

**WITHOUT AND WITHIN:  
THE IMPLICATIONS OF EMPLOYMENT  
AND ETHNOCULTURAL EQUITY POLICIES  
FOR INTERNATIONALLY EDUCATED TEACHERS**

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Analyzing school division employment policies from six Winnipeg school divisions and the Manitoba K-12 Action Plan for Ethnocultural Equity (MECY, 2006), we discuss implications for the integration of internationally educated teachers in K-12 schools. Findings suggest that the policies exhibit several major limitations in advancing IET integration: lack of equity and IET-specific content in the case of most divisional policies and lack of stakeholder buy-in and implementation strategies in the case of the ethnocultural equity policy. Subsequent recommendations use the construct of interest convergence from critical race theory to advocate for educational policymaking and implementation that prioritize a more diverse teaching force.

Increasingly, Canadian educational scholarship is addressing issues facing internationally educated teachers (IETs) as they re-certify, complete teacher education requirements, and seek employment to resume their careers. Much of this research offers rich qualitative accounts of IETs experiences with these processes (Beynon, Illieva, & Dichupa, 2004; He, 2003; Schmidt, in press; Schmidt, 2008; Thiessen, Bascia, & Goodson, 1996). However, little scholarship to date has linked IET concerns directly with educational policy, a connection that we believe needs to be made explicitly to ensure IET issues are at the forefront of equity and diversity initiatives in K-12 school systems in Canada. In particular, a closer look at policy content and implementation is warranted to determine the extent to which school division and provincial policies prioritize

the hiring of a more diverse teaching force. While we do not claim that there is a lack of employment equity for IETs based solely on our policy analysis, we do assert that employment and ethnocultural policies have an important role to play in facilitating the IET integration agenda, and lack of policies or failure to implement these policies can impede this agenda. Research conducted in Ontario supports the concern that employment equity is a distant goal for many IETs, who report much lower rates of employment than Canadian-born peers. As reported by the Ontario College of Teachers (2007), “whereas 41% of Ontario teacher education graduates were in regular teaching positions by spring of their first teaching year, only 8% of newly certified teachers who completed their teacher education outside the country were able to secure similar contracts” (cited in Schmidt, Young, & Mandzuk, in press). Additionally, for an in-depth empirical examination of other systemic barriers impacting IET integration, see Schmidt (in press).

In this article, we begin by providing a rationale for diversifying the Manitoba and Canadian teaching force as part of an equity mandate to ensure the growing cultural and linguistic diversity with the K-12 school system is visible not just among student populations but among teaching staff, and to help immigrants resume their careers. The authors then analyze school division employment policies from six Winnipeg school divisions and *Belonging, Learning, and Growing: Kindergarten to Grade 12 Action Plan for Ethnocultural Equity* (Manitoba Education Citizenship and Youth 2006), and discuss implications of these policies for the integration of internationally educated teachers in K-12 schools. Subsequent recommendations draw on the construct of interest convergence from critical race theory to advocate for school division employment policies prioritizing a more diverse teaching force.

## **Diversifying the Manitoba Teaching Force: A Rationale**

Manitoba was one of the first provinces in Canada to take advantage of the Provincial Nominee Program (PNP), and from the standpoint of attracting large numbers of skilled workers, has been extremely successful. In 2006, Manitoba set a new immigration target of attracting 20,000 newcomers annually by the year 2016 (Manitoba Labour and Immigration, 2006). What has characterized this wave of newcomers is that many are school aged children, most speak English as an additional language, and many are visible minorities (Manitoba Education, Citizenship and Youth, 2006).

Internationally educated teachers are among the groups of immigrant professionals seeking to resume their careers in Manitoba. One of the challenges in doing so is the fact that teaching is not one of the professions prioritized through the PNP. Despite teacher shortages in some rural and northern school communities and Manitoba Education Citizenship and Youth's (2006) stated commitment to diversifying the teaching force through its K-12 Action Plan for Ethnocultural Equity, the teaching profession in Manitoba on the whole, mirroring other jurisdictions in Canada, is not experiencing a teacher shortage. As Schmidt, Young, and Mandzuk (in press) discuss, in times of teacher shortage employers and the professional certification body have tended to be more open and flexible in accepting internationally obtained credentials. Regardless of whether professional certifying bodies are more or less open, systemic barriers remain (Schmidt, in press). Combined with a lack of government and institutional motivation for reducing inappropriate gatekeeping mechanisms, these barriers present formidable obstacles for IETs.

In a 2006 review of the federal government's Employment Equity Act, the Canadian Teachers' Federation (CTF) expressed concern that groups including visible minorities, women,

and Aboriginal people continued to be underrepresented in the education profession. This concern echoed an earlier report from CTF (2004) that used census data to show a significant mismatch between the ethnic diversity of student populations and the ethnic diversity of the Canadian teaching force. Such a mismatch has been shown to be problematic for a number of reasons. When children are not given the chance to see and hear themselves reflected in their educational settings, they can become marginalized within a school system that privileges certain ways of knowing and being that tend to reflect white, European, Anglo-centric norms in Western contexts (James, 2000; Fleras & Elliot, 2007; Kincheloe, 2008; Queensland Department of Education, 2001). Further, schools that have relatively homogeneous teaching staffs do not benefit from the numerous strengths, contributions, and insights that individuals from culturally and linguistically diverse backgrounds can offer to enhance the learning of all students and the community as a whole (Santoro, 2008). Internationally educated teachers (IETs) comprise a group of individuals with potentially rich contributions to offer Canadian schools but often remain excluded on account of a “difference as deficit” (Cummins, 2003) approach to the assessment of foreign credentials and experience, and the systemic discrimination that prevents them from getting hired even when they have re-certified in Canada.

The rationale for facilitating the integration of internationally educated teachers into the Canadian teaching force is multifaceted. Not only do children from immigrant backgrounds need role models and advocates within the system who can speak their first languages and relate to their circumstances of navigating their way in a new country, language, and culture, but all children and teachers can potentially benefit from engaging with the diversity that helps define the multicultural, multilingual reality of schooling in Canada. Moreover, equity and economic mandates necessitate using the skills, backgrounds, and experiences of immigrants appropriately,

rather than seeing highly skilled individuals working in jobs they are vastly over-qualified for, an all-too-frequent occurrence that proves demoralizing, inequitable, and a waste of resources (Reitz, 2005).

## **Winnipeg School Division Employment Policies**

### *Introduction*

Manitoba has a total of thirty-six school divisions<sup>1</sup>, six of which are in Winnipeg and the rest of which are considered rural or northern divisions (Manitoba Education, Citizenship and Youth, 2001). The six Winnipeg school divisions represent 53% of the total K-12 population of some 196, 844 students in Manitoba public schools (Manitoba Education, Citizenship and Youth, 2008). For purposes of the current discussion, employment policies for the six Winnipeg school divisions, found on-line in the human resources sections of divisional websites, were analyzed to determine the focus on employment equity and specifically equity in relation to diversifying the teaching force. This geographical focus was justified given Winnipeg has the most students and teachers of any jurisdiction in Manitoba (Manitoba, Education, Citizenship and Youth, 2008) and most immigrants settle in Winnipeg (Manitoba Labour and Immigration, 2006).

### *Method of Analysis*

Only those aspects of the employment policies pertaining to employment equity and diversifying the teaching force were considered in the analysis, to align with the concern of this article that educational policy should support the agenda of integrating IETs in the K-12 teaching

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<sup>1</sup> Excluding locally controlled band-operated schools, private schools, French language schools operating within the Division Scolaire Franco-Manitobain (DSFM), and religiously-funded schools.

force. Employment equity is a broad concept that may or may not include a specific commitment to diversifying the teaching force; therefore, both concepts were considered in the analysis. To determine whether a focus on equity and diversifying the teaching force was evident in the divisional employment policies, policy texts were examined for terms such as “equity”, “equal opportunity”, “diversity”, and “affirmative action”, and explicit statements about employment equity and representation in hiring. Policies that did not explicitly identify any of these terms or articulate a stance on employment equity were deemed not to have employment equity policies. For example, one divisional policy analyzed stated that the division aims “to hire the best personnel”, which is not seen within the current analysis as explicitly articulating an equity stance. Of the six Winnipeg school divisions, only three have policies pertaining to employment equity while the remaining three do not reference employment equity at all. A summary of the characteristics of the different policies may be found in Appendix. The school divisions were numbered from one to six for purposes of the discussion, and can be thought of as part of a continuum ranging from no employment equity policy (1, 2, 3) to limited (in terms of length and content) employment equity policies (4,5) to a comprehensive employment equity policy (6).

Once it was determined whether the six divisional employment policies contained reference to employment equity and/or diversifying the teaching force, the contents of the policies were also examined to determine the depth, breath, and focus on employment equity. For example, one policy defined the divisional stance on employment equity in two sentences, while another division’s policy was considerably longer and more detailed. Some policies used terms such as “equal opportunity” rather than “equity”, and though such terms were not differentiated in the initial categorization which simply sought to determine whether or not divisional policies made any reference to employment equity (i.e., both policies using the term

“equal opportunity” and policies using the term “equity” were identified as having a stance on employment equity), the use of different terms is potentially significant. Issues of terminology and its implications are explored in the subsequent discussion.

*Analysis and Discussion:*

*Focus on Employment Equity and Diversifying the Teaching Force*

*School division 4.* School division 4’s employment equity policy is presented in its entirety in the summary chart (Appendix); the policy consists of two statements about prohibiting discrimination on the basis of law and ensuring the division staff is committed to equal opportunity for all persons. Diversity is not delineated in school division 4’s policy; there is no mention of different groups or discussion of the various bases for discrimination. It is relevant here to point out that equality and equity have quite different meanings, *equality* suggesting everyone should be treated the same and *equity* recognizing that certain groups have unearned power and privilege that need to be mitigated to ensure fair participation. There is no evidence in this policy of encouraging workforce representation of diverse groups such as IETs.

*School division 5.* Division 5’s employment equity focus is defined in terms of “affirmative action”, which is defined as follows:

**Affirmative Action:**

- focuses on, monitors and updates student curriculum;
- is designed to establish, realize and monitor equal employment opportunities for men and women;
- raises the consciousness of staff of the impact that their attitudes and behaviour have on the development potential of staff and students;
- does not imply that all or even a majority of available positions will be occupied by one gender or the other;
- does not indicate that the Division is committed to the promotion of one gender or the other regardless of their competence;
- does not imply a quota system; and
- does not attempt to lay blame on the Division

While the total policy is four pages long, the issues pertaining to personnel are combined with the goal of ensuring curriculum is “studied in its widest scope”; therefore much of the policy refers to school-based strategies for addressing affirmative action rather than specific employment considerations. Similar to division 4’s employment policy, division 5’s policy consistently uses the term equality and clearly takes a stance against preferential affirmative action (as shown in point 5, “does not indicate that the Division is committed to the promotion of one gender or the other regardless of their competence”).

Preferential affirmative action has been critiqued for awarding positions to un- or less qualified individuals on the basis of their being members of a target minority group (Fullinwider, 2005). Ironically, despite use of the term “affirmative”, the definition cited above actually has more points describing what affirmative action is *not* rather than what it *is*. The remainder of the policy echoes the definition’s exclusive focus on gender equality; no reference is made to other types of diversity (e.g., ethnic, religious, cultural, etc.).

However, just as equality does not mean equity, equity does not mean hiring unqualified applicants for positions (Royal Commission on Equality in Employment, 1984). Qualifications become a moot point in the current discussion considering IETs in Canada are for the most part *more* qualified than Canadian-born teacher education graduates (Ontario College of Teachers, 2007; Schmidt, Young, and Mandzuk, in press). In Manitoba, for example, most IETs who complete academic and professional bridging supports have a number of qualifications, experiences, and skills that set them apart from most Canadian-born Bachelor of Education (B.Ed.) graduates. They are multilingual, fluent in 2-5 languages each; they are adept at cross-cultural interaction; they have first-hand knowledge of immigrant and/or refugee experiences;

they have knowledge of and experience with at least two education systems, one of which is Canadian; they have 2-20+ years of teaching experience; and many have advanced degrees in their content areas and/or education (Schmidt, in press).

The fear that hiring IETs as a strategy for diversifying the teaching force could potentially mean hiring less qualified teachers is unfounded; if anything, issues of systemic discrimination arise when considering few IETs actually do obtain positions despite their wealth of skills, qualifications, and experiences (Schmidt, in press). The differences that set IETs apart, in a positive way, from most B.Ed. graduates, are taken up in more depth in the discussion dealing with interest convergence at the end of this article. In short, school division 5's employment equity policy is limited in its definition of diversity (by defining diversity exclusively in terms of gender equality), takes a negative rather than an affirmative stance towards the single aspect of diversity it does acknowledge, and offers no equity-oriented initiatives that would facilitate the inclusion of IETs into its teaching force.

*School division 6.* Division 6 has the most comprehensive employment equity policy of the six Winnipeg schools divisions. Indeed this policy is the only one of the six analyzed that uses the term "employment equity" and defines it thoroughly and in a manner consistent with a contemporary understanding of the difference between equality and equity: "employment equity means more than treating persons in the same way and may require measures to accommodate differences" (Section 1.2). Diverse groups (i.e., women, Aboriginal peoples, disabled persons and minorities) are deliberately named and the desire to increase their representation at all levels of the division is explicitly articulated. Differences such as "race, nationality, religion, colour, sex, age, marital status, sexual orientation, physical or mental handicap, ethnic or national origin,

political beliefs or family status”, are identified as part of the division’s stance on anti-discrimination.

Division 6 has the only policy among the Winnipeg school divisions that provides support for the hiring of staff that reflect the diversity of student populations. Whether such policy translates to actual hiring of IETs cannot be determined since currently no school division in Manitoba collects data about whether or not its teachers are internationally educated, echoing another criticism of the CTF (2006) review of the Employment Equity Act, in which CTF expressed concern over the lack of available and reliable data pertaining to employment equity. Nevertheless, if educational policy can be considered one vehicle for advancing equity agendas, school division 6 offers the most promising local example.

**Belonging, Learning, Growing:  
Kindergarten to Grade 12 Action Plan for Ethnocultural Equity**

*Introduction*

*Belonging, Learning, and Growing: Kindergarten to Grade 12 Action Plan for Ethnocultural Equity* (Manitoba Education, Citizenship and Youth, 2006; hereafter referred to as the Action Plan for Ethnocultural Equity) was released in 2006 by Manitoba Education, Citizenship and Youth as a follow up to a 2003 draft document and 2003-2004 consultations with school division teams, partner organizations and community groups, a teacher and learner group, and written submissions from education stakeholders.

### *Method of Analysis*

Similar to the divisional employment equity policies, this document was analyzed for content related to diversifying the teaching force in Manitoba. Issues of depth, breadth, and focus were likewise considered. Broader equity issues were not as salient to consider in this analysis since the whole document pertains to equity; rather, we sought to determine the extent to which the policy specifically supports IET integration in Manitoba schools.

### *Analysis and Discussion: Focus on Diversifying the Teaching Force*

The twenty-eight page document contains nineteen actions organized into five categories:

- Building Capacity to Respond to the Needs of Diverse Learners
- Engaging Parents, Students, and Educators
- Resources for Building Inclusive Schools and Classrooms
- Policy Renewal and New Guidelines
- Enhancing Teacher Diversity

Immediately the issue of diversifying the teaching force is seen as one of the five main priority areas, and in the Executive Summary provided at the beginning of the document, of eight main findings, one is the mismatch between the diversity of student populations and the diversity of the teaching force: “Educators are not reflective of the rich cultural and linguistic diversity that is Manitoba: Most participants emphasized the need to strengthen efforts to create a more inclusive and representative teaching force and educational institutions” (p. 2). This theme was echoed consistently throughout the document, ensuring breadth, as illustrated by the following example:

Many participants advocated for greater efforts to increase the representation within school divisions’ administrative and leadership teams. Often, participants noted that while individual school communities may be diverse and embrace

diversity and equity<sup>2</sup> initiatives, diversity may not be represented at the divisional level. (p. 22)

In addition to specific statements about diversifying the teaching force, implications for IETs are also evident in more general statements pertaining to immigration and its effects. For example, in the section on Immigration and Responding to the Needs of Newcomers, “some participants noted that while government policy over the last decade has been to increase immigration and that immigration levels have recently begun to rise, school divisions have not necessarily attended to the implications for their schools and systems” (p. 22). Educational implications must be considered not only with respect to growing diversity amongst student populations but to growing numbers of internationally educated teachers seeking entry to the profession. Further, the two agendas of supporting immigrant students and supporting immigrant teachers are inextricably connected.

The Action Plan for Ethnocultural Equity not only demonstrates breadth in its consideration of the need to diversify the teaching force in Manitoba; depth is also apparent. The need to build a more inclusive workforce and advance the agenda of employment equity in education is detailed over two pages. Excerpts are shared here, accompanied by discussion, to contrast the limited focus of most of the Winnipeg school division employment policies with this

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<sup>2</sup> Working definitions for the main terms diversity, equity, and ethnocultural equity are provided as follows: *Diversity*—encompasses all the ways in which human beings are both similar and different. It means understanding and accepting the uniqueness of all individuals as well as respecting their differences. It is ultimately about acceptance and respect for difference. *Equity*—is a concept that flows directly from our concern for equality and social justice in a democratic society. Educational equity refers most broadly to a condition of fairness with respect to educational opportunities, access, and outcomes for all people. Departmental initiatives towards equity are intended to remove barriers to equality by identifying and eliminating discriminatory policies and practices. The use of these two terms together signals the importance of departmental initiatives towards building acceptance and respect for human differences and eliminating systemic barriers and impediments to educational equity, both in policy and practice. *Ethnocultural Equity*—as used in this document focuses on ethnocultural diversity and equity issues and goals. By ethnocultural we mean diversity related to cultural, linguistic, religious, and “racial” aspects of human diversity (p. 12).

considerably more detailed and critically reflective rationale for why teachers from diverse backgrounds are urgently needed in the K-12 system. The section on Building a More Inclusive Teacher Workforce/Employment Equity in Education begins by stating:

The need to build a more inclusive and representative teacher force was a common theme at virtually every consultation session. While some acknowledged that there were increased numbers of educators of diverse backgrounds working as teachers and in other related roles, most participants expressed the view that teachers and administrators do not reflect the rich diversity of peoples and cultures that are present in our communities. While perspectives differed on what was needed to address the situation, generally, participants supported enhanced efforts in this area. Some participants called for the extension of government employment equity policies to school boards and funded independent schools, and an affirmative action plan and policy that prepares cultural minorities for success in the workplace when hired. (p. 23)

The role that welcoming communities (i.e., the schools and faculties of education) play in supporting the integration of teachers from diverse backgrounds is highlighted as an essential component of ensuring their success:

Other participants drew parallels with the need to build more welcoming school climates. They argued that faculties of education need to provide a positive, supportive environment for those who are recruited from under-represented groups for effective participation and success in the teaching profession. (p. 24)

This view echoes research conducted with education stakeholders in Manitoba (Schmidt, in press) that suggests systemic barriers present one of the major obstacles for IET inclusion.

Sections of the document also devote specific attention to supports needed for internationally educated teachers, in terms of facilitating certification processes, providing academic and professional bridging support, and eliminating systemic barriers, issues that have all been identified through the emerging research agenda on IETs in Manitoba (Schmidt, in press; Schmidt, Young, & Mandzuk, in press).

The certification and training of internationally trained teachers was another major area of concern. The development of specific programs targeted to help international teacher candidates meet certification requirements was strongly supported. (p. 24)

Other initiatives undertaken include collaborating with [Manitoba Labour and Immigration] and the University of Manitoba, Faculty of Education, in the January 2006 launching of a pilot Internationally Educated Teachers Program (IET), and working with the University of Winnipeg to improve evaluation and counselling of internationally educated teachers. The Department will monitor developments and seek other opportunities to remove barriers. (p. 27)

Additionally, the Action Plan for Ethnocultural Equity articulates the need for a strong research agenda in the area of diversity in the teaching profession, one that would give voice to the lived experiences of teachers from diverse backgrounds and provide another avenue for reducing systemic barriers:

Many [education stakeholders] expressed the need for more research related to diversity in the teaching profession. Some suggested that the Department and universities should undertake or sponsor participatory action research in targeted communities to understand the obstacles and resistances to members entering the teaching profession. Lastly, they also stated that it is important to give visibility to existing teachers from these communities, to serve as models and mentors for prospective and interning students. (p. 24)

In spite of the affirmative, equity-oriented mandate of this policy, concerns are raised and noted in the document with respect to policy buy-in and implementation. For example, evident in the stakeholder consultations was “some questioning of the Department’s [MECY] commitment to implementing the proposed plan: While supporting the proposed plan, many participants expressed frustration with the slowness of change, lack of resources, and incomplete implementation of past initiatives” (p. 1). Further, though school division representatives were included in the consultation process, “some participants noted that ...the proposed Action Plan was largely a Department-driven initiative, [and] they pointed to the need for the whole community to embrace and

support the plan” (p. 15). The concern that such a policy could fail in its implementation at the school division level is significant. Analysis of Winnipeg school division policies has already shown that local school divisions for the most part have not articulated a policy stance on promoting a more ethnoculturally diverse teaching force, yet the school divisions are ultimately the employment gatekeepers.

### **Critical Race Theory and Interest Convergence**

The Action Plan for Ethnocultural Equity provides evidence of policy that supports hiring of IETs and a perspective that values their contribution to Manitoba education. In addition, one Winnipeg school division has an equity policy which addresses the hiring of “diverse” teaching staff. What limits implementation of these policies? What is limiting employment of IETs in Manitoba?

Critical Race Theory (CRT) provides a perspective for examining the limitations on policy implementation by requiring that both the theoretical and the practical components of a policy and program be examined (Ladson–Billings, 1999). CRT is premised on the Gramscian notion of hegemony which assumes there are oppressive social structures that serve to maintain hegemonic or dominant groups’ privilege. CRT contends that progressive social change occurs when those dominant groups experience themselves as the beneficiaries of the change. Bell’s (1980) analysis of *Brown vs the Board of Education, Topeka, Kansas* was an early demonstration of the CRT argument that Whites have been the beneficiaries of civil rights legislation in America. CRT scholars contend that Bell’s concept of “interest convergence” is useful in meeting the equity needs of people of colour: “interest convergence stress that racial equality and

equity for people of color will be pursued and advanced when they converge with the interests, needs, expectations, and ideologies of Whites” (Milner, 2008, p. 332).

Milner (2008) proposes that implementation of equity policy, even when adopted in theory by educational institutions and stakeholders, is held back by the need to maintain the status quo, to maintain the privilege related to power: “Change is often *purposefully* and *skillfully* slow and at the will and design of those in power” (p.334). Policy for social change which includes the interests of dominant groups has greater potential to be acted upon. However, if interest convergence is to be a means for facilitating social change for marginalized groups, those groups need to participate in setting the terms of interest convergence (Ladson–Billings, 1999).

From our position as advocates for the employment of IETs, we need to consider how the interests of educational stakeholders, and the interests of supporters of a diverse teaching force intersect (note that there is overlap between the two groups considering we as faculty members in education and IETs themselves belong to both). We begin with characteristics of IETs valued by those in the field and by IETs themselves. In research conducted with education stakeholders in Manitoba (Schmidt, in press) as well as through the authors’ discussions with classroom teachers who have mentored IETs during practicum placements in the context of an academic and professional bridging program for IETs, the following characteristics of IETs were seen as valuable: IETs are experienced teachers with valuable insights to share; IETs bring cultural experiences and linguistic backgrounds to the classroom that differ from many Canadian-born teachers’ experiences/backgrounds and align with those of many immigrant student populations; IETs can serve as translators for student, parents and community members; and IETs understand the immigrant experience. These same stakeholders, including Manitoba teachers and IETs

themselves, were able to express some of the challenges inherent in shifting from international teaching contexts to the Manitoba setting. Concerns included that some IETs did not have experience with inclusion of special needs students or working with educational assistants, some IETs faced challenges in adjusting to Manitoba classrooms that were more flexibly structured than what they were used to, some were not familiar with AV equipment or computer use, and some IETs needed to be encouraged to participate in extra-curricular activities. Stakeholders were aware that these differences emerged from different teaching contexts and could be addressed. They were also aware that the different learning contexts provided strengths as IETs bridged the knowledge and insights from their previous experiences with the new educational contexts evident in Manitoba.

These data and discussions suggest that it is IETs' differences from the general teaching population that are perceived as valuable, and those differences offer a potential location for interest convergence. IETs belong in Manitoba schools because they are different from other teachers and because those differences meet the needs of the educational community. Educational stakeholders may see it in their interest to pursue ethnocultural equity in the teaching force if IETs and their supporters present an argument for difference not sameness. This argument must be tied to the specific needs of school communities, as well as attached to the valuing of diversity as a concept. While the issue has been raised in other IET research (Beynon et al., 2004; Thiessen et al., 1996) that IETs view some of their perceived assets (for example, language and cultural interpretation) as potentially limiting them to specific roles within the Canadian school system and/or leading to extra-normal responsibilities, this concern has not been apparent thus far in research conducted in Manitoba (Schmidt, in press). This finding likely stems from the fact that the Manitoba research showed IETs face tremendous barriers in even

accessing the system to work; dissatisfaction with teaching responsibilities assumes that IETs are working as teachers to begin with.

### **Conclusion**

The educational policies analyzed demonstrate limitations in three main areas: (i) policy content in the case of most Winnipeg school division employment policies, (ii) stakeholder investment, and (iii) strategies for implementation in the case of the Action Plan for Ethnocultural Equity. Policies to support diversity and equity in the K-12 school system in Manitoba through the hiring of a more diverse teaching force is in many cases lacking altogether as far as school division hiring policies are concerned. In the case of the Action Plan for Ethnocultural Equity, diversifying the teaching force is delineated as a key strategy, but implementation and school division buy-in are potentially problematic.

We have suggested the concept of interest convergence from critical race theory may be a useful starting point for bridging the gap between policy making and policy implementation in relation to providing systemic access to multilingual and multicultural teachers who can help meet the needs of Manitoba's diverse student populations which increasingly include multilingual and multicultural learners. Moving forward entails conducting empirical research to assess the possibility and applicability of constructing interest convergence among different power groups, e.g., school division policy makers and administrators. In future studies exploring the structural and institutional obstacles to IET integration, other aspects of critical theory, such as Bourdieu's (1991) concepts of social and cultural capital, may afford other useful lenses for analyses. Through examining specific contexts where the interests of the dominant stakeholders and of internationally educated teachers converge, this point of convergence may be used to

problematize whether the IETs' capital poses a threat to the capital of the powerbrokers in education or whether differences can be used as building blocks for greater inclusion and representation.

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**Appendix:  
Summary of Winnipeg school division employment policies related to equity and diversifying the teaching force**

<b>Winnipeg School Division</b>	<b>Focus on equity in employment policies? (yes/no)</b>	<b>Evidence of focus on employment equity</b>	<b>Focus on diversifying the teaching force in employment policies? (yes/no)</b>	<b>Evidence of focus on diversifying teaching force</b>
1	No	N/A	No	N/A
2	No	N/A	No	N/A
3	No	N/A	No	N/A
4	Yes	Employment policy states division “will provide equal opportunities for employment, retention, and advancement of all qualified persons and prohibits discrimination on any basis identified in law; all personnel are encouraged to assist in the accomplishment of this goal through their personal commitment to the concept of equal opportunity for all persons.”	No	N/A
5	Yes	Employment policy contains reference to “equal employment opportunity/affirmative action”, which is primarily defined in terms of “a conscious effort to eliminate gender role stereotyping and its inherent effects” and “equal employment opportunities for men and women”. The policy seeks to raise “the consciousness of staff of the impact their attitudes and behavior have on the development potentially of staff and students”, and to “provide students with positive role models and a picture of equal human worth.”	No	N/A

6	Yes	<p>Employment policy has a category entitled <b>Non-discrimination</b>, stating “the Division shall not refuse to employ, to continue to employ, or to train any person for employment, to advance or promote that person, and shall not discriminate against that person in respect of employment, or any term or condition of employment because of race, nationality, religion, colour, sex, age, marital status, sexual orientation, physical or mental handicap, ethnic or national origin, political beliefs or family status of that person.”</p> <p>The policy further articulates a position on employment equity as follows:</p> <p><b>Employment Equity</b>          The Division recognizes that employment equity is a desirable and fundamental goal in our society. The Division is also committed to the removal of employment barriers, the identification and removal of discriminatory practices and striving towards a fair representation of women, Aboriginal peoples, disabled persons and minorities at all levels within the Division.</p> <p>The Division also recognizes the importance of not only teaching students about equality, but demonstrating to students and staff the Division's commitment to equality. (N.B. Section 1.1, pertaining to the diversity of the teaching force, can be found under the last column of this chart.)</p> <p>1.2 The Division accepts that to achieve equality in the workplace so that no person shall be denied employment opportunities for reasons unrelated to ability, employment equity means more than treating persons in the same way and may require measures to accommodate differences.</p> <p>1.3 The Division expects all decisions regarding employment to be based upon bona fide requirements and qualifications.</p>	Yes	<p>From the Employment Equity Policy: 1.1. The Division shall strive toward a workforce composition which reflects the composition of women and men, Aboriginal peoples, persons with disabilities and persons from ethno-cultural groups living within the boundaries of The Division.</p>
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