

PUBLIC EDUCATION AND MULTICULTURAL POLICY IN CANADA: THE SPECIAL CASE OF QUEBEC

RATNA GHOSH

Abstract – Education is a provincial responsibility in Canada, but there is a sharing of expenditure and strong support of public education, health and other welfare programs between the provinces and the federal government. Although the federal policy of multiculturalism has been aimed at making Canada a ‘just’ society, the implementation of this policy in education in English-speaking Canada has been far from satisfactory, and there is great variation among the provinces in educational programs. In Quebec, the federal policy of multiculturalism is ideologically opposed to the vision of French-Québécois nationalism. While the federal policy of intercultural education has made some attempts to integrate immigrant populations, the focus remains on linguistic programs. In facing the dramatic changes driven by internationalization and a globalized economy, Canadians must respond – so the conclusion of the present study – to the urgent need to redefine the meaning of multiculturalism with radical educational programs.

Zusammenfassung – ÖFFENTLICHE BILDUNG UND MULTIKULTURELLE POLITIK IN KANADA: DER SONDERFALL QUEBEC – Bildung fällt in Kanada in den Verantwortungsbereich der Provinzen, aber die Provinzen und die Bundesregierung teilen sich die Kosten und die intensive Unterstützung der öffentlichen Bildung, des Gesundheitswesens und anderer Fürsorgeprogramme. Obgleich die Bundespolitik der Multikulturalität sich zum Ziel gesetzt hat, Kanada zu einer ‘gerechten’ Gesellschaft zu machen, ist die Realisierung dieser Politik in der Bildung des englischsprachigen Teils Kanadas alles andere als befriedigend; ferner sind die Bildungsprogramme der Provinzen sehr verschieden. In Quebec sieht sich die Bundespolitik des Multikulturalismus ideologisch der Vision eines französischsprachigen Nationalismus ausgesetzt. Während die Bundespolitik interkultureller Bildung einige Versuche unternommen hat, die Einwanderer zu integrieren, lag ihr Hauptaugenmerk auf die Sprachprogramme. Da sich die Kanadier mit den dramatischen Veränderungen konfrontiert sehen, die durch Internationalisierung und eine globalisierte Ökonomie hervorgerufen werden, müssen sie – so die Schlussfolgerung der vorliegenden Studie – auf das dringende Bedürfnis reagieren, die Bedeutung des Multikulturalismus mit Hilfe radikaler Bildungsprogramme neu zu bestimmen.

Résumé – ÉDUCATION PUBLIQUE ET POLITIQUE MULTICULTURELLE AU CANADA : LE CAS SPÉCIFIQUE DU QUÉBEC – L’éducation est la responsabilité des provinces au Canada, mais il y a un partage des dépenses et une forte aide de l’éducation publique, de la santé et d’autres programmes d’aides sociales entre les provinces et le gouvernement fédéral. Bien que la politique fédérale du pluralisme culturel ait eu pour but de faire du Canada une société < juste >, l’application de cette politique à l’éducation au Canada anglophone est loin d’avoir été satisfaisante et il y a une grande variation entre les provinces en ce qui concerne les programmes



éducatifs. Au Québec, la politique du pluralisme culturel est opposée idéologiquement au nationalisme franco-québécois. Pendant que la politique fédérale d'éducation interculturelle a tenté d'intégrer les populations des émigrants, le point central demeure axé sur les programmes linguistiques. Face aux changements dramatiques amenés par les internationalisations et l'économie globalisée, les Canadiens doivent répondre – telle est la conclusion de l'étude présente – au besoin urgent de redéfinir le sens du pluralisme culturel avec des programmes éducatifs radicaux.

Resumen – LA ENSEÑANZA PÚBLICA Y LA POLÍTICA MULTICULTURAL EN CANADÁ: EL CASO ESPECIAL DE QUEBEC – En Canadá, la educación es una responsabilidad de las respectivas provincias, si bien el gobierno federal y las provincias comparten los gastos y se brindan un fuerte apoyo en la educación pública, la salud pública y otros programas de bienestar. Aunque la política federal del multiculturalismo haya apuntado a convertir a Canadá en una sociedad 'justa', la implementación de su política de educación en el Canadá de habla inglesa dista mucho de ser satisfactoria, y existen grandes divergencias entre los programas de enseñanza de las diferentes provincias. En Québec, la política federal del multiculturalismo es ideológicamente opuesta a la visión del nacionalismo franco-quebequés. Si bien la política federal de la educación intercultural ha hecho algunos intentos de integrar a la población inmigrante, el foco sigue estando en los programas lingüísticos. De cara a los dramáticos cambios que producen la internacionalización y una economía globalizada, los canadienses deberán responder, según concluye la autora, a la urgente necesidad de redefinir el concepto de multiculturalismo con programas de enseñanza fundamentales.

Резюме – ГОСУДАРСТВЕННОЕ ОБРАЗОВАНИЕ И ПОЛИКУЛЬТУРНАЯ ПОЛИТИКА В КАНАДЕ: ОСОБЫЙ СЛУЧАЙ В КВЕБЕКЕ – В Канаде за образование ответственны провинции, но между провинциями и федеральным правительством существует разделение расходов и сильная поддержка государственного образования, здравоохранения и других социальных программ. Несмотря на то, что федеральная политика поликультурализма была направлена на создание в Канаде «справедливого» общества, осуществление этой политики в сфере образования в англоязычной части Канады является менее чем удовлетворительным, и существуют большие различия между образовательными программами провинций. В Квебеке федеральная политика поликультурализма идеологически противопоставляется пониманию французско-квебекского национализма. В то время как федеральная политика межкультурного образования предприняла некоторые попытки интегрировать иммигрантов, акцент все равно остается на лингвистических программах. Сталкиваясь с драматическими изменениями, вызванными интернационализацией и глобализацией экономики, канадцы должны ответить на срочную необходимость определить заново значение поликультурализма в радикальных образовательных программах – таков вывод данного исследования.

A nation's success is measured by the quality of life of its citizens. For several years, the United Nations has ranked Canada as one of the best countries in which to live. Canada is one of the wealthiest and most productive nations

in the world. As a liberal democracy, the Canadian state attempts to ensure its people equality of access to various social benefits such as education, health care and pension plans. All citizens are guaranteed a long list of rights and freedoms through such legislation as the Constitution Act (1867), Canadian Bill of Rights (1960), Human Rights Act (1978), the Charter of Rights and Freedoms (1982), and numerous provincial codes. Efforts to confirm Canada as a multicultural society have been further legislated through the Multiculturalism Policy of 1971; the Multicultural Act of 1988; and the Employment Equity Act of 1986. At the turn of the 21st century, Canada ranked at the top of the United Nations list. However, while Canada is doing very well, a Conference Board of Canada report released in February 2000 says that compared with six of the largest, most internationally competitive industrialised countries (United States, Japan, Germany, Australia, Sweden and Norway), Canada is just average in terms of social and economic performance.

Much debate now centres around the country's social-policy agenda and the values underpinning it as they relate to the public-versus-private balance we desire in our education, health and social services. Canadians have not been spared the cuts in social programmes and the trends towards privatisation that have taken place globally over the last decade. However, there is strong public support in Canada for maintaining and even increasing taxes so as to strengthen education, health care and other social welfare programmes (Livingstone and Hart 1995).

Public education in Canada

Provincial control

Canada has an excellent record in education by international standards. From the inception of mass schooling, Canadians have supported a popular-democratic educational ideology. The patterns of education set by British and French settlers in the mid-19th century were formalised in 1867 by the British North America Act (also known as the Constitutional Act), which made education a provincial responsibility. This was reiterated in the Constitution Act of 1982. Policies, programmes and structures vary from province to province because of regional differences. In many respects, Canada's school systems are highly centralised at the provincial level, and thus are more comparable to the systems of continental Europe than to the decentralised traditions of the United States and Britain.

Canada has the distinction of being the only Western country with no federal office of education and no national educational policy. For common educational concerns, the provinces co-operate through the Council of Ministers of Education in Canada (CMEC). Federal influence in education is

mostly indirect (through equalisation subsidies), and policy is largely formed at the provincial level. However, national forces are generated and expressed through political, bureaucratic, scholarly, and citizen's groups whose concerns filter through to provincial decision-makers. The federal government facilitates programmes such as bilingualism and multiculturalism and also plays a significant role in constitutional reforms that affect education. Provincial responses to federal legislation vary, as in the case of the Young Offenders Act and the Multicultural Policy and Bill. Although the federal government still has control of the education of First Nations, this responsibility is gradually being devolved to the band councils.

Private and religious schools

Educational opportunity for all is guaranteed through the federal Charter, various provincial policies, and formal protections against discrimination. The British North America Act of 1867 confirmed educational divisions based on Roman Catholic and Protestant school-boards. Religion was seen as important for character development and, therefore, for education. In most provinces, schools by both Roman Catholic and Protestant churches were publicly funded. This funding continues up to the present. Even religious schools of other denominations such as Jewish, Islamic, Sikh and others are generally given some financial aid by the provinces. In June 1993, the Supreme Court of Canada ruled that Quebec would be allowed to proceed with the creation of new French and English linguistic school-boards. The linguistic boards have since been superimposed on the denominational split.

The private sector in Canadian education, both at the level of schools and universities, is relatively small but increasing (4.6% of total school population in 1995). Only five provinces (Quebec, Manitoba, Saskatchewan, Alberta and British Columbia) give direct public aid to private schools, and their levels of funding vary considerably. Ontario brought many Roman Catholic schools that had been privately funded into the public sector from 1985 to 1988. Private schools are usually religious, but some may also be non-denominational. Private institutions receiving public funding are neither entirely private, nor fully independent. In October 2000, the Ontario government introduced the Post-Secondary Education Choice and Excellence Act, which has paved the way for unaided post-secondary institutions in Ontario.

Educational funding

Canada is among the world leaders in terms of its support of its educational system. The Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development (OECD) report of 1995 indicated that Canada had the highest expenditure on education as a proportion of gross domestic product (GDP) among G7 countries, and the second highest expenditure per student, below

only that of the United States (OECD 1995). This comparison is based on purchasing-power parity-exchange rates. However, the OECD Report of 2003 (OECD 2003) indicates that Canada has significantly curtailed the amount it spends on education and now spends less than the OECD average on primary and secondary education. Expenditure on educational institutions as a percentage of GDP in 2000 was 3.6% as compared to 4.3% in 1995 (OECD 2003).

Since education was taken on as a public responsibility, the provinces have developed various schemes to finance it. The principles of educational finance are based on intergovernmental responsibility for public services such as equalisation of the education tax burden and opportunity, preservation of local autonomy, and stipulation of provincial control (Dibski 1995). In general, there is provincial-local sharing of education financing. The rationale is to minimise inequities that arise between poorer and richer localities. The ministries of education of most provinces have the responsibility of establishing school districts, providing grants to school-boards, developing educational goals and curricula, authorising textbooks, certifying teachers, and controlling teacher education programmes. The provincial governments are directly or indirectly involved in collective bargaining with teachers' unions. School-boards receive provincial grants for offering their programmes, bussing students when necessary, managing their sites, and so on. However, the school-boards, along with the municipal governments, also raise revenue through local residential and business-property taxes. This provincial-local sharing of responsibility for educational funding enables the provinces to spend sufficient money on education because two levels of government are attempting to guarantee quality and equality. Prince Edward Island and New Brunswick are the exception in that their school-boards receive full-state funding and do not raise revenues locally.

The provinces fund public education from their general revenues, which come from taxes and other sources. A major source of education funding is federal transfer payments. The education of some groups (such as Native students in the provinces and territories and children of armed forces personnel) is a responsibility of the federal government. The federal government indirectly pays for education in the provinces through transfer payments to provinces from federal revenues. Of increasing importance, these federal equalisation payments (Section 36 of the Constitution Act of 1982) prevent inter-provincial disparities in public programmes as well as in standards of living. Such an on-going commitment to equality is critical for public school education at the elementary and secondary levels. Although the formula is changing, the concept enables provinces to provide reasonably comparable levels of service in spite of provincial variations in their ability to pay. The major reasons for these payments are an equalisation of provincial fiscal capacity and joint cost-sharing with the provinces of social programmes such as health, welfare, and post-secondary and vocational

education. These federal funds become part of the provinces' budgets and are expended according to their priorities (Carter 1988).

Standards

Canada has one of the most highly educated populations in the world, with 80% of its working-age citizens having completed secondary school and a large proportion going on to do post-secondary degrees (CEMC 2000). Since the OECD began producing comparative data in late 1980s, Canada has achieved the highest educational distinction of all OECD countries.

Canadian participation in the OECD Indicators of Education Systems (INES) project began in 1988. Canada is a participant in the Programme for International Student Assessment (PISA), directed by OECD, which is an international assessment of skills and knowledge of 15-year-old secondary-school students. Involving 32 countries, PISA enables international comparison in three domains: reading, mathematics and science. Although there are questions in all three subject areas, the focus in 2000 (April/May) was on reading (OECD-UNESCO 2003), in 2003 on mathematics (OECD 2003) and in 2006 it will be on science. Canadian students have fared well, but need improvement in mathematics, science and technology.

Testing for the purpose of maintaining 'standards' and for monitoring provided the impetus for the Council of Ministers of Education to initiate the Canada "School Achievement Programme" in 1991. Furthermore, in the Victoria Declaration of 1993, provincial and territorial ministers responsible for education and training agreed to create the Pan-Canadian Education Indicators Programme (PCEIP). Started in 1996 and revised in 1999, this programme developed a set of statistical measures that would provide data on Canadian education systems. PCEIP deals with the context of education, character and features of the education systems, and outcomes in the 10 provinces and 2 (+1) territories. Many provinces and territorial divisions of the education system are in the process of developing, or have already developed, indicator systems themselves.

Because the last two decades have brought particular encouragement of female achievement in education, great importance has been placed on measuring participation and performance of these female pupils. These have shown themselves to be stronger in reading and writing skills than males and at an equal level in mathematics and science in the School Achievement Indices Programme (SAIP). Now concerns are growing about male performance especially at the later stages of secondary school.

Considerable strides have been made in the area of technology, especially in equipping Canadian elementary and secondary schools with computers. In January 1999, there was one computer for every nine elementary students, one for every eight lower-secondary students, and one for every seven upper-secondary students.

The report card

Although there is no voucher system in the Canadian provinces, the *Report Card on Quebec's High Schools*, started in 2000, is a ranking guide likely to spark debate over the use of taxpayer-funded school vouchers. The rating of public and private schools, based on test scores, parents' income and graduation rates, intends to provide a guide for parents in choosing schools. However, the Report Card, to be produced annually, has been severely criticised for neglecting to take into account the selective entrance exams used now by many private schools.

A type of voucher system already exists in some provinces because departments of education subsidise the cost of tuition at most private schools. This means that the public sector loses the funding it would get for the students who go to private schools. Also, parents pay lower tuition for these private schools. The provincial governments have, in effect, been helping maintain a two-tier system.

Demographic changes

The years 1960–1975 experienced a rapid expansion in schooling, with a 42% increase in enrolment (138% at the preschool level) and a 72% increase in the number of teachers. The student-centred schools of that decade gave way to community-oriented schools, as the end of the Baby Boom sharply reduced enrolments and many schools were closed. Starting in the post-World War II period, the sharp decline in birth rates (4.0 in 1959), coupled with fertility rates falling below the replacement level (2.1 per woman), created a 'demographic deficit' in Canada.

If fertility rates remain at the present levels (1.6 in 1995), after the year 2015, immigration will be the only source of population growth. While trends can always change, a government study based on present birth and death rates predicts that, without immigration, Canada's population will disappear 800 years from now (National Health and Welfare 1989: 2, 44). This decline in fertility rates has also changed the age structure in Canadian society from a broad base of young people to a rapidly increasing middle-aged and older population. This change has tremendous implications for education and the idea of lifelong learning.

Immigration

These federal statistics indicate that immigration is essential to Canada's survival. While the number of immigrants has varied widely over its history, Canada continues to be one of the world's major immigrant nations. The history of Canadian immigration policy reflects the country's changing values and vision. Early immigration was exclusionary in character and was grounded on conceptions of race prevalent at that time. Race is used here as

a social category and not in the biological sense (that is, based on genetic and DNA criteria). The concept of 'race' is very real in social consciousness in North America. It has derived its meaning over time through social construction. 'Black' and 'white' do not represent just skin colour; these terms also express personal and group experiences in social interactions as well as in the economic and political spheres.

By the mid-1970s, the Trudeau government had undertaken an extensive public review of Canadian immigration policy. The 1976 Immigration Act shifted immigration towards non-traditional countries and "visible minorities" (the official term for non-white groups in Canada, while Quebec uses the term "cultural communities"). The original inhabitants of Canada were the First Nations people as well as the Inuit, while the first Europeans to come in the 16th century were the English and French. They established their early settlements in Quebec and Ontario. Subsequently, people from Western, Southern and Eastern Europe arrived. More recently, immigrants from Asia, Africa, and Latin America have settled in Canada as well.

These changes in immigration and related policies are reshaping race and ethnic relations in Canada. At the Confederation in 1867, people of British and French origin constituted 92% of the total population. The 1996 census revealed dramatic differences in the reported origins of Canadians. The present ethnic composition of Canadian society is heterogeneous to the extent that 46% of the total population across the country belongs to ethnic groups other than British or French (20% single British, 23% single French, 11% mixed British and French parentage). Even though Francophone Quebec has the highest proportion of single origins, about 25% of its population – one in four Quebecers – consists of non-French groups.

Although the perception of Canada as a multi-cultural nation has been associated with immigration movements, the 'central fact' of its history has been the relations between the English and French charter groups, the First Nations and Inuit, and other ethnic groups (Elliot and Fleras 1990). Clearly, these four broad groups have not had equal status, and the English–French equation continues to dominate Canadian history.

Policy initiatives dealing with the changed demographic profile were largely a result of three factors: the development of French nationalism in Quebec during the early 1960s that threatened Canadian federalism, an aggressive state intervention in social policy, and the assertive demands of minority ethno-cultural groups (Anderson and Frideres 1981). Quebec's volatile politics led to the establishment of the Royal Commission on Bilingualism and Biculturalism in 1963. Its report on ethnic groups in 1969 pointed to a demographic transformation. Several ethno-cultural groups, in addition to the French in Quebec, felt strongly about their cultures and demanded they be recognised, despite the continuous linguistic assimilation of immigrant groups into the Anglophone majority. The government responded with a policy on multiculturalism that recognised the new social reality. In 1971, Prime Minister Pierre Trudeau presented the nation with a new policy enti-

tled "Bilingualism within a Multicultural Framework". It was the first official acknowledgement of the reality of pluralism in Canadian society.

It is interesting to note that whereas in 1969 the Official Languages Act made English and French the two official languages at the federal level, legislation on multiculturalism was not federally enacted until 1988. Bilingualism, based on the concept of the 'founding nations', granted special privileges to French and English groups because of their claim that they had 'founded' Canada. Canada's Native population was ignored.

As a result of the Official Languages Act, bilingualism is compulsory in federal offices across Canada. In 1983, a new Official Languages Act (Bill C-72) was passed to further strengthen this federal legislation. At the provincial level, eight of Canada's ten provinces are unilingually English. New Brunswick is bilingual, and Quebec is unilingually French. While Quebec is officially French, most government services (including education) are accessible in English to the Anglophone community. The other provinces, which are officially English, offer similar minimal services to the French minority, particularly those pertaining to the judicial system. Five provinces have officially accepted multiculturalism in education, and Quebec has its own intercultural-education perspective. Enrolment in French second-language programmes has grown enormously. The federal government has given aid for various French-language teacher-training programmes as well as to students at all levels of education, in order to insure the survival of French in Canada.

Multiculturalism

Multiculturalism has been defined in various ways in Canada and continues to be controversial. As a pattern of social organisation, the 'Canadian mosaic' was thought of as the counterpart to political federalism when the policy of multiculturalism was announced in the early 1970s. Its aim was to legitimise the place of ethno-cultural groups (alongside the French and English) in Canadian society. As a political ideology, it has provided Canada with an identity. As a policy, multiculturalism implies consensus within the rhetoric of a 'just' society where there is to be 'unity within diversity'.

The objective of multiculturalism is, first, to assist all cultural groups in developing the capacity to grow and contribute to Canada. Multiculturalism has been criticised in this regard for having stripped culture of its political aspect by implying consensus. Its second objective is to help minority groups overcome cultural barriers so as to enjoy full participation in Canadian society. This initiative strives to reduce racial and ethnic discrimination and to promote national unity. It assumes that equality can be achieved through the vehicle of culture. However, overcoming cultural barriers and language-learning implies a cultural deficiency among minority groups. The proposed compensatory programmes are aimed at ethno-cultural minorities. These programmes do not require any adjustments in the dominant culture, or any

redefinition of the national culture in order to create what may be referred to as the common space, the 'third culture'. Multiculturalism's third objective, that of healthy intergroup relations, proposes to reduce racial and ethnic tensions. This was the weakest part of the policy until the Multiculturalism Act (1988) and the more recent establishment of the Race Relations Directorate. Finally, the fourth objective is to provide facilities to minority groups for language learning.

The concept of multiculturalism has changed over time, with equity and anti-discrimination measures added in recent years to widen its meaning. This process of expansion has been strengthened by several policy initiatives and legislation. The Multiculturalism Act of 1988 calls on the government to foster equality and access for all Canadians. Eight of its nine principles are concerned with equity issues. Only the last deals with culture. The change in the interpretation of multiculturalism from that of recognition of diversity to the promotion of full and equitable participation of Canadians of all origins is a crucial one.

The objective of the new Race Relations and Cross-Cultural Understanding Programme is to eliminate racial discrimination at individual and institutional levels. The 1986 Federal Employment Equity Act involves removing barriers that limit the participation and life chances of women and visible minorities, as well as of Native and disabled persons. A 1991 national survey of attitudes indicated that while 25% of those surveyed were unaware of multicultural policy, a majority of respondents (62%) supported it, and nearly half (49%) thought it was directed at non-white immigrants. An overwhelming majority (90%) agreed that multicultural policies should deal with equity issues.

The Charter of Rights and Freedoms improved on previous constitutional guarantees that protected the individual rights of women and ethnic group members by introducing legal provisions to prevent discrimination on grounds of ethnicity or race. Multiculturalism is vaguely alluded to in Section 27: "This Charter shall be interpreted in a manner consistent with the preservation and enhancement of the multicultural heritage of Canadians." The Canadian Constitution is contained in the Constitution Act of 1982 that also includes the Charter of Rights and Freedoms and the Constitution Act of 1867.

Although the province of Quebec did not sign the 1982 Act and the issue remains unresolved, this has only peripheral relevance, as ethno-cultural group rights are merely implied. The Equality Rights in Section 15 of the Charter, which became law in 1985, guarantee the individual's protection against overt forms of discrimination. They permit, but do not require, protection for collective rights of ethnic groups. Section 15(1) of the Charter prohibits discrimination based on gender and race, and Section 28 guarantees gender equality. Section 15(2) permits the establishment of affirmative action programmes for women, even if they contravene Section 15(1). Section 2 guarantees fundamental freedoms, also at the individual level.

History of multicultural education*English Canada*

Although the British North America Act (1867) and the Canada Act (1982) guarantee a confessional (that is, religious) system, and the school-boards are defined along religious, not linguistic lines, this has not posed any particular problems in the English-speaking Canadian provinces. A major problem with the federal Multicultural Policy is that it cannot be effectively implemented in education because (a) education is a provincial responsibility, and (b) neither legal nor political remedies are available in the absence of a substantive rights guarantee. The legal provisions (or protections) to prevent discrimination on grounds of ethnicity or race in the Charter of Rights and Freedoms have implications for education. It is significant, however, that the multiculturalism clause for education is vague.

The federal government assists multicultural programmes and research in education through a department, originally set up as the Multiculturalism Directorate in 1972 under the Secretary of State. But the lack of federal control over education and provincial legislation in general has limited federal ability to influence education in this direction to any meaningful degree.

Across the country, multiculturalism has been variously interpreted in education. Despite the fact that Canada is an immigrant country, the provincial departments of education have historically had a policy of assimilation (Ghosh 2001). Hence, the education of various groups in Canada has been assimilationist towards an Anglo-dominated culture, although at least a quarter of the population has been French and concentrated in Quebec. Furthermore, immigrants from many parts of Europe and the Third World contributed crucially to building this country. Education's role was seen as that of cultural transmission in the process of human-capital formation so essential for developing Canada. Within the vision of a mono-cultural society, this role implied non-recognition or non-acceptance of cultural differences (except for that of the dominant English and the subordinate French) for ethnic group relations in all of Canada, including Quebec. Racial and ethnic (as well as gender and class) differences were negated in an attempt to devalue characteristics of non-dominant groups. The exclusion of the 'other' (defined through difference from the mainstream) was structural (Ghosh and Abdi 2004).

Development of multicultural education

Since its inception, evolution has been the key element in the various developmental phases of Canada's education policy. However, the most recent of those – multiculturalism, as an ideology or world-view – marks a radical departure from earlier approaches such as assimilation. This is so because, despite falling within the traditional model of consensus, its *liberal* rhetoric

implies equal opportunity to all ethnic groups by giving equal status to all cultures. However, the modern democratic view of the world in the *policy* of multiculturalism ignores ethnic, racial and socio-economic differences, legitimises a Eurocentric view of the world with other cultures appended on, and attempts to de-politicise culture, thus masking the asymmetric powerlessness of the ethno-cultural minorities.

In the development of multicultural education in Canada, several stages can be identified, each conforming in turn to changing conceptions of multiculturalism (Ghosh and Tarrow 1993). In the *assimilation stage* society was mono-cultural and subordinate groups were expected to relinquish their identities in favour of the existing, dominant mode. In education, no attention was paid to the different needs of cultural groups. Differences in learning styles and behavioural patterns were taken to be deficiencies. Difference was equated with inferiority, and the attempt was made, therefore, to mould culturally different groups in the pattern of the dominant culture.

It is not surprising that multicultural education began with emphasis on culture as exotic and as an artefact. The song-and-dance routine completely de-politicised culture and avoided issues of discrimination and race relations. Educators were absolved of neglecting other cultures by observing 'multicultural days'. Empirical studies that show ensuing interchange of information (especially static and romantic representation) did not result in creating either greater tolerance or a sense of integration (Moodley 1981). The early multicultural programmes looked at exotic cultures through a static museum-view, more popularly known as the 'sari, steel drum and samosa approach'. Based on an ideology of cultural pluralism, this was the *adaptation* phase. The need to teach languages, in this phase, resulted in an emphasis on compensatory programmes. In education, this translated into compensatory programmes that were to be used as a means of achieving equal educational opportunity.

The *accommodation* stage was based on a particular concept of multiculturalism, which appeared to offer an objective means to equalise opportunity. In education, this was represented by attempts at 'multicultural education' programmes such as ethnic studies, comparative religion, studies of other cultures, and heritage-language programmes as well as attention to ethnic and gender representation in the curriculum. Sins both of commission and of omission were to be avoided. Therefore, publisher's and curricular guidelines stressed not only inclusion of ethnic minorities in curriculum material, but also the removal of stereotypical portrayals. Ethnic representation in the curriculum and the hiring of a few minority culture teachers were attempts to develop a sense of identity and positive self-concept in ethnic minority students. Some provinces offered heritage-language classes to enable ethnic groups to maintain their languages. On the whole, the minority ethnic students did not receive the same life-opportunities because the Eurocentric curriculum and culture of their schools marginalised them, as did the racism and discrimination experienced in overt and covert forms in the school system, and at a later stage, in the job market.

Only recently has any attention been paid to promoting intergroup relations as well as programmes for shared participation. Multicultural education may be said to now be at the fourth stage, that of *incorporation*. Prejudice-reduction strategies and equity programmes were attempts at the individual and institutional levels for groups to forge affiliations with the dominant framework. The debate has now moved to redefining multicultural education in terms of creating the 'just' society for which it was proposed. Immigration criteria have been changed to ensure that non-racial standards are being used. In education, this stage involves institutional efforts at equity programmes such as hiring more teachers from ethno-cultural groups and visible minorities and employment equity as well as the implementation of prejudice-reduction strategies to further the acceptance of other groups into the dominant framework.

The *integration* stage is a radical departure from the previous stages. In education, it represents the formulation of knowledge that conceptualises altogether new world-views. Programmes based on critical pedagogy, such as anti-racist education, offer such new possibilities. While anti-racist education has been in vogue for some time in England, in Canada such experiments have been confined to just a few cities and provinces. The purpose of education is revolutionised at this stage: Education is for empowerment. The educational process involves co-operative learning based on a global view of education and respect for human rights. In current multicultural education, the curriculum is primarily based on Western values, as opposed to a curriculum that offers a more global orientation as in the integration stage.

The policy of multiculturalism has been translated into very different forms throughout Canada. Saskatchewan was the first to implement this policy in 1975. Four other provinces have also endorsed this federal policy. Basically, linguistic choices regarding the medium of instruction were offered to the Ukrainian, Russian, German, Jewish, and native Cree populations in the Western provinces of Alberta, Manitoba, and Saskatchewan. Nova Scotia, on the extreme east of Canada, now has a strong policy of intercultural education even though its long-settled black population suffered segregation in schools until the 1950s.

The two provinces distinctly ahead of the others with regard to educational reform and change in the direction of multiculturalism have been Ontario and British Columbia. Demographic compulsions lay at the root of this approach. British Columbia, in particular, has a large Asian population. Even now a substantial portion of Asian immigrants prefers to go there. In fact, historically, the longest record of diverse immigration in Canada is traceable to British Columbia.

With regards to Ontario, not only do the bulk of immigrants go there, but currently, about half its total population is made up of other ethno-cultural people. Possibly on account of this, Ontario has reported having had the greatest number of racist incidents in Canada. In 1997, the Ontario provincial government endorsed multiculturalism as a policy, and now it has also

adopted an anti-racist policy. Although largely decentralised, the Ministry of Education encourages the teaching of English as a Second Language and focuses on the elimination of bias in textbooks. Over the last 30 years, significant curriculum guidelines have evolved. Further, in 1987, a Policy on Race and Ethno-Cultural Equity was initiated. This paved the way by 1993 for the development of guidelines for Antiracism and Ethno-Cultural Equity in School Boards. The Education Act was amended in 1992, making it incumbent upon school-boards in the province to put into practice antiracism and ethno-cultural equity policies. The response of the school-boards has been in the form of a variety of policies and programmes concerned with curriculum, such as race relations and heritage languages (63 languages in 1990 and 1991), school and community relations, student placement, recruitment of teachers, and so on.

Quebec: A special case

Although Quebec is one of ten provinces, its position in Canada is unique. It is the only province to have rejected both the federal policies of bilingualism and of multiculturalism. Quebec's official language is French, and it has its own intercultural policy. A quarter of Canada's population resides in Quebec. About 75% trace their lineage to French ancestry. Of the non-French, visible minorities comprise close to 7% of the total Quebec population. Another 9% are of British stock (English, Irish and Scottish), and around 2% survive from the First Nations and Inuit populations (Census 2001).

Until the 1960s and the Quiet Revolution, the policy of the Quebec government led by Duplessis was to discourage immigration so that the unique nature of French Quebec would not be threatened. As per the British North America Act, 1967, both federal and provincial governments jointly administered immigration policies. The change in attitude towards immigration came about in Quebec due to a significant decline in the birth rate. Quebec's birth rate of 1.5 per 100 women in 1995 was the lowest in the industrialised world. To facilitate faster immigration, the Quebec government requested more autonomy in the selection of immigrants. This was acceded to in 1991 in the McDougall Gagnon–Tremblay agreement. Thus, Quebec is the only province to have its own immigration department.

The rise of French nationalism in the 1960s resulting in the Quiet Revolution challenged Anglo supremacy in its attempt to end discrimination – both ethnic and linguistic – that had affected French Canadians in their own region. This was the push by the Quebecois to be 'masters of our own house'. The Roman Catholic Church's role was greatly diminished in Quebec society, resulting in a significant growth of the education system and making language, rather than religion, the distinguishing characteristic for the Quebecois.

The French in Quebec required more than bilingualism as an instrument to augment their socio-economic status and power. The policy of multiculturalism, by implying equal status for all cultures, further diluted the

attempt at French cultural revitalisation. At a time of fervent Francisation, the classification of French culture as being equal in status to other cultures in the federal Multiculturalism Policy was unacceptable. The rise of French nationalism was an offshoot of the reality that French Canadians comprise a mere 2% of the North American population and their linguistic survival is threatened within this English-speaking continent. Their main concern was for the survival of their distinctive identity in terms of language, society and culture. This prompted legislation to safeguard their language as a first step. French became the official language in Quebec in 1974. Law 101 in 1977 went a step further, making it obligatory for all children, except those having English parents, to be taught in French. This was controversial legislation as it gave priority to the rights of Francophones as a collectivity over the individual rights of non-Francophones. The repercussions have been far-reaching.

Accepting, in 1978, that the medium of instruction should be French, *The Policy on Cultural Development* spelt out the policy of the Quebec Government regarding the importance of diversity in the construction of a common society through the medium of the French language. In 1990, the Quebec Government made a major statement regarding their stance towards immigration, thus acknowledging the pluralistic challenges latent within society. Several salient factors led to this official endorsement: (a) the continuous demographic decline of the French population (the prevalent fertility rate of 1.5 was certain to decimate future generations, a possibility further aggravated by substantial emigration); (b) a significant increase in the age of the population (current estimates are that 25% will exceed 65 years of age in another decade); (c) the need to give a stimulus to the economy through expansion of the labour market and increased consumption (the relation between unemployment and migration is inverse). Thus, large numbers of non-French, mostly non-white, groups arrived in Quebec, posing a serious threat to the French language. To safeguard the French language, the government document of 1990 had three main objectives: (a) facilitating easy access to French-language teaching; (b) fostering a sense of belonging and participation amongst immigrant and ethnic groups; (c) developing inter-group relations among all residents of Quebec. Broadly, these aims resemble the federal multicultural policy.

It is ironic that Francisation is occurring precisely at a time when immigration of various other cultural groups (notably Vietnamese, Haitians, Latin Americans and Lebanese) has of necessity become significant. The influx of non-French groups – most of them non-white – into Quebec society is increasingly seen as posing a threat to the survival of the French language.

Policy on intercultural education in Quebec

Quebec took the initiative and became the first among the provinces in Canada to offer legal guarantees for the educational rights of minorities through its Charter of Rights in 1975. Several more years elapsed, however, before

the educational, social, and cultural needs of the non-French groups that had come and settled in Quebec could be focused upon. 'Intercultural Education' was to be the formula for enabling integration of the new arrivals. Interculturalism means a Quebec that will be pluralistic in outlook, but Francophonic through its reliance on the medium of the French language.

In fact, the overall policy of education and learning among groups in Quebec has to respond, at least officially, to "new efforts to integrate immigrant students and prepare the whole student population to participate in social integration in democratic, Francophonic, pluralistic Quebec" (Quebec, 1998: v). Education plays a central role in bringing about this new social order. The schools are to reflect the Francophone vision by preparing students of all cultural communities to use the French language as a means to develop a new, common identity.

In its latest policy document, the government's *Plan of Action 1998–2002* (Quebec 1998: 9), the Francophone element must override all others for the supposed survival of French Quebec in an overwhelmingly Anglophone North America. The French language, therefore, must be presented in a positive light by schools and other learning institutions (Quebec 1998).

With changes in the demographic and linguistic landscape in the province, the Quebec Human Rights Charter underwent modifications in 1985. The following year, a Declaration on Ethnic and Race Relations was enunciated. Recognizing the importance of 'intercultural education', the Superior Council of Education in Quebec issued several documents embodying this concept. According to McAndrew (1993), non-English, non-French students made up 35% of the total school-going children in the four Montreal Island school-boards in 1990–1991. Historically, the school system developed by the Roman Catholics has been linked with the French, while the much smaller system developed by the Protestants has been associated with the English. Although for over 100 years Quebec has essentially been a pluralistic society, the philosophical approach towards education for both the English and the French has been that of assimilation rather than integration. The unambiguous preference of most Quebec immigrants has been to send their children to English schools for economic and social prestige reasons. Unfortunately, the Protestant schools, while admitting all ethnic, religious, and cultural communities, paid scant heed to their special educational requirements. In the Roman Catholic system, admission was denied to all except Catholics (mostly French); hence, there was no problem of dealing with heterogeneity. A document released by the Quebec Government (Quebec 1990) has stated that until recently Quebec society prescribed a model of cultural and ideological homogeneity for all those residing in Quebec, regardless of their origin.

It has only been since the Quiet Revolution that the assimilationist policy of the French and English sectors started changing. The pluralistic nature of Quebec society was neither acknowledged by the English Protestant system nor faced by the French Catholic system until legislation in 1977. Law 101 forced children of many non-French speaking groups into French-medium

schools by stipulating that this was obligatory for all students living in Quebec, barring temporary residents, Native persons, or those children whose parents had done the primary schooling in English in Quebec or who had a sibling currently registered in an English-medium school. As in other provinces, all but the minority official-language pupils were educated exclusively in the majority official language.

The consequences for education in Quebec were extensive. Non-French immigrant students were compelled to join the French school system, although this system was totally unprepared to accommodate such vast numbers. Traditionally very homogeneous in composition, the French education system has, since 1971, had to gear itself to cope with a bewildering proportion of cultural groups. By way of contrast, the English schools had always been accustomed to having a mixed and varied student body, and, until about 15 years ago, had consistently implemented a policy of assimilation, deliberately overlooking the pluralistic reality. According to some estimates, at the turn of the century, the percentage of non-French students in Montreal schools escalated from 25% in the mid-1980s to 50% of the total student population (Henchey and Burgess 1987). At the beginning of the 1990s, close to 40% of students in French language CEGEPS (pre-university colleges) belonged to non-French cultural groups (Quebec 1990). The decrease in birth rates and a dwindling population among the original Quebecois (*Québécois de souche*), alongside the burgeoning presence of Allophones – as many as 90% in certain French schools – from as many as 85 multicultural and 20 religious groups, is the cause of deep misgivings for many of the ‘originals’. Fear of racial tensions and happenings is the least of their apprehensions. The real danger is perceived to be the threat posed to the French culture by the multiplicity and vigour of other cultural groups. Of course, it will be more difficult to legislate culture than language, and that makes this threat not only more subtle, but also intergenerationally more potent.

One of the consequences of Law 101 was to cause an alteration in the linguistic composition of the school-boards. In 1978/1979, the French Catholic sector had 27.3% non-French students, while the English sector had 72.7%. Within a decade the numbers had changed to 65.19% in the French sector and 34.82% in the English sector.

By a recent ruling of the Supreme Court of Canada, linguistic school-boards became effective as of July 1996. This ruling means that school-boards based on religion will be terminated. Instead, linguistic boards – both French and English – will cater to requirements of the different segments of Quebec (referred to as territories). Four school-boards within the linguistic system in Quebec City and Montreal retain the right to remain confessional within the linguistic school-boards. The overall impact will be to place a greater importance on the French language and to attenuate the role of traditional religion in education.

The government now has three kinds of programmes to assist with the integration of students: (1) Orientation and welcoming classes (*classes d'accueil*) for newcomers, with the objective of acquiring French language skills, have been in vogue since 1969. (2) The second programme, operated by *centres d'orientation et de formation des immigrants* (COFI), is structured to equip adults with a working knowledge of French if they fall short of the level required to take courses in the language. (3) The goal of the third and last programme is to safeguard heritage languages through PELO (*Programme d'enseignement des langues des origines*). These are publicly funded (up to 80%), but privately managed ethnic schools set up to preserve heritage languages. The criticism of these schools, however, is that they are insular and segregationist in nature. Rather than promote intercultural attitudes, they are used in French schools to help immigrants better comprehend French in order to integrate into the school community.

It is probably because of this inadequacy in integration and language training that recent policies (Quebec 1997) have been directed at giving new and immigrant students effective and more comprehensive access to the acquisition of the necessary tools (language training, cultural information, reliable progress-assessment, etc.) for educational success. It has been pointed out (McAndrew 1985) that the tendency to see themselves as victims of a linguistic menace makes French-Canadians systematically neglect problems faced by new immigrant groups. 'Cultural communities' find themselves caught between the 'two solitudes' (indicating the separate worlds of the French and the English).

Despite the non-negotiable status of French, some other initiatives have more recently been proposed to decrease the educational/cultural burden on new immigrants. These include increasing cultural community representation in curriculum material, hiring minority staff, and developing school-community relations.

Education in Quebec has passed through stages similar to English Canada: It began with a policy of *assimilation*, a "uniform cultural and ideological model" (Quebec 1990) for all Quebecers. At the stage of *adaptation*, focused language classes were the main programmes designed to compensate for deficiencies of other groups. The document *Let's Build Quebec Together* (1990) indicates *accommodation* towards a diverse population but is clearly geared towards the building of a Francophone Quebec. Intercultural education in Quebec – meaning an education which will be pluralistic in outlook, but Francophonic through the medium of the French language – must be seen in the context of Quebec psychology and demographics. The onus is on 'cultural communities' and immigrants to familiarise themselves with the "cultural codes of the new society and redefine one's identity to reconcile these values with those of one's original culture" (Quebec 1990: 45).

Given Quebec's history, it was perhaps unavoidable that the socio-political discourse would centre mainly on the French–English equation. Although many cultural communities make up Quebec society, their urgent needs have

been dealt with only within the context of Quebec nationalism, rather than on their own merit. The focus has primarily been on language. In the future, the focus must move beyond compensatory measures. Still, the need to be educated in French in Quebec may hardly be questioned as long as the fact of English education is not challenged in English Canada. Until this is recognised, though, attempts at intercultural education will remain peripheral to language learning (Ghosh 1995). Language learning is a necessary, but not a sufficient condition, to enhancing intercultural education. The basic equality needs of cultural communities still occupy a low priority in Quebec education and society.

Effectiveness of multicultural policy

Has multicultural education promoted social justice and resulted in equality of opportunity? National surveys done in Canada indicate that around 45% of those surveyed emphatically agreed that discrimination against non-whites is a problem (Ministry of Multiculturalism and Citizenship, 1991). While other cultures are acceptable, people seen as belonging to other 'races' are not.

In Canada, for example, *The Vertical Mosaic* (Porter 1965) was the first significant study to depict Canadian society as one of hierarchy, based principally on ethnicity, class and gender. Does the imagery of a vertical mosaic hold a good three-and-a-half decades later? A historical comparison of ethnic inequality between 1931 and 1986, measured in occupational terms, indicates a moderate decline in the significance of ethnicity, which nevertheless continues to exert its influence on occupational achievement (Lautard and Guppy 1990).

A recent report by the Canadian Race Relations Foundation (2000) indicates the racial differences in education, employment and income that result in socio-economic differences in Canada. Li (1998) points out that racial origin is related to social and market value. Several research studies document disparities in income and employability between white and non-white populations in Canada (Baker and Benjamin 1995; Frank 1996; Henry et al. 1995; Pendakur and Pendakur 1998, among others). According to the 1996 Census, despite decades of multicultural education and equality legislation in various Western nations such as Great Britain, the United States, Canada and Australia, discrimination, especially racism, is on the increase. As a group, visible minorities were better educated than both Natives and the general white population (Hou and Balakrishnan 1996; de Silva 1997). They not only had a higher proportion of university graduates (Anisef, Sweet, James and Lin 1999), the proportion was about twice that of whites (de Silva 1997). Despite this, visible minorities, especially immigrant youth, face discrimination at school at personal as well as at institutional levels (CCSD 2000; Davies and Guppy 1998) and encounter problems in obtaining employment (Henry 1999). Visible minorities earn less than whites in all educational categories (Anisef et al. 1999).

Not all visible minorities experience the same degree of discrimination. Of all groups, Native peoples have the greatest disadvantage in education, employment and income. The CRRF (2000) report states that Blacks, native or foreign-born, face the largest wage differential. This income differential between Whites on one hand and on the other Natives and other visible minorities is an indicative factor primarily caused by racial discrimination (CRRF 2000).

The composition of the government is another indication of difference. While visible minorities make up 12% of the Canadian population, only 5.3% of federal-government employees are visible minorities. Three of the five national political parties have no minority representation. Not only are there no visible minorities in top federal positions, the federal public service has a mere 5.9% minority representation (Task Force 2000). Henry and Tator (2000) have pointed to a profound tension in Canadian society because the press, while representing the cornerstone of a democratic liberal society, manifests media bias and discrimination through its lack of awareness, understanding, and concern for the problem, and even reinforces racism.

Since the multicultural policy has been in effect for almost three decades, its impact on Canadian society must be said to have been negligible in terms of affecting inequality. Studies show that in terms of socio-economic status, inequality is more marked among ethnic groups than it is between genders (Lautard and Guppy 1990). The penetration of ethnic group members into elite groups remains limited although certain visible minorities are 'visible' in a number of professions and in higher education, and this may be influenced by immigration patterns. Canada continues to be a hierarchy based on race, ethnicity, and gender, the fact of which indicates a wide gap between reality and political discourse.

Conclusion

It is said that the success of a democracy is measured by the way it treats its minorities. Yet, despite concerted, long-term efforts to provide multicultural education and equality legislation in the various Western nations, discrimination, especially racism, is on the increase.

In its initial stages, multiculturalism in Canada was interpreted and implemented in a manner that stripped culture of its political aspect and implied consensus within the rhetoric of a 'just' society. Multicultural programmes exposed Canadians to different cultures and supported programmes for maintenance of culture and language of ethno-cultural minority groups. The emphasis was on cultural pluralism, a cultural mosaic, rather than on participation of minority groups, or equity issues. In that framework, white European ethno-cultural groups were significantly more acceptable than visible minorities. In recognition of the changing colour of Canada, a change in ideology to that of multiculturalism resulted in a radical departure in policy.

The impact of equality legislation and multicultural education programmes is not yet apparent. Educational programmes are still evolving. However, dramatic societal changes are taking place and education needs to respond with radical changes. The multicultural reality is significant for schools because educational institutions are responsible for preparing all students to participate fully in a multicultural society. A multicultural education that only helps students retain their cultural identities may seem to satisfy groups, but is not enough to develop students' skills and knowledge, or grant them the power to control their destinies in the creation of, and participation in, a just society. Perhaps more importantly, the policy does not ask the majority culture to change its attitudes and behaviour towards people of other ethno-cultural groups. Multicultural education must engage students (both majority and minority) in human rights, but also go further to question existing social structures and institutions in the context of gender, race, and class. While multicultural and intercultural education programmes theoretically give equal access to all ethno-cultural groups, they have not resulted in equal participation in the educational or in the economic sphere. Academic success is particularly difficult for those for whom the definition of knowledge and learning as well as the agreed-upon language codes are solely those of a dominant culture (Carnoy and Levin 1976). Differences in socio-cultural positions transmit different world-views, and some are more powerful than others (Connell 1989). With growing diversity in the country, Canadians cannot afford to ignore the implications of an education system that does not provide maximum opportunity for all its citizens, despite their physical and cultural differences. Canadians must face the challenge of redefining the meaning of multiculturalism in the quest for sustaining a high quality of life free from extreme inequalities.

While legislation cannot change the hearts of people, the younger generations give us some hope. In the case of Quebec, recent polls indicate that the younger population in Montreal is less concerned about ethnic differences among people. In May 2003, the Parti Québécois (the separatist party) which had been in power since 1994 lost the election to the Liberal Party of Quebec. Not only is there a sharp drop in nationalistic feelings among the young, there is an increase in inter-racial marriages and a preoccupation with economic and globalisation forces.

In summary, questions about Canada's social-policy agenda and the underlying values continue to be debated as they relate to the public-versus-private balance needed in education, health and social services. Canadians have suffered cuts in social programmes and the global trends towards privatisation. However, there is strong public support for strengthening public expenditure on education, health and other social-welfare programmes. Although education is a provincial subject, there is federal-provincial sharing of expenditure and support of public education. As a country, Canada has one of the most highly educated populations in the world, with a large proportion going on to complete post-secondary degrees. The policy of multicul-

turalism has attempted to make Canada a 'just' society in terms of equality of opportunity, but the translation of the policy in education has been far from satisfactory. In Quebec, multicultural policy is ideologically contradictory to the vision of French-Quebecois nationalism. The more recent policy on intercultural education has made attempts to integrate immigrant populations, although the focus remains on linguistic programmes. On the whole, the forces of globalisation have taken over, and internationalisation will force intercultural issues into every sphere of life.

References

- Anderson, Alan B., and James S. Frideres. 1981. *Ethnicity in Canada: Theoretical Perspectives*. Toronto: Butterworths.
- Aniself, Paul, Robert Sweet, Carl James, and Zeng Lin. 1999. Higher Education, Racial Minorities, Immigrants and Labour Market Outcomes in Canada. Paper presented at the Conference 'International Symposium on "Non-Traditional" Students'. Vancouver, University of British Columbia, 16-17 August.
- Baker, Michael, and Dwayne Benjamin. 1995. Ethnicity, Foreign Birth and Earnings: A Canada/US Comparison. Paper presented for the Conference 'Transition and Structural Change in North American Labour Market'. Kingston, Ontario, 25-27 May.
- Canada. 1989. *Charting Canada's Future: A Report of the Demographic Review*. Ottawa: Health and Welfare Canada.
- . 1996. *Census of Canada*. Ottawa: Statistics Canada.
- . 2001. *Census of Canada*. Ottawa: Statistics Canada.
- Canadian Council on Social Development [CSSD]. 2000. *Immigrant Youth in Canada*. Ottawa: CSSD.
- Canadian Race Relations Foundation (CRRF). 2000. *Unequal Access: A Canadian Profile of Racial Differences in Education, Employment and Income*. Toronto: CRRF.
- Carnoy, Martin, and Henry Levin. 1976. *The Limits of Educational Reform*. New York: David McKay.
- Carter, G. E. 1988. Taxation. In: *The Canadian Encyclopedia*, ed. by James H. March, vol. 4, 2112-2114. Edmonton: Hurtig.
- Council of Ministers of Education in Canada [CMEC]. 1999. Report of the Pan-Canadian Education Indicators Program. Toronto: Research and Statistics Unit, CMEC.
- . 2000. *Education Indicators in Canada*. Toronto: Research and Statistics Unit, CMEC.
- Connell, R. W. 1989. Curriculum Politics, Hegemony, and Strategies of Social Change. In: *Popular Culture: Schooling and Everyday Life*, ed. by Henry A. Giroux and Roger I. Simon, 117-129. Toronto: OISE.
- Davies, Scott, and Neil Guppy. 1998. Race and Canadian Education. In: *Racism and Social Inequality in Canada: Concepts, Controversies and Strategies of Resistance*, ed. by Vic Satzewich, 131-155. Toronto: Thompson Educational.

- De Silva, Arnold. 1997. Wage Discrimination Against Visible Minority Men in Canada. *Canadian Business Economics* 5(4): 25–42.
- Dibski, Dennis. (1995). Financing Education. In: *Social Change and Education in Canada*, ed. by Ratna Ghosh and Douglas Ray, 66–81. Toronto: Harcourt Brace.
- Elliot, Jean Leonard, and Augie Fleras 1990. Immigration and the Canadian Ethnic Mosaic. In: *Race and Ethnic Relations in Canada*, ed. by Peter Li, 51–76. Toronto: Oxford University Press.
- Frank, Jeffrey. 1996. Indicators of Social Inequality in Canada: Women, Aboriginal Peoples, and Visible Minorities. In: *Social Inequality in Canada*, ed. by Alan Frizzell and Jon Pammett, 9–29. Ottawa: Carleton University Press.
- Ghosh, Ratna. 1993. Multiculturalism and Teacher Education: Views from Canada and USA. *Comparative Education*, 29(1): 81–92.
- . 1995. Social Change and Education in Canada. In: *Social Change and Education in Canada*, ed. by Ratna Ghosh and Douglas Ray, 3–15. Toronto: Harcourt Brace.
- . 2001. *Redefining Multicultural Education*. Toronto: Nelson Thomas Learning.
- Ghosh, Ratna, and Ali Abdi. 2004. *Educations and the Politics of Difference: Canadian Perspectives*. Toronto: Canadian Press.
- Gibbon, John Murray. 1938. *Canadian Mosaic: The Making of a Northern Nation*. Toronto: McClelland and Stewart.
- Henry, Frances 1999. Two Studies of Racial Discrimination in Employment. In: *Social Inequality in Canada: Patterns, Problems, and Policies*, ed. by James Curtis, Edward Grabb and Neil Guppy. 3rd ed. Scarborough, Ontario: Prentice-Hall.
- Henry, Frances, and Carol Tator. 2000. *Racist Discourse in Canada's English Print Media*, Toronto: Canadian Race Relations Foundation.
- Henry, Frances, Carol Tator, Winston Mattis, and Tim Rees. 1995. *The Colour of Democracy: Racism in Canadian Society*. Toronto: Harcourt Brace.
- Hou, Feng, and T. R. Balakrishnan. 1996. The Integration of Visible Minorities in Contemporary Canadian Society. *Canadian Journal of Sociology* 21(3): 307–326.
- Lautard, Hugh, and Neil Guppy. 1990. The Vertical Mosaic Revisited: Occupational Differentials among Canadian Ethnic Groups. In: *Race and Ethnic Relations in Canada*, ed. by Peter Li, 189–208. Toronto: Oxford University Press.
- Li, Peter. 1998. The Market Value and Social Value of Race. In: *Racism and Social Inequality in Canada: Concepts, Controversies and Strategies of Resistance*, ed. by Vic Satzewich, 115–130. Toronto: Thompson Educational.
- Livingston, David, and David Hart. 1995. Popular Beliefs about Canada's Schools. In: *Social Change and Education in Canada*, ed. by Ratna Ghosh and Douglas Ray, 3–15. Toronto: Harcourt Brace.
- MacLennan, Hugh. 1945. *The Two Solitudes*. Toronto: Collins.
- Moodley, Kogila. 1981. Canadian Ethnicity in Comparative Perspective. In: *Ethnicity, Power and Politics in Canada*, ed. by Jorgen Dahlie and Tissa Fernando, 6–21. Toronto: Methuen.
- Ng, Roxana. 1991. Sexism, Racism, and Canadian Nationalism. In: *Race, Class, Gender: Bonds and Barriers*, ed. by Jesse Vorst et al., 12–26. Toronto: Garamond.

OECD [Organisation for Economic Development]. 1995. *Education at a Glance: OECD Indicators*. Paris: OECD.

—. 2003. *The 2003 Assessment Framework: Mathematics, Reading, Science and Problem Solving Knowledge and Skills*. Paris: OECD.

—. 2003. *Education at a Glance: OECD Indicators*. Paris: OECD.

OECD-UNESCO Institute for Statistics. 2003. *Literacy Skills for the World of Tomorrow – Further Results from PISA 2000*. Paris: OECD.

Pendakur, Krishna, and Ravi Pendakur. 1998. The Colour of Money: Earnings Differentials among Ethnic Groups in Canada. *Canadian Journal of Economic* 31(3): 518–548.

Porter, John. 1965. *The Vertical Mosaic: An Analysis of Social Class and Poverty in Canada*. Toronto: University of Toronto Press.

Quebec. 1990. *Let's Build Quebec Together: A Policy Statement on Immigration and Integration*. Montreal: Ministère des Communautés Culturelles et de l'Immigration du Québec.

—. 1997. *A School for the Future: Educational Integration and Intercultural Education*. Quebec: Government of Quebec.

—. 1998. *Plan of Action for Educational integration and intercultural Education*. Quebec: Ministère de l'éducation.

Task Force on the Participation of Visible Minorities in the Federal Public Service. 2000. Embracing Change in the Federal Public Service. Catalogue No. BT22-67/2000. http://www.tbs-sct.gc.ca/pubs_pol/hrpubs/TB_852/ecfps_e.asp, accessed 1 August 2004.

The author

Ratna Ghosh holds the James McGill professorship and is also William C. Macdonald Professor of Education at McGill University in Montreal, Canada. She was Dean of Education from 1998 to 2003. She was appointed member of the Order of Canada in July 2000 and elected a Fellow of the Royal Society of Canada in 1999. Her research encompasses international and intercultural/multicultural education, feminist pedagogy, and development studies.

Contact address: 3700 McTavish Street, Montreal, Canada H3A 1Y2. E-mail: ratna.ghosh@mcgill.ca