
(Responsibility: Principal)

2 A realistic timetable should be established to ensure timely development of implementation plans, preferably before the end of 1991. Such plans should be passed on to the Race Relations Council (see recommendation 3) for comment and recommendations for change, before implementation.
(Responsibility: Deans, Department Heads, Directors)

3 The University should establish a *Race Relations Council*. The Council should adopt an advocacy stance for the interests of racial minorities at the University. Its terms of reference should be:

a) To establish a *Race Relations Centre*, (see below), and to appoint a Director of this Centre.

b) To appoint a *Race Relations Officer* (see below)

c) To develop written guidelines for use by Department Heads and Directors in developing their implementation plans.

d) To assist in the development of policy and procedures for dealing with racism at this University, and to monitor their implementation.

e) To receive annual reports from the Director of the Race Relations Centre and Race Relations Officer.

f) To advise the Principal on all matters related to racism on campus.

g) To develop an annual report which includes information on the implementation of this Report. This Annual Report should be released to the University community.

h) To communicate and liaise with counterparts in other academic institutions.
(Responsibility: Principal)

4 The appointment of members to the Race Relations Council should be guided by the following principles:

a) Those appointed should have a demonstrated record of commitment to an anti-racist stance.

b) Those appointed should be acceptable to the majority of the University population, and especially to racial minorities.

c) Appointments should be made with regard to achieving a balance among the various constituencies (faculty, staff, undergraduate students, graduate students and the Kingston community). In order to achieve the confidence necessary to carry out their work, consideration should be given to gender balance, and the majority of Council should be members of racial minority groups. There shall be three ex officio members: The Director, the Officer and the Employment Equity Coordinator.

d) Appointments to the Council should be made according to the arm's length principle. Initially, members of Council should be selected by a nominating committee made up of the two current Race Relations Advisers, and one representative each from QUFA, QUSA, AMS and CSS.
(Responsibility: Principal)

5 The Race Relations Council should establish an office, to be designated as the *Race Relations Centre*, with a Director. Appropriate resources and staff should be provided by the University.

The Centre should be easily accessible, have a welcoming environment and be located in one of the student activity areas such as the John Deutsch University Centre. In order to develop this environment, the Centre should be able to organize and promote cultural and public educational activities on anti-racism. The resource implications of establishing the Race Relations Centre should be reviewed with respect to other units performing overlapping functions, such as the International Centre and the Employment Equity Office.

The Director should adopt a position of advocacy with respect to racial minority interests.

The Director's responsibilities should include:

a) Assisting the Race Relations Council in monitoring the functions of, and proposing changes to, the University system in such matters as admissions, hiring, promotion, tenure, and compensation.

b) Assisting the Department Heads and Directors in developing their implementation plans and procedures.

c) Developing proposals for educational activities for students, faculty, and staff in order to promote a policy of anti-racism in its environment.

d) Providing support for complainants.

e) Providing support to the Race Relations Officer (see below).

f) Liaising with other relevant University services, in particular the Employment Equity Office, International Centre, support services and the student government.

g) The appointment of the Director and other staff of the Race Relations Centre should be made according to principles 4 a) and b) above.

h) The development of an annual report to be presented to the Race Relations Council.
(Responsibility: Race Relations Council)

6 It is recommended that a *Race Relations Officer* be appointed by the University.

a) The appointment of the Race Relations Officer should be made according to principles 4 a) and b) above.
(Responsibility: Race Relations Council)

b) The Race Relations Officer should be responsible for investigating and mediating the complaints dealing with racism following the principles established in the section on Complaints Procedures.

c) The Race Relations Officer should present an annual report to the Race Relations Council.

7 Relationships among the Race Relations Council, the Director of the Race Relations Centre, and the Race Relations Officer should be as follows:

a) The Council will serve as an advocate for racial minorities at the University. It will also provide overall advice and guidance to the Director with respect to policies and programs, and monitor progress in the implementation of the recommendations in this Report, and of any new policies and programs.

b) The Director will be responsible to the Council in carrying out these policies and programs. The Director's role is mainly proactive, as identified in the opening principles. The Director shall be an ex officio member of the Council.

c) The Officer will be responsible to the Council in carrying out duties under the complaints and grievance procedures. The Officer's role is mainly reactive identified in the opening principles. The Officer shall be an ex officio member of the Council.

It is recognized that not all recommendations in this Report can be implemented immediately or simultaneously. We have not attempted to indicate either a timetable or a list of priorities. However, we are advising that the University establish the Race Relations Council within six months of receipt of this Report. Its first task should be to develop a Race Relations Policy, and within this policy to set timetables and priorities. As soon as possible, the Director of the Race Relations Centre and the Race Relations Officer should be appointed to assist in the work of the Council, and to begin the proactive and reactive functions we have identified.

8 Procedures to Deal with Complaints

Objective

To provide well-defined accessible and effective procedures to deal with complaints of racial discrimination in the University system.

Against the backdrop of a society which often condones and promotes racist views and actions, Queen's University should break these patterns of discrimination. It should empower racial minorities by creating a positive environment and by responding to individual and systemic incidents of racism in a forceful and principled manner.

Some examples of racism are:

a) interpersonal behaviour such as name calling, derogatory remarks, gestures, and physical attacks

b) racial bias in academic decisions, such as grades, marks, scheduling of academic activities and decisions related to curricular offerings

c) racial bias in administrative decisions, tenure, promotion, appointments, leave, salary increases etc.

The University has several constituencies, and situations may arise among individuals of one constituency or group or between individuals from different groups. The main constituencies are: students, faculty, support staff, library staff, and administrative staff. There are also those who work on campus but who are not directly employed by the University, such as employees in support services (eg the bookstore and food services).

The Committee has carefully examined the existing grievance procedures and believes that they do not provide a mechanism for reporting and dealing with issues related to racial discrimination. The two Race Relations Advisers have been appointed under the existing grievance procedures. This has to be considered only an interim measure because their terms of reference and the procedures for dealing with complaints, are undefined.

Recommendations

1 The Race Relations Council, after appropriate consultations, should develop formal procedures to be used by the Race Relations Officer for dealing with complaints that would be applicable to all of the constituencies on campus. In developing this framework, consideration should be given to policies developed by other organizations including the University of Western Ontario's Race Relations Policy (see Appendix 5). Consideration should also be given to the Ontario Human Rights Commission Policy on Racial Slurs, Jokes and Harassment, to such principles as natural justice and to other relevant legislation, such as the Ontario Human Rights Code and Canadian Charter of Rights and Freedoms.
(Responsibility: Race Relations Council)

2 Racism should be added to the Queen's University Student Code of Conduct as constituting an offence within the University community. In addition, codes of conduct which include racism should be developed for faculty and staff and published in appropriate University documents such as 'Regulations Governing Appointment, Renewal of Appointment Tenure and Termination for Academic

Staff', and 'Personnel Policy and Procedures Manual for Support Staff'.
(Responsibility: Senate, Personnel)

3 In order for the complaints procedure to be effective, they should be seen to be accessible and supportive of the complainant. This can be ensured by:

a) providing for identified complaints which the complainant is willing to pursue in a formal manner.

b) providing for the recording of complaints which the complainant is not willing to pursue formally. This will allow the Race Relations Officer to monitor patterns of complaints at the University, and to assist in the development of anti-racist education programs.

c) developing support mechanisms for complainants through the Director of the Race Relations Centre.

d) including in the complaints procedures a method to deal with respondents who take reprisals against complainants. (Similar protections provided for complainants in Section 7 of the Ontario Human Rights Code).
(Responsibility: Race Relations Council)

4 In developing settlements under the proposed complaints procedures, due consideration should be given t three basic principles:
a) empowering complainants an addressing their concerns

b) developing time limits for pr cessing such complaints which pr vide enough time for proper invest gation and attempts to conciliate while at the same time ensuring tha the needs of the complainant are me in a timely fashion.

c) addressing the University's obli gation to develop and maintain a rac ism-free environment.
(Responsibility: Race Relations Coun cil)

9 Areas of Common Concern

Following the release of the Draft Report (in December, 1990), numerous comments and questions were received by the Committee. These have been considered during the process of revision. Some comments have been incorporated directly into the appropriate sections of this Report. Other comments, those that were mentioned frequently, are identified in this section, and brief comments on them are provided.

a) Evidence Concerning Personal and Systemic Racism at Queen's

The Committee seriously considered conducting a survey to provide a firm, quantitative basis of facts and recorded attitudes and opinions. The value of such a survey, even when executed professionally, at high cost, would have been marginal, mainly because there is no national or other baseline data set to compare with the Queen's data. Moreover, we were advised repeatedly by individuals who were victims of racism that it was offensive to them to have to demonstrate or prove their experiences. Surveys conducted at other universities (eg York, Western, Windsor) point to a significant degree of racism. We have no reason to believe that Queen's would be any different.

That certain racial minority groups are badly underrepresented at Queen's does not need to be proven beyond the obvious, and that a certain number of racist incidents do occur does not have to be quantified to establish that a problem exists. Our processes of investigation have clearly identified problems of both individual and systemic racism. Since none of our recommendations depend on the measure of racism at Queen's, we decided against a survey or any other form of quantification.

b) Academic Freedom

The Committee fully accepts the University's Statement on academic Freedom (adopted by Senate on April 24, 1969). This statement affirms that academic freedom is indispensible to the purpose of a university and that faculty members should have the freedom to study, to teach and to record knowledge according to their best professional judgment. The statement also asserts that 'The right to academic freedom carries with it the duty to use that freedom in a responsible way, with due regard to the rights of others within the University and the community at large'. The Committee believes that racism is not protected by academic freedom, since it infringes on the rights of others.

c) Categorizing by 'Race'

It has been claimed by some that many of the recommendations in this Report require that all persons be classified by 'race', so that 'race' will become the most important characteristic of people at Queen's, rather than reducing its importance. However, self- identification only is proposed, using whatever categories one feels comfortable with. Moreover, such self-identification has been a feature of Canadian demographic statistic for over a century, and we are proposing nothing new.

d) Quotas and Affirmative Action

These two terms are not used in th Report, but many critical comment have implied that they are. Moreover the Report does not recommend actions that could be construed in this way. Rather than 'quotas', we refer to 'goals', which are not strict numbers but valued objectives. Rather than 'affirmative action' we propose employment and admission 'equity', by which we mean an attempt to meet certain reasonable criteria in the population. The closest we come to such ideas is in the proposal of a 'tie breaker', but even here 'advantage' is given only when candidates are 'equal'.

e) Excellence

Many assume that admissions or appointments that seek equity will automatically reduce quality. This belief rests on a deeper assumption that those from groups that are not now appropriately represented in Queen's are of lower quality.

Moreover, excellence is a quality that pertains to institutions, not just to individuals. In a multicultural and multiracial society, it is plausible to argue that a culturally and racially diverse institution is superior to a homogeneous one.

Footnotes

1 From statement by Principal D. Smith, November 23, 1989; bases are extracted from the Ontario Human Rights Code.

2 From paper by Principal D. Smith, 'Values at Queen's,' 1990.

3 From address to convocation by Rosemary Brown, October 27, 1990

4 From Ontario Human Rights Commission 'Policy Statement on Racial Slurs and Harassment,

5 Abella Codes is a term, coined by the 1984 Royal Commission on Equality in Employment (Judge Rosalie Abella Commissioner), to refer to the twelve major occupational categories by which employment equity data is reported.

6 The Committee welcomes the recently announced programme in Native Education, developed jointly by Queen's University and Trent University

7 Examples of this form of ethnocentrism include setting a Muslim graduate student's thesis defence during the fast month of Ramadan; holding ASUS elections on Yol Nidre, the holiest night of the Jewish calendar; the non-availability of food which meets certain dietary restrictions; Christmas dinners in residence, to the exclusion of other festivals; the saying of a Christian grace and the serving of alcohol at High Tables; having the first day of classes in 1988 on Rosh Hasharah, the Jewish New Year; and the marginalization of other religious leaders due to the central role of the Chaplain's Office.

8 The Committee welcomes the recent formation of an Interfaith Council by the Chaplain's Office.

Appendices

1 Membership of the Principal's Advisory Committee on Race Relations.

2 Terms of Reference of the Principal's Advisory Committee on Race Relations.

3 Activities concerning race relations at selected Canadian Universities.

4 Workshop Topics

5 Race Relations Policy of the University of Western Ontario.

APPENDIX 1 Membership* of the Principal's Advisory Committee on Race Relations

Carol Allen (from January, 1990)
Susan Anderson (until May, 1990)
Barry Batchelor
Elspeth Baugh
John Berry (Chair)
Sue Bolton
Nina Chahal
Rebecca Goldfarb (from January, 1990)
Robert Green (from January, 1990)
Dolf Harmsen
Pamela Ip (until May, 1990)
Sandra Jass (and others, for Student Committee Against Racism; from January, 1990 until May, 1990)
Madan Jarveja
Joyce Pelletier (until January, 1990)
Vic Sahai (until May, 1990)
David Sangha
Albert Williams (until June, 1990)
Winsom (until June, 1990)

*All members were appointed on March 1989 and continue until the present, unless otherwise noted

APPENDIX 2
Terms of Reference of the Principal's Advisory Committee on Race Relations

1 To survey the steps taken at other Canadian universities to understand the situation of minority groups in the university and to promote good race relations; and from this survey to identify policies and suggestions which might be applicable to Queen's.

2 To consult broadly within the University and the Kingston community and to recommend educative and other measures which will tend to promote harmonious race relations in the University.

3 To review the support services available in the University to Canadian and international students who are members of visible minority groups and to make recommendations.

4 To recommend long-term institutional means of giving advice to the University on race relations issues and, if appropriate, to recommend terms of reference.

5 In fulfilling these terms of reference, the committee will be guided by the following: the committee may make recommendations about grievance and discipline procedures at Queen's that are relevant to race relations; the committee may consider individual cases and advise individuals about how to pursue their complaints, but the committee will not adjudicate individual complaints.

APPENDIX 3
Activities Concerning Race Relations at Selected Canadian Universities

A number of Canadian Universities have examined race relations at their institutions, and have developed policies and programmes:

1 York University (1988). A York committee produced a report that made four major recommendations:

a) The re-articulation of a human rights policy for the York University community.

b) Establishing a Centre for Race and Ethnic Relations at York University.

d) All hiring, recruitment, and promotion policies for faculty, staff, library, and service personnel be reviewed for possible sources of systemic discrimination against members of racial and ethnic minorities.

d) More effective outreach programs designed to foster relations between it and the large numbers of ethnocultural and advocacy groups which have been formed so that the University can better serve the needs of the changing population of the city.

(Source: York University Report on Race and Ethnic Relations)

York subsequently set up an Office of Race and Ethnic Relations, with a part-time Director and a full-time secretary. All functions were carried out from this Office (counselling, handling complaints, human rights promotion, public education, community relations, and advising the York Curriculum Committee and Employment Equity Office)

(Source: Interview with Professor David Trotman, first Director of the Office of Race and Ethnic Relations)

2 Dalhousie University (1989). Dalhousie produced a report focusing on access for Black and Micmac students, and recommended special outreach and transitional programmes. One example is that in 1989 the Dalhousie Law School established the Law Program for Indigenous Blacks and Micmacs (IMB programme). The goal of the program is to increase the representation of Indigenous Nova Scotian Blacks and

[illegible] Law School [illegible] accessible to applicants from these two communities. The IMB program represents an acknowledgement by Dalhousie Law School and the legal profession in Nova Scotia that the underrepresentation of these communities in the legal profession is based on historic inequality. The program is one step toward overcoming this inequality. It strives to recruit more students from the Black and Micmac communities and provide them with financial and academic support during law school.

(Source: Dalhousie University Report on access for Indigenous Blacks and Micmacs)

3 University of Western Ontario (1989). A Western Committee produced a report with five main recommendations:

a) That a race relations policy and procedures be developed and implemented.

b) That the University appoint, on an ongoing basis, a Race Relations Committee drawn from the University and the community.

c) That the University appoint a suitably qualified individual as a Race Relations Officer.

d) That the University undertake a review of all policies, procedures and practices in order to ensure that they are free of any systemic barriers which discriminate on the basis of race.

e) That the University implement a program of race relations awareness for the entire University community.

Western subsequently developed and accepted a race relations policy. Among other aspects, the Policy calls on the University to:

a) Promote dignity and respect among all members of the University community and not to tolerate any act of harassment or discrimination on the basis of race.

b) Provide educational opportunities that raise the awareness of the University community on issues associated with race relations, racism and racial harassment and also provide skills training programs that assist in handling or preventing racial problems.

authority who have or influence decisions regarding potential or current faculty, staff, and students responsible and accountable for communicating the tenets of the policy to all who come under their jurisdiction and to foster an environment in their area which is free of discrimination and harassment on the basis of race.

d) Prohibit reprisal or threats of reprisal against any member of the University community who makes use of this policy or participates in proceedings held under its jurisdiction.

(Source: University of Western Ontario Report and Policy Statement)

4 University of Alberta (1990). A Committee reviewed the situation, and recommended the establishment of a Human Rights Office that would be responsible for a number of issues in addition to race relations (gender issues, employment equity). A Human Rights Officer is currently being sought.

(Source: University of Alberta Report and job advertisement)

5 University of Toronto (1990). In October 1990 the University of Toronto President appointed two special advisers to help him decide how to deal with issues of race and racism at the university. These advisers are to consult with faculty, students and staff and to formulate a plan. Their objectives are:

a) To identify and describe the scope of the problems and challenges the University faces in improving the racial climate and experience at the University.

b) To recommend specific steps that could be taken immediately to improve the racial climate and experience at the university.

c) To recommend ways in which the university should develop and implement plans over the long term to improve the racial climate and experience at the university.

(Source: *U of T Bulletin*, October 22 and November 12, 1990)

For a number of years (since 1970) [illegible] Transitional Year Program. This program has its roots in the Black community and provides an academic program, within the university structure, which serves educationally disadvantaged members of socio-economically disadvantaged groups. The program length is one academic year and full OSAP funding is available. Upon successful completion of the program students are admitted to their program of choice at the University of Toronto. The Transitional Year Program is recognized by other universities in Ontario and it is possible for students to gain admission at other universities if they so choose.

APPENDIX 4
Workshop Topics on Racism at Queen's

In March and October 1990 the Committee organized a set of workshops on racism at Queen's, in cooperation with the Student Committee Against Racism (SCAR), the Multi-Heritage Collective, and the AMS Committee on Racism and Ethnic Relations.

The topics were:

March 3-4, 1990

1 Student Admissions
2 Support Services
3 Information and Publications
4 Hiring, Appointments, Promotion and Tenure
5 Procedures for Complaints and Grievance
6 Curriculum and Library

October 28, 1990

7 Academic Supervision and Research Ethics
8 Residences and Housing
9 Awards and Honorary Degrees
10 Implementation of Recommendations

Reports of these Workshops are available from the Chair of the Committee.

APPENDIX 5
Race Relations Policy of the University of Western Ontario.