Teacher Diversity in Canada: Leaky Pipelines, Bottlenecks, and Glass Ceilings

James Ryan
Ontario Institute for Studies in Education (OISE)
Katina Pollock
University of Western Ontario
Fab Antonelli
Ontario Institute for Studies in Education (OISE)

This article examines the racial diversity of the teacher population in Canada. In particular, we compare the number of teachers of colour in Canadian elementary and secondary schools from the 2001 and 2006 Census data with the diversity of the student and general populations. We also explore ways to understand the gap between the proportion of Canadian educators and students of colour by interrogating the leaky pipeline metaphor that scholars commonly employ to account for labour shortages. We contend that the pipeline metaphor, frequently used to account for supply and demand balances in various professions, does not sufficiently explain this disparity, and we explore others.

Key words: diversity, teacher workforce, equity, metaphor

Les auteurs se penchent sur la diversité raciale d'effectif enseignant au Canada. Ils examinent en particulier le nombre d'enseignants de couleur dans les écoles primaires et secondaires canadiennes selon les données de recensement de 2001 et de 2006 et les comparent à la diversité raciale de la population scolaire et de la population en général. Cet article explore en outre les façons de comprendre l'écart entre la proportion d'enseignants et d'élèves de couleur en analysant la métaphore du pipeline qui fuit souvent employée par les universitaires pour expliquer les pénuries de main-d'œuvre. Les auteurs soutiennent que cette métaphore, fréquemment utilisée pour rendre compte des déficits entre l'offre et de la demande dans diverses professions, ne suffit pas à expliquer la disparité observée et proposent d'autres métaphores.

Mors clés : diversité, effectif enseignant, équité

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It has become almost a cliché to say that communities are becoming more diverse. In some contexts diversity has become so commonplace that it is often taken for granted. But whether we notice it or not, diversity enters our lives in many ways – from the range of consumer choices open to us, to the unique practices we encounter, to the people with whom we interact every day. Perhaps the most obvious element of this diversity, particularly for those who live in large cities, is the latter: the people. Canada's population continues to become more racially diverse as current immigration and Canadian birth patterns change the face of the population. Over the past four decades, the percentage of "visible minority"[1] residents has increased dramatically (Statistics Canada, 2005b). As the diversity of the general population has increased, so has the student population, particularly in the metropolitan areas (Harvey & Houle, 2006). Although much is known about the composition of the general and student populations, less is known about Canada's educators. Evidence from other Western countries, such as the United Kingdom (Bariso, 2001; Carrington et. al., 2005) and the United States (National Center for Education Statistics [NCES], 2005, 2006), and from dated Canadian surveys (Moll, 2001), indicates that the racialized teacher population has not kept pace with the racialized student and general populations. In fact, it appears to be falling further and further behind, despite the acclaimed value of racialized educators (e.g., Solomon, 1997; National Collaborative on Diversity in the Teaching Force, 2004; The Toronto District School Board, 2007). Currently, however, little is known

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[1] The Canadian Employment Equity Act defines visible minorities as "persons, other than Aboriginal peoples, who are non-Caucasian in race or non-white in colour." The United Nations and the Canadian Race Relations, however, have criticized this term as "discriminatory" and "racist." We use the term "visible minority" only when referring directly to Statistics Canada data that employ this term. In all other places, we use the terms "of colour," "racialized" (See Galabuzi, 2006, p. xvi) and "non-white" to refer to those in the Canadian population other than Aboriginal people who are not white or Caucasian. The information necessary to include in this article the Aboriginal people as part of the racialized population in Canada is not available, in part, because Aboriginal people are not included in the Statistics Canada "visible minority" category. What we were able to find indicates that (a) this population constitutes 3.7 per cent of the Canadian population (Statistics Canada 2008c), (b) is increasing at a rapid rate (Statistics Canada, 2005d), and (c) is younger than the rest of the population (Statistics Canada, 2005c). And although Aboriginal children account for 5.2 per cent of total student population in Canada (Harvey & Houle, 2006), only 2.7 per cent of Aboriginal people are teachers (Statistics Canada, 2009).

about the diversity of Canada's contemporary educator workforce. We do not know how many teachers of colour work in elementary and secondary schools, how their numbers compare with white teachers or with the diversity of the general population, or why such differences or similarities exist.

To answer these questions, we have explored the diversity of the Canadian secondary and elementary teacher workforce, identified noteworthy differences and similarities between the 2001 and 2006 Canadian Census[2] numbers of teacher diversity, and endeavored to understand the respective patterns. Towards this end, we first elaborate on the significance of racial representation in schools and in local and global communities. Next, we look at the extent to which the Canadian teacher workforce of colour in Canada compares with the number of racialized citizens in the Canadian population. We follow this analysis by an explanation of the differences between the two groups. To do this, we introduce and critically interrogate a concept often used to explore and understand supply and demand issues in education and in the world of work: the pipeline.

RACE, EDUCATION, AND REPRESENTATION

The case for equitable racial representation in education is not new. For many years, scholars and educational organizations have pushed to increase the number of teachers of colour (e.g. Solomon, 1997; National Collaborative on Diversity in the Teaching Force, 2004; The Toronto District School Board, 2007) because they believe that teachers of colour have much to offer the entire student population, the education system generally, and the communities in which teachers and students live, learn, and work. But we need not take the word of just these individuals and organizations. The reaction to the recent election and inauguration of Barak Obama as president of the United States speaks eloquently to the importance of having people of colour in positions of influence. In the aftermath of the election, and particularly during the inauguration, the media carried many images of people of different backgrounds from

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[2] The most recent Canadian Census data is 2006.

all over the world who were swept up in the fervour of these events. Among the most memorable were people of colour, tears in their eyes, telling viewers that they believed that they would never witness such a thing in their lifetime – a black man occupying the most important and powerful position in a country historically dominated by white people. For many people of colour – and not just African Americans but people of colour everywhere – this event provides hope that their lives could be better in a world that has marginalized them. A comment from an anonymous reader, in the *Toronto Star*, embodies the kind of inspiration that many felt:

I'm so grateful to finally have a living role model - someone who is like me, someone who inspires me to be better. Will America's resurrection spill across the border into Canada? Will the black community awaken and begin to assert its political capital that has laid dormant for far too long? This is my HOPE. This PRESIDENT through his example has given me reason to BELIEVE! (Interestedone, 2009)

The emotional responses of people of colour to the Obama presidency were made all the more significant as people whom the media singled out contrasted the election of a black president with the realities of their lives. Some of the older people spoke of segregation, of having to sit at the back of the bus, being denied entry to various businesses and groups, and suffering indignities at the hands of racist groups like the Ku Klux Klan. Although these blatant examples are not as commonplace today, people of colour, nevertheless, continue to experience racism in their lives. In the words of West (1994), "race matters" to the people we saw on television, to those who have written about these events in the newspapers, and to people of colour everywhere. In a world where race – demarcated by skin colour and other related characteristics – is a marker of value, those who do not have white skin do not have the same privileges as white people (Omi & Winant, 1993; Dei, 1996), a phenomenon that is often taken for granted by the latter (McIntosh, 1990; Taylor, 2006). And although simplistic notions of race have long since been discredited (Gould, 1981), the effects of this differential racial evaluation continue to systematically impact the lives of people of colour in the job

market, the criminal justice system, housing, and education (Taylor, 2006).

One starting point for countering the marginalization that people of colour face is for racialized people to occupy positions of influence, like teaching. Although teachers are not presidents, and not all racialized role models will have the charisma of a Barak Obama, if the reaction to the election of the newest American president is any indication, then racialized role models in positions of influence can have a positive impact on students. Although teachers of colour may inspire students, they can also learn from such role models. This is one of the points that education scholars make (Solomon, 1997).There are many other good reasons for having teachers of colour. Teachers of colour are also particularly well positioned to establish relationships with students of colour (Villegas & Lucas, 2004), deliver relevant pedagogy (Solomon, 1997), and prepare students of colour for a world that marginalizes them (Klassen & Carr, 1996). But the mere presence of a more diverse educator workforce will not necessarily ensure a richer school culture, or that all students will have a better experience. Just because a teacher is not white does not mean that he or she will automatically provide a better educational environment for white and racialized students (Villegas & Davis, 2007). Not all educators of colour will prove to be exemplary teachers. On the other hand, we should not overlook the potential contributions of white teachers, many of whom have much to offer students of colour. However, white teachers – no matter how dedicated and skilled – can take their talents only so far. Although many may enrich the experiences of all their students, white educators (or presidents) cannot stand as symbols, as teachers (or presidents) of colour can. Nor will most be in a position to understand, communicate, or identify with students of colour the way educators of colour are able to do.

Given the importance of teachers of colour, then, how many teachers of colour work in Canada? How does the racialized teacher population compare with the numbers of racialized citizens in the general Canadian population? Have these populations changed between 2001 and 2006? And how can we account for any differences and trends?

DATA SOURCES

We retrieved the data on educator and general population numbers from census data and articles on the subject. Many of the articles cited below refer to census data; some of these reports and the conclusions that they have reached revolve exclusively around these census data (e.g., Harvey & Houle, 2006). We also retrieved census data directly from Statistics Canada. Some data were readily available online or in published reports (e.g., Statistics Canada, 2005b, 2007a, 2008a). From these sources we established the numbers and percentages of racialized citizens in Canada for both 2001 and 2006 in the provinces of Quebec, Ontario, and British Columbia, and the cities of Montreal, Toronto, and Vancouver. Because other information was more difficult to track down, we had to adopt other strategies. For example, after unsuccessful attempts to retrieve information about the racial breakdown of the educator workforce in Canada, we contacted Statistics Canada directly and it provided us with a number of useful websites and helpful data about the numbers of teachers and "visible minority" teachers in the 2001 census (i.e., Statistics Canada, 2007b). These sources provided us with the numbers and percentages of "visible minority" teachers in Canada, Quebec, Ontario, British Columbia, Montreal, Toronto, and Vancouver. However, we were unable to find any 2006 census data for "visible minority" teachers. To obtain these numbers, we subsequently contracted Statistics Canada to generate these data for us (Statistics Canada, 2009). From this contract, we obtained numbers and percentages from the 2006 census of "visible minority" teachers in Canada, Quebec, Ontario, British Columbia, Montreal, Toronto, and Vancouver. We also employed other published articles and reports to provide examples of the numbers and percentages of racialized students (e.g., Yau & O'Reilly, 2007) and of other items like achievement data (e.g., Worswick, 2001, 2004) that helped account for the numbers of racialized teachers.

TEACHER WORKFORCE DIVERSITY

The evidence we collected indicates that in Canada the number of elementary and secondary teachers and school counsellors of colour have not kept pace with the phenomenal growth in the number of citizens of colour, and by extension, the number of students of colour. In fact, despite

the increase in the number of teachers of colour over the years, the ratio of racialized teachers to the racialized Canadian population is falling, and in some instances, dramatically so. Table 1 illustrates these phenomena.

Table 1 illustrates several significant trends. The first, and most obvious, is that the proportion of "visible minority" teachers in the overall teacher workforce is *consistently less* than the proportion of "visible minority" citizens in the general Canadian population in both 2001 and 2006. This ratio holds true for Canada as well as the provinces and cities. The percentage difference runs from a low of 4.2 per cent in the province of Quebec in 2001 to a high of 28.8 per cent in Vancouver in 2006.

Another significant trend is that the proportion of "visible minority" teachers in the teacher workforce has *decreased* relative to the proportion of "visible minority" citizens in the Canadian population, although their actual number has increased. Despite the increase of the proportion of "visible minority" teachers in the general teacher population, the proportion of "visible minority" teachers in the teacher workforce declined between 2001 and 2006. The smallest decline was in Toronto (1.7%), while the largest was in Vancouver (7.2%).

Finally, a third important trend is that racialized teachers tend to *work in large cities*. For example, of the 5,985 "visible minority" teachers who worked in British Columbia in 2006, 5,060 taught in Vancouver. Although the number of racialized teachers in large cities has continued to rise, this increase has not matched the dramatic increase in the number of citizens of colour living in these same areas. In metropolitan Vancouver, for example, the percentage of "visible minority" citizens rose from 36.8 per cent in 2001 to 49.0 per cent in 2006.

These trends are occurring in the context of another significant trend: the rapid increase in the racialized population in Canada. Although the Canadian-born racialized population has grown somewhat over the years, the increase in racial diversity in Canada is due mostly to changing immigration patterns. Before adjustments in immigration policies in the 1960s that made them marginally less racist, most people who immigrated to Canada came from European countries, particularly the United Kingdom (Boyd & Vickers, 2000). Since that time, the vast majority has emigrated from non-Western countries. Of the immigrants who have

Table 1

Visible Minority Secondary and Elementary Teachers and Educational
School Counsellors and General Population in Canada and Selected
Provinces and Metropolitan Areas for the 2001 and 2006 Census[3]

	Total Teacher Labour Force	Visible Minority Teacher Population	Percentage Visible Minority Teachers	Percentage Total Visible Minority Population	Percentage Difference
Canada					
2001	412,955	22,415	5.4	13.4	7.6
2006	439,380	30,715	6.9	16.2	9.3
Quebec					
(Prov)	96,190	2,690	2.7	6.9	4.2
2001	101,365	3,985	3.9	8.8	5.1
2006					
Montreal					
2001	42,905	2,305	5.3	13.5	8.2
2006	47,755	3,420	7.2	16.4	9.2
Ontario					
2001	162,240	12,055	7.4	19.0	11.6
2006	179,390	17,085	9.5	22.8	13.3
Toronto					
2001	62,950	9,260	14.7	36.8	22.1
2006	71,165	13,300	18.6	42.4	23.8
B. C					
2001	52,055	4,645	8.9	21.6	12.7
2006	51,960	5,985	11.5	24.8	13.3
Vancouver					
2001	25,730	3,935	15.5	36.8	21.6
2006	24,945	5,060	20.2	49.0	28.8

(Sources: Statistics Canada, 2005b, 2007a, 2007b, 2008a, 2008b, 2009)

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[3] We have included "School Counsellors" with teachers in Table 1 because Statistics Canada used this category with the 2001 Census. There was no separate category for only teachers.

come to Canada since 1991, 80 per cent have been "visible minorities" and 70 per cent are of Asian heritage (Harvey & Houle, 2006). This population is increasing much faster than the white population. Between 1996 and 2001, it grew by 25 per cent, six times faster than the entire population. In 2006, Canada's "visible minority" population rose to 16.2 per cent (Statistics Canada, 2008a); experts predict that it will blossom to between 19 per cent and 23 per cent by 2017 (Statistics Canada, 2005a). As mentioned above, most immigrants settle in metropolitan areas. Indeed, 73 per cent of immigrants who arrived in Canada settled in the three largest cities: Montreal, Vancouver, and Toronto.

The precise number of students of colour is not as easy to discern; either school districts do not record such numbers or they are reluctant to release them. Even so, some useful indicators of this population exist, such as the number of young, racialized people. The proportion of "visible minority" children under 15 years of age (23.6%) is greater than it is for children under 15 in the total Canadian population (19.4%) (Statistics Canada, 2005d). Because the racialized population is younger than the total population, we can speculate that a greater proportion of the racialized population would be attending school than would be the case in the general Canadian population. Numbers from the largest urban school district in Canada illustrate both this high proportion and the changing nature of diversity in these areas. For example, over the years from 1987 through 1991 to 1997, the proportion of racialized secondary students in the Toronto District School Board (TDSB), formerly the Toronto Board of Education (TBE), increased from 38 per cent in 1987, to 46 per cent in 1991, and to 53 per cent in 1997 (Cheng & Yau, 1999). In 2006, racialized students constituted 67 per cent of the secondary school student population and 69 per cent of the grade-seven and -eight student population (Yau & O'Reilly, 2007).

To summarize, the data indicate that the proportion of the general population of colour in Canada is much greater than the proportion of racialized elementary and secondary educators and educational counsellors. In other words, there are proportionally many more students of colour than there are educators of colour. More than this, the gap between the groups appears to be widening. But if there are good reasons

for increasing the numbers of educators of colour, why are their proportional numbers decreasing? If educators and policy makers continue to promote diversity among teachers, why has progress been so slow? The next section provides answers this question.

ACCOUNTING FOR TEACHER DIVERSITY IN CANADA: PIPELINES

Scholars often employ a pipeline metaphor to explain the shortage of teachers of colour (e.g., Villegas & Lucas, 2004). The use of this concept is not unique to education, however. It is also employed to understand the supply and demand associated with a number of occupations, professions, and fields. Most often, though, scholars use this metaphor when concerns arise over shortages of personnel. For example, concerned scholars often resort to a pipeline explanation when it appears that there are, or will be, too few personnel to ensure that the respective professions operate in ideal ways: nurses (Heller & Nichols, 2001), physician-scientists (Ley & Rosenburg, 2005), rural doctors (Rabinowitz & Paynter, 2000), dentists to serve under-serviced communities (Bailit, Formicola, Herbert, Stavisky, & Zamora , 2005), women in the sciences (Alper & Gibbons, 1993), and racialized groups in education (Villegas & Lucas, 2004; Brown, 1999). They invariably conceptualize the pipeline as a pathway (Ley & Rosenburg, 2005), a conduit (Fields, 1988) or, a journey (Wald & Losen, 2003) to understand why the supply of people has fallen short of expectations.

This pipeline metaphor, however, has never been fleshed out in any depth. Scholars who employ it assume, for the most part, that their audience will comprehend how the pipeline metaphor works. Among other things, academics say little about the assumptions upon which it rests, including its obvious functionalist underpinnings (Parsons, 1959). As it is currently employed, the pipeline is one element in a system of related parts. In typical functionalist fashion, each part has a role to ensure that the whole maintains itself. In most pipeline scenarios, education plays a central role; the pipeline is the vital part that transports students from one place to another, in much the same way that these devices deliver oil. Ideally, students, who enter the education pipeline as young children, are moved along through the elementary, secondary, and post-secondary systems and into the world of work where, as adults,

they take up positions as teachers, engineers, and so on. Those who employ this metaphor assume that the pipeline plays a key role to ensure the continuity of not just the education system, but also society itself. Communities need teachers, engineers, dentists, and others to make sure that they are able to carry on.

The usefulness of this functionalist pipeline concept lies in the vulnerability of the instrument itself. Pipelines do not always work – they sometimes leak. Scholars have seized on this idea to illustrate the failure of the education system to generate prospective students or workers for waiting educational institutions or professions. Academics assert that education systems, like pipelines, leak, and because they do, students spill out at a number of places along the route. By the time the various cohorts reach their final destination, their numbers are considerably depleted. In the end, this spillage significantly diminishes the potential pool of higher education students or professionals such as teachers. Scholars have found this lens useful to understand the phenomenon of the shortage of racialized professionals, including educators (Villegas & Lucas, 2004; Brown, 1999). In what follows, we explore whether this metaphor can help us understand why the number of racialized educators in Canada at the elementary and secondary levels are so low.

LEAKY PIPELINES

If the pipeline metaphor were to adequately account for the meagre number of racialized teachers in the Canadian workforce, then we would expect it to illustrate how potential teachers of colour fail to make it through the preparatory institutions, which in this case, would include elementary, secondary, and tertiary education. The metaphor would also need to indicate that by the time students of colour get to a point where they are able to enter the teaching ranks, this potential workforce would be considerably depleted. Can this metaphor illuminate what is happening in Canada? The available evidence indicates that it is useful, but only to a point.

At first glance, it appears that the pipeline in Canada is not all that leaky. Many students of colour do well in school. For example, immigrant students – 80 per cent of whom are racialized – do as well as Canadian-born students on mathematics and reading achievement tests at

elementary and secondary levels (Worswick, 2001, 2004), and they aspire to go to university in greater numbers than Canadian born students (Taylor & Krahn, 2005). Moreover, five of the six highest achieving groups at the post-secondary level are racialized (Herberg, 1990).

It would be a mistake, however, to conclude that the Canadian education system does not lose particular groups of students along the way: that it does not leak. Evidence suggests otherwise. Indeed, the success of some groups tends to mask the under-performance of others (Harvey & Houle, 2006). The limited achievement data that does exist and selected studies of participation in particular programs point to patterns among student groups. For example, they indicate that the education system appears to poorly serve students of African and Aboriginal heritage. Research shows that African and Aboriginal students tend to be over-represented in less challenging, basic and general level courses and under-represented in advanced and university-bound options. They achieve at lower levels than their fellow students and drop out in greater numbers (Cheng & Yau, 1999; Tait, 1999; Statistics Canada, 2007c). Other detailed ethnographies and studies illustrate in greater detail the difficulties of these students in school (See for example, Solomon, 1992; Dei, Mazzuca, McIsaac, & Zine, 1997). On the other hand, some groups of Asian students appear to succeed in greater numbers than students of African and Aboriginal heritage, although not to the extent that some may think (Lee, 1996). Although Asian students tend to be enrolled in greater numbers than other students in the more challenging and university-bound secondary school courses (Paquette, 1991; Paquette & Allison, 2007; Wright, 1985), some nevertheless struggle with their studies (Lee, 1996; Ryan, 1999).

The uneven achievement of racialized students in Canadian schools would appear to leave the potential pool of racialized teachers somewhat depleted. It would not be correct, however, to assume that too few teachers of colour are available for work because Canadian schools and universities are not the only source of teachers of colour. Many teachers now come to Canada from other countries, thanks to a selective immigration process that favours them (Harvey & Houle, 2006). Indeed, teaching is the fourth largest profession among Canadian immigrants (Citizenship and Immigration Canada, 2003). The reality, then, is that there appears to

be a rich pool of racialized teachers from which schools can choose. Although the ranks of potential educators of colour may be reduced by a system that disadvantages some groups of students, the many professional teachers who arrive from other countries also replenish them. Leaky elementary, secondary, and post-secondary educational institutions are not exclusively responsible for the low number of educators of colour. Part of the problem, it seems, lies elsewhere.

One reason that there are so few educators of colour in Canada is that teachers of colour have difficulty finding jobs in their profession. This problem is particularly acute for internationally educated teachers (IETs), many of whom are people of colour.[4] A recent study commissioned by the Ontario College of Teachers (2006) describes the experience of Ontario IETs – those who have managed to successfully pass the province's licensing requirements – as "dismal" and the outcomes of their job searches as "disastrous."   The report claims that "despite the fact that they [IETs] are highly experienced in teaching, many appear shut out of their profession" (p. 23). The study found that IETs are six times more

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[4] Although we could not find any sources that specified directly how many teachers of colour come to Canada from abroad, we did locate many sources that contained facts that make it highly likely that many are individuals of colour. The first is that in recent years, 80 per cent of all people who immigrate to Canada are "visible minorities" (Harvey & Houle, 2006). The second fact is that 80.7 per cent of people who come from other countries, emigrate from Asia, the Middle East, South and Central America, and Africa (Statistics Canada, 2007d). Although we cannot be sure how many people of colour come from places like South Africa, we also can be sure that not all immigrants who come from European countries, like England, are white. Another consideration is that various commentators on the issues of immigrants (e.g., Galabuzi, 2006) cite the difficulties of people of colour among them. Moreover, it is a fact that racialized immigrants have more difficulty finding work than white immigrants (Tran, 2004), and it is skin colour rather than religion or language that has the greatest impact on their searches (Taylor, 2009). The final piece of evidence comes from those who study the plight of internationally educated teachers in Canada. For example, in her study of non-permanent teachers, Pollock (2009) by chance discovered three distinct groups. Two of these groups – retirees and career occasionals – were exclusively white. None were seeking full-time employment, although all believed that they could find a position were they to seek it. The final group consisted of new entrants. All the members in this group sought full-time positions, but had been uniformly unsuccessful in their efforts to do so. All these new entrants were new Canadians of colour.

likely than other Ontario graduates to be unemployed in their first year of teaching, 10 times more likely to be unemployed because they could not find a teaching job, three times more likely to be underemployed, three times more likely to be in substitute teaching, and three times less likely to have found a regular teaching job. Only one out of five (20%) have found teaching jobs, and of those, more than half (57%) are teaching only as substitute teachers. Even new Canadians who held high-demand qualifications in secondary mathematics, physics or chemistry, or French did not fare any better. Their overall unemployment rate was 43 per cent, compared with three per cent for Ontario grad-uates who specialized in French language. This lack of success is even more striking, given their prior teaching experience. Almost all IETs (96%) report one or more years of teaching in another jurisdiction prior to certification in Ontario. One of the study participants summed the immigrant experience up well: "There is an undeniable preference for non-immigrant teachers over immigrated ones. This fact despite the   experience and qualifications I hold" (Ontario College of Teachers, 2006, p. 28).

The situation for Ontario-based, internationally educated teachers is not unique; they are not the only well-educated professionals from other countries who experience difficulty getting into the Canadian workforce. In 2001, 70 per cent of all immigrant professionals had difficulties finding work (Galabuzi, 2006). Like Ontario teachers, these professionals experienced problems both with hiring and regulating processes (Bauder, 2003). Most professions, trades, and occupations in Canada require prospective employees to meet set standards of performance or demonstrated ability before issuing licenses to them. In many cases, however, these regulators are not familiar with international education, training, or professional standards. The following factors place the prospect of acquiring a professional license out of reach for many well-educated immigrants (Galabuzi, 2006; Bauder, 2003): (a) little information about licensing processes, (b) too few reliable tools for assessing credentials and other prior learning, (c) systematic devaluing of international credentials, (d) the lack of competency-based licensing and language testing, (e) inadequate bridging and supplementary training and internship opportunities, (f) the limited transparency in licensing process, (g) the absence of feedback and appeal processes, and (h) the costs associated with the var-

ious steps. Some try to acquire licenses and fail; others simply are not in a position to enter into licensing activities. What is particularly striking about the IET numbers cited above is that they account just for those individuals who managed to get through the stringent regulating process. There are, no doubt, many others who were unable or unwilling to acquire their teaching license. Many of these professional teachers, like their fellow internationally educated professional colleagues, find themselves in other less challenging and less lucrative areas of work. Of those who do not find work in their first three years after immigration, 90 per cent will end up permanently with jobs in other sectors (Galabuzi, 2006). Many of these jobs will be in lower end, semi- or non-skilled areas.

Internationally educated professionals face other significant hurdles once they have managed to acquire their licenses. Most significantly, they have to convince potential employers that they can do the jobs for which they have been trained and, in many cases, successfully practised in other countries. As the numbers indicate, however, Canadian employers continue to be skeptical. Like the general public, they believe that immigrants from "third-world countries" hold inferior "human capital." Employers find immigrants less attractive than Canadian-born and trained job seekers because of their short stay in the country, the lack of Canadian qualifications, their language and communication facilities, and their inability to "fit in" (Galabuzi, 2006; Bauder, 2003). These disproportional hiring practices also extend to racialized groups generally. Despite their comparative educational qualifications, in 1996 racialized groups had an unemployment rate of 16 per cent compared to 11 per cent in the rest of the population. Galabuzi (2006) concludes that discriminatory practices in the labour force dictate that racialized group members do not get fair economic and occupational returns for their educational attainments.

FILTERED PIPELINES, BOTTLENECKS, AND GLASS CEILINGS

The leaky pipeline metaphor goes only so far in accounting for the low number of educators of colour. It is useful, but only to a point. To its credit, it illustrates in reasonably clear fashion how potential teachers – in particular, groups of racialized students – fall by the wayside on their journey. It also pinpoints particular problem areas on the journey, for

example, the difficulties that students of colour might experience in transitioning from secondary to post-secondary education. On the other hand, however, it fails to account for the obvious patterns in the "leakage" and the problems that many qualified educators of colour who have not come through the Canadian education pipeline experience when seeking work.

The leaky pipeline metaphor cannot account for the many qualified, unemployed educators of colour who did not go through the Canadian education system (pipeline). Pipeline scenarios generally equate pipelines with local education systems (See for example, Villegas & Lucas, 2004), and this is where the leakage is believed to occur. In attempting to account for shortages in occupations, scholars generally do not look beyond homegrown educational and preparatory systems. To date, they have not included other countries' educational systems or their own systems of immigration in the pipeline metaphor. But if this pipeline metaphor is to account more fully for the shortage of racialized teachers in Canada, then it would have to be expanded to include all the sources or systems that are generating teachers, and this would include immigrant teachers as well as Canadian-born teachers. It remains to be seen, however, how the pipeline could be expanded to encompass licensing and hiring, how practical or useful an expanded globally oriented pipeline model would be, or whether scholars would be willing to tread on uneven and unpredictable ground outside their known (national) territory.

Because the leaky pipeline metaphor also cannot capture the systemic nature of the "leakage," it is incapable of acting as an appropriate guide for those who wish to do something about the low number of teachers of colour. To return to the metaphor, the "holes" that are responsible for ordinary "leaks" are not selective about what (or who) tumbles out; whatever element or substance happens to encounter a hole will exit. In other words, the process of expulsion in this instance is random. But in the real world, it is no accident that racialized students do not make it through the education system or that racialized teachers from other countries do not get hired. Racialized students and teachers are systemically marginalized in the local and global communities in which they reside, and in the institutions and school systems of which they are a part. Inequitable communities, institutions, and school sys-

tems routinely push out certain groups of racialized students from schools (Dei et. al., 1996) and discriminate against racialized teachers from abroad. Scholars who employ the pipeline metaphor fail to acknowledge these systemic problems, however, assuming, in typical functionalist fashion, that the basic superstructure for generating teachers of colour is in place, that whatever problems exist are comparatively minor, and that these problems are imminently capable of being repaired with a little tinkering. Indeed, the leaky pipeline metaphor suggests that the rudiments of the delivery mechanism are essentially in working order, and that repairs merely require that the leaky holes in the pipeline be located and patched. Such a view leaves those committed to addressing this issue with an unhelpful representation of the problem of the shortage of racialized teachers and a misguided vision of what needs to be done to fix the problem. Employing a leaky pipeline metaphor will do little to help people understand the systemic nature of the problem and the systemic-oriented solutions that are required.

Are there more appropriate metaphors that acknowledge the systemic nature of the problem? One option is a *filtered* rather than a *leaky* pipeline. By their very nature, filters are selective. They systematically prevent certain elements from passing, while allowing other substances to move through. Although a selective filter may solve the problem of the randomness of a leaky hole – which is indiscriminant about what passes through – it would nevertheless still be part of a faulty functionalist explanation.

Another possibility is a bottleneck metaphor. Jimenez (2003), for example, prefers to characterize the dysfunctional hiring and licensing process for internationally educated professionals as a "bottleneck" (p. F9). She says, "Canada is recruiting the right kind of people, but they are stuck in a bottleneck, as the agencies and bodies that regulate the fields of medicine, engineering, teaching and nursing struggle to assess their qualifications" (p. F9). But the bottleneck metaphor also does not adequately capture the dynamics of the process, including the patterned nature of the blockages both in the education system and in the hiring and licensing process. Bottlenecks simply slow progress down; eventually, though, all things pass through. This is not necessarily the case for IETs and other racialized groups. Although some may eventually land a

teaching job, many others will not. In this sense a bottleneck metaphor is not appropriate because many potential teachers of colour will never get through the "bottleneck." They are systemically prevented from passing through.

Another popular metaphor that is more consistent with the systemic dynamics of this process is the "glass ceiling." Ceilings are barriers; they limit how far one can proceed in a particular direction. Scholars often use ceiling metaphors to illustrate how particular individuals and groups are prevented from moving up organizational hierarchies or stepping into prestigious jobs. For example, these metaphorical ceilings prevent women from occupying high-level managerial positions (Arfken, Bellar, & Helms, 2004; Livingstone & Pollock, 2004). The same thing happens to IETs. Despite their qualifications, these teachers encounter a barrier that prevents them from gaining employment in their chosen profession. They bump up against this ceiling, and they can go no further. But the ceiling that these educators encounter is no ordinary ceiling. It is glass, and so it is invisible, at least to some – more often than not, those who buy into the liberal ideal that everyone will be able to compete on an equal footing for what the world of work has to offer. But as many IETs will soon discover, and many members of racialized groups who have been in the system will already know, the competition for jobs and other rewards is not fair (Anisef, Sweet, & Frempong, 2003). It occurs on unequal ground and routinely favours white, English-speaking, native-born Canadians over immigrant teachers of colour. In this sense, the glass ceiling metaphor captures the systemic dynamics associated with the certification and hiring of racialized teachers. However, it is not as well suited to representing the difficulties that racialized students experience in educational institutions. Among other things, the glass ceiling metaphor is not equipped to capture the complexities associated with the uneven performance of different groups of racialized students.

WORKING TOWARDS A DIVERSE EDUCATOR WORKFORCE

Recent current events, empirical studies (e.g., Solomon, 1997), and the arguments of scholars, administrators, and policy makers (e.g., Villegas & Lucus, 2004; The Toronto District School Board, 2007) leave little doubt about the value of teachers of colour in a world of white privilege. Un-

fortunately, the Canadian educator workforce displays considerably less racial diversity than the current Canadian and student populations. Despite calls for increasing the number of teachers of colour, the proportion of racialized educators in the teacher workforce continues to fall, particularly in the largest cities. These shortages can be traced to two institutional shortcomings: inequitable schooling practices that limit the number of students willing and able to enter the teaching force, and discriminatory licensing and hiring practices that exclude those who have already completed their teacher education programs. If Canada is to have a more racially diverse workforce, then those working towards this end will need to acknowledge the systematic nature of the problems associated with this shortage and incorporate this knowledge into any solutions.

Popular metaphors commonly employed to explain the shortage of teachers of colour tend to limit the useful ways to understand and address this issue. The leaky pipeline metaphor, for example, employs functionalist logic that falsely assumes that the system is basically sound. Ignoring any systemic malaise, those who adopt this metaphor imply that problems that do exist are relatively minor and can be fixed or patched without significant alterations. The bottleneck metaphor is equally unhelpful, ignoring the fact that many will never get through the neck of the bottle, that is, many racialized teachers will never find employment. The glass ceiling metaphor is more consistent with a systemic view, but is more suited to explaining why immigrant teachers do not get hired, rather than understanding the dysfunctional nature of educational institutions. The bottom line here is that, although metaphors may shed light on aspects of the problem of the shortage of racialized teachers in Canada, rigid adherence to one or another of these lenses may get in the way of meaningful understanding and solutions. To be useful, metaphors need to capture the systemic manner in which racialized students are marginalized in the education institutions in which they learn and how racialized teachers are prevented from taking up jobs in their chosen profession. Only in this way can sensible solutions be introduced and put into practice.

Metaphors aside, programs designed to put more teachers of colour in classrooms are currently underway at universities across Canada and

the United States and through particular government sponsored programs like *Teach in Ontario*. Among other things, these programs are designed to encourage students of colour to pursue teaching as a career, recruit them to faculties of education, assist them in getting certified, and support them in their journey (National Collaborative on Diversity in the Teaching Force, 2004; Villegas & Lucas, 2004; Nuby & Doebler, 2000). But measures also need to ensure fair licensing and hiring processes for teachers of colour. Among other things, such efforts need to provide all parties with more knowledge of these processes and help licensing agencies and those who hire professionals of colour understand their own biases (Galabuzi, 2006). This work also must go hand-in-hand with making local and global communities more inclusive and equitable. Indeed fair educational, licensing, and hiring practices can be sustained only if the communities in which they occur are also equitable and inclusive places.

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Jim Ryan is a professor in the Department of Theory and Policy Studies at the Ontario Institute for Studies in Education and co-director of the Centre for Leadership and Diversity.

Katina Pollock is an assistant professor in the Faculty of Education at the University of Western Ontario.

Fab Antonelli is a graduate student in the Department of Sociology and Equity Studies at the Ontario Institute for Studies in Education.

Contact Information:
James Ryan
Department of Theory and Policy Studies
OISE
252 Bloor St. West
Toronto, ON
M5S 1V6
Email: jim.ryan@utoronto.ca