



## Overcoming Historical Factors that Block Educational Equity in Canadian Schools

*Hey, I'm not a lumberjack, or a fur trader...*



any proposed remedies to inequities are shaped by the policies, stories, and narratives that created those inequities.

**I**n his classic tome *A National Crime: The Canadian Government and the Residential School System, 1879 to 1986*, historian John Milloy recounts the early period of the establishment of the nation-state in 1867, during which Victorian-era politicians began an active campaign to address the “Indian problem” in Canada.<sup>7</sup> These proud Canadians believed it was their moral duty to bring Christianity and civilization to the Indigenous communities of the lands they were settling. The task of civilization took patriotic fervor, as Milloy writes, “In the case of Father Lacombe, Oblate missionary to the Blackfoot, for example, the ‘poor redman’s [sic] redemption physically and morally’ was ‘the dream of my days and nights.’”<sup>8</sup> Assimilation of Indigenous peoples became Canada’s official mission during the first term of Canada’s first prime minister Sir John A. MacDonald. He informed parliament of the national goal “to do away with the tribal system and assimilate the Indian [sic] people in all respects with the inhabitants of the Dominion, as speedily as they are fit to change.”<sup>9</sup> In the coming decades, these benevolent Christians, guided by their faith, power, and sense of moral authority, created and enforced a systematic project of assimilation and civilization that can accurately be described as genocide.

Operating in Upper and Lower Canada (prior to confederacy) and then throughout the country, residential schools were run by Anglican, Methodist, and Catholic missionaries.<sup>10</sup> There were day schools (industrial schools) and boarding schools. The earliest known residential schools opened in 1831, and the last was closed in 1996. Over 150,000 Indigenous children went through the residential school system, with mandatory attendance starting at age eight.<sup>11</sup> Children were often forcibly taken from their home communities, their hair cut, their clothes changed, given new Christian names, and forbidden to speak their home languages or observe their spiritual ceremonies and traditions. The formal curriculum at the schools was the bare minimum, focused mostly on reading and writing in English or French and on manual labor skills. By the 1930s, the goal of education was described simply as “Christian citizenship” achieved through “mingling with Canadians.”<sup>12</sup>

The harsh punishments in residential schools combined with long periods of isolation from their families, recorded in historical accounts as well as in oral testimonies, have had an irreparable impact on Indigenous communities, and on Canada as a whole. Thousands of children died while in school and, with recordkeeping woefully inadequate, the extent of the crimes of the schools, the churches, and political leaders involved remains unknown but continues to be revealed. For example, unmarked graves are still being discovered through ground-penetrating LiDAR (light detection and ranging) technology used on the grounds

of former residential schools. As recently as January 2023, an estimated two thousand graves were discovered on the Qu'Appelle Indian Residential School site on the Star Blanket Cree Nation in Saskatchewan.<sup>13</sup> Also in January 2023, 171 suspected graves were discovered by the Wauzhushk Onigum Nation at St. Mary's Indian Residential School in Ontario.<sup>14</sup> In February 2023, seventeen suspected graves were found, with dozens more suspected, at the Alberni Indian Residential School by the Tseshaht First Nation in British Columbia.<sup>15</sup> In April 2023, forty suspected graves were found by the Shíshálh Nation at the St. Augustine's Indian Residential School site in British Columbia, with more graves suspected.<sup>16</sup> In June 2023, Sucker Creek First Nation reported that eighty-eight suspected graves were discovered at St. Bruno's Indian Residential School in northern Alberta.<sup>17</sup>

Some living residential school survivors still recount the atrocities they experienced and witnessed. In the face of this profoundly sobering history, and in response to the Indian Residential Schools Settlement Agreement, the Truth and Reconciliation Commission (TRC) was formed in 2008. The work of the commission, which concluded in 2015, was to document the full history of the era of residential schooling in Canada. In 2008, the prime minister, on behalf of the government of Canada, offered a formal apology for the residential school system. Resulting from the challenging political, cultural, geographical, and bureaucratic landscape within which the commission did its work, some outcomes had profound impacts on equity initiatives in schools across Canada. First among these impacts, the commission documented residential school survivor testimonies and established a database of publicly available resources hosted by the National Centre for Truth and Reconciliation (NCTR) at the University of Manitoba. The NCTR website features information (such as information about the National Advisory Committee on Residential Schools Missing Children and Unmarked Burials) for survivors and also community members who are directly living with the ongoing effects of the residential schools era.<sup>18</sup> The NCTR also hosts curricular resources and pedagogical support offerings, such as workshops for educators to teach about the era of residential schools in an informed way. While educators have access to the archives at any time, there is a call to focus on this work during the last week of September, marked by the National Day for Truth and Reconciliation, a federal statutory day on September 30, established in 2021.

Second among the Truth and Reconciliation Commission's major contributions to advancing equity in schooling is its Calls to Action, comprising ninety-four recommendations resulting from the commission's gathering of testimony and study.<sup>19</sup> The power of the calls is in their specificity and precision across a multitude of Canadian institutions (from schooling to health care to the criminal justice system).<sup>20</sup> They offer specific recommendations that many schools (across K–12 and higher education) have begun to act on. Calls 62–65 focus specifically on schooling, for example:

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*We call upon the federal, provincial, and territorial governments, in consultation and collaboration with Survivors, Aboriginal peoples, and educators to:*

*Make age-appropriate curriculum on residential schools, Treaties, and Aboriginal peoples' historical and contemporary contributions to Canada a mandatory education requirement for Kindergarten to Grade Twelve students.*

*Provide the necessary funding to post-secondary institutions to educate teachers on how to integrate Indigenous knowledge and teaching methods into classrooms.*

*Provide the necessary funding to Aboriginal schools to utilize Indigenous knowledge and teaching methods in classrooms.*

*Establish senior-level positions in government at the assistant deputy minister level or higher dedicated to Aboriginal content in education.*

The Calls to Action have reverberated throughout the Canadian education landscape, although they are not without challenges. For example, in the context of teacher education, the challenges are not just about the difficulties of disseminating knowledge about colonialism, but also involve examining how teacher education programs (and universities in general) have been ideologically structured. As Aboriginal education scholar Lyn Daniels and colleagues explain:

For those working in the field of teacher education who have begun the complex process of (re)positioning themselves in relation to the Calls to Action issued in the Truth and Reconciliation Commission's Final Report (Truth and Reconciliation Commission of Canada [TRC], 2015), it has become clear that they present much more than just an informational problem. . . . For the most part, the philosophies and knowledge systems that undergird [most mainstream teacher education programs operating in Canada] are not capable of providing meaningful guidance on how to respond to the challenges of Truth and Reconciliation with Indigenous peoples. If teacher education programs in Canada continue to rely on existing dominant knowledge systems and governing structures to respond to the Calls to Action, they will fail to address them with the spirit and intent with which they were issued. There will be no cultural changes to teacher education programs unless they undergo significant structural changes that will allow Indigenous and Canadian people and peoples to walk alongside each other as equals. This idea of change also applies to universities more broadly.

This need for a "culture change" points to the deeper, structural matters related to the "how we do" Canada and the work involved in addressing those depths. In other words, a simple knowledge transfer about colonialism is insufficient without also restricting the existing knowledge systems built by that very colonialism, which appear and act as neutral ways of knowing. Regardless of these challenges, deeper shifts identified by advocates and the Calls to Action serve as an important service to educators seeking to advance equity in schooling.

**W**hile the facts and historical details of the residential school era continue to be discovered, studied, and taught, the impacts on schooling and the legacies of this period persist in Canadian schools. Stories of the residential school era must continue to form a part of both the school curriculum and infrastructure critiques in Canada, but they are not the only stories about Canada's national identity in Canadian schooling today. In fact, aspects of these stories were central to the development of the residential school system and continue to influence Indigenous students as well as a wider network of racialized students of immigrant and settler ancestry. These stories include mythologies of *the benevolent helper* and *the civilizing work of schooling*.

Education scholars in Canada, as in other nations, have studied the “benevolent helper” story as it is manifested in school settings. Closely connected to the white savior character type in film and television— usually white women who selflessly work to save Indigenous, Black, and Peoples of Color (IBPOC) and youth from their culture, community, and the limiting life they are perceived as having— benevolent helpers enter the school environment as white savior teachers.<sup>22</sup> These hero-savior characters draw on the same moral duty and relentless pursuit of the saving mission as Sir John A. MacDonald and the government ministers and agents of earlier Christian civilizing missions. Their spunk and the clarity of their purposes are not dissimilar to that personified by Average Joe Canadian. There is certainty in this vision, an almost innocent likeability. This likeability and spunk can serve to sanitize the problematic ideological infrastructure that shapes and imposes the benevolent helper's desire to “help,” to “make better,” and to “civilize” those kids who are seen to be in need.

Most representations of these hero teachers (almost always white women)

Rights between 2019 and 2022. The executive summary of the committee's report reads, in part:

Canada has a long history of forced and coerced sterilization. For much of the 20th century, laws and government policies explicitly sought to reduce births in First Nations, Métis and Inuit communities, Black communities, and among people with intersecting vulnerabilities relating to poverty, race and disability. Though these explicit eugenic laws and policies have been repealed, the racist and discriminatory attitudes that gave rise to them are still present in Canadian society, and forced and coerced sterilization still occurs.<sup>26</sup>

Eugenics ideologies and their resultant practices— from forced sterilization to the determination of what constitutes intelligence and who has it— have tentacles reaching into the Canadian school landscape and equity initiatives to the present day. For example, the frameworks of what constitutes intelligence, and how educators name and assess it, shaped early assessments of intelligence and determinations of which forms of schooling are available to which groups.<sup>27</sup> Masquerading as neutral and scientific, standardized testing became all the rage in schooling across the spectrum.<sup>28</sup>

While much of the presumed neutrality of these practices have been well critiqued, the foundational ideas of inferior and superior intelligence continue to map onto racialized students. In a review of international research on special education and race, education scholars North Cooc and Elisheba W. Kiru report that disparities in special education representation resulting from historical inequities continue to impact Indigenous and racial minority students in Canada.<sup>29</sup> In Toronto, Canada's most racially diverse city, anecdotal evidence aligns with their findings. While the province of Ontario (which serves as the governmental authority for the province's school districts, including those in Toronto) does not



can also emerge in the elevation of either nonminoritized people as authorities on all subjects under study (including the experiences and histories of the minoritized) or people from minoritized groups who have gained access to the systems of power due to acclimation, choice, or other traits that “normalize” (and often also tokenize) them within slow- or no-shifting systems of power, and who are labeled as the one “good,” unoffensive, and palatable representative among their group.

While no teacher would claim themselves as performing the role of the hero-savior on purpose, the behaviors of the “good white teacher” in the classroom are well theorized.<sup>32</sup> Examples include the prevalence of a deficit discourse about IBPOC students, the overreliance on “unfortunates” when tackling systemic societal oppressions in the nation’s history, and the foregrounding of nonminoritized peoples and those fluent in the culture of power and authority as holding the necessary expertise and knowledge about the culture of authority to lead change.<sup>33</sup> These are all familiar issues in teacher preparation and wider learning environments at many K–12 and higher education spaces in Canadian schooling.<sup>34</sup> As education scholars Ardavan Eizadirad, Zuhra Abawi, and Andrew B. Campbell have pointed out, it is often white women administrators and school district leaders who determine the methods and contexts of antiracism education workshops and supports. Often, these in-vogue equity, diversity, and inclusion (EDI) events function as little more than a form of institutional image control.<sup>35</sup> As Eizadirad, Abawi, and Campbell put it, “diversity and equality work are about generating the right image and correcting the wrong one. Anti-racism in education is used as a framing device that allows for the racial order to remain intact by delinking anti-racism from its historical roots in anti-colonial, abolitionist, and anti-capitalist struggles.”<sup>36</sup>

To engage with mainstreamed diversity and equity work in school settings, the politics and practices of image control and how the “right” image is corrected for within these institutional spaces (through actions we call “anti-racism education” or “diversity and equity work”) must also be taken into account. Just as the institutional responses to the Truth and Reconciliation Commission can become tangled in the optics and image control of schools, universities, and governments working to “signal” their endorsement of and actions on the Calls to Action, the same pattern can occur in other educational endeavors (such as antiracism or EDI education) that lean on policy mandates or institutional need to demonstrate compliance, progress, or a progressive climate. While the path and policy pressure to walk it can be clear, the means to do so remain in the usual hands. In other words, we sustain the vocabulary, scripts, and language we have had to this point. As Daniels and colleagues state above, developing knowledge and fluency with *other* tools takes time and patience.

Connecting the dots, eugenic ideology was, at its peak, advanced by *progressive* voices in Canada. For example, Emily Murphy, the well-known white leader of the women’s suffrage movement in Canada, was among the strongest advocates for

eugenics and believed that the highest calling of (white) women and motherhood was to protect fertility from “defective” stock.<sup>37</sup> Thus, as Canadians, we must confront the contradictions of policies and practices (like residential schooling and eugenics) that were seen by moral authority figures and progressives (teachers, government officials, clergy, and activists like Emily Murphy) as being, on the one hand, *well-meaning white protective goodness and moral authority wanting to bring about a better Canada and Canadian* and, on the other hand, revealed in time as being brought to life by *racist and discriminatory attitudes*. If we see that moral authority and goodness themselves are also culturally situated and not neutral, the work to draw on the best instincts among us to advance society and education for all must continually be problematized and leadership toward its goals must be shared.

Canada is known for, among other things, being the first modern state to adopt a national policy of multiculturalism (in 1971), which led to the Canadian Multiculturalism Act in 1985.<sup>38</sup> In many significant ways, the Act serves as a cornerstone of Canadian values, representing the nation-state’s aspi-

Indigenous and other linguistic, racial, and cultural minority groups have pushed back against these omissions. Yet while the Canadian Charter of Rights and Freedoms of 1982 resulted in the constitutional recognition of the founding French and English as well as Indigenous languages, it also further elevated and entrenched (only) French and English speaker rights by mandating they receive government services and education in their own languages, while giving no such recognition in federal law to Indigenous (nor other) language rights.<sup>42</sup>

While focused and funded language revitalization projects can and do exist, the elevation of colonial languages in the structuring of access to publicly funded resources such as education and knowledge impacts communities of immigrant settlers and newer Canadians as well. Canada's three largest immigration hubs (Toronto, Montreal, and Vancouver) receive most of the nation's immigrant newcomers, and those who are tracked into express entry as skilled labor under the

students in Canadian schools. Teacher education in Canada has, in many respects, centered matters of social justice and problematized a diversity-without-inclusion framework; and it has made decolonization, racial equity, gender, and sexuality inclusion central to school success and core dispositions for students as future citizens in a pluralistic democracy.<sup>47</sup> Many teacher education programs across Canada have specific foci not just on subject matter topics (such as language arts or mathematics) but also on Indigenous education, antiracism education, sexual orientation and gender-identity education, and teacher education on less-examined matters of diversity, such as disableism.<sup>48</sup> There have been Afrocentric schools in Toronto for decades, centering experiences of Black students and Black histories in Canada.<sup>49</sup> While these programs are not without their critics and challenges, they are examples of hard-won shifts in public schooling.

In much the same way that Average Joe Canadian became image control for a nation that craves a point of distinction, identity, and belonging, antiracism work that is rooted in the anticolonial, abolitionist, and anticapitalist struggles that gave rise to it must disrupt (or at least name and mark) the narrative impulse of the nation-state to co-opt, absorb, define, and teach it. This tension continues to shape equity efforts in schools today. It is the ongoing advocacy of teachers, unions, and families that has helped nudge the needle on what we should and must expect from public schooling to foster a healthy pluralistic democracy in Canada.

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### author's note

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### about the author

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endnotes

- <sup>1</sup> Molson Canadian, “I Am Canadian: The Rant,” YouTube, March 2000, <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=WMxGVfk09IU>.
- <sup>2</sup> Joe Canadian text retrieved from Cool Canuck Site Award, [https://www.coolcanuckaward.ca/joe\\_canadian.htm](https://www.coolcanuckaward.ca/joe_canadian.htm) (accessed September 26, 2024).
- <sup>3</sup> Steven Jackson, “Globalization, Corporate Nationalism and Masculinity in Canada: Sport, Molson Beer Advertising and Consumer Citizenship,” *Sport in Society: Cultures, Commerce, Media, Politics* 17 (7) (2014): 901–916. <https://doi.org/10.1080/17430437.2013.806039>
- <sup>4</sup> Shuling Huang, “Nation-Branding and Transnational Consumption: Japan-Mania and the Korean Wave in Taiwan,” *Media, Culture & Society* 33 (1) (2011): 3–18.
- <sup>5</sup> Jackson, “Globalization, Corporate Nationalism and Masculinity in Canada”; and Charlee Cranston-Reimer, “Being Canada: Joe’s Rant, Nationalism, Whiteness, and the Illusion of Neutrality Then and Now,” in *The Spaces and Places of Canadian Popular Culture*, ed. Victoria Kannen and Neil Shyminsky (Canadian Scholars, 2019), 36–43.
- <sup>6</sup> It is important to note that these naturalized “kind and gentle Canada” discourses are not without fracture internally in Canada, especially when it comes to the history of “founding” French/English identity tensions. These tensions are ongoing and compounded by both newer racialized settler immigrant politics, as well as the internal, complex politics of Indigenous nations, self-governance, and sovereignty of Indigenous nations in the context of the colonial state.
- <sup>7</sup> John S. Millroy, *A National Crime: The Canadian Government and the Residential School System, 1879 to 1986* (University of Manitoba Press, 1999).
- <sup>8</sup> *Ibid.*, 6.
- <sup>9</sup> *Ibid.*
- <sup>10</sup> Prior to the confederacy of Canada in 1867, the territories of Canada were referred to as Upper Canada (to denote the western territories settled by Anglophones, what would be Ontario) and Lower Canada (denoting the eastern territories settled by Francophones, what would be Quebec).
- <sup>11</sup> Millroy, *A National Crime*.
- <sup>12</sup> *Ibid.*, xix.
- <sup>13</sup> Canadian Press, “How Ground Penetrating Radar Is Used to Find Unmarked Graves at Residential Schools,” APTN National News, June 16, 2023, <https://www.aptnnews.ca/national-news/how-ground-penetrating-radar-is-used-to-find-unmarked-graves-at-residential-schools>; and Sara Connors, “Search Finds Remains of a Child at Former Qu’Appelle Indian Residential School in Saskatchewan,” APTN National News, January 12, 2023, <https://www.aptnnews.ca/national-news/search-finds-remains-of-a-child>

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- <sup>29</sup>North Cooc and Elisheba W. Kiru, "Disproportionality in Special Education: A Synthesis of International Research and Trends," *The Journal of Special Education* 52 (3) (2018): 163–173, <https://doi.org/10.1177/0022466918772300>
- <sup>30</sup>Jagjeet Kaur Gill, "Minding the Gap: Understanding the Experiences of Racialized/Minoritized Bodies in Special Education" (PhD diss., University of Toronto, 2012).
- <sup>31</sup>Wendy Mackey, "Disrupting Anti-Racist Educational Experiences for Black Students Through Decolonization and Sensemaking in Teacher Education Programs," *Enacting Anti-Racist and Activist Pedagogies in Teacher Education*, ed. Eizadirad, Abawi, and Campbell, 216–228.
- <sup>32</sup>Gloria Ladson-Billings, "Reading, Writing, and Race: Literacy Practices of Teachers in Diverse Classrooms," in *Language, Literacy, and Power in Schooling*, ed. Teresa McCarty (Lawrence Erlbaum Association, 2005), 133–151; Bree Picower, "The Unexamined Whiteness of Teaching: How White Teachers Maintain and Enact Dominant Racial Ideologies," *Race Ethnicity and Education* 12 (2) (2009): 197–215, <https://doi.org/10.1080/13613320902995475>; Carol Schick, "White Women Teachers Accessing Dominance," *Discourse: Studies in the Cultural Politics of Education* 21 (3) (2000): 299–309, <https://doi.org/10.1080/713661167>; and Christine Sleeter, "Preparing Teachers for Culturally Diverse Schools: Research and the Overwhelming Presence of Whiteness," *Journal of Teacher Education* 52 (2) (2001): 94–106.
- <sup>33</sup>Barbara Applebaum, *Being White, Being Good: White Complicity, White Moral Responsibility, and Social Justice Pedagogy* (Lexington Books, 2010); Naomi Norquay, "The Other Side of Difference: Memory-Work in the Mainstream," *Qualitative Studies* 6 (3) (1993): 241–251; Carol Schick and Verna St. Denis, "Troubling National Discourses in Anti-Racist Curricular Planning," *Canadian Journal of Education* 28 (3) (2005): 295–317; Eve Tuck, "Suspended Damage: A Letter to Communities," *Harvard Educational Review* 79 (3) (2009): 409–427, <https://doi.org/10.17763/haer.79.3.n0016675661t3na5d>; and Beverly-Jean Daniel, "Teaching While Black: Racial Dynamics, Evaluations, and the Role of White-Females in the Canadian Academy in Carrying the Racism Torch," *Race Ethnicity and Education* 22 (1) (2019): 21–37.
- <sup>34</sup>See Frances Henry, Enakshi Dua, Carl E. James, et al., *The Equity Myth: Racialization and Indigeneity at Canadian Universities* (University of British Columbia Press, 2017).
- <sup>35</sup>Eizadirad, Abawi, and Campbell, eds *Enacting Anti-Racist and Activist Pedagogies in Teacher Education*; and Annette Henry, "'We Especially Welcome Applications from Members of Visible Minority Groups': Reactions on Race, Gender and Life at Three Universities," *Race, Ethnicity and Education* 18 (5) (2015): 589–610, <https://doi.org/10.1080/13613324.2015.1023787>
- <sup>36</sup>Eizadirad, Abawi, and Campbell, eds *Enacting Anti-Racist and Activist Pedagogies in Teacher Education*, 89.
- <sup>37</sup>Angus McLaren and Arlene Tigar McLaren, *The Bedroom and the State: The Changing Practices and Politics of Contraception and Abortion in Canada, 1880–1997*, 2nd ed. (Oxford University Press, 1997), 68.
- <sup>38</sup>Government of Canada, Canadian Multiculturalism Act, R.S.C., 1985, c. 24 (4th Supp.), <https://laws-lois.justice.gc.ca/eng/acts/c-18.7/page-1.html>
- <sup>39</sup>Eve Haque and Donna Patrick, "Indigenous Languages and the Racial Hierarchisation of Language Policy in Canada," *Journal of Multilingual and Multicultural Development* 3 (1) (2015): 27–41, <https://doi.org/10.1080/01434632.2014.892499>.

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<sup>40</sup> Ibid.

<sup>41</sup> Ibid.

<sup>42</sup> Ibid.

<sup>43</sup> Statistics Canada, “Immigrant Population by Selected Places of Birth, Admission Category and Period of Immigration, 2021 Census,” October 26, 2022, <https://www12.statcan.gc.ca/census-recensement/2021/dp-pd/dv-vd/imm/index-en.cfm>

<sup>44</sup> Statistics Canada, “Census of Population” [select “immigration, place of birth, and citizenship”], <https://www12.statcan.gc.ca/census-recensement/index-eng.cfm>; and Statistics Canada, “Immigrants Make Up the Largest Share of the Population in Over 150 Years and Continue to Shape Who We Are as Canadians,” 2022, <https://www150.statcan.gc.ca/n1/daily-quotidien/221026/dq221026a-eng.htm>

<sup>45</sup> Canada Refugee Statistics 1960–2024, Macro Trends, <https://www.macro Trends.net/countries/CAN/canada/refugee-statistics> (accessed September 30, 2024).

<sup>46</sup> UNHCR, “Refugee Data Finder,” <https://www.unhcr.org/refugee-statistics>.

<sup>47</sup> Nadeem Memon, “Diverse Perspectives in Teacher Education,” *What is Canadian About Teacher Education in Canada? Multiple Perspectives on Canadian Teacher Education in the Twenty-First Century*, ed. Lynn Thomas (Canadian Association for Teacher Education, 2013), 357–378.

<sup>48</sup> Catherine McGregor, Allyson Fleming, and David Monk, “Social Justice Issues in Initial Teacher Education in Canada: Issues and Challenges,” *Handbook of Canadian Research in Initial Teacher Education*, ed. Thomas Falkenberg (Canadian Association for Teacher Education, 2015), 277–293; and Levonne Abshire and Bathseba Opini, “Disability Studies and Socially Just Teacher Preparation: Implications for Curriculum and Praxis,” in *Critical Theorizations of Education*, ed. Ali A. Abdi (Brill, 2020), 87–100.

<sup>49</sup> George S. Dei, “Examining the Case for ‘African-Centred’ Schools in Ontario,” *McGill Journal of Education* 30 (2) (1995); Edward Shizha, “Marginalization of African Canadian Students in Mainstream Schools: Are Afrocentric Schools the Answer?” *The Education of African Canadian Children: Critical Perspectives* (2016): 187–206; and Kalervo N. Gulson and P. Taylor Webb, “Education Policy Racialisations: Afrocentric Schools, Islamic Schools, and the New Enunciations of Equity,” *Journal of Education Policy* 27 (6) (2012): 697–709.