

l'innovation sociale, il minimise peut-être les pressions liées à la nouvelle conjoncture dont il fait précisément état de façon assez convaincante dans les pages précédentes : retour à l'hospitalo-centrisme; généralisation des principes de la « nouvelle gestion publique »; réseaux intégrés de services, etc. Il ne s'agit pas ici d'être alarmiste et de sortir les épouvantails, mais il nous semble que l'auteur insiste peut-être trop peu sur cet aspect, comme si par magie le *Programme de soutien aux organismes communautaires* suffirait à lui seul à préserver la spécificité de l'apport des organismes communautaires au système sociosanitaire.

En somme, malgré les quelques bémols somme toute mineurs que nous avons apportés, ce qu'il faut surtout retenir ici est que ce livre de Jetté constitue, sans aucun doute, un ouvrage absolument incontournable pour quiconque s'intéresse à l'évolution des organismes communautaires au Québec. Mais, plus encore, il devient un ouvrage incontournable pour quiconque veut saisir l'évolution de l'État-Providence au Québec dans le domaine sociosanitaire à travers le prisme des organismes communautaires. Nous sommes donc ici en présence d'un ouvrage tout à fait exceptionnel que toutes les personnes qui s'intéressent ou qui sont actives dans la mise en œuvre des politiques post-providentialistes devraient s'empresser de lire, qu'elles soient du Québec ou d'ailleurs au Canada.

## ***Multicultural Educational Policies in Canada and the United States***

Reva Joshee and Lauri Johnson, Editors  
UBC Press, 2007

Reviewed by Paul R. Carr

When contacted to review *Multicultural Educational Policies in Canada and the United States*, which is deftly edited by Reva Joshee (a Canadian) and Lauri Johnson (an American), it immediately dawned on me that there are few works that address such a pivotal concern in both societies, especially at a time when the neoliberal web of domination around what is taught and learned in schools is increasingly questioned in education circles. The issue of multiculturalism is problematic at several levels but this does not negate its relevance. Rather, many would argue that a more critical, in-depth interrogation of how societies understand, deal with, and craft policies to respond to de facto multiculturalism is a necessary step to achieving the full benefits of ethno-cultural, racial, religious, linguistic, sexual, class and other forms of pluralism.

Comparing and exposing multicultural education policies is important because

these signposts of society help us understand the intentions, philosophies and frameworks that shape the educational experience. At the same time, a policy, or a grouping of policies, cannot tell the entire story. This is where the editors make a key point in relation to the importance of dissecting policy development. A critical assessment of a range of policy trends, processes, impacts and outcomes can start to tell us something important about the perceptions, realities and contexts of multicultural education. Since there is no one policy, resource, program, approach, curriculum or organizing feature to multicultural education in either country, this book effectively provides a forum to examine the shape, form and meaning of multicultural education.

The first five sections of the book contain one chapter by a Canadian, and one by an American, followed by a third author who attempts to raise common concerns as well as differences, in addition to advancing the discussion within a comparative context. The sixth section involves an exposition of the context in England followed by a brief but lively discussion between four Canadian and American scholars. The format works because a comparative policy analysis requires a certain amount of depth, detail and description of diverse issues and contexts.

Johnson and Joshee provide a framework for understanding the collection of chapters in their introduction. They highlight that they are "pragmatic postpositivists" who "emphasize critique and deconstruction and draw attention to issues of power and discourse" (p. 4). Their approach to engaging in a comparative policy analysis is as follows: "a policy discourse is a process through which the parties involved convey their own sense of, position on, and story about an issue. Unlike a simple conversation or discussion, dialogue implies coming to new understandings about issues of common concern by listening, asking clarifying questions, recognizing and talking about points of disagreement, engaging in critique and reflection on our own national contexts, and moving the project forward by asking the question: what new insight does this bring to our policy project?" (p. 5). Thus, the project of extracting comparative points and analysis involves a range of processes and approaches. Policy development is never linear, nor something that can be clearly followed from a checklist or roadmap. This should heighten the interest for and relevance of this book.

As the book weaves through the diverse policy issues it has privileged, it becomes apparent that the issue of power is pivotal in shaping the fibre of multiculturalism in both nations. Although the book is not organized around an analysis of Whiteness, something which could easily elucidate multiculturalism in both contexts, the reality of inequitable power relations, especially related to race, is evident throughout several chapters in the book. There is mention of the impact of neoliberalism in controlling the educational debate and this is an area that could be further cultivated as a major under-pinning factor to how multiculturalism manifests itself.

The first section of the book looks into the historical context; it starts with a chapter by Joshee and Susan Winton and nicely frames how Canada came to codify an official acknowledgement of diversity. It is interesting to note that at a time when Canada is generally perceived as being progressive and attuned to the needs of a diverse populace, a pilot project for a Black-focused school has been approved in Toronto, there are visible differentiated educational outcomes between Blacks and Whites in several parts of the country, and Aboriginal students have experienced well-known disenfranchisement. One might question how educational policy has effectively dealt with such substantive issues. Joshee and Winton make a logical connection to citizenship education, which raises many of the issues and concerns enveloped in multiculturalism. Some might even argue that citizenship education is a safer haven than multicultural education, which is unquestionably an easier sell than anti-racism education. I wonder about the conclusion of the chapter, in which the authors maintain that “[e]ven an essentially neoliberal program such as character education provides an opening for activists to continue working for social justice”. If the policy itself is silent on social justice (or is so mollified that there is no substantive support in the form of training, resources, accountability and direct linkages to the myriad components of the curriculum, the assessment regime, and the institutional culture), would “character education” — which is, interestingly, a US concept — be able to effectively advance a critical approach to multiculturalism? Johnson follows this chapter with a critical look at multicultural education in the US, emphasizing that “[e]fforts to formulate diversity policies in local US school districts have often been reactive and crisis-oriented, generally arising in response to racial, ethnic, or religious conflict” (p. 29). She highlights that many of the same multicultural issues from the 1930s are still present today, and, moreover, there is more than a splattering of symbolism in relation to how diversity is conceptualized. Yoon Pak brings this section to a close by reminding us of the ways that hegemonic versions of policy-development have served to engrave racist conceptions into the broader culture in both countries. She illustrates how little distinction was made between diverse Asian cultural groups in both Canada and the US, highlighting how the notion of the “model minority” is conflated and serves to marginalize people/citizens of a real or perceived identity.

The second section is related to Aboriginal peoples, with Jan Hare for the Canadian side and John W. Tippeconnic III and Sabrina Redwing Saunders for the American side. This section illustrates how the relationship between those in power (primarily White, European, Christians) and the First Nations has been largely predicated on the “state’s focus on themes of civilization, assimilation, integration, and finally, local control” (p. 52). While there are some differences in the ways that diverse Aboriginal groups have survived and developed on both sides of the border, it remains that many of the issues and contexts are the same: characterized

by racial discrimination, a usurping of cultural identity and a longstanding pseudo-colonial relationship. Hare stresses that capacity building should be an indispensable pillar of policy development, and, furthermore, it should include resources as well as an understanding and commitment to self-determination. Hare argues that this inevitably conflicts with many of the formal structures and processes in place that frame how education is conceptualized. Tippeconnic and Saunders complement the preceding piece effectively by emphasizing how complex Native policy development is (in both American and Canadian contexts, it is fair to say), how there are openings, and also how more research, debate and work is required in order to make tangible gains. While illustrating how American Indians face particular challenges, Tippeconnic and Saunders hone in on the nefarious parameters and effects of the *No Child Left Behind Act*, which has been the object of much attention by those pointing to the neoliberal agenda pervading education today. Augustine McCaffery wraps up this section with a discussion of Native participation in higher education, focusing on Indian education reform, access, research challenges, and retention issues. Noting how some of the gains made at the elementary and secondary levels have not been as apparent at the postsecondary level, the implications for Aboriginal education are apparent if Aboriginal involvement in decision making processes continues to be limited. A few questions for further exploration might be: how relevant is it for Aboriginal peoples (and other groups in relation to other aspects of multicultural education) to be intricately involved in the policy development process; and, can self-development and sovereignty be achieved within the present policy context?

In the third section, Tracey M. Derwing and Murray J. Munro (Canadians), and Carlos J. Ovando and Terrence G. Wiley (Americans) discuss language policies. The Canadian context is characterized by the English/French bilingual nature of the country, which comes with certain constitutional guarantees, not to mention the reality of numerous Aboriginal languages, many of which face extinction. The focus of their chapter is on English as a Second Language programs; they stress the need to provide comprehensive support for immigrants because without it integration and educational opportunities will become extremely problematic. Ovando and Wiley follow up with a strong denunciation of the mythology that "[l]anguage diversity in the United States is an abnormal condition that is attributable to immigration," it "has a disuniting impact on national harmony," and it "threatens the dominance of English" (p. 107). They conclude that "language diversity continues to be a surrogate marker for race and ethnicity" (p. 117), which effectively buttresses the theme of a critical policy analysis within a comparative context. Karen M. Gourd rounds out the section by suggesting that language policies and practices in both countries "have been used as tools both to inspire unity and to control minority language groups" (p. 120). In this highly effective and

revealing conclusion, Gourd provides a key point raising the tenet of the book: "Until issues of social justice are made foundational to all educational programs, language learners' educational opportunities will be restricted" (p.127). As can be seen throughout all of the comparisons made in this book, the contexts may vary but the same issues of power and identity predominate, thus enhancing the potential outcome of critically diagnosing diverse societies and the policies generated therein. Tinkering with policies will clearly not have much of a desired effect, especially if the broader socio-economic context is not understood; this is a general concern for the educational policy field.

The fourth section deals with race-based policies, with Adrienne S. Chan (Canadian side), and Christopher M. Span, Rashid V. Robinson, and Trinidad Molina Villegas (American side) providing a multiplicity of examples, which, when taken together, deflate the commonly-held belief that Canada and the U.S. are "colour-blind" societies. Chan underscores how Canada had a range of formal, exclusionary educational policies, including separating Black children from Whites, and isolating Japanese and Chinese children. Looking at the contemporary context, Chan enumerates several policies dealing with race and ethnicity developed in diverse provincial jurisdictions. This is an area that requires more extensive interrogation as the policies themselves do not signify implementation and accountability; on the contrary, the policies may smooth over the lack of commitment. While this may sound counter-intuitive, a critical examination of the implosion of the 1995 NDP government in Ontario, where a vigorous anti-racism education policy had been introduced, may be instructive. The incoming Conservative government erased all policy development, even if some policies remained on the books, and effectively removed the word racism from public policy discourse for the following nine years. Therefore, the policy process must also be assessed at political, social, economic and stakeholder levels. Span, Robinson and Villegas provide a rich contextual analysis for contemporary race-based policies by outlining the foundation of slavery, which had a more far-reaching and visceral effect on American society than Canadian society. The relationship to Latinos in the U.S. context is also different than in Canada but there are many similarities with Asian and other minorities. An important consideration in this chapter is the extent to which data based on race are collected in the U.S., which enables a range of analyses. The issue of race-based data in Canada is still considered contentious at many levels but the absence of such data constitutes a major barrier to defining the problem. Njoke Wathani Wane provides the last word in this section, highlighting the need to continue to understand the role of race in education in both countries, all the while being vigilant not to interpret race in an essentialist way. Instead, Wane argues that race needs to be fully incorporated within the intersectionality of identity, especially with regard to class and gender.

The fifth section concerns employment equity (the Canadian terminology) and affirmative action (the American terminology), with Carol Agocs and Edward Talyor providing rich descriptions and analyses of the Canadian and American contexts respectively. Agocs provides a sweeping and detailed analysis of the evolution of employment equity, explaining the rationale, philosophy and, significantly, the shortcomings. She discusses the recent amendments to legislation in Parliament, and also lays out a critical theoretical framework for understanding the machinations of the policy process. Her observations on how policy analysis can and should be approached from different angles constitute perhaps the strongest core in the book (in relation to the postpositivist approach that the editors advanced in their introduction). Similarly, Taylor employs critical race theory to effectively contextualize and deconstruct the meaning and salience of affirmative action. He stresses how affirmative action has made a difference in some areas of the U.S. by creating a generation of educated minorities that might not have been afforded the same opportunities without legislation. At the same time, the author underscores the significance of the tendency to stress race-neutral language, which is buttressed by a backlash from many Whites in U.S. society. Michelle Goldberg provides a very tightly argued synthesis to this section by focusing on discourses (neoliberalism and economic rationalism/competitive marketplace), which are and can be used to elucidate the salience of employment equity and affirmative action. Goldberg concludes with a comparative analysis, suggesting that "Similar discursive strategies are being used to dismantle and make effective EE/AA policies in Canada and the United States. First, symbolic or empty discourses create a watered-down, ineffective policy that lacks resources and sanctions for noncompliance. Second, a neoliberal ideological discourse or meritocracy that promotes equal opportunity, instead of equal outcomes, is used to dismantle diversity policies by opening up space for a discourse of reverse discrimination" (p. 211). This analysis provides a range of policy considerations that could easily form the backdrop to another book on how educational policy is developed. It also elucidates the key concern of how politics relate to policy, something that must be clearly distinguished when considering policy analysis.

In sum, this collection of essays provides an excellent forum to commence the necessary debate on how diverse societies can reconcile the undeniable existence of diversity. What is more important, and what this book effectively points out, is that the question is less about what multiculturalism looks like than what it should look like given the myriad contours and particularities of each context. Although the histories, geographies, laws and societies of Canada and the U.S. differ in many ways, there are many features common to the two countries, which should be of interest not only to policy analysts and decision-makers but also to educators and researchers. Understanding what has or has not worked elsewhere is indispensable information for policymakers. The reality is clear that the problem is not diversity

or pluralism or multiculturalism; as mentioned above; the issue is how to work toward social justice, to move beyond mundane notions of tolerance and respect, and to seek critical engagement.

This book would make an excellent addition for a curriculum, foundations or social studies methods text in education, and could also fit within an undergraduate or Master's-level sociology or political science program. The book exemplifies how complex policy development is, especially in relation to diversity, and how it is linked to socio-economic and political considerations. Although not a weakness, as it is covered in various ways, the next edition of this book might consider incorporating a chapter or two on: the notion of policy development itself within each context; the particularities influencing policy debates especially in relation to stakeholders; the media; and the formulation of power. Similarly, the book does not delve deeply into the subject of democracy and democratic education, which might be an interesting way to address the issues of political literacy and social justice that underpin any discussion of multicultural education. As a suggestion, I wonder if a series of questions at the end of each section might not be a helpful way of leading students into discussions related to policy. Having added these caveats, the book is well-structured, written and edited, and I would recommend it for use in both countries. It might be worth adding that the format of this book would be well suited to a series of comparative analyses, which would certainly be of interest to a range of people and disciplines.

***La régionalisation au Québec : Les mécanismes de développement et de gestion des territoires régionaux et locaux, 1960–2006***

Richard Morin  
Montréal : Éditions Saint-Martin, 2007.

**Recension par Luc Dancause**

Cette plaquette constitue la mise à jour d'une brochure intitulée *La régionalisation au Québec. Contexte historique* et éditée une première fois en 1998 par les publications de l'Institut de formation en développement économique communautaire. Les chercheurs et praticiens qui s'intéressent au processus de régionalisation au Québec seront heureux de pouvoir compter sur cette nouvelle édition puisque de nombreux changements se sont opérés dans ce domaine depuis les dix dernières années, notamment sur le plan des modes d'intervention de l'État et de la réorganisation des activités gouvernementales.