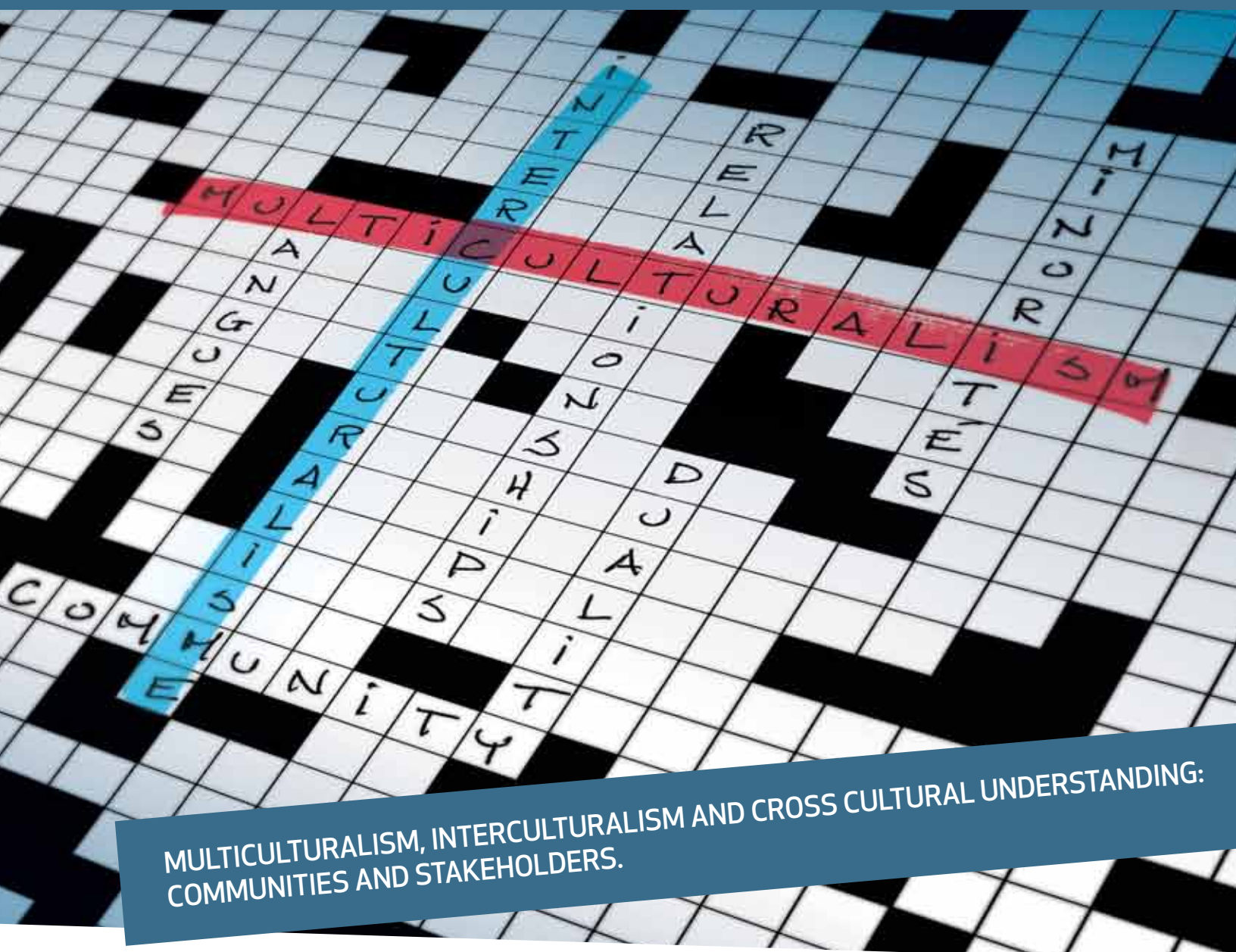


• C A N A D I A N • DIVERSITÉ C A N A D I E N N E

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MULTICULTURALISM, INTERCULTURALISM AND CROSS CULTURAL UNDERSTANDING:
COMMUNITIES AND STAKEHOLDERS.

MULTICULTURALISME, INTERCULTURALISME ET LA COMPRÉHENSION INTERCULTURELLE
ENTRE LES COMMUNAUTÉS ET LES INTERVENANTS.

In Memoriam

GERALD L. GALL
(12 JUNE 1946 – 18 MARCH 2012)

It is with deep sorrow that we announce the passing of our friend, colleague and President of the Board of Directors of the Association for Canadian Studies, Professor Gerald L. Gall, O.C., on March 18, 2012. He was a Professor of Law at the University of Alberta for over thirty-five years, teaching constitutional law, human rights, civil liberties and in recent years foundations to law.

A graduate of the University of Windsor, Professor Gall was a barrister and solicitor in the province of Ontario prior to joining the Faculty in 1974. Throughout his long and distinguished career at the Faculty Gerry was active in a wide range of legal and judicial organizations, often in a leadership role. He was a former member of the Board of Directors of the Legal Education Society of Alberta, the International Council for Canadian Studies, the Canadian Human Rights Foundation and was the former Executive Director of the Canadian Institute for the Administration of Justice. After long service on the Management Board of the Centre for Constitutional Studies, he was made a Honourary Member of the Board. He also served as a member of the Board of Directors of the Canadian Multicultural Education Foundation.

Gerry Gall was the co-founder of the Human Rights Education Foundation, which later evolved into the John Humphrey Centre for Peace and Human Rights, University of Alberta. He then served as the Centre's President. However, for nearly two generations of law students, Professor Gall was best known as the author of the *The Canadian Legal System*, (5th edition), a highly acclaimed introductory law text that has been translated into other languages for use abroad.

While his work encompassed constitutional law, and the administration of justice in Canada, Gerry Gall is perhaps best known for his deep commitment to the advancement of human rights.

"As a distinguished teacher, writer and lawyer, Professor Gall dedicated himself to the cause of human rights to the benefit of all Canadians. His record of accomplishments stands as a testament to what can be achieved through a commitment to excellence in scholarship and public service. He has been widely honoured for his contributions in the field of human rights. In 1995, the Alberta Human Rights and Citizenship Commission recognized his work and achievements by awarding him the prestigious Alberta Human Rights Award. He was also the recipient of the Queen Elizabeth II Golden Jubilee and the Alberta Centennial medals. Professor Gall was the 2010 recipient of the Law Society of Alberta and the Canadian Bar Association (Alberta) Distinguished Service Award for Legal Scholarship. In 2001, Professor Gall was appointed an Officer of the Order of Canada." (John Humphrey Centre for Peace and Human Rights, 2011)

Gerry Gall was a noted scholar and great colleague and friend to many; he will be very much missed. We extend our deepest condolences to his wife Karen, his children Melanie, Wendy, and Andrew, and to all of Gerry and Karen's immediate and extended family and friends.

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INTRODUCTION

Par Jack Jedwab

Cette édition de *Diversité canadienne* aborde les questions entourant le débat sur les modèles de la diversité au Canada et dans d'autres parties du monde. On y examine les différences dans le discours et les pratiques entre le multiculturalisme, qui demeure le modèle officiel au Canada, et l'interculturalisme, qui est le terme utilisé par les décideurs au Québec pour décrire l'approche de leur gouvernement en matière de diversité. Les partisans de l'interculturalisme prétendent souvent que leur modèle préféré émerge d'un rejet du multiculturalisme, lequel, selon eux, n'a pas réussi à intégrer les nouveaux arrivants et leurs descendants dans la société en général. Les partisans du multiculturalisme soutiennent que le programme et le discours interculturel n'est pas incompatible avec la reconnaissance des identités multiples et que le multiculturalisme n'est pas incompatible avec le désir d'échange interculturel. Sous-tendant ce débat est la question des différences linguistiques et culturelles entre le Québec et le reste du Canada, qui sans aucun doute influencent la façon dont les questions sur la diversité sont encadrées. Plusieurs contributeurs soulignent la place importante des identités religieuses dans le débat actuel sur les modèles de la diversité au Québec et dans le reste du Canada. Bon nombre des contributeurs à cette édition insistent sur le fait que le débat autour de la dichotomie multiculturel / interculturel est beaucoup plus complexe que ce qui est largement admis. Prises dans leur ensemble, les contributions offrent des indications précieuses et une base pour des débats plus larges sur les modèles comparatifs de la diversité. Une telle discussion serait très utile pour les décideurs et les praticiens au Québec et ailleurs au pays.

Winter et Simkhovych soulignent que le terme «interculturel» est utilisé de plus en plus dans les organisations européennes et internationales pour faire référence à des formes harmonieuses et égalitaires d'intégration culturelle fondées sur le respect, le dialogue et l'apprentissage. «L'interculturalisme» du Québec réfère à l'approche de la province en ce qui a trait à l'immigration et à l'intégration, en mettant l'accent sur l'identité distincte «nationale» québécoise. Malgré le débat houleux portant sur la façon dont l'interculturalisme se distingue du multiculturalisme, les auteurs soutiennent que la notion de «l'interculturel» n'est pas entièrement perdue pour les Québécois Canadiens. Ils concluent que les idées du multiculturalisme et de l'interculturalisme ne s'excluent pas mutuellement. Au contraire, leur différence doit être située

dans le contexte de deux projets concurrents de construction de la nation – un contexte dans lequel l'interculturalisme québécois révèle des traces du multiculturalisme canadien et dans lequel le Canada multiculturel encourage le dialogue interculturel.

Weinstock affirme que les débats sur les différences entre l'interculturalisme et le multiculturalisme au Québec sont éclipsés par le climat politique qui apparaît de plus en plus défavorable au point de vue qu'une certaine forme d'accommodement est une condition de l'intégration réussie. L'esprit d'ouverture qui anime le multiculturalisme et l'interculturalisme est mis sous pression par ceux qui préconisent une plus grande restriction sur les expressions des religions minoritaires, et le gouvernement semble prêt à accommoder raisonnablement ces voix. Weinstock conclut que ceux qui croient que les objectifs communs du multiculturalisme et de l'interculturalisme sont les mieux adaptés pour l'intégration harmonieuse et éthique des immigrants ont raison d'être préoccupés par les récentes actions soutenues par l'Etat.

Solange Lefebvre suggère que les concepts de multiculturalisme et d'interculturalisme sont respectivement caractérisés par les récits sociétaux reflétant des attentes différentes quant à l'intégration des minorités. Lefebvre analyse les sources utilisées par la Commission Bouchard-Taylor afin de comparer le Québec avec certains pays européens où on trouve un discours similaire sur la relation entre la majorité nationale et les minorités ethniques et religieuses. Dans le Québec interculturel et le Canada multiculturel, il semble y avoir davantage d'accent mis sur la neutralité de l'espace commun et une plus grande restriction sur l'expression publique de la religion.

Shauna Van Praagh analyse la décision de la Cour suprême du Canada dans l'arrêt de février 2012 (S.L. et D.J. c. Commission scolaire des Chênes) qui confirme le droit du gouvernement du Québec d'exiger qu'un cours sur l'éthique et la culture des religions du monde doit être enseigné dans les écoles de la province. Elle suggère que la décision remet en question le débat entre le multiculturalisme et l'interculturalisme. Le jugement de la Cour suprême pointe, à un certain degré, vers la coexistence des deux idées en tant qu'indicateurs de la multiplicité de la société et modeurs de l'interaction.

En tant que fondateur du cours obligatoire du Québec sur l'éthique et la culture des religions du monde, Jean-Pierre Proulx explique le raisonnement derrière

l'introduction du cours en septembre 2008. Il souligne que l'objectif principal était pour tous les Québécois d'apprendre à connaître, respecter et apprécier de multiples identités religieuses et laïques, à commencer par l'importance historique du christianisme. Les étudiants sont encouragés à débattre des questions qui se posent dans le contexte d'une pluralité de religions. En bref, le cours vise à aider les élèves à vivre ensemble en tant que citoyens bien informés et à l'esprit ouvert.

McAndrew et Audet affirment que la manière dont la diversité est exprimée institutionnellement est assez complexe et ne peut pas être associée à un modèle spécifique. En examinant le système scolaire, les auteurs suggèrent qu'il existe de multiples approches et stratégies adoptées pour gérer la diversité et il est donc nécessaire d'aller au-delà de la généralisation qu'il y a deux modèles contradictoires lorsqu'on compare le Québec au reste du Canada. Malgré le processus particulier de changement institutionnel au Québec par rapport à d'autres parties du pays, on ne peut pas dire qu'un modèle spécifique de diversité est appliqué dans le système scolaire; c'est plutôt un ensemble varié et complexe d'approches.

Maxwell Yalden suggère que la principale source de différence entre les politiques de multiculturalisme et d'interculturalisme est l'accent mis par ce dernier sur le renforcement du «noyau français» au Québec. Dans le débat exhaustif découlant des délibérations autour des accommodements raisonnables (le rapport Bouchard-Taylor), il est clair que l'accent serait mis sur la nécessité de l'intégration des minorités à la culture majoritaire. C'est la principale différence avec l'approche multiculturelle fédérale. Yalden soutient qu'il existe toujours un besoin d'élaborer des approches qui tiennent compte des besoins des minorités, tout en renforçant leur participation à la plus grande communauté dont ils font partie.

Cooper se penche sur les tensions linguistiques et ethnoculturelles qui sous-tendent la discussion au sujet de l'interculturalisme. Elle suggère qu'une grande partie de la littérature en sciences sociales au Québec sur le thème de l'interculturalité a mis l'accent sur les différences avec le multiculturalisme et accorde une attention insuffisante au débat intellectuel réciproque entre la majorité francophone dominante (les principaux producteurs du discours interculturel au Québec), les universitaires autochtones et autres chercheurs de divers milieux sociolinguistiques et ethnoculturels. Elle insiste sur l'importance de le faire à cause de la façon dont nous sommes mutuellement et discursivement positionnés dans de tels débats. Elle déplore l'absence relative d'approches critiques diversifiées de la langue minoritaire et de l'identité nationale dans la littérature actuelle sur l'interculturalisme.

Ma contribution compare les déclarations politiques et les programmes découlant de la branche de

multiculturalisme du gouvernement fédéral avec celle du ministère québécois de l'Immigration et des communautés culturelles. Sur la base de cette analyse, il est suggéré que les différences entre les deux sont bien moins importantes que certains observateurs voudraient nous le faire croire, et j'invite donc les analystes à examiner de plus près ce que le gouvernement du Canada fait lorsqu'il formule des critiques autour de son modèle de diversité. J'ai également fait valoir que le Québec aborde mal l'interculturalisme lorsqu'on discute de comment et à quel endroit la population anglophone et les institutions de langue anglaise sont incluses au discours et à la pratique associée au modèle de la province.

Fleras suggère que le multiculturalisme et l'interculturalisme sont tous deux guidés par les principes d'intégration et d'inclusion en dépit des différences dans le discours. Il ajoute que le multiculturalisme officiel au Canada est moins «multi» que ce que l'on perçoit, alors que l'interculturalisme québécois est moins «inter» que beaucoup le proposent.

Zapata et Carignan examinent les résultats d'un programme mis en œuvre par l'Université du Québec à Montréal qui propose une rencontre linguistique et interculturelle entre les élèves francophones du Québec spécialisés dans les communications, avec des étudiants hispanophones inscrits dans le programme de langue française de l'université. Le projet visait à promouvoir le respect mutuel entre les étudiants sur la base de la communication de leurs différences et similitudes. Au cours des échanges, les étudiants francophones majoritaires ont choisi d'apprendre la langue espagnole, tandis que les hispanophones ont appris le français, un élément nécessaire à leur intégration. Les auteurs situent les échanges dans le cadre de la discussion actuelle sur le multiculturalisme et l'interculturalisme et examinent spécifiquement les ramifications de ceux-ci pour les programmes de formation interculturelle.

Temelini soutient que la principale différence entre le Québec et les modèles canadiens de l'intégration des immigrants se reflète par la présence d'une culture francophone laïque dominante au Québec et d'une polyethnicité bilingue au Canada. Il existe donc une différence entre les deux approches et si le multiculturalisme ne va pas de concert avec l'approche québécoise en matière d'intégration, quelques similitudes demeurent, notamment autour des valeurs.

Gregory Baum suggère que la dimension symbolique du discours interculturel ne doit pas être ignorée car elle rappelle aux gens que le Québec occupe une position objectivement différente comparé aux autres provinces canadiennes, lorsqu'il s'agit de la défense de la langue et de la culture de la majorité. En tant que message, l'interculturel informe les immigrants que le Québec désire leur

intégration dans la société québécoise. Il note toutefois que le Québec n'a pas agi suffisamment encore pour traduire l'idée de l'interculturalisme en action.

Belkhoja examine la façon dont la gestion de la diversité s'inscrit dans un contexte francophone minoritaire. Au-delà des discours sur le multiculturalisme et l'interculturalisme, le défi majeur tel qu'il est illustré dans le cas des Acadiens du Nouveau-Brunswick est la nécessité d'un ajustement de l'identité historique du groupe afin de créer une communauté francophone inclusive.

Darryl Leroux affirme que les modèles actuels de la diversité portant la marque d'un nationalisme particulier au Québec et au Canada sont centrés sur la domination des «deux nations fondatrices». Il fait valoir qu'en dépit de leur légitimité respective, l'interculturalisme et le multiculturalisme représente la poursuite des efforts visant à limiter les expressions de la diversité racialisée dans les domaines social et politique.

Kamal Dib soutient que les discours canadiens sur l'intégration des immigrants et des minorités ont évolué au cours des quatre dernières décennies. Il souligne que plusieurs programmes et politiques fédéraux et provinciaux sont désormais impliqués dans le processus d'intégration, et le Canada a connu plus de succès que n'importe quel autre pays de l'OCDE en termes d'accueil et d'intégration des nouveaux arrivants, tout en préservant sa stabilité économique. Il insiste sur le fait que le multiculturalisme a joué un rôle important à cet égard. Dib suggère que malgré les critiques récurrentes, les programmes visant la compréhension interculturelle et la promotion de la

citoyenneté multiculturelle contribuent à donner au Canada un avantage sur les autres pays dans la préservation de la paix sociale. Cuccioletta plaide pour la nécessité d'aller au-delà du multiculturalisme et de considérer des approches culturelles qui se concentrent moins sur la spécificité ethnique et davantage sur la citoyenneté cosmopolite et sur un modèle transculturel fondé sur les droits et libertés individuels.

Victor Armony soutient que s'il n'y a pas de différence substantielle entre le multiculturalisme canadien et l'interculturalisme québécois, c'est principalement dû au sentiment relativement faible de communauté collective au Canada alors que la notion même d'un tel sentiment de communauté est contestée au Québec. Il remet en question l'idée selon laquelle le nationalisme québécois s'oppose dans son approche envers l'intégration tel que conçu par le modèle d'intégration civique mis de l'avant au Canada anglais. Armony soutient que le modèle d'interculturalisme québécois requiert également l'adoption d'une culture publique commune, une culture qui se définit ici par l'utilisation de la langue française et par certaines valeurs sociales fondamentales (par exemple, le sécularisme et l'égalité des sexes).

Il conclut que le multiculturalisme canadien et l'interculturalisme québécois sont deux variations du même modèle d'intégration, un modèle qui favorise l'inclusion civique plutôt que l'assimilation, minimise les démonstrations publiques de patriotisme, valorise la diversité et perçoit les contributions sociales des immigrants d'un œil positif.

INTRODUCTION

By Jack Jedwab

This edition of *Canadian Diversity* addresses issues surrounding the debate about models of diversity in Canada and in other parts of the world. It examines differences in discourse and practice between multiculturalism, which remains the official Canadian model, and interculturalism, which is the term Québec policy-makers use to describe their government's approach to diversity. Proponents of interculturalism frequently claim that their preferred model arises from a rejection of multiculturalism, which they contend has not succeeded in integrating newcomers and their descendants into the societal mainstream. Proponents of multiculturalism contend that intercultural program and discourse is not inconsistent with the recognition of multiple identities and multiculturalism not inconsistent with the desire for cross-cultural exchange. Underlying this debate is the issue of the linguistic and cultural differences between Québec and the rest of Canada which undoubtedly influence the way in which questions around diversity get framed. Several contributors point to the significant place of religious identities in the current debate over models of diversity in Québec and the rest of Canada. Many of the contributors to this edition insist that the debate around the multicultural/intercultural dichotomy is far more complex than is widely assumed. Taken together, the essays offer valuable insights and a basis for broader debates about comparative models of diversity. Such discussion would be most helpful to policy-makers and practitioners in Québec and elsewhere in the country.

Winter and Simkhovich point out that the term "intercultural" is used increasingly in European and international organizations to refer to harmonious and egalitarian forms of integration based on cultural respect, dialogue, and learning. Québec "interculturalism" refers to its approach to immigration and integration with a focus on the distinct "national" Québécois identity. Despite heated debate about how interculturalism differs from multiculturalism the authors contend that the notion of "intercultural" is not entirely lost on non-Québécois Canadians. They conclude that the ideas of multiculturalism and interculturalism are not mutually exclusive. Rather, their difference must be situated within the context of two competing nation-building projects – a context in which Québécois interculturalism reveals traces of Canadian multiculturalism, and multicultural Canada promotes intercultural dialogue.

Weinstock contends that debates about the differences between interculturalism and multiculturalism in Québec

are being overshadowed by the growing political climate that appears increasingly unfavorable to the view that some form of accommodation is a condition for successful integration. The spirit of openness which animates multiculturalism and interculturalism is under pressure from those who would advocate greater restriction on the expressions of minority religions, and government seems willing to reasonably accommodate those voices. Weinstock concludes that those who believe that the shared goals of multiculturalism and interculturalism are best suited to the harmonious and ethical integration of immigrants have reason to be concerned with recent actions supported by the State.

Solange Lefebvre suggests that the concepts of multiculturalism and interculturalism are respectively characterized by societal narratives with different expectations around minority integration. Lefebvre analyses the sources employed by the Bouchard-Taylor Commission to compare Québec with certain European countries where there is similar discourse around the relationship between the national majority and ethno-religious minorities. In intercultural Québec and multicultural Canada, there appears to be a greater emphasis on the neutrality of the common space and a greater restriction on the public expression of religion.

Shauna Van Praagh analyzes the February 2012 Supreme Court of Canada decision in *S.L. and D.J. v. Commission Scolaire des Chênes* upholding the right of the government of Québec to require that a course on ethics and culture of world religions be taught in the province's schools. She suggests that the decision questions the conflict between multiculturalism and interculturalism. The Supreme Court judgement points to a certain degree of co-existence between the two ideas as indicators of societal multiplicity and shapers of interaction.

As a founder of the compulsory Québec course on the ethics and culture of world religions, Jean-Pierre Proulx discusses the rationale behind the courses introduction in September 2008. He outlines that the principal objective was for all Québécois to learn to know, respect and appreciate multiple religious and secular identities beginning with the historic importance of Christianity. Students would be encouraged to debate issues that arise from a plurality of religions. In short, the course aimed to help students to live together as knowledgeable, and open-minded citizens.

McAndrew and Audet contend that the way in which diversity is expressed institutionally is quite complex and cannot be associated with a specific model. Looking at the school system the authors suggest that there are multiple approaches and strategies adopted to deal with diversity and there is a need therefore to move beyond the generalisation that there are two conflicting models in comparing Québec with the rest of Canada. Despite the particular process of institutional change in Québec when compared to other parts of the country, it cannot be said that there is one model of diversity that is applied in the school system rather there exists a varied and complex set of approaches.

Maxwell Yalden suggests that the principal source of difference between multiculturalism and interculturalism policies is in the emphasis given by the latter to reinforcing the “French core” in Québec. In the exhaustive debate arising from the deliberations around reasonable accommodation (the Bouchard-Taylor report) it is clear that emphasis would be placed on the need for minority integration with the majority culture. This is the principal difference with the federal multicultural approach. Yalden contends there remains a need for developing approaches that consider the needs of the minorities while reinforcing their participation in the larger community of which they are a part.

Cooper looks at the linguistic and ethnocultural tensions that underlie discussion of interculturalism. She suggests that much of the social science literature in Québec on the subject of interculturalism has focused upon differences with multiculturalism and pays insufficient attention to the reciprocal intellectual debate between the dominant Francophone majority (the main producers of intercultural discourse in Québec), Aboriginal scholars and other scholars of varied socio-linguistic and ethno-cultural backgrounds. She insists on the importance of doing so because of the way in which we are mutually and discursively positioned in such debates. She laments the relative absence of diverse critical approaches to minority language and national identity in the current body of literature on interculturalism.

My essay compares policy statements and programs arising from the federal government’s multiculturalism branch with that of the Québec Ministry of Immigration and Cultural Communities. Based on such analysis, it is suggested that the differences between the two are far less important than some observers would have us believe, and invites analysts to look more closely at what the government of Canada actually does when formulating criticism around its model of diversity. I also contend that the Québec interculturalism inadequately addresses how and where the Anglophone population and English language institutions are part of the discourse and practice associated with the province’s model.

Fleras suggests that both multiculturalism and interculturalism are guided by principles of integration and inclusion despite differences in discourse. He adds that Canada’s official multiculturalism is less ‘multi’ than widely perceived, while Québec’s interculturalism is less ‘inter’ than many propose.

Zapata and Carignan look at the results of a program implemented by the University of Québec in Montreal that proposes a linguistic and intercultural encounter between Québec Francophone students specialized in communications with Hispanophone students enrolled in the University’s French language program. The project aimed at promoting mutual respect between the students based on communicating their differences and similarities. During the exchanges, the majority Francophone students chose to learn the Spanish language while the Hispanophones acquired French as a necessary element of their integration. The authors situate the exchanges in the context of ongoing discussion around multi and interculturalism and look specifically at their ramifications for intercultural training programs.

Temelini contends that the principal difference between Québec and Canadian models of immigrant integration are reflected by the presence of a dominant secular Francophone culture in the former and a bilingual polyethnicity in the latter. Hence there is a difference between the two approaches and while multiculturalism may not be in synch with Québec’s approach to integration there remain some similarities notably around values.

Gregory Baum suggests that the symbolic dimension of intercultural discourse must not be ignored as it reminds people that Québec occupies an objectively different position than the other Canadian provinces when it comes to the defense of the language and culture of the majority. As a message, *l’interculturel* informs the immigrants that Québec is eager for their integration into Québec society. He notes however that Québec has yet to do enough to translate interculturalism into action.

Belkhoa looks at the way in which the management of diversity takes place within a minority Francophone context. Beyond the discourses of multiculturalism and interculturalism, the major challenge as illustrated in the case of the Acadians of New Brunswick is the need for adjustment to the historic identity of the group in order to create an inclusive Francophone community.

Darryl Leroux argues that current models of diversity represent a particular brand of nationalism, in both Québec and Canada, that is centred around the dominance of the “two founding” nations. He argues that despite their respective legitimacy, interculturalism and multiculturalism represent continued efforts to limit expressions of racialized diversity in the social and political domain.

Kamal Dib maintains that Canadian discourses about immigrant and minority integration have evolved over the past four decades. He points out that several federal and provincial government programs and policies are now involved in the integration process and Canada has been more successful than any other OECD country in terms of welcoming and integrating newcomers while preserving economic stability. He insists that multiculturalism has played an important role in this regard. Dib suggests that despite ongoing criticism, programs aimed at cross-cultural understanding and the promotion of multicultural citizenship contribute to giving Canada an advantage over other countries in preserving social peace. Cuccoletta argues for the need to move beyond multiculturalism and consider cultural approaches that focus less on ethno-specificity and more on cosmopolitan citizenship and a transcultural model based on individual rights and freedoms.

Victor Armony contends that if there is no substantive difference between Canadian multiculturalism and Quebec's interculturalism it is due to a relatively weak sense of shared community in the former whereas the idea of such a sense of community is contested in Quebec. He questions the assumption that Quebec's nationalistic impulse puts its approach to integration at odds with the civic model deployed in English Canada. Armony maintains that Quebec's model of interculturalism also requires the adoption of a common public culture, defined by the use of the French language and by certain fundamental values (such as secularism and gender equality).

He concludes that "Canada's multiculturalism and Quebec's interculturalism are two variations of the same model of integration, one that favours civic inclusion rather than assimilation, plays down public displays of patriotism, values diversity in itself, and judges immigrants' contribution to society as mostly positive".

INTERCULTURAL DIMENSIONS IN THE CANADIAN CONTEXT¹

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Diana Simkhovych is a Ph.D. student in Sociology at the University of Ottawa. She holds M.Sc. degree in Project Management from the University of Québec in Outaouais and has extensive hands-on experience in international technical cooperation projects in good governance with thematic focus on public administration and judicial reform/education. She has held project management and research positions with a number of institutions in Ukraine and Canada. Diana is interested in the issues of intercultural relations, immigration and integration.

ABSTRACT

In this paper, we argue that the ideas of multiculturalism and interculturalism are not mutually exclusive. Rather, their difference and sometimes adversity must be situated within the context of two competing nation-building projects – a context in which Québécois interculturalism reveals traces of Canadian multiculturalism and multicultural Canada promotes intercultural dialogue without writing the latter on its forehead.

INTRODUCTION

The term “intercultural” has recently gained much currency in international organizations, such as the UNESCO and the European Commission, where it often stipulates fairly harmonious and egalitarian forms of integration that are based on cultural respect, dialogue, and learning. In the Canadian context, the term “intercultural” has a direct linguistic reference to “interculturalism” which stipulates Québec’s approach to immigration, integration, and distinct “national” Québécois identity. On the one hand, it seems fair to say that Québec’s policy of interculturalism was formulated in response to Canadian multiculturalism. Admittedly, in both cases, whether these ideological distinctions translate into practice is the object of heated debates. On the other hand, the notion of “intercultural” is not entirely lost on non-Québécois Canadians. The Canadian Intercultural Centre, for example, has been providing intercultural training services for internationally-assigned government personnel since 1969. Recently, however, it has also sporadically served federal departments, Crown corporations, agencies and offices within Canada. In this paper, we first discuss the impact of Canadian multiculturalism upon Québécois interculturalism. We then explore to what extent the term “intercultural” has

also been used and developed in and for Canadian federal – and thus officially “multicultural” – institutions. We argue that the ideas of multiculturalism and interculturalism are not mutually exclusive. Rather, their difference and sometimes adversity must be situated within the context of two competing nation-building projects – a context in which Québécois interculturalism reveals traces of Canadian multiculturalism and multicultural Canada promotes intercultural dialogue without writing the latter on its forehead.

CANADIAN MULTICULTURALISM AS A BACKDROP TO QUÉBÉCOIS INTERCULTURALISM

Even before its foundation as a country in 1867, Canada was populated by at least three collectivities: Aboriginal Peoples, French settlers, and British colonizers. Large-scale immigration in the early 20th century reinforced another form of ethnic diversity arising from immigration. In the 1930s, with the proliferation of ethnic diversity becoming more and more noticeable, the metaphor of the Canadian mosaic emerged. The social-normative context, however, remained racist and exclusionary as Canada’s self-understanding as a British society remained unaltered until after the Second World War.

Canada's changing attitude towards ethno-cultural diversity in the 1960s was prompted by two global developments: First, economic growth led to labour shortages which in turn increased immigration from Southern Europe and later from Asia, Africa, South America and the Caribbean. Secondly, assimilationism was criticized in the wake of decolonization and the world revolution in human rights. The emergence of a new national identity in Québec transformed the former dualism of linguistically defined French and English Canadians into a territorial opposition between Québec and the rest of Canada (ROC). Within this context, Canadians of immigrant origin were identified as "ethnic groups". In response to these groups' cultural and political claims, in 1971, "multiculturalism within a bilingual framework" was declared not only an official state policy but also the essence of Canadian identity. Both Francophones in Québec and Aboriginal Peoples opposed the policy, which they saw as a cooptation strategy undermining their own claims for rights and recognition. Over time, the legal arrangements accommodating Canada's minority nations – Aboriginal Peoples and the Francophones of Québec – as well as ethnic groups of immigrant origin became "three vertical silos" with policies pertaining to these distinct groups being disconnected from each other normatively, legally, and administratively².

In the decade after its announcement, multiculturalism focused on symbolic rather than on material matters: it provided Canadians of immigrant origin with a normative and institutional framework that allowed them to identify with the Canadian nation. In the 1980s, addressing the concerns of discrimination voiced by Canada's racialized minorities, multicultural policy shifted its focus from heritage issues to anti-racism, social participation and equity issues. In 1982, multiculturalism was enshrined in the Canadian Charter of Rights and Freedoms and, in 1988, made law through the Canadian Multiculturalism Act. During the 1990s, multiculturalism policy became aligned with the notion of shared citizenship, no longer emphasizing separate ethno-cultural groups but rather democracy and participation in mainstream Canadian society. In the 21st century, multiculturalism remains a central characteristic of Canadian national identity. However, it is also increasingly questioned in the face of national security concerns, globalization and religious extremism. Interculturalism or Multiculturalism in Québec?

Québec's attempts to establish itself as a "host society" can be traced back to the 1960s (Quiet Revolution), becoming even more pronounced after the first failed referendum on independence in 1980 when the Québec

government started to promote a more inclusive definition of membership in the Québécois nation based on French Canadian culture and language within a territorial state. Québec's position on immigration and integration policies developed with the creation of the Québec Ministry of Immigration in 1968 and became formally articulated after the Accord Canada-Québec in 1991, which provided Québec with some autonomy in the selection of its immigrants. The concept of interculturalism developed as a result. It is argued to be a distinct approach to immigration and integration policies that differs from multiculturalism. The latter is seen as postulating the equality of all cultures and civilizations within the same nation and therefore as inadvertently promoting segregation and ethnic ghettoization within the Canadian "mosaic". By contrast, the preferred metaphor in interculturalism is that of a tree into which various rootstocks are grafted: a solid Québécois core culture is to be enriched by the contributions from minority cultures³. As such, interculturalism concentrates on both promoting Québec's dominant culture and French language to the immigrants, as well as raising the acceptance of immigrant cultures with the host society. This two-way street of *interaction* – hence *interculturalism* rather than *multiculturalism* – is argued to render the integration process between the cultures harmonious⁴.

The principle underlying Québec's ideology of interculturalism – convergence – is characterized as a model where immigrants are said to be full members of Québec's society. It is based on a reciprocal "moral contract" between the state and newcomers: the state offers to support the immigrant in his/her integration efforts. In exchange, the immigrant must take on the responsibility to integrate successfully. In other words, Québécois interculturalism can be summed up as: (i) a society in which French is the common language of public life; (ii) a secular, democratic society where participation and the contribution of everyone is expected and encouraged; (iii) a pluralist society open to multiple contributions within the limits imposed by the respect for fundamental democratic values, and the necessity of intercommunity exchange⁵.

The ideological differences between multiculturalism and interculturalism set aside, in practice, the programs and policies of immigration and integration in Québec by and large follow the developments of immigration and multiculturalism at the federal level: the selection process abroad, the integration programs for the newly-arrived (information sessions, settlement aid), language training, integration to work programs, etc. Also, as explained above, multiculturalism policy is far from promoting ethnic segregation and situates diversity clearly within the

framework of “unity”. As such, it could be argued that, in comparison to multiculturalism, interculturalism merely places a stronger emphasis on the host society’s language and culture – which comes as the unavoidable side-effect of being a linguistic minority within Canada and on the North American continent. Nevertheless, compared to multiculturalism’s underlying “unity in diversity” concerns, interculturalism’s emphasis on convergence also reveals a much stronger desire for societal integration (“faire société”). However, situated within the context of liberalism, globalization, and minority nationhood, this societal integration is difficult to achieve⁶.

For example, the recent developments in Québec point to a weaknesses of interculturalism, although possibly less to the model as such as to its operationalization. First, situated within the Canadian legal and linguistic context, Québec’s strict language politics have always been contentious. Most recently, in 2009, the Supreme Court of Canada declared unconstitutional a law adopted unanimously by Québec’s National Assembly in 2002 that cleared the ambiguity between the Canadian Charter (used by immigrants and others to circumvent Québec’s mandatory requirement of attending French-language schools) and the Québec *Charter of the French Language* (provisions dealing with minority language education). The Supreme Court judgment in *Nguyen v. Québec (Education, Recreation and Sports)*, 2009 SCC 47 requested a free choice of language (English or French) of elementary private schooling. Though intended to strike a balance, the decision was widely described in media as a “win” for minorities in Québec and “loss” for Francophone minority in Canada.

Second, the notion of a “moral contract” between host society and newcomers is being tested in the ongoing debate about the “reasonable accommodation” of religious minorities. In a secular society that nevertheless clings to symbols of Catholicism as part of its culture, the Québécois government’s recent proposal to ban the niqab (face veil) in public space is highly contentious (see contributions in this issue). Indeed, the development of interculturalism as a “common public culture” can hardly be achieved without unsettling the established symbolic order within Québec society. As such, interculturalism is best viewed as a process of dialogue, negotiation and compromise involving not only the Franco-Québécois host society and immigrant minorities but also Aboriginal Peoples. The latter, however, are often missing from discussions concerning the definition of a Québécois culture – yet another aspect in which the policy of interculturalism is not very different from that of multiculturalism.

INTERCULTURAL DIALOGUE IN/FOR CANADIAN FEDERAL INSTITUTIONS

If multiculturalism has impacted the development of Québécois interculturalism, the term “intercultural” is also used in Canadian federal institutions, which are required – according to stipulations in the 1982 Charter of Rights and Freedoms – to enhance and accommodate the multicultural heritage of Canadian society. To be clear, despite detailed prescriptions in the 1988 Multiculturalism Act of how to render federal institutions more sensitive and welcoming to an increasingly diverse immigrant population, the onus of becoming “integrated” remains overwhelmingly on minorities rather than on the Canadian “host” society. There are, however, attempts to make integration a “two way street” in the truest sense of the word⁷, and at least one of these attempts has to do with intercultural dialogue and training.

When the Centre for Intercultural Learning (part of the Canadian Foreign Service Institute of Foreign Affairs and International Trade Canada since 1996) was first established in 1969, its dominant task was to train Canadian diplomats and foreign aid personnel working abroad. It had become clear that missing cultural knowledge and adaptation was one of the principal causes of the failure or sub-performance in international projects⁸. Hence, Canadians who are preparing to work abroad are taught how to become more sensitive to a multiethnic, culturally distinct working environment. The majority of the course participants are Canadians from various professional fields and disciplines representing NGOs, academic, public and private institutions, as well as professionals from international partner organizations, recipients of Canadian development assistance. Throughout the years, the Centre for Intercultural Learning has broadened its focus from instructing diplomats and international practitioners to also educating personnel working in federal departments, Crown corporations, members of Canadian Forces, and other government departments. As such, sporadically, and upon request, the Centre provides Canadian “multicultural” institutions with intercultural training. For example, training sessions developed and delivered in collaboration with the National Judicial Institute concentrate on the challenges of the “multicultural courtroom”: How can a secular judge in the courtroom communicate best with someone who wears a face veil for religious purposes? How can he or she manage a linguistically diverse case when adequate interpretation cannot always be guaranteed? In these cases, the chief amount of time in training is devoted to teaching trainees to become aware of their own cultural baggage before engaging in the process of

making judgements, suggestions, and decisions. Indeed, it is only through intercultural dialogue and awareness that the unique communication and work-style challenges of an ethnically and culturally heterogeneous society can be overcome and a unity of purpose be found.

CONCLUSION

In Canada, the term “intercultural” relates equally to both multiculturalism and interculturalism, which are not merely modes of immigrant integration, but frameworks for society-building related to two competing nation-building projects. As such, they are blueprints for both Canadian and Québécois national identity. If Québécois interculturalism was historically preceded and influenced by Canadian multiculturalism, multicultural Canada does also promote intercultural dialogue within federal institutions and civil society. In this paper, we have provided the example of the Centre for Intercultural Learning, whose training courses have slowly come to address some of the challenges of ethnic diversity within Canada. Educating leaders, stakeholders and practitioners in intercultural dialogue is certainly a step in the right direction to further combat religious, racial and linguistic discrimination and to make integration a more balanced “give and take” between newcomers and the host society, no matter whether the latter wants to be multicultural or intercultural.

NOTES

- ¹ This paper is a revised version of: Winter, E. and D. Simkhovych, “Interculturalidad en Canadá: Las Políticas del Multiculturalismo y del Interculturalismo”, *Diálogos A* (Instituto de Estudios de las Culturas Andinas, Puno, Perú), 1(1), Special Issue “Interculturalidad”, 2011: 48-51.
- ² Kymlicka, W. (2007). “Ethnocultural Diversity in a Liberal State: Making Sense of the Canadian Model(s)”, in K. Banting *et al.* (eds.). *Belonging? Diversity, Recognition and Shared Citizenship in Canada*, Institute for Research on Public Policy: 39-86.
- ³ Pietrantonio, Linda *et al.* (1996). «Multiculturalisme ou intégration : un faux débat», in K. Fall *et al.* (eds.). *Les convergences culturelles dans les sociétés pluriethniques*, Québec : Presses de l'Université Laval : 147-158.
- ⁴ Bouchard, Gérard (2011). “What is Interculturalism?”, *McGill Law Journal/Revue de droit de McGill*, 56(2): 435-468.
- ⁵ Gagnon, Alain-G. & Iacovino, Raffaele (2005). “Interculturalism: Expanding the Boundaries of Citizenship”, in R. Máiz & F. Requejo (eds.). *Democracy, Nationalism and Multiculturalism*, London, New York: Frank Cass: 25-42.
- ⁶ Labelle, Micheline (2009). «Une identité qui se redéfinit au contact d'une immigration de plus en plus diversifiée», in R. Laliberté (ed.). *À la rencontre d'un Québec qui bouge. Introduction générale au Québec*, Paris : Éditions du Comité des travaux historiques et scientifiques (CTHS) : 45-59.
- ⁷ Biles, John, Meyer Burstein & James Frideres (eds.) (2008). *Immigration and Integration in Canada in the Twenty-first Century*, Montreal, Kingston: School of Policy Studies, Queen's University, McGill-Queen's University Press.
- ⁸ Kealey D. J., Protheroe D. R., MacDonald D., & Vulpe T. (2006). International Projects: Some Lessons on Avoiding Failure and Maximizing Success. *Performance Improvement*, 45(3): 38-46.

OPPOSITION TO MULTI- AND INTERCULTURALISM IN QUÉBEC: A PERFECT STORM

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ABSTRACT

Debates about the differences between interculturalism and multiculturalism in Québec are being overshadowed by currents of opinion that are converging around an opposition to the kind of accommodation for cultural reasons that both theories allow. "Neo-traditionalists" oppose policies of accommodation in the name of the prerogatives of the historical cultural majority. Republicans affirm "laïcité", and are thus opposed to claims for accommodation based on religious grounds. Feminists fear that accommodation will render women vulnerable to patriarchal communal norms. The convergence of these three intellectual and political currents are creating a political climate quite unfavorable to the view that some form of accommodation is a condition for successful integration.

Many papers in this collection address the issue of whether there is any real difference, be it in theory or in practice, between Canadian multiculturalism and the purportedly different theory of interculturalism that guides the integration of immigrants in Québec.

My own view on this issue is that the differences have been rhetorical rather than substantive. The intention of both is to find some happy middle term between an assimilationist practice that requires of immigrants that they shed their prior identities as a condition of being accepted by their host society as "full" members, and a *laissez-faire* policy that allows new arrivals to make their own cultural choices, unfettered by either incentives or constraints put forward by the state. Both view the ability of members to retain certain aspects of their patrimonial cultures as conditions of successful integration. Québec and the rest of Canada differ not in the theories that they bring to bear to the question of how best to integrate immigrants, nor in the ends that they hope to achieve through policies based in those theories. Rather, they differ in the contexts to which these theories and policies are applied.

Officials in Québec and in the rest of Canada are united in the belief that the ultimate aim of immigrants should be to integrate into the society that has received them. In English Canada, however, part of that work is done by circumstance, in virtue of the centripetal force exercised if nothing else by the English language. For

reasons that probably needn't be rehearsed here at any great length, English serves as a natural point of linguistic convergence for immigrants and members of the cultural majority. Thus, part of the work of integration is done by dint of circumstance.

In Québec, however, this happy convergence does not occur spontaneously. Legislation is required in order to achieve by artifice what occurs more or less naturally in English-Canada. Achieving the same happy medium between the polar opposites of assimilation and ghettoization requires more political voluntarism in Québec. It thus looks like the two receiving societies are working from different theories, whereas they are simply applying what I take to be roughly identical theories to different raw materials.

The most significant change of the last two years in the intellectual landscape is to my mind that Québeckers – or at least their intellectual and political elites – are increasingly abandoning the policy goal which they have until now shared (despite rhetorical differences) with the rest of Canada. That is, they are giving up on the end of achieving the happy medium that I have in very crude terms identified here. There is less appetite among the chattering classes for accommodation of the differences that immigration unavoidably involves.

This sea change is the result of the "perfect storm" that has been created by the convergence of three quite distinct currents of opinion that do not share many affinities, but

that unite in their opposition to accommodation, whether the theory that accommodation is justified by is termed “interculturalism” or “multiculturalism”. I want in this brief essay to describe these currents, and to provide an account of the very different roads they adopt in order to arrive at a very similar point, namely a much less generous posture than has been struck in recent decades with respect to the issue of how best to integrate immigrants.

The first current might be termed “neo-traditionalism”, and it is best represented in recent writing and punditry by the sociologists Jacques Beauchemin and Matthieu Bock-Côté.¹ Their argument is essentially a majoritarian one: in recent years, in their view, the legitimate prerogative of the cultural majority in Québec has been browbeaten and cowed into submission by an unholy alliance between, on the one hand, Canadian nationalists who, following Pierre-Elliott Trudeau, have wielded multiculturalism as a policy tool with which to water down and trivialize Québec’s distinct status as a nation with a distinctive set of traditions, and “post-nationalist” sovereignists such as Gérard Bouchard who, in order to attempt to make the sovereignist project more palatable, and perhaps even attractive, to immigrants, have dissociated it from its roots in the distinctive, “thick” experience of the French-speaking, historically Catholic, cultural majority. This has according to this analysis been bad both for the sovereignist cause, which has lost much of its *raison d’être* and its energy from being loosed from its national roots, and for the Québécois nation whose right to define the cultural space of Québec has been denied.

It is important to note that when compared with nativist movements in Europe, the neo-traditionalism that I have just identified is comparatively benign. That is, it does not claim that Québec ought to resist immigration outright (though many of those who propound the view believe that immigration targets for Québec ought to be lowered).² Rather, it claims that cultural compatibility, where that term denotes more than simply linguistic compatibility, ought to be a parameter both of immigrant recruitment and of integration.

A second current that has converged upon this less generous position might be termed “republican”. According to republicans, society should be perceived by the state as made up not of individuals and groups encumbered by particular patrimonial ethnic and religious identifications, but rather by “bare” citizens. This is particularly important with respect to citizens’ *religious* identities. The principle of *laïcité* requires that church and state be very strictly separated. It requires not only that religious and political authority be substantively immunized from one another, but also that two realms be maintained distinct at the level of symbols. Thus, for example, modes of dress that

clearly identify an individual as a member of a specific religion should in this view not be permitted by users or by employees of public institutions.

This current of opinion, most eloquently expressed in the work of the sociologist Guy Rocher³ and the historian Yvan Lamonde⁴, rose to prominence in the debates around “reasonable accommodation” that have polarized Québec society in recent years, and to which the creation of the Bouchard-Taylor commission was a political response. Though the commission had as its mandate to examine practices of *cultural* accommodation, broadly understood, it quickly became apparent that what was really at issue was *religious* accommodation. This is due to the sociological fact that people seem more likely to claim accommodation from laws and administrative regulations for religious reasons, and for the constitutional reason that religious freedom has pride of place in the Canadian *Charter of Rights and Freedoms*. The “laïc” position as it has been expounded by Rocher, Lamonde, and others, presumably has nothing to say about multicultural accommodation that does not stem from claims made on religious grounds. But since, *de facto*, the preponderance of claims that have officially been made to the *Commission des droits de la personne et de la jeunesse* are religiously based, this has had the effect of eliding the difference between the laïc position and the position of those whose opposition to multiculturalism is more thoroughgoing.

It may seem odd to find neo-traditionalists and republicans taking the same side in this kind of debate. After all, republicans are suspicious of the political intrusion of *all* cultural identities, that of the majority included, whereas neo-traditionalists ascribe great importance to the identity of the members of the cultural majority. One might have thought that republicans would have followed neo-traditionalists in their rejection of accommodations for religious minorities, but not in their affirmation of the privileged place accorded to the majority culture. Two factors in my view converge to reduce the distance between republicans and neo-traditionalists on this point. First, as has been abundantly noted in the case of nominally republican societies such as France, *laïcité* always bears more harshly on the rites and practices of religious minorities than it does on that of the majority. The symbols, rites and practices of the majority are not always seen by members of the majority *as* posing as much of a problem from the point of view of the principle of *laïcité* as do those of minorities. They are part of the taken-for-granted cultural default, and thus tend to escape notice of the institutions that police the public sphere for infractions to *laïcité* (institutions that are most often of course staffed by members of the cultural and religious majority!).

A second way in which partisans of *laïcité* have exempted the religious symbols of the majority from its strictures is by choosing to view them not as religious, but as cultural. Minutes after the Taylor-Bouchard report was made public, many self-professed *laïcistes* in the National Assembly rose to join in the unanimous resolution to keep the crucifix hanging above the Chair of the Speaker. They were able to do so without blatant contradiction by claiming that the Cross was in fact devoid of religious meaning. On this view, the crucifix has only “patrimonial” significance. Presumably, those attempting to make the same claim on behalf of symbols of minority religion would be told that there is, after all, a moral difference between the symbols of the majority and those of the minority. And thus the republican position shades into the neo-traditionalist.

A third important political trend to have fed into the general condemnation of multi- and interculturalism has been concerned with the implications of such theories and associated practices for the cause of women’s rights and the principle of the equality of the sexes. Feminist theorists, both in Québec and elsewhere note that the exemptions claimed for cultural groups often immunize the patriarchal practices of minority cultural and religious practices from the kind of official scrutiny that would be brought to bear on the patriarchal practices of the majority. Multiculturalism, it is felt, is sometimes unwittingly and at other times deliberately used to make women even more vulnerable than they would already be to the strictures that would be visited upon them by traditional religious norms.⁵

Again, the principles underpinning the feminist political agenda are quite different from that which underlies the political programs of neo-traditionalists and republicans. And one can very well imagine the goal of promoting women’s equality being served not by an opposition to multi- and interculturalism, but by a critical multiculturalism that works with women in minority groups to try to change their cultures from within rather than adopting the more censorious posture that consists in prohibiting certain practices on the quite contemptuous assumption that women who take part in them must either be coerced into doing so, or be victims of false consciousness. The mainstream institutions defending women’s rights in Québec have however chosen this latter route, though voices of dissidence among feminist academics and activists can also be heard.

I have only been able to provide a very rapid, thumbnail sketch, of the forces that today converge to move discourse and practice in Québec with respect to the integration of immigrants away from the ideals that at the end of the day are pursued both by multi- and by interculturalism. These forces cross the ideological spectrum, and are placing a great deal of pressure on the Liberal government to move away from the more open and tolerant attitude that has characterized Québec politics since the ‘70s, be it under the Liberal Party or under the Parti Québécois. Bill 94, that merely reasserts the limits that already exist in law on the granting of multicultural claims while appearing to place greater limits on the wearing of certain forms of Muslim face-coverings, shows that the Liberal governments of Jean Charest is attempting to tow an increasingly difficult line between placating the various voices that are calling for a retreat from the fairly generous regime of accommodation that, as was shown by the Taylor-Bouchard Commission report, is present in Québec’s public institutions today, and maintaining the status-quo. Those of us who believe that the goal shared by multiculturalism and interculturalism is best suited to the harmonious and ethical integration of immigrants, have reason to fear that that line will soon prove politically unviable.

NOTES

¹ Jacques Beauchemin, *La société des identités*, Montréal : Athéna, 2004; Mathieu Bock-Côté, *La dénationalisation tranquille*, Montréal : Boréal, 2007.

² Benoit Dubreuil et Guillaume Marois, *Le remède imaginaire. Pourquoi l’immigration ne sauvera pas le Québec*. Montréal : Boréal, 2011.

³ His position on *laïcité* is perhaps most clearly laid out in the *Déclaration des Intellectuels pour la Laïcité*, which he co-authored with a number of other intellectuals, artists, and activists who favour a French-style form of *laïcité*. Accessed on March 3rd, at <http://www.Québecclairque.org/2010/03/declaration-des-intellectuels-pour-la.html>.

⁴ Yvan Lamonde, *La laïcité québécoise à l’heure de l’histoire*, Montréal : Del Busso, 2011.

⁵ See a recent report published under the auspices of the *Conseil du statut de la femme : Affirmer la laïcité, un pas de plus vers l’égalité réelle entre les femmes et les hommes*, available on the Conseil’s website at www.csf.gouv.qc.ca.

MULTICULTURALISME ET INTERCULTURALISME À L'ÉPREUVE DU RAPPORT AUX MINORITÉS ETHNO-RELIGIEUSES

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RÉSUMÉ

Les concepts de multiculturalisme et d'interculturalisme renvoient à des récits collectifs portant sur le type d'intégration attendu des minorités. Cet article analyse leur usage dans les documents de la Commission Bouchard-Taylor, et compare le Québec à quelques pays d'Europe où l'on trouve des discours similaires sur le rapport entre majorité nationale et minorités ethno-religieuses, celles-ci constituant le noyau résistant qui irrite certaines franges des majorités. Même au Canada on paraît réviser l'approche multiculturelle en affirmant davantage la neutralité de l'espace commun, moins favorable à certaines expressions des libertés religieuses. Le texte attire aussi l'attention sur le fait que le débat québécois ignore le plus souvent le concept similaire d'interculturalité, en usage dans la francophonie.

En ce qui trait à la religion dans la sphère publique, il m'a toujours paru impératif d'insister sur les faits. La proposition de grands modèles tels que celui de la laïcité pour définir les rapports entre religion, politique et société me paraît très approximative, voire trompeuse. Le meilleur exemple étant la France, dont l'écart entre l'affirmation publique laïque et les relations multiples avec les religions tenant du compromis, est bien connu des observateurs attentifs. Il importe pourtant de reconnaître que ces débats sur la religion dans la sphère publique, le multiculturalisme, l'interculturalisme et la laïcité renvoient surtout à des grands récits collectifs qu'on raconte. Or, le propre d'un récit est de ne pas s'appuyer uniquement sur des faits, mais sur leur saisi par l'imaginaire collectif.

Ce qui suit rappelle l'importance de cet aspect chez les deux co-présidents de la Commission Bouchard-Taylor. Puis il est question de la spécificité québécoise, de ses débats somme toute assez communs avec plusieurs pays européens notamment sur l'identité nationale et la diversité,

alors qu'on entend parler ici et là d'une «révision» du multiculturalisme. Ces révisions renvoient à une critique de certaines minorités ethno-religieuses, y compris au Canada. On conclut par une brève réflexion sur les deux termes discutés.

1. POLITISATION DU DÉBAT

Bouchard et Taylor ont en commun de tenir compte des imaginaires sociaux dans leurs œuvres (Lefebvre 2010a). Bouchard commente longuement la question des mythes collectifs que les intellectuels se doivent de formuler (Andrès and Bouchard 2007; Bouchard 2003), Taylor développe notamment le concept d'imaginaire collective (Taylor 2004). Il est révélateur que Bouchard ait inclus dans les mythes lui paraissant pertinents et «projecteurs» pour le Québec celui de laïcité et d'interculturalisme, avant que la Commission ne se tienne, au moins dans son livre de 2007 portant sur les voies de la sortie d'une «crise culturelle». Souverainiste, il

poursuit le projet de définir le projet d'un Québec qui se démarque du reste du Canada. Le projet égalitaire de la laïcité ouverte peut nourrir un nationalisme pluriethnique fondé surtout sur la langue et des valeurs communes générales. L'interculturalisme assure la reconnaissance du noyau ethnique majoritaire d'origine canadienne-française. On sait que ces deux concepts trouveront une place de choix dans le rapport final de la commission, qui souhaite pour définir la laïcité un « Livre blanc », et pour l'interculturalisme un texte de loi ou un énoncé politique (Bouchard and Taylor 2008). Le concept de mythe n'a pas été retenu, et on peut douter que Charles Taylor ait totalement endossé l'élaboration de textes officiels. Dans une entrevue accordée à l'Émission *Second Regard* sur la laïcité (17 janvier 2011)¹, il s'est dit réticent à l'égard des grandes définitions (une charte de la laïcité par exemple), estimant que la laïcité ouverte devrait se négocier avec les outils juridiques existants, et au cas par cas.

De son côté, le Gouvernement libéral n'est guère enclin à faire suite à ces deux propositions particulières qui renforceraient trop le statut particulier du Québec. Il poursuit néanmoins depuis plusieurs années le projet juridique d'une neutralité plus grande de l'État. Notons ici que le concept officiel retenu n'est pas celui de laïcité mais celui de neutralité. Un récent jugement de la Cour suprême sur le nouveau programme d'éthique et de culture religieuse à l'école publique a réaffirmé ce principe de manière très claire (Cour suprême du Canada S.L. c. Commission scolaire des Chênes)². Bref, bien que ce soit trop banal de le rappeler, et pour conclure cette section, la question de la définition officielle de ces termes est hautement politique. Si un parti souverainiste reprenait le pouvoir, il y a fort à parier que la proposition des grands textes trouverait preneurs, dans le but de mieux marquer l'espace symbolique spécifique du Québec.

Mais qu'en est-il de cette spécificité québécoise, et de ses politiques d'intégration ?

2. LE QUÉBEC, SPÉCIFIQUE MAIS COMPARABLE

Quel que soit la perspective politique adoptée, il est difficile voire même impossible de ne pas tenir compte d'une sensibilité particulière chez les Québécois. Le Québec est souvent traité très différemment dans les grandes enquêtes internationales, à l'instar des zones francophones de la Suisse et de la Belgique. La différence se fonde d'abord sur l'impact culturel et historique des grands pays coloniaux que furent la France et la Grande-Bretagne. C'est un fait linguistique, c'est aussi un fait culturel et religieux, alors que les grandes coordonnées dites latine et catholique, et anglo-saxonne et protestante, s'avèrent toujours pertinentes pour comprendre le poids historique et contemporain de ces deux grandes filières coloniales dans leurs ex-colonies (Champion 1993; Lefebvre 2008c).

Ce que ces zones francophones paraissent avoir en commun, c'est une appréhension à l'égard de la diversité culturelle et religieuse, à divers degrés, et une aspiration à l'unité culturelle, sans doute héritée de leur héritage catholique quasi-monopolistique. Cette appréhension et cette aspiration s'expriment récemment autour des accommodements raisonnables. Mais on trouve cela ailleurs, nous le verrons plus loin. Je dirais que la spécificité se trouve plutôt dans une manière collectiviste d'exprimer cette appréhension, en un 'Nous' fort qui se pose en communauté homogène et très cohésive, et qui se met à débattre de son modèle entier de société, lorsque l'irritation devient trop grande. Du côté anglo-saxon, où l'on trouve une histoire de pluralité des églises et des origines plus grande, une décentralisation, il y a aussi des frustrations, des désaccords, des controverses, mais une approche plus légale et plus individuelle des problèmes.

Mais il me paraît que le Québec constitue un laboratoire à ce titre qui le rapproche de l'Europe, voire même apparaît comme une illustration parmi d'autres de ce qu'est présentement cette tendance à la « révision du multiculturalisme » que l'on sent poindre dans plusieurs pays d'Europe et ailleurs au Canada. Je ne discute pas ici de ce qu'est et n'est pas le multiculturalisme, aussi objet de récits multiples, mais des discours le remettant en question.

3. LES RÉVISIONS DU MULTICULTURALISME ET LE NOUVEAU TYPE D'INTÉGRATION ATTENDU DU MIGRANT

Par-delà les zones francophones on trouve des dynamiques comparables dans plusieurs pays incluant une majorité nationale importante, surtout depuis les années 1990. Le Canada se voit interpellé par les échos de débats européens sur une « révision du multiculturalisme », qui n'est passans rapport avec un certain « interculturalisme » débattu au Québec, désigné ailleurs par « interculturalité »³. On entend l'écho de ces débats notamment au Royaume Uni, en Allemagne et aux Pays-Bas.

Un cas intéressant de ce qui est appelé « révision du multiculturalisme » se trouve aux Pays-Bas, bien cerné à travers les controverses ayant suivi l'assassinat du politicien populiste Pim Fortuyn (très critique de l'immigration) puis de l'artiste Theo Van Gogh, figure provocatrice et notoirement critique de l'islam, assassiné par un jeune musulman radical. Les termes du débat montrent bien que la préoccupation clé pour l'intégration et l'existence d'un noyau identitaire national (fut-il plus ou moins imaginaire) rapproche le Québec de l'Europe, surtout dans la foulée des tensions avec l'immigration musulmane. La question clé des débats est le type d'intégration recherché, et un auteur comme le politologue Theo de Wit profile cinq réponses possibles, interreliées, à ce que devrait être une intégration réussie du migrant, dont les deux dernières deviendraient

plus populaires ces dernières années (Wit 2005). Je les reformule ainsi :

- 1) la première réponse se trouve dans la tolérance, la fascination pour la différence, et la réciprocité du mouvement (entre les Néerlandais et les migrants), dans la célébration d'une société multiculturelle;
- 2) la deuxième poursuit l'idéal du respect fondamental par tous et pour tous des droits de la personne, vers un nous cosmopolite;
- 3) la troisième prône et salue une intégration par le succès économique;
- 4) la quatrième propose une assimilation des migrants à la modernité, alors qu'ils devraient devenir de véritables citoyens occidentaux éclairés selon l'idéal rationaliste des Lumières, surtout sur le plan religieux;
- 5) enfin la cinquième va plus loin en insistant sur l'intégration à la culture du pays (histoire nationale, coutumes, sensibilités, etc.).

Dans les réponses quatre et cinq à l'intégration, on voit respectivement l'émergence du Nous comme collectivité éclairée issue des Lumières (pour une part émancipée des tutelles religieuses), et comme culture nationale et héritage historique. Dans les faits, il s'agit d'un mélange de nationalisme culturel et de vision citoyenne. Cette manière de poser le problème est intéressante, et on peut certainement y reconnaître d'autres débats, y compris le débat québécois.

Or, l'un des traits caractéristiques des deux dernières réponses est qu'elles se formulent sous forme de récit collectif correspondant seulement en partie à des faits. On peut arguer par exemple que la modernité n'a pas produit uniquement du «citoyen» mais aussi du symbolique, du religieux. On peut arguer que l'histoire nationale est toujours en partie imaginée, et que la diversité marque le développement des peuples. Les réflexions postcoloniales travaillent précisément ces récits nationaux en espérant arracher leur masque d'homogénéité, pour en dévoiler la diversité fondamentale. Pourtant, les récits renvoyant à des collectivités à la fois éclairées et cohésives culturellement, ont la vie dure, et se voient réactivés présentement en réaction contre certaines minorités ethno-religieuses qui leur résistent.

4. UN DIFFICILE RAPPORT À CERTAINS GROUPES ETHNO-RELIGIEUX

Il paraît clair que les réponses quatre et cinq visent les groupes ethno-religieux plus traditionnels, dont Habermas parlait dans sa réflexion sur un post-sécularisme en que groupe habitant des «mondes vécus» qui échappent pour une part aux Lumières (Habermas 2008). En effet, si la religion dans les débats sur le multiculturalisme et

l'interculturalisme était assez marginale ou implicite, elle paraît symboliser à présent le noyau résistant du migrant. Dit autrement, le religieux orthodoxe se trouve perçu comme celui qui «refuserait» de s'intégrer (Lefebvre 2008d), n'étant perçu ni comme citoyen éclairé ni participant d'une histoire et d'une culture nationales. Et je reviens à l'exemple québécois. Il est remarquable que depuis 2001, dans le débat sur les accommodements raisonnables au Québec, les juifs orthodoxes aient été des cibles de critiques aussi importantes que les musulmans et les sikhs, même s'ils habitent le Québec depuis plusieurs décennies. Un clivage survient entre un agnosticisme mou, une appartenance et une identité religieuse flexibles ou facultatives (qui caractérisent la modernité religieuse), et un engagement plus entier, désigné comme «orthodoxe» par les cours et les tribunaux, surtout quand celui-ci prend d'autres formes que la chrétienne. Celui-ci caractérise pourtant tout autant cette modernité religieuse dite «paradoxe» (Lefebvre 2009b). En effet, l'autonomie du sujet peut tout aussi bien s'exprimer à travers une itinérance spirituelle floue qu'à travers une affirmation forte de la conviction.

Mais l'orthodoxie heurte le sens commun, et parfois plus généralement la religion. Par enchaînement, plusieurs groupes religieux minoritaires et majoritaires font l'objet de fortes réserves, voire même d'anxiété. Si les tensions internationales avec les fanatiques islamiques ont déclenché ces nouvelles craintes de la diversité (après septembre 2001), il n'en demeure pas moins que toutes les orthodoxies religieuses se trouvent soupçonnées : les églises s'opposant à l'avortement et à l'égalité statutaire des femmes, les juifs orthodoxes, les convertis à des groupes religieux minoritaires comme les adventistes, les mormons, les évangéliques, les témoins de Jéhovah, les huttértes (Alberta), les sikhs, les musulmans et ainsi de suite.

Ces exemples dépassent le simple cas québécois, ce qui pourrait démontrer qu'une nouvelle affirmation d'une «culture canadienne» marque présentement plusieurs provinces. Il a été fait mention du jugement de la Cour suprême du Canada évoquant la neutralité de l'État en matière d'enseignement public. Mais un autre cas, celui des Huttértes en Alberta, fut tranché sans donner raison à ceux-ci (Cour suprême du Canada Alberta c. Hutterian Brethren of Wilson Colony and 2009 CSC 37). Contrairement aux jugements précédents favorables aux minorités, celui-là a endossé le point de vue de la province contre une croyance fondamentale du groupe, pour des raisons législatives de sécurité. Trois juges furent dissidents. Dans l'explication du jugement en faveur de la province, on écrit : «Pour évaluer la gravité d'une restriction dans un cas particulier, il faut l'envisager dans la perspective de la personne qui invoque sa liberté de religion ou de conscience. Cette perspective doit toutefois être adoptée dans le contexte d'une société

multiculturelle où se côtoient une multitude de religions et dans laquelle l'accomplissement par l'État de son devoir de légiférer pour le bien commun heurte inévitablement les croyances individuelles» (Cour suprême du Canada *Alberta c. Hutterian Brethren of Wilson Colony and 2009 CSC 37*).

Dans cette phrase se trouve suggéré que le bien commun l'emporte sur les particularités religieuses. Sans entrer dans les détails de la décision, elle paraît pourtant effectivement, ainsi que l'argumentent les juges dissidents, contrevenir à la liberté de religion de la petite communauté des hutterites. Bref, la Cour suprême paraît affirmer récemment davantage quelque chose comme un intérêt collectif canadien supérieur.

5. INTERCULTURALISME, UN NÉOLOGISME ?

Le rapport sur l'interculturalisme commandé par la commission Bouchard-Taylor analyse l'émergence du concept (Rocher et al. 2007). Toujours absent des documents officiels, il émerge néanmoins depuis quelques années dans le monde académique. Curieusement, on ne fait pas mention dans ce rapport du terme consacré dans la francophonie, soit celui d'«interculturalité». L'interculturalisme «à la Québécoise» pourrait-on dire est le fruit de réflexions successives sur divers concepts permettant de définir les rapports entre la majorité d'origine française et les minorités, autour d'une culture commune par exemple. La fin des années 1990 verrait une affirmation plus sociale et légale que culturelle d'une politique de citoyenneté et de ces rapports.

Mais une constante demeure, comme trame de fond de ces tentatives de définitions, soit le statut de la langue française, et cette insistance se trouve plus ou moins reliée à la culture, terme évidemment plus large. Pour désigner cette culture, plusieurs termes seront employés : culture de la majorité française, culture de tradition française, histoire et culture québécoise, et ainsi de suite. L'inter-culturalisme surgit comme concept évoquant le rapport entre les minorités et cette majorité.

Selon le rapport Bouchard-Taylor, le multiculturalisme canadien se trouverait davantage préoccupé par la cohésion sociale que par la préservation d'une «tradition culturelle fondatrice», comme c'est le cas au Québec. Pour le reste, plusieurs aspects proposés recourent le modèle multiculturaliste.

CONCLUSION

Bref, les frontières entre l'interculturalisme (interculturalité) et le multiculturalisme s'effacent il est vrai, ou du moins se déplacent. Si le Québec se démarque au Canada par ses affirmations collectivistes fortes fondées sur un noyau ethnique d'origine commune, il n'en demeure pas moins que, au Canada comme ailleurs, la confrontation à des minorités ethno-religieuses entendant perpétuer leurs pratiques, leurs croyances et leur vision du monde provoque la fin d'une célébration de la diversité, du moins au sein de certaines franges de la population. Entre cette célébration et la volonté d'assimilation citoyenne et/ou culturelle, des tensions complexes surviennent. On assiste indéniablement à une limitation plus forte de la liberté religieuse, pour calmer les anxiétés de majorités qui, à tort ou à raison, se sentent fragilisées (Beaman 2012). Il s'agit me semble-t-il d'un recul des politiques de reconnaissance et d'accommodement. On peut regretter que la religion soit devenue l'objet d'une telle anxiété chez plusieurs, sans trop de considération pour ses apports à la vie collective et civique. Cette anxiété nourrit efficacement le récit moderne de la critique des religions, récit moderne parmi d'autres possibles.

NOTES

¹ Voir le site des archives de Radio-Canada (Laïcité. L'impatience des commissaires Bouchard et Taylor), ou sur le site de ma chaire de recherche : <http://www.crcs.umontreal.ca/medias/video.html>.

² «La dissolution progressive des liens entre l'Église et l'État au Canada s'inscrit dans un large mouvement de laïcisation des institutions publiques dans les pays occidentaux (M. H. Ogilvie, *Religious Institutions and the Law in Canada* (3^e éd. 2010) : 26-30; voir également *Congrégation des témoins de Jéhovah de St-Jérôme-Lafontaine c. Lafontaine (Village)*, 2004 CSC 48, [2004] 2 R.C.S. 650, par. 67-68, le juge LeBel). En effet, la neutralité religieuse est maintenant perçue par de nombreux États occidentaux comme une façon légitime d'aménager un espace de liberté dans lequel les citoyens de diverses croyances peuvent exercer leurs droits individuels (voir J. Woehrling, «La place de la religion dans les écoles publiques du Québec» (2007) : 41 *R.J.T.* 651; D. Grimm, «Conflicts Between General Laws and Religious Norms» (2009) : 30 *Cardozo L. Rev.* 2369) (Paragraphe 10).»

³ Le concept d'interculturalité est utilisé dans les grands organismes internationaux. Voir par exemple un récent rapport belge sur la gestion de la diversité, *Les Assises de l'interculturalité* (Foblets and Kulakowski 2010). On y écrit préférer ce concept à celui de «multiculturalité» : 10. Voir aussi le site web de la Chaire de l'UNESCO Interculturalité, créée en 2003 (<http://interculturalite.referga/>).

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“YOU SAY ‘MULTI’, I SAY ‘INTER’; BUT DON’T CALL THE WHOLE THING OFF!”

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ABSTRACT

The narratives embodied in, and generated by, ‘multiculturalism’ and ‘interculturalism’ are often conceived as in conflict. This paper focuses on the February 2012 Supreme Court of Canada decision in *S.L. and D.J. v. Commission Scolaire des Chênes* to suggest that conflict between ‘multi’ and ‘inter’ need not be sustained or resolved. Nicely illustrated by the judgment, the two may instead be destined to co-existence as indicators of ‘multi’plicity and shapers of ‘inter’actions.

In a classic recording, Ella Fitzgerald and Louis Armstrong sing, “Let’s call the whole thing off!” The suggestion follows their playful take on conflicting pronunciations of common words like “tomato” and “potato”. As the song concludes, the proposed resolution to the conflict changes: “Let’s call the calling off, off!” After all, everyone knows what a tomato is, regardless of the accent with which it is named.

When we turn to the root word, ‘culturalism’, and then articulate it by adding different prefixes – ‘multi’ or ‘inter’ – it’s sometimes hard to tell whether we’re engaged in simple varied pronunciation or caught in complex irreconcilable conflict. While they clearly share a root, the contrast between ‘multiculturalism’ and ‘interculturalism’ is never presented in the form of light-hearted duet. Instead, it is played out in ongoing arguments over models and approaches, over words and melody. The disagreement is rarely over the reality or fact of social diversity on the ground in Canadian society; rather it is inscribed in the policies and politics that shape acknowledgement of, and response to, that diversity.

In order to explore the implications of a “You say ‘multi’, I say ‘inter’” encounter, we might ask whether any concrete consequences flow from the choice of prefix. Accordingly, we might examine diversity-responsive practices in a range of contexts – classrooms and courtrooms, healthcare and childcare, hiring and firing – governed within ‘multiculturalist’ and ‘interculturalist’ frameworks, in order to identify principal similarities and differences, convergence and divergence.

As an alternative approach, and the one taken in this short essay, we might focus on the narratives embodied in, and generated by, ‘multiculturalism’ and ‘interculturalism’. Concrete consequences for the way in which individuals live their lives, and in which communities exist and evolve, may not depend on the preference of prefix. But self-understanding and sustenance, on the part of both individuals and communities, may be tied to the perceptions and assumptions built into that choice.

Here, the particular context of religious diversity and the specific example of the Supreme Court of Canada decision in *S.L. and D.J. v. Commission Scolaire des Chênes*, 2012 SCC 7, handed down in February of 2012, will act as backdrop for considering the variations on a shared theme that the terms ‘multiculturalism’ and ‘interculturalism’ constitute. Through a brief reading of the judgment and its reliance on stories told by religious parents and school officials, I ask whether the conflict between ‘multi’ and ‘inter’ needs to be sustained or resolved. Perhaps the two are destined to co-existence, not so much as prefixes to ‘culturalism’, but as indicators of ‘multi’plicity and shapers of ‘inter’actions.

In the recent judgment, parents known only as S.L. and D.J. asked that their children be exempt from the Ethics, Religion and Culture (ECR) course offered as a mandatory part of the curriculum in Québec schools as of 2008. Further, they claimed that the obligatory nature of the ECR program violated their freedom of religion and conscience guaranteed by the Canadian Charter of Rights and Freedoms and the Québec Charter of Human

Rights and Freedoms. More specifically, the parents argued that their right to pass on their Catholic beliefs and faith to their children was compromised by a course in which those children would be exposed to a range of religious traditions and ways of understanding and expressing spirituality. What the parents characterized as the inherent relativism of the ECR course would interfere, they insisted, with the way in which their children were growing up within Catholicism.

The Court's answer was very clear. No infringement of parental freedom of religion was entailed in the exposure of children to the Ethics, Culture and Religion course ensconced in the education program of Québec schools. No exemption on that basis could be granted. In other words, the Supreme Court refused to excuse children of one faith from learning about others.

Justice Deschamps, writing for seven of the nine judges, briefly reviewed the history of education in Québec, highlighting the abolishment of denominational public school boards by the late 1990's and the adoption at the time of a new approach to religious education of children, leading to the introduction of ECR roughly ten years later. As acknowledged in the judgment, the mandatory ECR course aims to provide students with an understanding of ethical questions and of a range of influential religious traditions, without accompanying students on a 'spiritual quest' nor promoting a 'new common religious doctrine'. Regardless of the sincere faith of the Catholic parents who requested an exemption for their children, it was not possible for the Court to conclude that exposure to a comprehensive presentation of religious traditions constituted a violation of religious freedom. In particular, the parents' objective of passing on their faith to their children was not found subject to interference.

In a concurring judgment, Justice LeBel, writing for himself and Justice Fish, emphasized the need to respect religious upbringing of children as part of meaningful religious freedom on the part of parents. With respect to the ECR course – a course for which, at the time the claim was filed, teaching methods, content and spirit were 'sketchy' – there was simply no way to assess the alleged interference with religious upbringing by these parents within their Catholic faith. Justice LeBel notes that it might be possible to establish such interference in another case where there was a clearer picture of the substantive content and the pedagogical approach associated with ECR in a particular classroom.

For the purposes of this paper, the judgment can be read both through a 'multicultural' and an 'intercultural' lens. If we look for signs of 'multiculturalism', we find them most explicitly in the introductory paragraph of Justice Deschamps' majority decision: "The societal changes that

Canada has undergone since the middle of the last century have brought with them a new social philosophy that favours the recognition of minority rights." Throughout the judgment, there is acute awareness and repeated acknowledgement of the diversity of Québec and Canadian society. The Ethics, Religion and Culture component of the curriculum in Québec schools appears both to stem from, and sustain, a multicultural reality.

If we look for what might be labelled evidence of 'interculturalism', we could start by contrasting the opening paragraph of Justice LeBel's concurring judgment: "The implementation of this program re-emphasizes the continuing problem of establishing an appropriate relationship between the religious neutrality of a modern democratic state and the deeply held religious beliefs of members of Québec society who are often in a minority situation." Here, the on-going dialogue between the state and particular communities (via their members) shape the answer given to the claim of these religious parents that they are unable to accept public policy in the form of the ECR course.

The 'multicultural' reading of the judgment offers obvious support for a government project that aims to teach a diverse group of children about a diverse group of religious traditions. The ECR course offers a roof under which individuals and identities coningle, and together appear to realize the promise of multicultural theory. But the very recognition of the multiplicity of ethical and religious perspectives and practices, embodied in the education program, is the problem identified by the parents who insist on securing their children's way on a particular path. For them, the risk is in too much recognition, in losing one's direction by being pulled in too many others, in substituting individual identity formation with comprehensive exposure to a collective tangle. Put in these words, the concern precisely mirrors the very critique sometimes aimed at 'multiculturalism' itself.

In the 'intercultural' reading of the judgment, by contrast, we are invited to focus on the on-going conversation, the incessant back-and-forth, between religious individuals and families and communities on one hand, and the state - in the form of a mandatory education program – on the other. If 'interculturalism' signals a principal preoccupation with shaping the interaction between two parties or partners, it is reflected in the acknowledgement by the Court, through Justice LeBel's judgment, that questions will continue to be asked of the ECR program as well as of religious parents. The approaches and commitments of both schools and religious families throughout Québec and Canada will continue to evolve, always influencing each other at the same time that they work to sustain their particular identities and vocations.

While multiculturalism and interculturalism are often imagined in conflict, their coexistence in the Supreme Court of Canada judgment denies the need to choose between them. The two judgments are in agreement, but they use different words and emphasize different features of the story in order to get there. It is no coincidence that the three Québec justices on the Supreme Court are front and centre – Justice Deschamps for the majority, and Justice LeBel for himself and Justice Fish. Through their judgments, supported by the entire Supreme Court of Canada, these judges offer leadership and guidance for Québec as an increasingly diverse society within Canada. They do so in a way that illustrates the mixed presence of models and insights drawn from 'multi'- and 'inter'-cultural thinking.

Neither is it surprising that the parents in the case are Catholic parents, members of the majority faith community in a province that used to provide institutional support to the religious upbringing of Catholic children. The conversation captured by 'interculturalism', usually thought to be a dialogue between 'us' and 'them', or 'we' and 'you', is explicitly transformed here into an 'us'-us' or 'we'-we' moment. Who are 'we', in today's Québec? What does it mean to fashion our state institutions around 'us' as a collective community? The focus becomes the texture of the 'us', the conditions and contexts in which 'we' can flourish and move forward together. A 'multicultural' view might suggest that this is always the case, no matter which community is involved in an 'intercultural' dialogue with broader society. The answer given to any identity-based claim is always an invitation to learn something more about who 'we' are as members of that society.

At the end of a Supreme Court of Canada judgment, one party 'wins' the appeal. In this case, that party represents a public policy according to which children of all backgrounds and in all schools learn about sources of ethical teachings and world faiths. The finality of the judgment feels like a message of "Let's call the whole thing off!" – satisfying for the victor, and deeply frustrating for the vanquished. Those who contrast 'multiculturalism' and 'interculturalism' in order to force a choice between two approaches to cultural diversity, might wish for a similar dramatic resolution to what sometimes feels like an endless back and forth.

And yet, as the *Commission scolaire des Chênes* judgment itself reminds us, the precise contours of the policy and the Ethics, Culture and Religion course it has generated will change and evolve. The voices of teachers, administrators, parents and children – including individual members of religious communities – contribute to the on-going shaping of the substance and significance of the institutions, including ECR, that form the fabric of our collective experience.

Coexistence, rather than conflict, thus captures the relationship between 'multi' and 'inter' sensibilities – not only in a court but also in classrooms, congregations, and corridors. The prefix might change depending on context or purpose; it might signal a particular register, or simply offer a variation of accent. Separated from their usual 'culturalism' root, and spliced onto other words that describe our always-unfolding reality, 'multi' and 'inter' combine respect for 'multiplicity' with recognition of 'interaction'. Rather than "calling the whole thing off", the melody and the words keep going, and everyone's invited to join in the song.

LA VISÉE INTERCULTURELLE DU COURS ÉTHIQUE ET CULTURE RELIGIEUSE

Jean-Pierre Proulx a mené deux carrières d'à-peu-près d'égale longueur, entrecoupées par un séjour de six ans dans la fonction publique. En mai 1968, il entre au quotidien *Le Devoir* comme reporter aux affaires religieuses, puis après 1972, il est affecté principalement au secteur de l'éducation. Avant d'entrer au *Devoir*, il avait déjà complété une licence en théologie. Dans les années 1970, il complète un doctorat sur l'information religieuse au Québec. Entre 1974 et 1980, il quitte *Le Devoir* pour occuper la fonction de secrétaire exécutif du comité sur la restructuration scolaire au défunt Conseil scolaire de l'île de Montréal. À l'été 1977, il passe au ministère de l'Éducation pour prendre en charge l'administration de la Charte de la langue française. En septembre 1980, il est de retour au *Devoir* où, pendant deux ans, il est rédacteur en chef adjoint et éditorialiste. Puis à partir de 1982, il revient au reportage en éducation tout en s'intéressant encore à la religion. Pendant toutes ces années, il accumule une expertise sur les institutions scolaires du Québec. Attiré par la recherche, il publie des articles dans des revues savantes. Aussi, en 1989, il est invité à Québec à participer comme conférencier au grand colloque marquant le 25^e anniversaire du ministère de l'Éducation. Cet événement entraînera un tournant dans sa carrière, car il reçoit peu après une invitation de la Faculté des sciences de l'éducation de l'Université de Montréal à poser sa candidature à un poste de professeur au département d'administration et des fondements de l'éducation.

Il entreprend donc, en mai 1991, une seconde et toute nouvelle carrière universitaire. Il ne renonce toutefois pas à la première, car il continue d'écrire régulièrement dans *Le Devoir*. En 1995, la direction de la faculté lui confie pour cinq ans la direction du Centre de formation initiale des maîtres, ce qui l'amène à développer ses compétences en gestion pédagogique. Mais à l'automne 1997, il doit soudainement partager son temps de professeur et de gestionnaire. La ministre de l'Éducation, M^{me} Pauline Marois, le mandate pour présider un groupe de travail sur la place de la religion à l'école. Son rapport, publié en mars 1999, entraînera progressivement la laïcisation complète des écoles publiques et de l'enseignement. Puis à l'automne 2002, le gouvernement du Québec le nomme président du Conseil supérieur de l'éducation, pour un mandat de quatre ans. Il ne reprendra son poste de professeur à l'automne 2006. Trois ans plus tard, il prend sa retraite.

Jean-Pierre Proulx s'est intéressé dans ses recherches et ses publications particulièrement au droit et à la démocratie scolaire, et aux dimensions linguistiques et religieuses de notre système éducatif. Il a publié en 2009 chez Chenelière-Éducation, un ouvrage synthèse intitulé *Le système éducatif du Québec. De la maternelle à l'université*. Il achève actuellement un volume sur la genèse de la démocratie scolaire et de l'école publique au Bas-Canada entre 1814 et 1818.

RÉSUMÉ

La droite nationaliste accuse le programme Éthique et culture religieuse (ECR) dispensé dans les écoles du Québec d'« endoctriner » les jeunes à la vision multiculturelle du Canada. Elle favoriserait ainsi le développement séparé des groupes ethniques et gommerait du coup la communauté historique canadienne-française. L'auteur qui a présidé le Groupe de travail sur la place de la religion (1997-1999) montre, en s'appuyant sur son rapport (1999), que le programme ECR s'appuie plutôt sur la politique d'interculturalisme développée au cours des années 1990 et qui propose plutôt l'enrichissement du patrimoine historique commun, notamment par le dialogue interculturel.

Fin mars 1999, le Groupe de travail sur la place de la religion à l'école¹ recommandait la mise en place d'un « enseignement culturel des religions obligatoires pour tous », tant dans les écoles publiques et privées du Québec (1999, p. 230). Ce programme remplacerait les

enseignements religieux confessionnels, catholiques et protestants, dispensés jusque-là.

Dix ans plus tard, j'ai constaté avec surprise que le programme Éthique et culture religieuse créé dans la foulée de cette recommandation se voyait accusé de promouvoir

une vision multiculturelle de la société québécoise et condamné de ce seul fait par la droite nationaliste. Du coup, la gauche nationaliste s'est aussi mise à s'inquiéter². Le tout récent jugement de la Cour suprême du Canada sur ce même cours a apporté en outre des munitions aux tenants de cette thèse. « Suggérer, y lit-on, que le fait même d'exposer des enfants à différents faits religieux porte atteinte à la liberté de religion de ceux-ci ou de leurs parents revient à rejeter la réalité multiculturelle de la société canadienne et méconnaître les obligations de l'État québécois en matière d'éducation publique » (CSC, 2012, par. 40).

C'est pourtant une chose que de prendre acte du pluralisme culturel de la société et une autre que d'élaborer une doctrine sociopolitique sur ce qu'il convient de faire de cette réalité. Pour sa part, le Groupe de travail a évoqué explicitement la politique canadienne sur le multiculturalisme sans pour autant en faire l'épouvantail qu'on lui connaît maintenant. Il a rappelé que cette politique visait

« l'équité à travers la reconnaissance et la prise en compte de la diversité culturelle des groupes composant la société québécoise. Cette politique, qui avait traditionnellement pour objet la préservation des cultures d'origine, a connu une évolution récente. Ses objectifs sont désormais la participation civique de tous les citoyens, l'adaptation des institutions publiques à la diversité et l'élimination des obstacles à l'accès équitable aux institutions publiques. Elle est centrée sur les valeurs de justice sociale et d'équité et vise à alimenter un dialogue éclairé sur la diversité culturelle, le multiculturalisme et le racisme. Le ministère du Patrimoine canadien, responsable de l'application de la Loi sur le multiculturalisme, spécifie dans son rapport annuel de 1996-1997 que la politique du multiculturalisme doit s'efforcer de « faciliter la mobilisation collective pour la résolution et la prévention des conflits fondés sur l'ethnie, la race, la religion ou la culture et contre les actes haineux (Ministère du Patrimoine canadien, 1998 : 2-3) ». (Groupe de travail, 199, 126).

Il est bien difficile de s'opposer à de tels objectifs. Toutefois, le groupe de travail a voulu fonder ses recommandations non pas sur cette politique, mais bien plutôt sur les politiques proprement québécoises. Il a consacré à cet égard un chapitre complet, le sixième, à

exposer « la politique du Québec à l'égard de la diversité culturelle, de l'intégration sociale et de l'égalité ». Il a rappelé notamment l'*Énoncé de politique en matière d'immigration et d'intégration* de 1990 du ministère des Communautés culturelles et de l'Immigration. Il s'est encore appuyé sur cet avis du Conseil des relations interculturelles de 1996 qui insistait sur le cadre civique commun fait des droits fondamentaux, mais aussi et tout autant sur

« ce patrimoine commun pluriel, historique, culturel et naturel - auquel chaque citoyen, peu importe son origine, doit pouvoir s'identifier. L'actualisation du pluralisme de la société québécoise [...] prend forme dans la valorisation des apports multiples de tous les Québécoises et Québécois au patrimoine commun » (p. 121).

Sur le terrain proprement scolaire, le Groupe de travail a rappelé que « l'éducation interculturelle, qui favorise le respect de toutes les formes culturelles et la réciprocité des échanges, fait partie intégrante des conditions d'égalité des citoyens » (p. 133).

Les recommandations du Groupe de travail se sont donc appuyées pour une part sur des choix de société déjà faits. « Le Québec, lit-on dans le rapport, s'est donné comme projet social l'intégration de tous ses citoyens dans un espace civique commun et démocratique. Il vise ainsi la cohésion sociale et au respect du pluralisme qui incorpore les héritages à la fois culturels et religieux, les plus anciens comme les plus récents » (p. 185). C'est au nom de cette visée qu'il a rejeté le statu quo institutionnel d'alors fondé sur une approche communautarienne, mais limitée : le réseau scolaire comprenait en effet un réseau d'écoles catholiques, un autre d'écoles protestantes et quelques-unes non confessionnelles.

Il a *a fortiori* rejeté le projet souhaité, et au nom de l'égalité, par une partie de l'opinion que toutes les confessions bénéficient en principe d'écoles regroupant ses propres membres³. Ce modèle, manifestement, n'aurait en rien favorisé le vivre-ensemble.

Il a analysé ensuite plusieurs choix à propos de l'enseignement de la ou sur la religion. Il a retenu, dans une perspective de « laïcité ouverte⁴ », le projet d'un enseignement culturel des religions comme étant le plus susceptible d'enrichir le bagage culturel des enfants, de favoriser l'émergence d'un jugement moral et critique, de développer la tolérance. Enfin et surtout, il lui est apparu comme le plus susceptible de favoriser le vivre-ensemble, c'est-à-dire de « se socialiser à un *nous* enrichi par l'appropriation et l'appréciation éventuelle des différents héritages religieux, ceux que tradition chrétienne a légué à ses habitants dès l'origine, en même temps que les diverses

traditions minoritaires qui se sont progressivement ajoutées au patrimoine originel» (p. 211). Surtout, ce cours n'oblitérerait pas l'héritage culturel du Québec au profit des droits de la personne qui formeraient dorénavant à eux seuls le substrat social.

Il a donc estimé, ici encore, qu'il n'était plus pertinent de séparer les enfants en fonction de leur appartenance communautaire comme l'aurait suggéré une certaine conception du multiculturalisme⁵. Pour le groupe de travail, c'est dorénavant au sein du même groupe que les élèves seraient appelés à aborder le phénomène religieux, mais selon la perspective des sciences humaines et sociales. Tout en faisant place à l'étude des grandes religions et aux visions séculières de voir le monde, le programme accorderait une place importante à la tradition chrétienne. Bref, ce nouveau programme mettrait en œuvre la perspective interculturelle déjà présente dans d'autres secteurs de la société. Il respecterait à la fois le principe d'égalité en matière religieuse reconnu par la Charte québécoise des droits et libertés de 1975, bien avant donc la Charte canadienne de 1982 et la liberté de conscience et de religion. Il refuserait qu'on définisse le « nous » socio-historique exclusivement en fonction de la seule majorité chrétienne et catholique, en réduisant les « autres » à n'être que des « autres », d'autant que le patrimoine historique a lui-même changé, marqué qu'il est depuis 50 ans par un foudroyant mouvement de sécularisation.

Dorénavant donc, tous les futurs citoyens du Québec apprendraient à connaître, à respecter, à apprécier leurs identités religieuses et séculières multiples en commençant par l'héritage principal qu'est le christianisme⁶. Ils apprendraient à dialoguer et débattre dans la cité en tenant compte de ces identités diverses. Bref, ils apprendraient à vivre ensemble comme des citoyens cultivés, éclairés et tolérants. C'est précisément ce que propose le cours d'éthique et culture religieuse finalement mis en place en septembre 2008.

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NOTES

¹ J'ai eu l'honneur, l'automne 1997 au printemps 1999, de présider ce groupe de travail par mandat de M^{me} Pauline Marois, alors ministre de l'Éducation du Québec.

² L'étude de M^{me} Joëlle Quérin (2009) de l'UQAM fut le principal déclencheur de cette polémique.

³ Ce modèle s'apparente à une certaine conception du multiculturalisme où chaque groupe ethnique est invité à se développer à l'abri des autres et surtout des majorités historiques. C'est cette conception qui est le plus souvent évoquée dans les débats actuels.

⁴ Cette formule inventée par le groupe de travail a été reprise quelques années plus tard dans le rapport Bouchard-Taylor sur les accommodements raisonnables. Elle est devenue depuis un concept combattu âprement par les tenants d'une laïcité que nous avions alors qualifié d'intégrale dans la mesure où elle s'oppose même à un cours spécifique de culture religieuse à l'école.

⁵ Il n'est pas certain que la polémique idéologique autour du multiculturalisme canadien n'en ait pas dénaturé le sens. Nous laissons aux spécialistes le soin de trancher cette question.

⁶ Le programme actuel lui accorde une place prépondérante.

LE RAPPORT À LA DIVERSITÉ À L'ÉCOLE : SPÉCIFICITÉ DU MODÈLE QUÉBÉCOIS ?

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RÉSUMÉ

Dans cet article, nous identifions dans un premier temps les éléments que partagent les dix provinces canadiennes qui les amènent à adopter un modèle relativement similaire de prise en compte de la diversité à l'école. Dans un second temps, nous cernons la spécificité québécoise à cet égard.

Le rapport à la diversité au sein des institutions scolaires au Québec est une dynamique complexe résultant d'interactions multiples entre des phénomènes dont l'impact se fait sentir à divers niveaux du système. De plus, à l'intérieur d'une même société, les positionnements face au pluralisme varient non seulement entre les milieux et les établissements, mais également à l'intérieur de ceux-ci. L'objet de cet article sera donc de tenter de dépasser la perception stéréotypée voulant que le Québec et le reste du Canada aient deux modèles opposés de prise en compte de la diversité au niveau scolaire. Nous tenterons de cerner d'abord en quoi les dix provinces canadiennes partagent certains encadrements et des caractéristiques qui les amènent à adopter un modèle commun d'ouverture raisonnée à la diversité et, ensuite, en quoi la situation québécoise, marquée par une trajectoire historique et institutionnelle propre, est spécifique. En conclusion, nous ferons valoir que cette spécificité ne consiste pas dans une approche alternative cohérente, mais plutôt dans une grande complexité des modèles coexistant sur le terrain.

LES ENCADREMENTS ET LES CARACTÉRISTIQUES PARTAGÉES PAR LES DIX PROVINCES CANADIENNES

La place de la diversité dans les écoles canadiennes est d'abord influencée par des encadrements juridiques communs. L'éducation est, selon la Constitution canadienne, une juridiction exclusive des provinces, ce qui, par essence, crée un système diversifié. Cependant,

cette juridiction est balisée par un ensemble de protections visant divers groupes, entre autres les Autochtones ainsi que les minorités de langues officielles, ce qui génère, dans plusieurs provinces, une diversité de réseaux scolaires (CMEC, 2008). La prise en compte de la diversité liée aux personnes issues de l'immigration est aussi favorisée par ces encadrements, entre autres, la reconnaissance, dans la Constitution canadienne, du caractère multiculturel du Canada, ainsi que la jurisprudence sur l'*accommodement raisonnable*, même si dans ce cas ce sont surtout les minorités religieuses qui sont concernées (Bosset, 2007). Cette jurisprudence a pour effet que les institutions scolaires partagent, à travers le Canada, un ensemble de balises assez similaires non seulement sur les conditions qui plaident en faveur d'une prise en compte de la diversité, mais aussi sur le *jusqu'où* de l'adaptation institutionnelle. Ces limites ont d'abord été définies dans des termes opérationnels sous le concept de *contrainte excessive*, mais plus récemment, des balises plus substantives portant, par exemple, sur la compatibilité des demandes avec les valeurs démocratiques fondamentales ou encore avec le rôle de l'éducation dans une société libre et démocratique, ont été énoncées (MELS, 2007).

Les dix provinces canadiennes ont également en commun de nombreuses caractéristiques politiques et démographiques qui contribuent à un rapport globalement positif à l'immigration et à la diversité, mais aussi à des différences importantes à l'intérieur de chaque province,

en fait, sans doute plus marquées qu'entre les provinces. Le Québec, qui exerce désormais d'importantes juridictions à cet égard, situe l'immigration au cœur de son projet de construction nationale et, comme le gouvernement fédéral, mène une politique active de recrutement d'immigrants qui vise l'établissement permanent (McAndrew, 2009). Onze pourcent de la population québécoise est née à l'étranger, ce qui situe le Québec au quatrième rang des provinces canadiennes et dans la moyenne nationale (Statistiques Canada, 2006). Les politiques canadienne et québécoise partagent le même caractère non discriminatoire, ce qui induit une diversité marquée sur les plans linguistique, « racial », religieux et culturel, mais elles sont aussi largement sélectives (60 % du mouvement migratoire québécois). Les élèves issus de l'immigration au Québec comme dans le reste du Canada, ne sont donc pas systématiquement des *élèves à risque*, ce qui constitue un élément favorable à une ouverture positive à la diversité. De plus, étant donné que les structures scolaires sont démocratiques et gérées par des élus, les immigrants jouissent généralement d'un certain pouvoir politique, entre autres en ce qui concerne les choix éducatifs affectant leurs enfants.

Malgré ces caractéristiques communes à l'ensemble du Canada, il est toutefois important de garder à l'esprit que les immigrants sont inégalement répartis sur le territoire canadien : ils se concentrent dans trois grandes villes (Toronto, Montréal et Vancouver) qui regroupent à elles seules 70 % des flux (CIC, 2005). On constate ainsi souvent que les réalités vécues par le personnel scolaire, les élèves et les parents dans ces localités ainsi que le rapport à la diversité qui s'y développe sont très similaires; du moins, ces personnes partagent beaucoup plus de points communs qu'avec les milieux homogènes de leur province respective.

Par ailleurs, sur le plan éducatif, les systèmes scolaires au Canada mettent de l'avant des positionnements normatifs largement similaires de centration sur l'enfant, d'individualisation de l'enseignement et de lien étroit avec la communauté (CMEC, 2008) : ce sont des caractéristiques favorables à la prise en compte de la diversité. Cependant, des recherches menées à l'échelle canadienne montrent que les cultures enseignantes sont généralement plus conservatrices que les idéologies officielles (Gérin-Lajoie, 2007). De plus, en opposition avec la situation prévalant en Europe, les autorités scolaires manifestent un engagement plutôt tiède en faveur de la promotion du multilinguisme chez l'ensemble de leurs élèves (Armand et Dagenais, 2005).

QUELQUES DIFFÉRENCES SIGNIFICATIVES ENTRE LE QUÉBEC ET LE RESTE DU CANADA

Malgré ces éléments communs, le modèle québécois de rapport à la diversité à l'école se démarque dans le grand ensemble canadien, à cause de l'histoire, mais aussi des actions menées ces trente dernières années.

Sur le plan social et politique, on doit d'abord noter que le rapport à l'immigration et à la diversité est plus récent que dans les autres principales provinces d'accueil des nouveaux arrivants, du moins dans les institutions de la majorité francophone. Jusqu'à l'adoption de la Loi 101 en 1977, les populations d'origine immigrée s'intégraient essentiellement à la majorité anglophone, dont ils fréquentaient massivement les écoles (McAndrew, 2001). De plus, la province connaît un plus haut taux de concentration métropolitaine de l'immigration, ce qui a pour effet d'accentuer le hiatus avec les régions homogènes. L'absence, pour plusieurs, d'une expérience d'intégration des populations immigrantes a un effet certain sur la résistance que génère la transformation de la culture traditionnelle, tant dans l'ensemble de la société qu'au sein des institutions scolaires (McAndrew, 2010).

Le débat sur l'adaptation institutionnelle à la diversité est également rendu plus complexe, d'une part, par la dynamique sociolinguistique qui, malgré les progrès récents du français au sein des populations immigrées, continue d'inquiéter et, d'autre part, par le rapport ambigu qu'entretiennent les Québécois avec la religion et avec son expression dans l'espace public, influencé par le modèle républicain français, souvent idéalisé outre-Atlantique (Milot, 2008).

Le Québec se distingue également sur le plan des idéologies relatives au pluralisme et de l'offre scolaire, mais ces deux réalités jouent dans des sens contraires, ce qui fait qu'on ne saurait parler d'un modèle québécois d'interculturalisme qui s'opposerait à un modèle canadien de multiculturalisme (McAndrew, 2009).

Sur le plan normatif, depuis les années 70, les gouvernements québécois successifs se sont opposés à certains éléments de l'approche multiculturelle classique, aujourd'hui largement critiqués, tels l'essentialisation des appartenances ou la folklorisation des cultures. On trouve donc dans les politiques d'éducation interculturelle québécoises un accent plus marqué sur l'importance de l'échange intercommunautaire et de la transformation réciproque ainsi que sur la promotion des valeurs civiques communes comme limites à la prise en compte de la diversité. Cependant, essentiellement préoccupé par les enjeux linguistiques et culturels, l'interculturalisme québécois ne constitue pas une réponse particulièrement adéquate à la marginalisation ou à l'exclusion, tout comme d'ailleurs le multiculturalisme souvent attaqué à cet égard (Helly, 2009).

De plus, malgré l'importance accordée dans les discours normatifs à la lutte contre la ghettoïsation et le repli communautaire, sur le terrain, la ségrégation scolaire demeure élevée au Québec. La déconfessionnalisation tardive des structures scolaires (1998), l'importance du réseau scolaire associé à la communauté anglophone

et surtout sa concentration à Montréal, ainsi que le financement substantiel des écoles privées, y compris les écoles ethnoreligieuses, contribuent à ce que les contacts entre élèves de toutes origines y soient moins fréquents que dans bien des contextes au Canada (McAndrew, 2010).

CONCLUSION : LA SPÉCIFICITÉ QUÉBÉCOISE ?

De ce bref survol, on peut retenir que la prise en compte de la diversité à l'école au Québec est influencée par trois dynamiques. L'ensemble des établissements partagent d'abord des caractéristiques qui induisent une ouverture appréciable au pluralisme à travers un modèle de prise en compte raisonnée de la diversité. Parmi celles-ci, trois sont partagées avec les écoles des autres provinces canadiennes : les encadrements juridiques, les caractéristiques relativement favorables des flux migratoires liés à la politique de sélection ainsi que la conception de l'apprentissage et du rôle de l'école au sein de la communauté. Une dernière, les politiques et idéologies québécoises en matière d'intégration et de relations interculturelles, est plus spécifique, puisque le gouvernement québécois a défini sa propre approche dans ce domaine, entre le républicanisme français et le multiculturalisme.

Mais l'expérience québécoise de rapport à la diversité est aussi marquée par des différences qui font coexister des modèles d'équilibre variés, mais compatibles, entre pluralisme et valeurs communes. Celles-ci tiennent d'abord aux différences individuelles au sein du personnel scolaire qui peut adhérer plus ou moins à l'une ou l'autre des idéologies mises de l'avant, et, de fait, pratique souvent un syncrétisme innovateur selon la spécificité des enjeux auxquels il fait face. Cependant, on note également des différences plus structurelles liées d'une part au clivage entre Montréal et les régions et, d'autre part, à la composition ethnolinguistique des établissements. Ces deux réalités ont une influence marquée sur l'importance accordée à la prise en compte de la diversité ainsi que sur les enjeux considérés comme les plus urgents.

Une troisième dynamique est toutefois plus préoccupante : l'existence et la cristallisation de pratiques systémiques et pédagogiques relevant de modèles ségrégatifs ou assimilationnistes, en porte-à-faux avec l'interculturalisme. Notons à cet égard l'échec à générer un espace scolaire partagé et la persistance d'une forte ségrégation scolaire des élèves immigrés et francophones. On peut aussi s'interroger sur les effets inégalitaires, ou assimilationnistes, de la dissociation de l'éducation interculturelle et de l'éducation multilingue, ainsi que de la popularité d'un modèle strict de laïcité chez nombre d'intervenants scolaires.

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DIVERSITY: THE CANADIAN SCENE

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ABSTRACT

An examination of the development and salient features of multiculturalism and interculturalism as they have evolved over the years. Certain areas where there is a degree of harmony between the two are identified, as are divergences, and their influence on the treatment of minorities is assessed. The major source of difference between multiculturalism and interculturalism policies lies in the emphasis given by the latter to reinforcing the “French core” in Québec. Although minority interests were also given a significant place in the Bouchard-Taylor report, they have been down played by the authorities in comparison with the importance attached to the need for integration with the majority culture. The two models will doubtless remain in opposition to one another. This is not likely to assist in developing coherent approaches that serve the interests of the minorities while reinforcing their participation in the larger community of which they are a part.

INTRODUCTION

Some observers suggest that multiculturalism and interculturalism are not altogether dissimilar. Others are of the view that they are no more than two ships that pass in the night, with no likelihood of coming together. At the level of principles, it is arguable that there are a number of similarities; but in practice, especially in the political arena, the latter thesis probably prevails. Let me try to elaborate.

First, on the matter of definitions, the 1988 Multiculturalism Act provides that it is “the policy of the Government of Canada to “...recognize and promote the understanding that multiculturalism reflects the cultural and racial diversity of Canadian society and acknowledges the freedom of all members of Canadian society to preserve, enhance and share their cultural heritage...”¹. Interculturalism, for its part, has been defined by Messrs. Bouchard and Taylor, the authors of a major report to the Québec government, as “A policy or model that advocates harmonious relations between cultures based on intensive exchanges centred on an integration process that does not seek to eliminate differences while fostering the development of a common identity”². It is not difficult to discern differences here, and I shall return to them below. First, however, it will be worthwhile to develop the background and major features of the two policies more fully.

MULTICULTURALISM

To begin with, it should be noted that multiculturalism did not spring into being with Prime Minister Trudeau’s statement announcing the policy in 1971. It started with the Royal Commission on Bilingualism and Biculturalism³, which was appointed by his predecessor, Lester B. Pearson, as one of the first acts of his new government in July 1963. The Commissioners’ terms of reference required them to recommend “what steps should be taken to develop the Canadian Federation on the basis of an equal partnership between the two founding races, taking into account the contribution made by the other ethnic groups”⁴. The idea of “two founding races”, notably in its “two nations” variant, was a major feature of the Canadian political scene at the time, particularly in the 1968 election. It was to haunt Canadian political discourse for many years, and, for that matter, still does. Politics aside, however, it is unquestionable that the “biculturalism” or “two founding races” idea took precedence over the “other ethnic groups” in the Commissioners’ eyes. As they noted early on in their report:

“... the dominating idea in our terms of reference was equal partnership between the two founding races”⁵.

Nevertheless, however close to the hearts of some of the Commissioners it may have been, it had a shaky future ahead of it. The Commission's initial voyages across the country clearly revealed that, particularly in the West, "two founding races" had very limited appeal. As the Commissioners put it: "...when Canadians of Ukrainian origin vigorously stood up against the idea of 'two founding races' it was because they were deeply conscious of having themselves cleared and opened great stretches of territory ... and of having contributed in this way to the 'founding' of a part of modern Canada"⁶. As a result, the Commission's first effort, *A Preliminary Report* already contained one of the earliest uses of the term 'multiculturalism' in a public document.⁷ It is also worth recording that it was used in those days to refer to the situation of persons of Ukrainian, Polish, German, etc., extraction, rather than to individuals of African, Asian or Caribbean origin.

"Multiculturalism" as a full-fledged policy was not to be far behind, spurred on by substantial immigration and the profound changes to our demographic and social makeup that followed with it. In these circumstances, a pure "bicultural" model, with a slight bow to the "contribution of the other ethnic groups", was unsustainable, however painful that fact may have been for some to accept.

In the circumstances, it was clear to the Trudeau government that something had to be done to set the bilingual/multicultural ship back on course. The result, in the first instance, was the Trudeau Declaration to which I have referred above. Delivered in the House of Commons on October 8, 1971, Trudeau's statement set out the Government's new multiculturalism policy, emphasizing that "there cannot be one cultural policy for Canadians of British and French origin, another for the original peoples and yet a third for all others. For although there are two official languages, there is no official culture ...".⁸ I must emphasize that Trudeau did not think that the diverse cultural groupings that constitute our country should live isolated in one or another ethnic enclave. On the contrary, the multiculturalism policy was to have as one of its goals to "assist members of all cultural groups to overcome cultural barriers to full participation in Canadian society". For Trudeau at least, integration and multiculturalism were not conflicting ideas. Another decade was to pass before the multiculturalism policy was given constitutional sanction. The Charter of Rights and Freedoms, adopted in 1982, asserts: "This Charter shall be interpreted in a manner consistent with the preservation and enhancement of the multicultural heritage of Canadians". Some scholars have disputed whether this "interpretive clause" is of major significance, but there can be no doubt that it gives constitutional weight to the policy adopted a decade earlier.

A further important building block in the multicultural structure was put in place by the Progressive Conservative government of Prime Minister Mulroney in the 1980s. Adopted in 1988, the Multiculturalism Act puts flesh on the bones of the multiculturalism policy and the constitutional undertaking. A number of specific commitments are set out in the legislation: it is especially worth noting that it requires the responsible Minister, *inter alia*, to "Encourage and assist ... full participation in Canadian society ... of individuals of all origins..."; and to "overcome any discriminatory barriers ... based on race or national or ethnic origin...".⁹

All of this makes it plain, in my view, that what we have achieved in Canada, whatever may be the case in other countries, does not set the integrationist and multicultural models in opposition one to another. We are trying both to encourage immigrants to be proud of their diverse backgrounds *and* to participate fully in Canadian society.

INTERCULTURALISM

And what of the background to the interculturalism policy? There is no doubt that it has been the subject of attention in Québec for some time. However, I think it is fair to say that it attracted nothing like the interest it has since the publication of the Bouchard-Taylor report in 2008.

The report sets out their judgment that;

...the Canadian multiculturalism model does not appear to be well suited to conditions in Québec, for four reasons:

*a) anxiety over language is not an important factor in English Canada; b) minority insecurity is not found there; c) there is no longer a majority ethnic group in Canada (citizens of British origin account for 34% of the population, while citizens of French-Canadian origin make up a strong majority of the population in Québec, i.e. roughly 77%); d) it follows that in English Canada, there is less concern for the preservation of a founding cultural tradition than for national cohesion.*¹⁰

And Louise Beaudoin, speaking on behalf of the Parti Québécois, has put the matter even more succinctly: "... multiculturalism is not a Québec value. It may be a Canadian one but it is not a Québec one". On this basis, it is argued that there is a fundamental difference between multiculturalism and interculturalism. However, I have to say that my own reading of the Bouchard-Taylor study itself

does not unequivocally support that position. The authors set down eleven criteria, which they suggested would serve to define the idea more precisely, a number of which cast a somewhat different light on the differences and similarities between the two policies. For example, it is stated that “The principle of multiple identities is recognized, as is the right to maintain an affiliation with one’s ethnic group.” Or, “For those citizens who so wish, it is desirable for initial affiliations to survive...” And, “Multilingualism is encouraged at the same time as French as the common public language”. And again, “To facilitate the integration of immigrants and their children, it is useful to provide them with the means to preserve their mother tongue, at least at the outset.” And, finally, “Constant interaction between citizens of different origins leads to the development of a new identity and a new culture”¹¹.

For these reasons, I have suggested in my book, *Transforming Rights*¹² that although Bouchard and Taylor were at pains to differentiate their view of Québec “interculturalism” from the “multiculturalism” of the rest of Canada, there are various aspects which resemble one another¹³. The major distinction between the two is of course the emphasis in their schema on the “French-speaking core.” This is an important matter: there is no denying that many Francophone Québécois are convinced that vigorous measures are required to maintain that core intact, especially in so far as it is perceived to be threatened by the accommodation of minority communities that was the subject of the Bouchard-Taylor report.

It is also worth re-emphasizing that, in the rest of Canada, there is no such conception, for the majority language is not at risk, and cannot be, on a continent where English is abidingly dominant. It therefore does not need to be safeguarded in the way that many Francophone Québécois consider imperative for the French language in that province. With that exception, I would argue that the Bouchard-Taylor approach to minorities is in some measure in harmony with the multiculturalism policy that I have been describing.

Of course, that is not the end of the story, for there is a difference between the Bouchard-Taylor report as such and the political response to it. The reaction of the Québec government to the report was mixed. In a statement in the legislature on 22 May 2008, the day it was published, Premier Charest thanked the commissioners and asserted that “Their report will have an effect.”¹⁴ He went on, however, to put more emphasis on the “French core” aspects of the report, including, for example, reinforcing “francization prior to the arrival of immigrants,” and less on the accommodation-of-differences side that I have commented on above. None of this is surprising, as the fallout in nationalist circles on the appearance of the report was less than favourable.

On one front, the legislature moved quickly in rejecting the recommendation that the crucifix above the chair of the speaker of the National Assembly be relocated. It was unanimously agreed that it was a significant part of Québec’s “heritage”, and, as such, should remain where it was. Québec government plans to emphasize “francization” and male-female equality were also confirmed, as was the intention to require immigrants to sign a declaration including a commitment on these issues. For the rest, Premier Charest suggested that the government would act after further study. However, there have in fact been very few concrete results to date, particularly with respect to implementing the recommendations of the report.

Indeed, one is inclined to see more than a little substance to Jack Jedwab’s argument that;

*The idea that Québec now practices interculturalism is based more on myth than on any reality whatever. For a number of years, those who suggest that Québec is intercultural have enjoyed the luxury of attacking the Canadian approach in the matter of diversity without offering a viable, practical alternative.*¹⁵

And from there, his further observation that results from polling by Léger Marketing show that, in terms of contacts with individuals or groups or openness to “dialogues interculturels”, Québec society is less involved with its minorities than respondents in “English Canada” At the same time there have been two pieces of draft legislation in this general area before the National Assembly. The first, Bill 391, *An Act to assert the fundamental values of the Québec nation*, tabled by the PQ in 2009, would amend the Québec Charter to “take into account Québec’s historical heritage and ... fundamental values”, inter alia by establishing a hierarchy of values that would give precedence to gender equality and secularism. It is not a government bill and has not been passed, but it apparently remains on the order paper. The second, Bill 94, was tabled by the responsible minister in 2010. It would establish guidelines with respect to accommodation, among other things by forbidding the provision of public services to persons whose faces are covered, a provision that must clearly be seen as directed against Muslim women, even though the bill purports to underline state neutrality in matters of religion. Thus far, it too has not been enacted.¹⁶

Finally, there is an interesting disconnect to be observed between the policy makers and the public at large. Jack Jedwab reported in May of 2011 that “a survey of 1000 Québécois ... reveals that a majority are not clear as to the difference between multiculturalism and interculturalism ... Moreover the lack of clarity is shared by both Québec Francophones and non-Francophones”.

Further, he continued, “It has been suggested that the section of the Canadian Charter that calls for the Government of Canada to preserve and enhance the multicultural heritage of Canadians is unpopular amongst Canadians. Yet when roughly the same provision is applied to Québec it meets with substantial approval from the provincial population.”¹⁷

SUMMARY AND CONCLUSIONS

On the one hand, we have a multiculturalism policy articulated by both Liberal and Conservative governments over a period of some two decades in the 1970s and 1980s. A programme that comprises a major policy statement delivered by the Prime Minister of the day, a constitutional clause enshrining the policy, and legislation on multiculturalism and employment equity that gives concrete substance to the whole enterprise. On the other, we have a major report to the Québec government, which has been left to slumber for the most part. Proposals for an ‘interculturalist’ approach have been discussed broadly, but in spite of a recommendation from the commissioners that the government enshrine interculturalism in a statute, a policy statement or a declaration¹⁸, none of them has been forthcoming. There have of course been any number of observations and comments, and even an international symposium on the matter. However, thus far, there has been no legislation proposed, except for the two bills I have mentioned, neither of which has been adopted.

In the end, where are multiculturalism and interculturalism going as a result of all this? We are left with two ostensibly competing models, not an unfamiliar situation as between Québec and “the Rest of Canada”. This situation is not likely to change. However, it is not likely either to advance the cause of coherent approaches to minority communities that serve their interests, qua minorities, while at the same time encouraging their full participation in the larger society of which they form a part.

NOTES

- ¹ Canadian Multiculturalism Act, 1988, s. 3 (1)(a).
- ² Québec, Report of the Consultation Commission on Accommodation Practices Related to Cultural Differences, 2008 (Gérard Bouchard and Charles Taylor, co-chairs), hereafter, the Bouchard-Taylor report, Appendix C: 286.
- ³ Royal Commission on Bilingualism and Biculturalism, hereafter the RCBB.
- ⁴ RCBB, Preliminary Report, Ottawa, Queen’s Printer 1965: 151.
- ⁵ RCBB Preliminary Report: 31.
- ⁶ RCBB, Preliminary Report: 126.
- ⁷ RCBB, Preliminary Report: 127.
- ⁸ The Rt. Hon. P.E. Trudeau, statement in the House of Commons, October 8, 1971.
- ⁹ The Canadian Multiculturalism Act, 1988, sections 5(1) (d) and (g).
- ¹⁰ Bouchard-Taylor report, abridged edition: 39.
- ¹¹ Bouchard-Taylor report, abridged edition: 40-41.
- ¹² Toronto, University of Toronto Press, 2009.
- ¹³ Yalden, Transforming Rights: 177.
- ¹⁴ Statement by Premier Jean Charest in the Québec National assembly, May 22, 2008.
- ¹⁵ Jack Jedwab, *le Devoir*. May 24, 2011; my translation.
- ¹⁶ For a fuller discussion of these issues, see Pearl Eliadis, “Canada’s Clash of Culturalisms”, a contribution to the “International Symposium On Interculturalism: A Québec-Europe Dialogue”, Montreal, 25-27 May 2011.
- ¹⁷ Jack Jedwab, Executive Director, Association for Canadian Studies, May 23, 2011.
- ¹⁸ Bouchard-Taylor report, abridged edition: 91.

INTERCULTURALISM, NATIONALISM AND LANGUAGE IN QUÉBEC: A CRITICAL SOCIOLINGUISTIC APPROACH

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ABSTRACT

The author explores how social difference and its parameters of inclusion/exclusion that orient identity and belonging to the nation-state are constructed in Québec intercultural discourse, particularly under the dynamic conditions of late modernity and globalization. In highlighting the paucity of diverse critical approaches to language and nation in the current body of literature on interculturalism in Québec, this paper makes a case for why critical sociolinguistic approaches have an integral role to play in scholarly debate about diversity and integration in the Canadian context.

INTRODUCTION

Language has always served as a key terrain across which processes of social organization, identification with and orientation to the nation in Canada have been structured. Over the last 40 years, we have witnessed the development of two dominant visions in response to the tensions that language and ethno-cultural diversity present for the modern Canadian nation-state: multiculturalism and, more recently, Québec's interculturalism. Complex debates about language and its relationship to culture and identity have been at the heart of the principal normative (and, to some extent, the statistical or empirical) debates about the differences and similarities between these two ideologies.

Drawing on critical approaches to linguistic and social theory, this paper will explore how social difference and its attending parameters of inclusion/exclusion that orient identity and belonging to the nation-state are constructed in Québec intercultural discourse, particularly under the dynamic conditions of late modernity (Giddens, 1991) and globalization. Within the limited scope of this article, I will consider how certain norms and beliefs about language are or are not represented in discourses of Québec interculturalism, and what they reveal about contextualized patterns of nation building in the Canadian context. This paper submits that critical sociolinguistic approaches have an integral role to play in scholarly debate about diversity and integration in the Canadian context.

NORMALIZING NATIONAL DISCOURSES: THE RISE OF INTERCULTURALISM IN QUÉBEC

While national discourses are always necessarily in flux, Canadian multiculturalism has been normalized to a significant extent through the machinations of intellectual production over the last 40 years or so. Québec interculturalism, on the other hand, has only recently shifted onto center-stage in academic discussion, and the processes of conventionalizing it as a national discourse in Québec are relatively new. This, then, is an important time to turn our attention there. Where is this discourse coming from? How does it construct who is Québécois(e) and how to perform Québécoisité? Given that it is not officially codified in law, who is perceived to own, regulate or safeguard the ideology?

While interculturalism in Québec has been loosely explored as a model of social integration from a range of perspectives since the 1970s, its recent proliferation in scholarly literature found impetus in the 2007-2008 Commission on Reasonable Accommodation headed by Charles Taylor and Gérard Bouchard. It is not insignificant that Bouchard has established himself as one of the key producers of intercultural discourse in Québec through extensive publications and public lectures on the subject, as well as through his role as the Chair of the *International Symposium on Interculturalism* held in Montreal in May of 2011.

A growing body of social science literature, notably in the fields of sociology and political science, has contributed to the development of intercultural discourse. Much attention has been paid to how interculturalism should be defined (Bouchard, 2011; Rocher, Labelle, Field & Icart, 2008) and considering its viability as an 'alternative' model of integration designed to manage the challenges that diversity presents for majority/minority relations, religion, language, culture, nation and state in the Québec context, particularly in relation to Canadian multiculturalism (Baril, 2008; McAndrew, 2007; Labelle, 2008; Rocher & Labelle, 2010). This new wave of research has been successful in refining a previously imprecise approach to immigration, social cohesion and cultural pluralism. Yet there exists a paucity of empirically based sociological research that pushes beyond normative approaches to critically explore why particular configurations of interculturalism have gained traction in Québec and why now, through what kind of ontological perspectives, what kind of significance they have and for whom.

Why should this matter? While discourses of nation in Québec have morphed conceptually over time (from "traditionalist" to "modern" to emergent "pluralist" or "globalizing") in response to various political, social and economic conditions (Heller and Labrie, 2003), certain patterns of social organization and boundaries of belonging between the 'nous et eux' have arguably been reproduced at every stage by the dominant stakeholders of the national project. It is important to remember that the dominant majority who make up what Blad and Couton (2009) have called "the nation-bearing Francophone Québécois" remain the dominant ethnic group in this context. As Juteau writes, when "ethnicity is only superficially discarded, [...] it remains operative on the ground level, as part and parcel of hierarchical social relations" (Juteau, 2004, p. 96).

This should prompt us to ask whether or not Québec interculturalism fits within – or ruptures – contextualized patterns of nation-building.

Gauging from the literature, dominant normative expressions of interculturalism in Québec appear to be consistent (from varying perspectives and across a spectrum of time and space) in their recognition of and commitment to pluralism and democracy, but also in the assertion that Québec is a distinct nation, that the French language is the key defining feature or 'site of convergence' for this nation, and that the Francophone majority must be respected as the dominant culture into which all other groups must integrate (Bouchard & Taylor, 2008; Baril, 2008; Bouchard, 2011 & 2010; Gagnon, 2000; Labelle, 2008 & 2000; Labelle, Rocher & Rocher, 1995). From

a critical perspective, this begs some contextualization: why has this particular configuration of interculturalism gained broader currency in Québec and why now?

Scant attention has been paid to the fact that the rise of Québec interculturalism comes at a time when rapidly changing social and economic conditions brought about by globalization have issued a direct challenge to the modernist idea that nations are impermeable, homogenous social and political units tethered exclusively to one language (Heller, 2010). Thus we may reasonably ask: why the investment in a model of social organization that insists first and foremost upon language as the nodal point around which a national identity and sense of belonging must collect?

LANGUAGE, MODERNITY AND NATION IN QUÉBEC

Québec's situation within these broader global challenges must be understood within the historical and political context of its complex colonial past and its internal struggles to reconcile a Francophone population that self-identifies as both the majority, dominant culture in the territory of Québec and as a minority culture in the broader predominantly Anglophone Canadian nation-state (operationalized under the rubric of multiculturalism) and the larger North American continent.

It helps to look at how language came to be the central marker of the Québec nation and the medium through which ideas about the nation-state are legitimized. Language did not emerge as an axis of nationalism until around the 19th century (Baumann & Briggs, 2003; Hobsbawm, 1990). With the passage of modernity, language became an important medium through which people could be described and standardized. Uniform languages became associated with specific territories and populations, making them easier to control. A shared language enabled the construction of social unity across perceptions of shared values, behaviors and beliefs (Heller, 2006).

Prior to the 1960s, French Canadian identity was not defined by territorial parameters but along ideological and social lines (*la foi, la race, la langue*). At the moment when Québec adopted a statist orientation to nation building during the Quiet Revolution, processes of secularization began and the French language became the central tool in the political mobilization of the Francophone majority in Québec, and the key symbol of its national legitimacy (Heller, 2007). Heller and Labrie (2003) have explored this shifting discourse as a conscious move by Francophone elites in their efforts to envision a source of power other than the Catholic Church in Québec. An emphasis on language bridged the traditionalist and modernist discourses of nation, creating a sense of continuity and

coherence. Language was mobilized because it was perceived as a more palatable symbol of identity and belonging within the new modern national discourse built around civic ideas and democratic principles (i.e., anyone can learn a language and it is not as 'fixed' as race or religion, etc.). This strategy would not have worked for a pan-French Canadian population because they represented only a quarter of the Canadian population. The province of Québec – a conceptually bounded territory where Francophones made up 85% of the population – made the most sense strategically.

RE-IMAGINING LANGUAGE AND THE NATION

There are powerful imaginings at work in the manufacturing of the Québec nation, as there are with any national project. To construct a nation as a natural thing characterized by its 'own' language and culture requires agents to build, among other things, national discourses. Scholarly literature on interculturalism then must reflect a deeper engagement with the social engineering at the core of national projects in the contemporary Canadian-Québec context as they unfold under conditions of late-modernity and globalization, particularly across the field of language which has been largely under-theorized in the pertinent literature. Critical approaches to social and linguistic theory have a role to play in this debate because they help to break down unchallenged assumptions of language as a neutral concept. In this frame, we can understand language as a terrain upon which we can interpret struggles over power or competing claims to protected resources, capital and categories of identity and belonging (Bourdieu, 1982; Heller, 2010).

Normative, standardized ideas about the French language and its role in constructing a 'culture of convergence' based on fixed ideas of Québécoisité are being challenged by new forms of code-switching practices, cultural expression and accents and the different kinds of bodies, values and histories that produce and circulate them (see Sarkar, 2008). Demographic research and empirical data suggest that French itself is not in danger of disappearing in Québec, noting that the use of French among Anglophones and Allophones is steadily on the rise (Lamarre & Pagé, 2010). However, bi- and multilingualism are an increasing reality in Québec, particularly in the region of Montreal where 75% of immigrants to the province reside. Québec is also facing a large demographic shift vis-à-vis its aging population and low birthrate among 'old stock' Francophones of French European origin and high rates of immigration to balance this dwindling

population. As evidenced during the Bouchard-Taylor Commission, increasing diversity and corresponding demands for recognition or accommodation by ethno-linguistic, ethno-cultural and minority groups has pushed many people (variously situated) to think about what identity and belonging to the Québec nation-state mean within the parameters of modernity and liberal democracy.

CONCLUSION

In the wake of the *International Symposium on Interculturalism* in Montreal, Annick Germain bluntly questioned whether or not Québec interculturalism is simply a means of reassuring the Caucasian Francophone majority (Germain, 2011). Her critique is provocative because it exposes the tensions over language and ethno-cultural diversity that the discourse is arguably constructed to 'manage'. To my knowledge, her question received no direct scholarly engagement, at least in published form. It is also notable that earlier critiques of the structural inequality along lines of language and culture in "institutional research" on interculturalism and multiculturalism in Québec, together with appeals for more "oppositional research" in these fields also do not appear to have been incorporated into contemporary debate in the social science literature in Québec (see Belhachmi, 1997). Conspicuous by its absence in the literature is active and reciprocal intellectual debate between the dominant Francophone majority (the main producers of intercultural discourse in Québec) and Aboriginal scholars and Québec scholars of varied socio-linguistic and ethno-cultural backgrounds. This is important because as a producer of intercultural discourse myself, I am conscious of how historical and socially situated subjectivities influence how we perceive and are perceived by others and how we mutually and discursively position each other. These things influence not only the shape and contours of our research, but also our own ontological assumptions about what it means to identify with or belong to Québec and broader Canadian societies through the prism of dominant normative expressions of interculturalism.

As Québec society stands at the cusp of being re-defined by massive generational shifts, and the processes of immigration and globalization that will shape the 21st century, it is one thing to highlight the paucity of diverse critical approaches to language and nation in the current body of literature on interculturalism. My hope is that the discussion moving forward will pivot bravely on why these things still matter in the Canadian context.

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LOOKING IN-‘TER’-MULTICULTURALISM: COMPARING THE FEDERAL AND QUÉBEC PROVINCIAL DISCOURSES AND PRACTICES

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ABSTRACT

This paper compares policy statements and programs arising from the federal government's multiculturalism branch with that of the Québec Ministry of Immigration and Cultural Communities which focuses on interculturalism. It is suggested that the differences between the two are far less important than some observers would have us believe and that proponents of interculturalism should look more carefully at what the Government of Canada does when it comes to addressing diversity before taking aim at multiculturalism.

Many Québec observers contend that the province's way of dealing with immigration, integration and diversity is different from that of the government of Canada. Québec characterizes its approach as intercultural as opposed to multicultural, which underlies the policy and program adopted by the federal government. Québec experts claim that the fundamental difference between the two is not only a matter of theory but also practice. In theory, interculturalism aims at promoting cross-cultural interaction between a defined majority group and various identifiable minorities. By contrast, multiculturalism purportedly supports the cultural heritage of various identifiable minority groups, and in doing so does not take into account a majority/minority relationship. In practice therefore the government of Québec would be supporting cross-cultural exchange while the government of Canada would be funding the language and cultural programming of ethnic minority groups. In both cases presumably there would be support for diversity training although in the case of interculturalism there would be some emphasis on

educating the minority about majority cultures and values. When examining the programs supported by the federal government and the Québec government, the practice does not seem to flow from the theoretical difference just described and yet some Québécois insist otherwise. It can only be assumed this insistence arises from a failure to sufficiently examine the programs offered by the two levels of government.

If we follow the theory, the intercultural approach would offer softer acknowledgement and/or recognition of the importance of minority ethnic identities than does the government of Canada. Paradoxically, Québec's intercultural approach is overseen by a Ministry that more explicitly recognizes the ethnic communities (the Ministry of Cultural Communities and Immigration) than does the Federal government (Ministry of Citizenship and Immigration). Even the relevant section of the Québec Charter of Rights more directly acknowledges the ethnic communities than does that of the Canadian Charter of Rights...

In fact both levels of government work towards similar goals. Both approaches work at preventing conflict between communities and both the federal and Québec government have roughly similar anti-racism action plans. There is likely more sharing of strategy and best practices between the two levels of government than some might assume and there are program partnerships on such issues as Black History Month and the week of Actions Against Racism.

Below we compare some of the language that is employed by the federal and Québec governments in describing their goals and objectives when it comes to interculturalism and multiculturalism.

The challenge of an intercultural Québec as described is that the provincial government is described as a collective one that aims to achieve societal harmony by favouring the adoption and maintenance of values and principles that unite all citizens of Québec and do so by respecting the individual, cultural and religious differences.

The federal government describes the policy of Canadian multiculturalism as "...fundamental to our belief that all citizens are equal. Multiculturalism ensures that all citizens can keep their identities, can take pride in their ancestry and have a sense of belonging. Acceptance gives Canadians a feeling of security and self-confidence, making them more open to, and accepting of, diverse cultures. The Canadian experience has shown that multiculturalism encourages racial and ethnic harmony and cross-cultural understanding. Through multiculturalism, Canada recognizes the potential of all Canadians, encouraging them to integrate into their society and take an active part in its social, cultural, economic and political affairs."¹

Both the Québec intercultural and federal multicultural policies also have an important programmatic dimension that invites various individuals and organizations to submit projects and proposals in support of the respective objectives pursued within each program. Le Programme d'appui aux relations civiques et interculturelles (PARCI) est un programme d'aide financière à l'intention des organismes qui réalisent des projets visant le développement ainsi que le maintien de relations harmonieuses et constructives entre les groupes et personnes de toutes origines qui forment le Québec d'aujourd'hui.

Les objectifs spécifiques auxquels les projets doivent répondre sont :

- Développer chez les personnes immigrantes et les membres des communautés culturelles la connaissance et la compréhension de la société québécoise : son histoire, ses valeurs et ses institutions démocratiques;
 - Développer chez les Québécoises et Québécois la connaissance et la compréhension de la réalité pluraliste de leur société ainsi que de la contribution des communautés culturelles au développement social, économique et culturel du Québec;
 - Prévenir et combattre les préjugés, la discrimination, l'intolérance, le racisme et l'exclusion basés sur la couleur, l'origine ethnique ou nationale, l'appartenance culturelle ou religieuse des personnes;
 - Prévenir les tensions intercommunautaires, et en faciliter la résolution le cas échéant, en soutenant le rapprochement interculturel.²
- For its part, all the rhetoric aside about the profound differences between the two policies, the multiculturalism program supports initiatives that are similar to those identified in Québec's intercultural program. The principal difference, however, lies in the majority-minority dynamic that underlies the intercultural program where, for example, it distinguishes between sensitizing cultural communities to Québec realities on the one hand and on the other sensitizing Québécois to the pluralistic realities of the society. How the very ethnically diverse Montreal English-speaking population fits into this dynamic is difficult to determine.
- **Ethno-racial Minorities Participate in Public Decision-Making**
Assist in the development of strategies that facilitate full and active participation of ethnic, religious, and cultural communities in Canadian society.
 - **Communities and the Broad Public Engage in Informed Dialogue and Sustained Action to Combat Racism**
Increase public awareness, understanding and informed public dialogue about multiculturalism, racism and cultural diversity in Canada.
Facilitate collective community initiatives and responses to ethnic, racial, religious, and cultural conflict and hate-motivated activities.
 - **Public Institutions Eliminate Systemic Barriers**
Improve the ability of public institutions to respond to ethnic, religious and cultural diversity by assisting in the identification and removal of barriers to equitable access and by supporting the involvement of these communities in public decision-making processes.

- **Federal Policies, Programs and Services Respond to Ethno-racial Diversity**

Encourage and assist in the development of inclusive policies, programs, and practices within federal departments and agencies so that they may meet their obligations under the *Canadian Multiculturalism Act*.

One keen analyst who has worked both in the federal multiculturalism program and the Québec Ministry of Immigration and Cultural Communities believes that: the differences between multicultural and intercultural policies are more semantic than real. Amy Nugent (2006) contends that: “Popular discourse and much academic analysis seem to take their cue from the adoption of the word interculturalism itself, suggesting a different approach to that of multiculturalism, further suggesting cohesion and integration over fragmentation and atomization. The policies and their broad aims do not reveal this difference. Rather, it is evident that the policies are very similar in their origins, aims, and evolution. Each policy is limited by individual fundamental rights and freedoms as guaranteed in bills of rights and by the jurisdiction’s respective language laws...”

INTERCULTURAL RELATIONS POLICY?

It is worth noting that there is no single document or policy statement on “interculturalism” in Québec however the Ministry of Cultural Communities and Immigration says the policy is built upon the principles of the Québec Charter of Rights and Freedoms (1975), the Charter of the French Language (1977) and the Policy Statement on Immigration and Integration (Let’s Build Québec Together-1990). Interculturalism is intended to be based on values and principles that underpin the cohesion of the society. Each Québécois is supposed to subscribe to these values – in other words they should adhere to the human rights and language Charters respectively.

One of the important dimensions of Québec’s intercultural program is the need to sensitize immigrants to the socio-cultural realities of the society. In introducing immigrants to Québec society the official documentation furnished to new arrivals makes virtually no mention of the existence of English-speaking communities across the province. In its February 2005 guide “Learning about Québec: Guide for my Successful Integration” – intended for use by new arrivals, the Ministry of Cultural Communities and Immigration identifies the following values and foundations upon which Québec society is based:

UNDERSTANDING THE VALUES AND FOUNDATIONS OF QUÉBEC SOCIETY

To successfully adapt to your new environment requires an understanding of the fundamental values of Québec society.

Québec is a democratic, French-speaking, pluralist society. To adapt to and fully participate in this new environment, you must be prepared to discover and respect the fundamental values expressed in the *Québec Charter of Human Rights and Freedoms*. The Charter defines the right to equality, prohibits all forms of discrimination, and specifies the political, judicial, economic and social rights of citizens.

Québec’s political system is based on freedom, equality and citizen participation in associations and political parties. Native-born and naturalized citizens, both, elect their representatives at all levels of government in general elections. The state is secular. The separation of political and religious powers is a fundamental value of Québec society.

Québec society favours settling disputes through negotiation. The violent expression of ethnic, political or religious rivalry or hatred is not tolerated. All Québécois, both native-born and immigrants, have the right to freely choose their lifestyle, values, opinions and religion. Everyone has the responsibility to obey all laws, even those that are incompatible with their religion or personal values. The Québec government condemns racism and is committed to encouraging the full participation of everyone in the economic, social and cultural development of Québec, regardless of colour, religion, ethnic or national origin.³

In 2008, the Québec Minister of Immigration and Cultural Communities established a five-year plan entitled «**La diversité : une valeur ajoutée** : Plan d’action gouvernemental pour favoriser la participation de tous à l’essor du Québec, 2008-2013.» The plan describes intercultural relations as relatively harmonious in Québec. It adds however that daily interaction in diverse settings can be affected by prejudice towards certain cultural communities and by attitudes of rejection, hostility or exclusion.

It vaunts the merits of a real intercultural dialogue. Ce dialogue inviterait «...non seulement de connaître et de comprendre les autres cultures, mais aussi de repenser ses propres valeurs, ses attitudes et ses comportements. Les

personnes qui participent à des activités de rapprochement interculturel peuvent ainsi mieux résister aux préjugés, relativiser les différences culturelles, faire une analyse plus adéquate des situations et adopter des comportements plus respectueux des droits de tous.»

Les conditions propices au rapprochement interculturel doivent être mieux aménagées. Les échanges entre personnes de toutes origines sont à encourager, de même que la participation à des projets communs. Une meilleure connaissance de l'apport de l'immigration et de la contribution des Québécois des communautés culturelles à l'essor du Québec contribuerait à éliminer des préjugés, à faire comprendre les besoins et les aspirations de chacun et à permettre des échanges sains et constructifs, dans le respect des différences.

The Québec Ministry insists upon the need to enhance openness to diversity. To do so it proposes two measures :

- (1) renforcer la compréhension de la réalité des Québécois des communautés culturelles et à souligner leur apport à la société québécoise. En effet, une meilleure connaissance de la réalité des divers groupes qui composent la société québécoise fait partie des conditions essentielles à des échanges positifs et à l'établissement de liens de solidarité et de coopération dans le cadre de projets communs...développer une compréhension réciproque et à jeter les bases de projets communs. Le sentiment d'appartenance de tous à la société québécoise en sort renforcé.
- (2) souligner les efforts exceptionnels de personnes, d'entreprises et d'institutions en matière de rapprochement interculturel et de lutte contre le racisme et la discrimination. Puisqu'elles servent de modèles pour l'ensemble des Québécois, cette reconnaissance permet d'encourager celles qui ont su innover dans divers milieux et de stimuler les initiatives, tout en faisant connaître plus largement un certain nombre de pratiques exemplaires.

Does such thinking differ markedly from the discourse and approach adopted by the federal government around multiculturalism? An examination of federal programming in the same area does not bear out the difference. The 2010 Multiculturalism Grants and Contribution Program, administered by Citizenship and

Immigration Canada, is entitled *Interaction* which aims at supporting the mandate of Citizenship and Immigration Canada and the *Canadian Multiculturalism Act* by assisting the socio-economic integration of individuals and communities and their contributions to building an integrated and socially cohesive society. Funding under the program will be directed at events that foster intercultural/interfaith understanding, civic memory and pride and respect for core democratic values. Eligibility is based on the demonstration of involvement of more than one single cultural, religious or ethnic community and establishing concrete opportunities for positive interaction among them; fostering intercultural or interfaith understanding, civic memory and pride, and/or respect for core democratic values.

Below is an example of a list of eligible events nearly all of which require partnerships across communities something that most certainly contradicts the charge that federal multiculturalism promotes ethno-specificity. The one possible exception to the emphasis on cross-cultural exchange is support for Black and Asian History Month. Perhaps paradoxically the Québec Ministry also supports the former despite the appearance that it is group specific.

- a "citizenship day" event for young people, organized by a coalition of faith, ethnic or cultural groups.
- musical events that bridge ethnic, cultural or religious communities.
- a sporting activity involving members of various ethnic, cultural or religious communities.
- interfaith dialogues that bring together representatives of Canada's faith groups.
- intercultural dialogues to share cultural heritage, traditions and viewpoints.
- public education events that foster intercultural or interfaith understanding, civic memory and pride, and/or respect for core democratic values.
- community-based celebrations of the historic contributions to Canada of particular ethnic, cultural or religious groups, including in support of initiatives such as Asian Heritage Month and Black History Month.⁴

Is there some evidence to support the contention that Québec interculturalism makes for more harmonious cross-cultural relations than Canadian multiculturalism? If, as some observers insist, this is so then it would be fair

TABLE 1: Total Positive view of selected relationships by Percentage for Canadian Regions, October 2011

TOTAL POSITIVE	MARITIMES	QC	ON	MB/SK	AB	BC
Relations Between Jews and Non-Jews	55%	45%	62%	56%	56%	55%
Relations Between Visible Minorities and Whites	57%	68%	53%	46%	59%	59%
Relations Between Muslims and Non-Muslims	34%	30%	29%	25%	27%	31%

Source: Association for Canadian Studies, Leger Marketing, October 5 2011 highlights/quick_facts/number_of_applicants.php (2011).

to assume that Québécois would see such relationships in a more positive light since the relations evolve in an intercultural as opposed to a multicultural context. Yet survey evidence is at best mixed on the basis of such a test. As observed below, in a survey conducted in October 2011 by the firm Leger Marketing for the Association for Canadian Studies, while Québécois have a more positive view around that state of relations between whites and visible minorities, they are more negative when it comes to relations between Jews and non-Jews and hold roughly similar views over relations between Muslims and non-Muslims when compared with opinion held elsewhere in Canada.

MEDIUM AND MESSAGE: MULTICULTURALISM AND INTERCULTURALISM

While there has been little systematic analysis in the media of the terms multiculturalism and interculturalism, the former has clearly been the object of much greater attention not only outside of Québec but within the province as well. A quick scan of the number of references to the two terms within French and English print media in Québec illustrates the substantial gap in their respective number of references. In the Gesca chain of papers (i.e. *La Presse*, *Le Soleil*, *Le Droit* etc.) over the twelve months February 2011 to February 2012 there were some 430 stories that made reference to the term multiculturalism, www.cyberpresse.ca over the same period in *Le Devoir* www.ledevoir.com there were approximately 95, the same number as there were in the *Montreal Gazette*. www.fpinformart.ca. Many of the stories were negative in tone. But the intercultural alternative was the object of relatively few media references in the province where it is regarded as the cornerstone for the policies aimed at addressing issues of diversity. There were 60 references to the term in the Gesca chain, 34 in *Le Devoir* and 22 in the *Montreal Gazette*. Former Québec Intergovernmental Affairs Minister Benoit Pelletier correctly observes that multiculturalism generally does not get favourable press in Québec. He also rightly points out that it has gotten a significant share of negative press outside of Québec with the *Globe and Mail* going as far as to call for the outright abandonment of the term multiculturalism (Benoit Pelletier, « La délicate gestion de la diversité » 22 juin, 2011⁵).

Still, the media in Québec and elsewhere have not gone out of their way to campaign for the virtues of interculturalism as a discursive alternative and/or the new mantra to redefine our approach to addressing diversity. That's probably a function of the term not being well understood both outside of Québec and within the province.

KNOWLEDGE ABOUT MULTICULTURAL POLICY

A survey conducted by the firm Leger Marketing for the Association for Canadian Studies reveals that some ninety percent of Québécois acknowledge an inability to identify a single project that is funded under the multiculturalism program (ACS-Leger Marketing, June 2010). The figure is indeed high for the population of a province whose opinion makers insist that the people are massively opposed to multiculturalism. Similarly, in the rest of the country nearly half of the population admit being unable to name anything that arises from the multicultural program. And amongst those who did suggest programs arising from multiculturalism quite often the things they identified were incorrect.

Yet another survey reveals that if the distinction between multiculturalism and interculturalism is clear to several Québec opinion makers the province's population is far less certain as to the difference. A survey conducted by the firm Leger Marketing for the Association for Canadian Studies in May 2011 reveals that some 53 percent are not clear on the difference between multi and interculturalism with 35 percent declaring they know the difference and 12 percent not offering a response.

It has been suggested that the section of the Canadian Charter of Rights and Freedoms that calls for the government of Canada to preserve and enhance the multicultural heritage of Canadians is unpopular with many Canadians. Yet when roughly the same formulation is offered in a survey to Québécois it meets with substantial approval from them. That should not be interpreted as implying that various aspects of accommodation of minority cultural and/or religious expression are supported by Québécois. Previous surveys have revealed that a majority of Québécois are unsupportive of selected expressions of religious identities. That said, the term multicultural does not appear to bother Québécois as much as observers sometimes suggest.

If the term interculturalism has not caught on with the general public it is also because it appears poorly defined beyond the emphasis on cross cultural exchange. Clearly support for cross cultural exchange is not something that separates Québécois from other Canadians as there is wide support for such exchange. The difference appears to centre around the preferred partners for such exchange with Québec officials suggesting that it should focus on majority and minority dialogue while federal officials wanting to build dialogue where inter-communal problems or prejudices persist. It is unclear however whether that distinction is applied in practice by government around the basis for cross-cultural exchange. There has been little research done to examine what the actual role of government is in regards to cross-cultural exchange and dialogue.

Can we measure the commitment to interculturalism? Although there is no specific barometer that measures the degree of cross-cultural activity it is possible to consider the degree of contact between identifiable groups (be they majority or minority). This can be tested by considering such things as actual contacts with members of particular groups, the number of friends one has of diverse backgrounds, the diversity of the workplace, whether someone would like to live in a culturally diverse neighbourhood, the degree to which someone has been involved in a cross-cultural exchange, etc. Based on national surveys that have asked such questions, Québécois do not appear to be more interculturally engaged than other Canadians. Demographic considerations such as the regional concentration of Québec Francophones in areas where there are relatively few ethnic minorities undoubtedly play an important role in this regard, nonetheless, it raises questions about the presumed difference between Québécois and other Canadians when it comes to interculturalism in practice.

Not surprisingly therefore, the youth wing of the governing Québec political party and the leader of the opposition agree that the concept of interculturalism needs to be better defined before introducing any law that reflects such an approach (*La Presse canadienne*, 15 août 2011).

MULTICULTURALISM, INTERCULTURALISM AND QUÉBEC LANGUAGE AND ETHNIC MINORITIES

How are Anglophone and Allophone Québécois reflected in intercultural discourse and practice as adopted by provincial authorities? It remains unclear. Since the cross-cultural element of the intercultural program is guided by the idea that it is Francophones that are responsible for immigrant integration it follows that support for intercultural exchange implies fostering contact between the minority ethnic communities and the French-language majority. In theory therefore the impression that is often offered is that Québec interculturalism stresses cultural exchange and the promotion of the bilateral relationship between 'rooted' Francophones and minority ethno-cultural groups. It is not clear whether in programmatic terms this is how intergroup relations are constructed in Québec. It is not clear that this is the way relationships evolve on the ground.

As observed, both the federal multicultural and Québec intercultural policies and programs are guided by a set of principles that are not binding upon the population so that individuals and institutions within Québec can choose the approach to the management of diversity that they feel is best suited to their demographic circumstances and their identity needs. As the English-speaking community of

Québec does not have a single dominant ethnic group, the bilateral "logic" of an intercultural approach is not easily adapted to its circumstances and hence the multicultural model may be more appealing.

Institutionally, Québec's English language organizations do not incorporate the vocabulary of interculturalism within their mandates. In its mission statement on diversity, the English Montreal School Board is more inclined to use the term multiculturalism. It describes its approach as follows: "The EMSB welcomes and respects the ethnic and cultural diversity of its student population. It is estimated that more than 50 different cultural groups are represented within the EMSB. Our goal is to foster the successful integration of ethno-cultural groups into social life through various means, including the provision of in-service training for staff, and the development of methods for creating learning environments free of prejudice, stereotyping and discrimination."...A "Glossary of Key Terms" in the area of Multicultural Education has been developed and distributed to schools to familiarize administrators, teachers and staff in general with terms such as anti-racist education and heritage languages. A revised 1999 edition of the international calendar, containing the dates of religious and national holidays worldwide, was also prepared and distributed to all schools".⁶

When taking into account the important percentage of immigrants that are English-speakers it is inevitable that English-language institutions will be involved in the process of managing diversity. Failure to acknowledge this reality will dash any hope for a consensus amongst all Québécois around best practices in the management of diversity and the accommodation-however reasonable-of recent immigrants. Ultimately it may encourage immigrants to see some institutions as more accommodating and/or inclusive than others with the inevitable consequences for the integration process.

In an editorial entitled "Inter/multiculturalism, and what's really at issue", the *Montreal Gazette* suggests that differences between the two are exaggerated and that the champions of interculturalism give the impression that the principal challenge is for immigrants to adapt to Québec culture when instead more attention needs to be directed at the presence of cultural communities in Québec's public institutions where Anglophones, Aboriginals and other ethnic minorities accounting for roughly 20 percent of the population, constitute only six percent of provincial civil servants.⁷

Amy Nugent "Demography, national myths, and political origins: perceiving official multiculturalism in Québec" *Canadian Ethnic Studies Journal* / Fall, 2006

CONCLUSION

At the root of the presumed difference between the Canadian multicultural and Québec intercultural discourse and the action to which they respectively give rise is the emphasis on cross-cultural exchange. Discourse around interculturalism presumes that cross-cultural initiatives are either absent or insufficient to the program arising from the multicultural model. Yet as demonstrated above this is not the case for Canadian multiculturalism which makes interaction between communities a priority. It might be argued that such programming is not consistent with the philosophy of multiculturalism and therefore the Canadian approach should not be described as multicultural. Yet since the 1980's there been an interethnic and interracial relations component to Canadian multiculturalism discourse and program. Intellectual rigour demands that those who insist Québec interculturalism is the superior model examine the program and practice and demonstrate that the difference amounts to more than just political rhetoric.

NOTES

- ¹ <http://www.cic.gc.ca/english/multiculturalism/citizenship.asp>.
- ² <http://www.micc.gouv.qc.ca/publications/fr/dossiers/PlanActionFavoriserParticipation.pdf>.
- ³ www.immigrationQuebec.gouv.qc.ca/publications/en/divers/learningaboutQuebec-dynamique.pdf.
- ⁴ <http://www.cic.gc.ca/english/multiculturalism/funding/events.asp>.
- ⁵ www.cyberpresse.ca/le-droit/opinions/chroniqueurs/benoit-pelletier/201106/29/01-4413665-la-delicate-gestion-de-la-diversite.php.
- ⁶ (http://www.emsb.qc.ca/en/services_en/pages/multicultureresourcecentre_en.asp).
- ⁷ may 28, 2011 <http://www2.canada.com/montrealgazette/features/viewpoints/story.html?id=0b911dbf-7279-438c-b476-67f6592eb2b8>.

'DIFFERENTLY THE SAME' MULTI/INTER/CULTURALISM AS IMMIGRANT GOVERNANCE MODEL

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ABSTRACT

Interculturalism vs multiculturalism: Two solitudes? Scorpions in a bottle? Strange bedfellows? Tweedledum or tweedledee? Many believe these 'isms' are fundamentally different and incompatible, with interculturalism positively contrasted as a new and improved model for integrating immigrants. This paper challenges each of these notions by reframing the debate over multi/inter/culturalism along governance lines. The paper argues that, despite differences in tone and emphasis, the principles of an integrative inclusivity inform the discursive logic behind both governance models. The paper also contends that Canada's official multiculturalism is less 'multi' than widely perceived, while Québec's interculturalism is less 'inter' than many propose. The paper concludes on a cautionary note: In that neither multiculturalism nor interculturalism have a knack for meaning what they say or for saying what they mean, debates over the 'isms' as competing governance models will remain a contested affair.

INTRODUCTION: FRAMING THE ISSUES

References to multiculturalism invariably conjure up images of a federal program for managing diversity. But federal multiculturalism is not the only governance game in Canada. Each of Canada's ten provinces embraces a series of formal policies, laws, advisory boards, or commitments that often overlap with federal commitments. Of these provincial multiculturalisms, few have attracted as much attention as Québec's interculturalism,¹ with some arguing the case for diametrically opposed agendas in integrating immigrants (Gagnon and Iavcovino 2007), while others dismiss dissimilarities as largely semantic – little more than a superficial (and exaggerated) gloss for rebranding Québec's model along non-federal lines (Jedwab 2011; Leuprecht 2011). Still others endorse interculturalism as a governance improvement over federal multiculturalism for living together with differences in dignity and equitably (Steering Paper 2011). Its virtue resides in straddling the extremes between assimilation (stifling unity) and multiculturalism (unbridled diversity) with respect to cross-cultural dialogue and interaction, recognition of dynamic identities, balancing unity (integration) yet

respecting diversity, promoting collective good over individual impulses, and rejecting illiberal practices (Council of Europe 2008). Yet others still disagree, and contend there is little about interculturalism as an immigrant governance model to inspire such confidence (Meer and Modood 2011).

This paper argues that rephrasing the debate over the 'isms' along governance lines challenges conventional wisdom. That is, interculturalism as an immigrant governance model is neither different from nor superior to federal multiculturalism in managing diversity and the integration of newcomers. A convergence of 'isms' prevails instead, given the necessity to absorb newcomers into the body politic, with both governance models designed to depoliticize differences by making society safe from differences as well as safe for differences. To put this argument to the test, the paper addresses the politics of federal multiculturalism and Québec's interculturalism as convergent models of inclusive immigrant governance. The paper contends that, notwithstanding shifts in focus since its inception in 1971, Canada's official multiculturalism policy retains its core mission – namely, a commitment

to an inclusive immigrant governance, thereby ensuring no one is unreasonably excluded for reasons beyond their control (Fleras 2012). A similar line of reasoning may be applied to Québec's interculturalism notwithstanding differences in tone and emphasis. The paper concludes accordingly: multiculturalism and interculturalism converge in securing integrative models of immigrant inclusivity and society-building, yet both rarely say what they mean or mean what they say. In terms of organization, this paper begins by analyzing federal multiculturalism as a governance model for managing immigrant integration along inclusionary lines, followed by a look at Québec's interculturalism as an equally inclusive ('absorptive') model for immigrant governance, and concludes by pointing out the shared logic behind both governance models, despite continuing misconceptions and distortions.

FEDERAL MULTICULTURALISM AS IMMIGRANT GOVERNANCE MODEL

Is there a federal multiculturalism model? To an extent such a model can be constructed, it must be gleaned from the following sources: (a) the 1971 policy statement and the 1988 Multiculturalism Act, (b) a close reading of official documents such as the Annual Reports, and (c) an awareness that, when it comes to state policy, what is said is not necessarily what is really meant.

The logic underlying Canada's multicultural model was articulated by Prime Minister Pierre Elliott Trudeau who famously announced that the Canadian government would (1) assist all cultural groups who have developed a capacity to grow and *contribute to Canada* (2) assist all members of cultural groups to overcome cultural barriers for equal *participation in Canada*, (3) promote *creative encounters and exchanges among cultural groups in advancing national interests* and (d) assist all newcomers in acquiring one of *Canada's official languages to ensure full involvement*. The following themes in balancing unity with diversity reflect these priorities, namely, individual freedom from nationalist straightjackets; equality of opportunity for all persons; interaction of groups in fostering cultural sharing as well as retention; and tolerance for differences (with limits) (Fielding 2006). As Trudeau explained later in life, Multiculturalism was never intended to celebrate a newcomer's country of origin, although policy was increasingly twisted in that direction, but rather to celebrate their right to become full members of Canadian society.²

Passage of the Multiculturalism Act in 1988 shored up Canada's status as a premier multiculturalism society. The Act sought to respect cultures, promote participation, reduce discrimination, encourage in-group bonding as a precondition for out-group bridging, and accelerate

institutional inclusiveness at the federal level.³ This commitment to integration over separation, interaction over isolation, and participation over withdrawal clearly prevailed and persists into the present (Fries and Gingrich 2009). Annual Reports on the Operation of Canada's Multiculturalism Act are no less inclusivity oriented, although priority objectives have shifted over time, from institutional change (inclusiveness through removal of discriminatory barriers) to antiracism programs (including removal of discriminatory barriers and cross cultural understanding) to civic engagement (promoting active and shared citizenship and participation in public life) (Annual Report, 2005/2006). In the 2009/2010 Annual Report, three new policy objectives were articulated, namely, to remove barriers for participation especially at the level of federal institutions, to construct an integrative and socially cohesive Canada and to promote Canadian values at home and multiculturalism abroad. Since 2006, an integrationist multicultural agenda has taken hold – partly out of concerns over securitization and a disciplining of differences in the post 9/11 eras – in advancing shared values for a cohesive Canada (Fleras 2012).

To be sure, Canada's multicultural model as immigrant governance can be read along two inter-related lines. An *Inclusivity* narrative envisions multiculturalism as a relatively progressive framework for respecting differences while removing ethnicity-based disadvantages through institutional inclusion so that no one is unfairly excluded from full and equal participation in Canadian society. By contrast, a *Hegemony* narrative is focused on bolstering political and economic interests and the priorities of the Canadian state, with its prevailing distribution of power and privilege. References to depoliticizing differences and fostering the integration of newcomers are pivotal in securing a Canada whose vested interests are safe from differences yet safe for differences. To put it bluntly, what some call multicultural inclusivity may be interpreted by others as an assimilation in slow motion into a statist political project (Fielding 2006).

In short, Canada's official multiculturalism constitutes a complex and contested governance model that has evolved over time in response to social changes and political challenges. Despite shifts in emphasis – from ethnicity to equity to civic to integration – an official multiculturalism has never strayed from its foundational rationale: *an inclusive governance model for Canada-building through immigrant integration along multicultural lines* (also Kymlicka 2005). This overarching commitment should disabuse critics of notions that federal multiculturalism espouses a radical relativism in which anything goes, where individual choice prevails over collective interests, and that no dominant Canadian culture exists.

INTERCULTURALISM AS QUÉBEC'S IMMIGRANT GOVERNANCE MODEL

Québec's commitment toward interculturalism as immigrant integration policy was first introduced in the early 1980s, but articulated with the 1990 Policy Statement on Immigration and Integration. As a model for integration, interculturalism operates on two planes: the macro level of state policy and institutional programs plus the micro level of everyday interactivity within institutions and communities at large (Steering Paper 2011). According to interculturalism as immigrant governance model, newcomers and their contributions are welcome. But their entry activates a 'moral contract' involving a reciprocal exchange of rights, duties, and obligations between newcomers and the Québécois. Newcomers must agree to abide by the primacy of speaking French, acknowledge Québec as a free and democratic society as well as secular and pluralist (within limits), governed by the rule of law, and committed to gender equality (Gagnon and Iacovino 2007). Québec has also proposed an obligatory seminar to instruct newcomers about the province's common values, while cities such as Gatineau have released a statement of values to assist newcomer integration (Peritz 2011).

Québec's intercultural governance model articulates a distinct political community whose cultural and language priorities supersede the salience of ethnic diversities. Interculturalism begins with the centrality of French language (and culture); from there, it works to integrate other immigrants into a common public culture, while respecting their diversities (Bouchard and Taylor 2008; Montpetit 2011).⁴ This intercultural governance establishes French as the language of intercultural communication; cultivates a pluralistic notion of society that is sensitive to immigrant rights; preserves the creative tension between the diversity of minority differences and the predominance of French culture; and emphasizes the centrality of integration and interaction to the interculturalism process (Bouchard-Taylor Commission 2008:121).

How does federal multiculturalism and Québec's interculturalism compare as models of integrative inclusivity? In promoting the governance principle of unity within diversity, Canada's Multiculturalism is thought to resemble a planetary model, that is, a mosaic of minority cultures in varying orbits around a mainstream centre. The theme of hyphenated Canadian is unmistakable: *You can be Haitian-and-Canadian as long as you obey the laws, not deprive others of their rights, and respect core constitutional values.* By contrast, an interculturalism commitment reflects what is metaphorically equivalent to an 'arboreal' model of immigrant governance: That is, the tree trunk is unflinchingly French in language and

culture, while minority cultures constitute the branches grafted on to the trunk. With interculturalism, in other words, limits are explicit – *you can be Haitian but always a Haitian in Québec*, with a corresponding commitment to its values, institutions, and norms as set out in laws and constitution. In short, it would appear any differences in these agendas reflect points of emphasis rather than fundamental opposition, although Québec may have a stronger preoccupation with balancing rights at the level of policy and debate (and hence be more liberal) but a weaker commitment to addressing interethnic inequalities (McAndrew undated).

CONVERGENT MODELS OF IMMIGRANT GOVERNANCE

Clearly then, both federal multiculturalism and Québec's interculturalism share a core theme – a commitment to an inclusive immigrant governance by expediting the integration ('absorption') of newcomers into the larger community (Reitz 2009). To the extent differences in governance are perceived to exist, they reflect tone and emphasis. The major difference lies in Québec's explicitness in its expectations of migrants and what they can expect in return; what constitutes the limits of acceptable behaviour and the unassailable primacy of French language and culture. Federal multiculturalism appears to be more muted in its expectations and limits, although a careful reading of policy statements suggests an equally powerful nod to integrative inclusivity. The following principles point to commonalities in the underlying logic of multi/inter/culturalism as state-driven immigrant governance programs:

- Both federal multiculturalism (MC) and Québec interculturalism (IC) are first and foremost a political expediency, that is, a political act to achieve political goals in a politically acceptable manner. As a state project, any reference to IC or MC must acknowledge their hegemonic status as a discourse in defence of dominant ideology (Thobani 2007).
- Neither IC nor MC are not about celebrating differences or promoting minorities. The focus instead is on 'citizenization' by improving the integration of newcomers into Canada and Québec through removal of discriminatory barriers while respecting immigrants' rights to culture and identity (within limits).
- In advancing an immigrant inclusiveness, MC and IC are both clearly aimed at modifying mainstream attitudes, practices, and institutions to move over and make space without abandoning fundamental values of mainstream society (Steering Paper 2011).
- Emphasis is on *empowering* immigrant individuals - not in the sense of challenging the system - but in equipping them with the resources and resourcefulness

to integrate into the existing system. However inspirational this commitment, the status of MC and IC is aspirational (or symbolic) with little enforcement or compliance powers.

- Neither MC nor IC promotes immigrant differences or minority rights. Depoliticizing differences is the animating logic. The disruptiveness of differences is depoliticized by the simple expedient of institutionalizing differences or by privatizing them into the personal. Emphasis is on neutering these cultural differences by channeling potentially troublesome conflicts into relatively harmless avenues of identity or folklore. Differences are further depoliticized (or 'neutered') by treating all differences as the same, by circumscribing the outer limit of permissible differences, while stripping culturally charged symbols from public places.
- Differences are endorsed by both IC and MC, but only to the extent they are equivalent in status, subject to similar treatment, comply with laws and core values, and recognize Québec and Canada's self-proclaimed right to define what differences count and what counts as difference. People can be different but in the same way ('pretend pluralism') rather than be 'the same but differently'.
- Neither IC nor MC condone an 'anything goes' mentality. It's about limits by drawing the line with respect to what's acceptable and what is not, namely, (1) you can be different but differences cannot break law, violate rights, or contravene core constitutional values such as gender equity; (2) you can belong to and identify with Canada and Québec through your ethnicity.
- Both IC and MC are committed to making society safe for, yet safe from immigrant differences by instilling in newcomers a sense of community, commitment, consensus, communication, and citizenship.

THE POLITICS OF ISMS

Multiculturalism has been a dirty word in Québec ever since Trudeau's attempt at 'multiculturalizing' Québecers to the same discursive level as other ethnic and immigrant groups. Not surprisingly, federal multiculturalism continues to endure relentless attack – and reams of misrepresentation – with many tainting it by association with the misadventures of European *laissez-faire* equivalents (Leuprecht 2011; Fleras 2009). For example, consider the January 2011 statement by Louise Beaudoin, PQ critic for Secularism who proclaimed 'MC may be a Canadian value, but it is not a Québec value' (Montpetit 2011; Patriquin 2011). Confusions and contradictions are rife: Gagnon and Iacovino (2007) criticize MC for privileging an individual right of choice at the expense of the collectivity in need of

protection and encouragement. Others accuse federal multiculturalism of dismissing any dominant culture (partly because of a misperception that English speaking Canada has no national culture), in the process, elevating immigrant cultures to the same level as host culture (Patriquin 2011). And yet others criticize MC as a model that envisions immigrant cultures as relatively fixed spheres in orbit around the dominance of one majority English speaking culture (Ging and Malcolm). To their credit, the Bouchard-Taylor Commission (2008:121, 192) did acknowledge a tendency toward simplistic and distorted caricatures of federal multiculturalism as disinterested in (a) national identity and affiliation, (b) integration and social cohesion and (c) inequality and discrimination.

Nevertheless, as the Commission concluded, federal multiculturalism as a governance model cannot be duplicated in Québec. The so-called 'central assumption' of federal multiculturalism – that there is no dominant culture in Canada and the sanctity of cultural differences be maintained² – is a non-starter in Québec argues Gerard Bouchard (cited in Montpetit 2011). After all, Francophone culture is the majority culture and any governance model for managing diversity must acknowledge this reality. Besides, Bouchard-Taylor (2008) contends that English Canada can afford a looser concept of multiculturalism as immigrant governance model because of its privileged status. By contrast, the paradoxical nature of Québec's majority/minority status – a majority in Québec, but a minority in Canada and North America – militates against any move toward Canada's so-called *laissez-faire* multiculturalism ("diversity at the expense of continuity"). To promote such a passive and visionless coexistence of diverse ethno-religious groups, the Commission argued, would be tantamount to linguistic and cultural suicide. In other words, Québecers should continue to support the interculturalism principles of pluralism, equality, and reciprocity, if only to allay Québec's anxieties as a beleaguered cultural minority in an English speaking North America (Bouchard-Taylor Commission 2008).

However valid Québec's concerns, this paper has argued that Québec's interculturalism model does not differ in governance logic from federal multiculturalism. Both governance models constitute political acts to foster an inclusive society by managing the integration of newcomers without ruffling the feathers of the status quo. Both are predicated on the assumption that central authorities possess the right to define what counts as differences, and what differences count, so that newcomers can be different, but only in the same way, rather than being differently the same. As to claims that integration works better under interculturalism, several recent surveys

beg to differ, including those in Canada by the Historical-Dominion Institute (2010) and those abroad such as Transatlantic Trends (2010) and International Migration Integration Index (2011). Put bluntly, Canada is doing a commendable (if sometimes flawed) job of integrating newcomers (also Fleras forthcoming).

The conclusion seems inescapable: there is little that is unique about interculturalism as an immigration governance model except its openness in defining the limits and drawing the line. Rather, interculturalism appears to be alternative label for differentiating Québec from rest of Canada (Patriquin 2011) – little more than old wine in new bottles – just as the mosaic metaphor was once manipulated to differentiate Canada from America's melting pot imagery. To be sure, both multiculturalism and interculturalism represent workable models for integrating newcomers along inclusivity lines. Nevertheless, the flaws inherent in interculturalism are just as egregious as those of multiculturalism (McAndrew undated), (for example, a perceived inability to accommodate different ways of accommodating multiversal (super) differences [Fleras 2011]). In short, any justification for privileging interculturalism as different or superior fails to gain traction, or as Meer and Modood (2011:1) fittingly conclude:⁵

...[U]ntil interculturalism as a political discourse is able to offer a distinctive perspective, one that can speak to a variety of concerns emanating from complex identities and matters of equality and diversity in a more persuasive form than at present, interculturalism cannot, intellectually at least, eclipse multiculturalism and so should not be considered as complementary to multiculturalism.

NOTES

¹ The number of conferences just in 2011 on this topic (MC vs IC) is quite astonishing, including (1) Multiculturalism or Interculturalism? What are the Implications for Albertans and Canadians. November 10-11, 2011, University of Calgary, Faculty of Law; (2) The International Symposium on Interculturalism/Symposium international sur L'interculturalisme – Dialogue Québec Europe. Québec City, 25-27 May, 2011 [This Symposium was preceded by a mini conference in Montreal in January (Yamani 2011)]. Symposia include papers on Québec Interculturalism in Context: Interculturalism, Multiculturalism, and the Demands of Transitional Justice. By Michael Schapira, Kevin McDonough, and Ryan Bevan. At Philosophy of Education Society of Great Britain. Oxford. 1-3 April, 2011.

² Although Trudeau made reference to Canada as having no official or dominant culture, no one is quite sure of his intent. He certainly expected newcomers and ethnicities to integrate into Canadian society – hence implicitly acknowledging a dominant culture despite denying its existence. He may have also approached the concept of culture as arts or an aesthetic (as many were prone to do so during this period) rather than as a total way of life with a corresponding set of rules for living.

³ Textual analyses by Fries and Gingrich (2009) of the 1988 MC Act yielded five themes: diversity, harmony, equality, barrier removal, and resources.

⁴ References to a Québec culture are problematic. Culture is framed in an essentialist way by reifying it as something real, uniform, and deterministic. Others would prefer to conceptualize culture as a composite abstraction of rules (blueprint) inferred from peoples thoughts and behaviour, based on a roughly shared values and norms, and subject to negotiation and contestation in constructing a fluid, multidimensional, and complex reality.

⁵ During the Shafia 'Honour' Killing Trial which concluded in late January 2012 with a guilty verdict for the parents and eldest son, Canadians learned that the Shafia family entered Québec via the province's investor program, while their integration into society (or lack thereof) would evoke Québec interculturalism not federal multiculturalism. Also note that proposed legislation (Bill 94) that would require all individuals to reveal their faces when seeking government services (Choudhury 2012). Finally a Leger Poll reported by Jeff Heinrich (2008) suggests Québécois compared to other Canadians prefer to 'be with their own kind.' Reference List.

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LES JUMELAGES LINGUISTIQUES : UNE EXPÉRIENCE D'INTERCULTURALITÉ À MONTRÉAL

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RÉSUMÉ

Cet article présente un projet hors du commun: les jumelages linguistiques et interculturels, organisés à l'Université de Québec à Montréal (UQAM) depuis dix ans, qui ont reçu une mention spéciale de la Fondation canadienne des relations raciales en 2005. Le jumelage propose, à des étudiants québécois francophones diplômés en communication et à des hispanophones apprenant le français à l'École de langues de l'UQAM, des activités qui valorisent la reconnaissance mutuelle et qui les motivent à communiquer leurs similitudes et différences culturelles. Lors de ces rencontres, les francophones de la majorité d'accueil s'initient à la langue des héritiers de Cervantès par choix personnel tandis que les immigrants hispanophones s'initient à la langue de Molière afin d'assurer leur intégration linguistique au pays d'accueil. Afin de mieux contextualiser ces jumelages, nous décrivons le multi- et l'inter-culturalisme, les objectifs visés, le cadre constitué des concepts de culture et d'interculturalité, de motivation et de communication, le déroulement de l'activité *Les virelangues* et en analyserons la portée dans la formation à l'interculturel.

Des recherches théoriques et appliquées ont proposé des formations visant la compréhension interculturelle. Toutefois, on peut se demander, quelle en est la portée? Est-il préférable de privilégier le respect de la différence ou la reconnaissance des ressemblances? Cet article présente un projet hors du commun : les jumelages interculturels, organisés à l'Université de Québec à Montréal (UQAM) depuis dix ans, qui ont reçu une mention spéciale de la Fondation canadienne des relations raciales en 2005. Dans le cadre de cet article, il sera particulièrement question des jumelages linguistiques entre des immigrants hispanophones qui apprennent le français et des francophones qui visent à apprendre l'espagnol comme une deuxième ou troisième langue. Nous décrivons le multi- et l'inter-culturalisme, les objectifs, le cadre conceptuel, le déroulement de l'activité *Les virelangues* et en analyserons la portée dans la formation à l'interculturel.

MULTICULTURALISME VS INTERCULTURALISME

La loi du multiculturalisme canadien de 1988, qui repose sur les valeurs de respect, d'égalité et de diversité, vise à préserver l'héritage culturel, à assurer l'égalité économique, socioculturelle et politique de tous les Canadiens¹ et à reconnaître la diversité malgré les risques de tensions sociales. Appliqué à l'éducation, le multiculturalisme cherche à développer à son plus haut niveau, le potentiel intellectuel, social et personnel de tous. Ainsi, l'éducation multiculturelle inclut la promotion de l'équité, l'engagement à combattre l'ethnocentrisme, les préjugés, la discrimination et le racisme. Cette perspective, qui met en évidence que la culture est dynamique et mouvante, vise à dénoncer les inégalités et les injustices afin de faire valoir l'interdépendance des cultures en contact.

Par ailleurs, l'interculturalisme associé à la vision québécoise stipule entre autres que l'usage du français comme langue commune permet aux immigrants de s'intégrer à leur nouvelle société. Au Canada, l'usage de l'anglais ou du français permet aux immigrants de s'intégrer à l'une ou l'autre des sociétés d'accueil incluant un million de francophones hors Québec. Appliqué à l'éducation, l'interculturel explore des voies alternatives de communication afin que tous les acteurs scolaires s'engagent à transformer et à être transformés par ceux avec qui ils interagissent (Camilleri & Cohen-Emerique, 1989).

Ainsi, le multiculturalisme canadien comme l'interculturalisme québécois visent, tous les deux à leur façon, l'édification d'identités nationales multiples. Au Québec comme ailleurs au Canada et dans le monde, les établissements d'enseignement font face au défi de considérer la diversité dans leurs pratiques éducatives. Pour cet article, le terme interculturalité sera retenu parce qu'il met davantage en évidence l'aspect relationnel de la communication.

OBJECTIFS VISÉS

Le jumelage propose, à des étudiants québécois francophones diplômés en communication et à des hispanophones apprenant le français à l'École de langues de l'UQAM, des activités qui valorisent la reconnaissance mutuelle et qui les motivent à communiquer leurs similitudes et différences culturelles. Lors de ces rencontres, les francophones de la majorité d'accueil s'initient à la langue des héritiers de Cervantès par choix personnel tandis que les immigrants hispanophones s'initient à la langue de Molière afin d'assurer leur intégration linguistique au pays d'accueil.

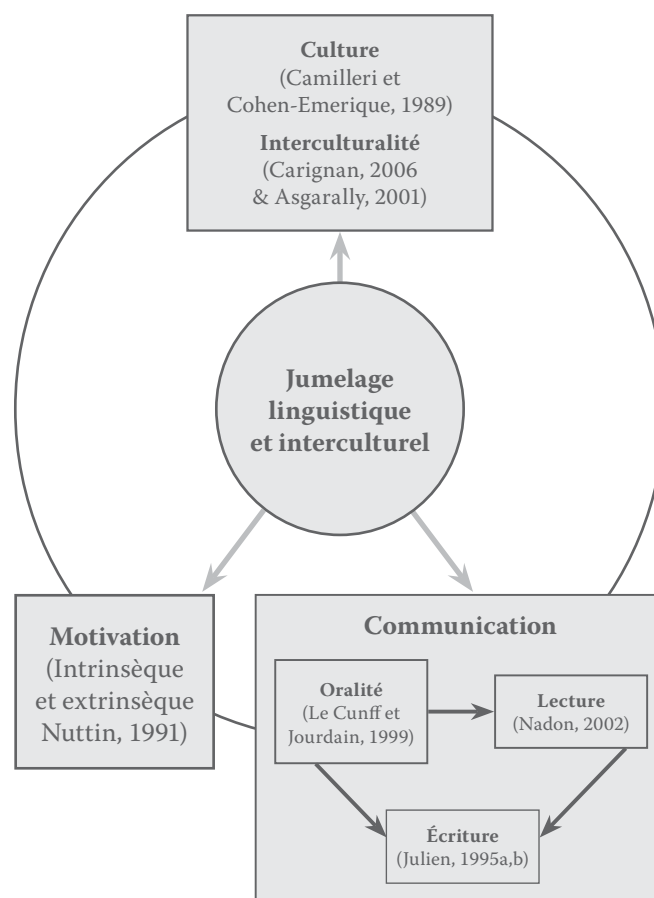
CADRE CONCEPTUEL

Comme l'illustre la figure 1, le cadre conceptuel propose l'arrimage des concepts de culture et d'interculturalité, de motivation et de communication.

Culture et interculturalité. La culture est l'ensemble plus ou moins fortement lié des significations acquises, les plus persistantes et les plus partagées par les membres d'un groupe (Camilleri et Cohen-Emerique, 1989). Si la **culture** évoque la manière de sentir et d'exprimer des valeurs partagées, elle peut aussi évoquer des valeurs qui s'opposent. Alors que la culture étale un éventail de possibilités, l'**interculturalité** prend en compte les relations entre les groupes. Ainsi, pour Le Clézio, cité par Asgarally (2001), « l'interculturalité, ce n'est pas seulement la rencontre avec l'Autre, mais c'est aussi [...] parler d'abord de ce qui nous ressemble et, si tout se passe bien, aborder nos différences » (p. 31).

Motivation. Personne ne doute que la motivation joue un rôle important dans l'enseignement et l'apprentissage (Vallerand, 1997). La motivation **intrinsèque** signifie que l'on pratique une activité pour le plaisir et la satisfaction que l'on en retire et la motivation **extrinsèque** se trouve en dehors de l'activité (Nuttin, 1991). Dans le cas des jumelages chez les francophones majoritaires, il s'agit surtout de la motivation intrinsèque et chez les immigrants hispanophones, il s'agit surtout de la motivation extrinsèque. Grâce au jumelage linguistique, les étudiants, appelés « jumeaux », apprennent à communiquer entre eux leurs besoins respectifs d'apprendre la langue et à partager leurs similitudes et leurs différences dans une ambiance ludique et chaleureuse.

Figure 1 : Cadre de référence conceptuel pour les jumelages linguistiques



Communication. S'exprimer à l'oral et être en interaction avec les autres permet de développer des compétences sociales (Le Cunff et Jourdain, 1999). Dans le contexte du jumelage, la **communication orale** devient un outil qui permet à chaque «jumeau» d'afficher son identité, de parler de sa culture et de connaître celle de l'autre. **Lire** ce que nous écrivons ou ce que les «autres» écrivent enrichit l'apprentissage d'une nouvelle langue. Pour Nadon (2002), «la meilleure façon de partager le bonheur de lire est de faire la lecture aux élèves, non pas comme récompense [...] mais bien comme rituel régulier de la classe» (p. 19). **L'écriture** est aussi une expérience libératrice qui permet aux étudiants d'exprimer ce qu'ils sont et ce qu'ils vivent. Selon Julien (1995a,b) «...l'apprentissage de la langue passe autant par la lecture que par l'écriture. [...] l'élève l'intègre mieux quand il sait comment et pourquoi il écrit» (p. B1). En résumé, **dire, lire et écrire** sont trois moyens indissociables constituant «notre» **mariage à trois**. L'ambiance interculturelle motive les étudiants à affirmer leur culture et leur identité, mais aussi à découvrir la culture de l'autre pour favoriser des relations interculturelles plus harmonieuses (Carignan, 2006).

DÉROULEMENT DE L'ACTIVITÉ LES VIRELANGUES

À l'UQAM, depuis 2008, nous simulons une immersion linguistique quasi-réelle entre les hispanophones et les francophones regroupés par pair. Ces rencontres se déroulent dans une salle de classe pendant 90 minutes, une fois la semaine pendant cinq semaines. Ces activités extracurriculaires se déroulent sur une base volontaire. Chaque activité valorise la reconnaissance mutuelle et soutient la motivation à communiquer sa culture. Jusqu'à maintenant cinq activités thématiques ont été proposées : 1) *Miroir, miroir, dis-moi qui je suis ?*; 2) *Cultures parallèles*; 3) *Mariages du monde*; 4) *L'halloween vs Día de los muertos*; et 5) *Les virelangues*.

Afin d'illustrer notre démarche, nous choisirons l'activité *Les virelangues*, qui sont des casse-langues ou des fourchelangues. Ces *tongue twisters* en anglais et *trabalenguas* en espagnol sont des phrases souvent allitératives plus ou moins difficiles à prononcer rapidement (Nicaise, 2005). Ces phrases, qui développent l'habileté orale au moyen de jeux de mots, présentent la richesse phonétique et syntaxique des deux langues à l'étude dans le but de favoriser l'échange interculturel. L'activité de jumelage propose la répartition suivante : 50 % du temps pour les activités orales; 25 % pour la lecture; et 25 % pour l'écriture. Afin de créer une ambiance conviviale, l'atelier démarre par l'affichage des deux porte-paroles, *Tintin* et *Mafalda*, représentant respectivement les cultures

francophone et hispanophone et, par la distribution d'une citation de Stendhal «Le premier instrument du génie d'un peuple est sa langue.» et, l'autre, d'Alejandro Zaid «La cultura es conversación.»

Inspirées du modèle de Camberland, Lavoie et Marquis (1999), les activités sont divisées en cinq parties.

- 1) Le proverbe du jour est distribué sur un carton. La première partie est : «*Dis-moi qui tu fréquentes ...*» et, la deuxième, «*... et je te dirai qui tu es*» : un côté étant en français et, l'autre, en espagnol. Après avoir trouvé la partie manquante, les étudiants forment une dyade de travail (5 minutes).
- 2) Le pacte de participation consiste à être ponctuel, positif et imaginatif, à établir un rapport de réciprocité entre les étudiants et à débusquer les préjugés. Le matériel utilisé est une feuille guide et un grand dé décrivant les virelangues dans les deux langues; un petit dé pour les tours de parole; une flûte amusante et un éventail; une cloche pour démarquer le passage d'une activité à l'autre, et une fiche d'évaluation (5 minutes).
- 3) L'activité permet, tour à tour à un francophone et à un hispanophone, d'aider son jumeau à maîtriser les virelangues en pratiquant sa dextérité orale (35 minutes chacune). Le lancement du petit dé détermine la répartition du tour de parole. La flûte amusante illustre ce qui arrive à la langue lors des virelangues. Durant chaque activité, l'étudiant doit dire, lire et écrire des virelangues en jouant avec les mots (70 minutes).
- 4) Après l'activité, la rétroaction permet aux étudiants de faire des suggestions ou de proposer des exemples (5 minutes).
- 5) La conclusion de l'activité permet de remercier les étudiants pour leur bon travail et de les inviter à la prochaine rencontre. C'est aussi le moment d'expliquer le devoir qui consiste à écrire deux virelangues : le premier suggère que chaque mot commence par la même lettre et le deuxième encourage à la virtuosité phonétique par la création de nouveaux sons et de nouveaux mots. Les hispanophones les rédigent en français et les francophones, en espagnol. Les devoirs seront lus et corrigés en classe ensemble lors de la prochaine activité (5 minutes).

Ces consignes illustrent bien l'importance de planifier avec minutie l'enchaînement des activités. Comme le soulignait Arshad-Ayad dans l'entrevue menée par Gervais (2010), dans les formations interculturelles, les contenus à enseigner sont aussi importants que la manière de les enseigner.

PORTÉE DES JUMELAGES LINGUISTIQUES DANS LA FORMATION À L'INTERCULTUREL

Après avoir défini les concepts de culture, d'interculturalité, de motivation et de communication interculturelle, nous analysons la portée des jumelages linguistiques.

Rencontre des porteurs de culture. Les «jumeaux» possèdent un bagage culturel propre et distinct qu'ils sont fiers de partager à partir de leur manière de sentir et de l'expression des valeurs qui distinguent les membres de leur collectivité (Zundel et Deane, 2010). Tandis que les porteurs de culture hispanophones expliquent leur identité, leur langue et leur culture aux francophones de la majorité d'accueil, les porteurs de culture francophones redoublent d'énergie pour soutenir l'apprentissage du français des nouveaux arrivants hispanophones pour faciliter leur intégration sociale. Nos jumelages ne visent pas seulement à «célébrer» la diversité, mais contribuent à débusquer les stéréotypes, les préjugés, la discrimination (Arshad-Ayaz, cité par Gervais, 2010), et à dénoncer les inégalités pour apprendre à développer la sensibilité interculturelle et à tisser des ponts entre les porteurs de culture (Bhawuk, Landis et Lo, 2006).

Interculturalité, gage de reconnaissance mutuelle. Lors des jumelages, une attention particulière est portée à la façon dont se tissent les relations interculturelles entre les participants (Le Clézio, cité par Asgarally, 2001). Une activité comme les virelangues est non seulement une occasion de pratiquer la langue étudiée, mais aussi une occasion de fortifier les relations interpersonnelles et de constater les difficultés à l'oral, à la lecture et à l'écriture présentes dans les deux langues. Ainsi, l'interculturalité permet de valoriser les ressemblances et les différences entre les francophones et les hispanophones dans le respect mutuel.

Motivation, clé de la réussite du jumelage. La motivation est un ingrédient clé des jumelages. En termes de motivation extrinsèque, les étudiants hispanophones sont motivés par le désir d'améliorer leur français parce qu'ils veulent socialiser avec des francophones pour s'intégrer économiquement à leur société d'accueil. Par ailleurs, les francophones ont choisi d'apprendre l'espagnol afin de relever de nouveaux défis, voyager, communiquer avec leurs conjoints ou élargir leur culture reflétant ainsi une motivation intrinsèque au jumelage interculturel.

Dire, lire et écrire, un mariage à trois efficace. Bien que la priorité soit accordée à la communication orale, la lecture et l'écriture soutiennent l'expression et renforcent la maîtrise de la langue. Le Cunff et Jourdain (1999) rappellent que la communication orale «permet [...] de communiquer

sa culture, sa pensée, sa réalité, ses besoins» (p. 55). Dans notre cas, chaque participant est encouragé à exprimer librement ses valeurs culturelles et ses expériences personnelles avec un porteur de culture bien vivant. Il est certain que l'occasion qu'offrent les cours magistraux de pratiquer l'oral n'est pas négligeable. Cependant, les jumelages en situation authentique offrent la possibilité de pratiquer la langue avec une personne qui les corrige directement, de manière personnalisée et amicale. C'est un travail à deux qui résulte en un bénéfice mutuel (Zundel et Deane, 2010). Enfin, plus un participant s'exprime, lit et écrit la langue en apprentissage, plus il fortifie son estime de soi et développe l'empathie pour la nouvelle culture et ceux qui la portent (Julien, 1995a, b).

CONCLUSION

Notre cadre conceptuel a balisé les activités de jumelage linguistique entre des francophones majoritaires et des hispanophones minoritaires. Les objectifs visés ont permis de promouvoir la reconnaissance mutuelle et de motiver les étudiants à communiquer leur culture respective. Le fait d'arrimer des dimensions culturelles, communicationnelles et motivationnelles a permis de faire du jumelage linguistique, une expérience d'interculturalité novatrice, stimulante et efficace empreinte de réciprocité dont la popularité ne cesse d'augmenter depuis 2008.

NOTES

¹Le genre masculin sera utilisé dans l'unique but d'alléger le texte.

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THE IDEOLOGICAL FOUNDATIONS OF MULTICULTURALISM AND INTERCULTURALISM

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ABSTRACT

This essay explores the ideological origins of Canada's multiculturalism policy and compares the meaning and significance of multiculturalism with Québec's policy of interculturalism.

In 2011, after a group of Sikhs were turned away from the Québec legislature for carrying kirpans, Parti Québécois critic for secularism, Louise Beaudoin made headlines when she praised the decision on the grounds that "Multiculturalism is not a Québec value." Beaudoin conceded that multiculturalism may be a Canadian value "but it's not a Québec one" because Québec's approach is interculturalism "and it's supposed to not be the same thing." (Panetta, 2011)

This claim is not new and it's not just critics who make it. Even among the defenders of the federal government's policy of multiculturalism there are those who insist that Québec's policy of interculturalism is different. The 2008 Report of the Bouchard-Taylor Commission for example argued that "the Canadian multiculturalism model does not appear to be well suited to conditions in Québec." (p. 39) I would like to put these comments in proper context, and ask to what extent they are correct. Is multiculturalism a Québec value? To properly answer this question let's consider the meaning of multiculturalism and then compare that to interculturalism.

Multiculturalism is the name of Canada's federal citizenship policy of promoting the full participation, adjustment, and integration of diverse ethno-cultural groups into mainstream Canadian society, within a bilingual framework, and eliminating any barriers to such participation, adjustment, and integration. In the famous words of Pierre Trudeau's celebrated October 8, 1971 policy announcement, it is premised on the fact that "although there are two official languages, there is no official culture, nor does any ethnic group take precedence over any other." (Trudeau, 1971, p. 8845) Unlike the US where multiculturalism typically refers to all forms of identity

recognition, in Canada the term was coined specifically in reference to the accommodation of various groups defined by ethnic descent.

While the aim of multiculturalism is to break down discriminatory attitudes and cultural jealousies, and to promote respect for cultural and racial diversity, its goal is neither separatism nor moral relativism. Multiculturalism does not encourage immigrants or ethnic groups to avoid mutual interaction, or to develop their own separate institutions, but is aimed at "strengthening citizen participation," "reinforcing Canadian unity" and encouraging "a willingness to share ideas." (Trudeau, 1971, pp. 8845, 8581) And it is not based on a culturally relativist philosophy that all practices (particularly illiberal ones) must be automatically tolerated, condoned, or valued equally (Kymlicka 1998, 2007). On the contrary, from its initial articulation and subsequent constitutional and statutory elaboration, multiculturalism was always meant to cohere with Canada's liberal democratic values, which is to say, in the words of the *Multiculturalism Act*, that it ensures that "all individuals receive equal treatment and equal protection under the law, while respecting and valuing their diversity."

In practice multiculturalism precludes assimilation and instead promotes fair and reasonable accommodation, integration, and adaptation within a bilingual framework. What is fair or reasonable is not pre-determined, absolute or definitive but it is something ongoing and provisional, decided in practice on a case-by-case basis, sometimes in dialogical negotiation, and sometimes the outcome of court rulings. The underlying idea is twofold: that cultural retention and accommodation, and the public expression of ethno-cultural identity are important for self-respect;

and that cultural recognition in a liberal democracy is as necessary as the freedom and equality of its citizens. The premise here is what Tully (2002) calls “a third-generation norm of legitimacy,” namely that respect for cultural diversity “must be considered on a par with the norms of freedom and equality” (p. 28). Recognizing citizens as free and equal persons actually requires “acknowledging their cultural identities” (Owen & Tully, 2007, p. 277). So ethnic groups should not be pressured either to hide, disguise or erase their identities. And Canada should not punish, suppress or marginalize those who refuse to assimilate into a majority or dominant identity.

Under the older ideology of assimilation, members of the ethno-cultural majority assumed that they had the right to dictate without consultation the terms by which immigrants and long-settled minorities were expected to erase and replace their cultural identities. They expected assimilation as something normal and viewed ethnic retention as neither justifiable nor desirable. This view is often called the ‘Anglo-conformist’ model of assimilation (Troper, 1979) but it is essentially a racist superiority complex premised on the unquestioned supremacist assumptions that British institutions, customs and values were the measure of civilization, and into which all others must be moulded. And not just newcomers: a broader European conformity ideology of assimilation is most clearly evident in the imperial, colonial, racist and genocidal attitudes, policies, laws and practices aimed at the First Nations of the Americas. The racist ideology of Anglo-supremacy is evident in various historical attitudes, policies, laws and practices aimed at French Canadians, for example in certain provisions of the *Royal Proclamation of 1763*, in Lord Durham’s infamous 1839 report and the subsequent *Act of Union*, and the numerous provincial laws passed in the 19th and early 20th centuries outlawing and forbidding the teaching of French, depriving Francophone minorities public schools, and refusing the use of their language in government institutions. Of course this racist superiority complex was always met with ridicule and disdain by the First Nations and by those of French-Canadian origins who steadfastly and unequivocally resisted assimilation policies, and defended their own separate institutions in order to protect their culturally distinct historical societies. Still, this racist ideology persisted into the twentieth century. Consider for example a speech by R.B. Bennett declaring in the House of Commons on June 7, 1928, that “the British civilization” is “the test by which all other civilized nations in modern times are measured” and “the standard by which we must measure our own civilization.” This ideal was the foundation of Canada’s integration policy, namely “to assimilate those whom we bring to this country to that civilization, that standard of living, that regard for morality and law, and the institutions of the country” (Palmer, 1975, p. 119).

Sometime around the middle of the twentieth century in Canada this Anglo-supremacy superiority complex was increasingly called into question, gradually abandoned, and ultimately replaced by a new and very different ideal, which many called multiculturalism. This transformation was not natural, inevitable, or the result of good luck. Rather, it came about by the effective persuasion of an organized political movement that changed public attitudes and practices, which is to say that the assimilation ideology was defeated by a successful widespread popular struggle over recognition (Temelini 2007). The last public expressions justifying Anglo-supremacy are evident in the public hearings and submissions of the *Royal Commission on Bilingualism and Biculturalism* (RCBB), where many participants denounced bilingualism and cultural pluralism, and tried unsuccessfully to defend the ideology R.B. Bennett articulated. We all know that the RCBB was supposed to solve the crisis over Québec’s demands for constitutional recognition as a nation, and to reconcile the dispute between Canadians of British and French origins. It was in response to those who adamantly rejected privileging the descendants of these historically dominant groups, that the RCBB’s scope was broadened to address the recognition demands of Canadians descended from other ethnic groups. Perhaps the RCBB’s most unexpected outcome was that it became the hugely popular forum in which Canadians articulated a new attitude towards these ethnic communities, and this resulted in Trudeau’s famous 1971 policy of “multiculturalism within a bilingual framework.” Trudeau had his own strategic and philosophical reasons for embracing the newly articulated ideology. He stubbornly refused Québécois demands for special recognition as a national minority, and he sought an antidote to cure the national question. While ignoring the RCBB’s recognition of Québec as a distinct society, and the bi-nationalism sanctioned by its various reports, in order to bolster his crusade against Québécois nationalism Trudeau deftly mobilized the ideas found in Volume 4 (or Book IV) of the RCBB’s Final Report, entitled “The Cultural Contribution of Other Ethnic Groups.”

This has been the basis of Québec’s distrust of multiculturalism ever since. It is partly because of the original context in which the idea was articulated that the Québécois have resisted using the word ‘multiculturalism,’ and why they have been justifiably suspicious of the policy. Not because they are opposed to accommodating diversity but because of a concern that the policy undermines efforts to protect and enhance their distinct form of life. They see multiculturalism as a clever attempt to deny their full recognition or even, as Taylor (1994) observed, “to reduce the importance of the French fact in Canada to that of an outsized ethnic minority” (p. 162). As Kymlicka (2009) concurs, they think the policy “reduces their claims of nationhood to the level of immigrant ethnicity” (p. 26).

Despite these misgivings, almost everything I've said here about multiculturalism resembles interculturalism. Like the federal policy, it's a public policy and set of practices for integrating Québec's diverse ethno-cultural communities, in a fair and reasonable way, into its mainstream liberal democratic society. In this sense, what Canadians call 'multiculturalism' and what the Québécois call 'interculturalism' are more or less the same. But there are important differences between the two policies, and it is on the basis of these differences that multiculturalism may not be a Québec value. Elegantly explained in the Bouchard-Taylor report (2008), the differences hinge on what we mean by mainstream society or what that report calls "societal norms" (p. 35). The essential difference is that Québec is a nation with an obvious common public culture. French is its common public language, and a long historical anxiety has persisted over the protection and survival of this language and distinct culture. In other words, inside Québec, unlike the rest of Canada, there is an ethno-cultural majority. And so it differs from the rest of Canada because in contrast to Trudeau's statement cited earlier, there is one official language and a dominant ethno-cultural group "constantly concerned about its future" (p. 40) that has historically demanded to take precedence over other groups. Accordingly, the key difference with Québec's integration policy is to encourage immigrants to learn French and "to reconcile ethno-cultural diversity with the continuity of the French-speaking core" (p. 40). This is the sense in which the Bouchard-Taylor report concluded that "the Canadian multicultural model" is not well suited in Québec. They cite four reasons: first, anxiety over language is not a factor among Canadian Anglophones, and second, "minority insecurity is not found there"; third, there is "no longer a majority ethnic group in Canada" while "citizens of French-Canadian origin make up a strong majority" of Québec's population; and fourth, "it follows that in English Canada, there is less concern for the preservation of a founding cultural tradition" (p. 40). There is another significant aspect to Québec culture addressed in the report which I can only briefly mention here: Québec experienced a profoundly transformative moment of secularization during the Quiet Revolution, and so as Michael Adams (2008) correctly explains, its practice of interculturalism must be understood in the context of the ensuing secular culture that "displaced the Catholic hegemony" (p. 28).

What all this means is that Canada has two models of immigrant integration reflecting two different realities: inside Québec immigrants are integrated into the dominant secular Francophone culture, and outside they are integrated into a bilingual poly-ethnicity.

Taking into consideration these overlapping similarities as well as differences, what this also means is that there is a sense in which both critics and defenders are correct about multiculturalism not being a Québec value. But there is also a sense in which both multiculturalism and interculturalism are indeed Québec values, and Canadian ones too.

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UNSCIENTIFIC REFLECTIONS ON *L'INTERCULTUREL*

Gregory Baum, professor emeritus at the faculty of religious studies of McGill University holds a doctorate in theology and has done graduate studies in sociology. His main field of research is the interaction of religion and society. His recent books include *Nationalism, Religion and Ethics* (French translation *Le nationalisme: perspectives éthiques et religieuses*) and *The Theology of Tariq Ramadan* (French translation *Islam et modernité : La pensée de Tariq Ramadan*).

ABSTRACT

This article looks at *l'interculturel* as a symbol and as a message. As a symbol, *l'interculturel* reminds people that Québec, occupying an objectively different position than the other Canadian provinces, must defend its language and its culture. As a message, *l'interculturel* informs the immigrants that Québec is eager for their integration into Québec society. So far Québec has not done a great deal to translate interculturalism into action.

The National Assembly of Québec has rejected the Canadian federal policy of multiculturalism and adopted interculturalism as an alternative policy. Québécois are strongly opposed to multiculturalism, even if it is not clear whether the interculturalism they prefer makes a difference in practical terms. I wish to argue that, for Québécois, defending *l'interculturel* has meaning both as a symbol and as a message.

A SYMBOL

The principal reason for rejecting multiculturalism is the awareness that the culture of Québec, a small Francophone space unique in North America, is in need of protection – protection by law and by a certain discipline of its citizens. Québécois realize that the pressure exerted on them by the English language is not due to the bad will or lack of generosity on the part of English-speaking Canadians. It is due, rather, to an objective factor: the cultural weight of the English language. The cultural weight of a language is determined by the power of the institutions that mediate it within a given society. Because in North America industry, commerce, technology, administration, scientific research and entertainment all operate almost exclusively in English, this language puts pressure on the small Francophone society. Moreover, it constitutes a threat especially in the big city, for it is there that these institutions are located given the concentration of population.

As a result of these institutional dynamics, 19th century Prague, located in a Czech-speaking region, became a

city that spoke German. Similarly, Brussels, located in a Flemish-speaking region, became city that principally speaks French. After World War II, the Germans were expelled from the Czech Republic and Prague became primarily a Czech-speaking city once more, but Brussels remains largely Francophone, a fact that makes Flemish nationalists reluctant to aspire to independence. The same institutional dynamics can be found in Montreal, a trend against which the Francophone majority resists. It is not surprising that many immigrants settling in Montreal prefer to integrate into the English-speaking minority: they sense that English has greater social and economic power.

The same institutional dynamics has been operative in the colonies of empires. The dominant language spreads first in the capital city where the administrative, educational and commercial institutions are located. Colonized people often speak two languages badly: their own language used in the family and the village, and the language of the colonizer used at work and in public life. For the Native peoples of Canada the loss of their languages has been a tragic event as it has played a role in destroying their socio-cultural self-confidence. Today some of them try to repossess their mother tongue.

Since I was born in Germany and spent my boyhood there, I am more conscious than many Canadians of the political meaning of linguistic conflicts. Not only do languages differ in the power they exercise, they also differ in social standing. In my time, the languages west of Germany, French and English, were honoured – Germans willingly learned them in school – while the languages east

of Germany were looked down upon, and few Germans studied them. In the city of Danzig, where the middle-class were German and the working-class were Polish, the Germans never learned Polish, the idea to do so having never occurred to them.

Languages differ in status. I have Francophone Québécois friends who moved to Toronto and found that their children did not want to speak French; in the classroom, French has a low status. Middle-class Cubans who moved to New York City found that their children did not want to speak Spanish on the streets as they were concerned they'd be mistaken for Puerto Ricans.

I have not mentioned as yet the recent development that made English the global language. In his *La langue nationale et mondialisation: Enjeux et défis pour le français* (Gouvernement du Québec, Conseil de la langue française, 1995), Ricardo Petrella writes,

Lorsqu'en 1886, la ligne de chemin de fer Ivry-Aoste fut achevée, beaucoup d'observateurs de l'époque estimèrent qu'elle allait être un instrument puissant d'italianisation de la Vallée d'Aoste, ce qui fut effectivement le cas.

Quel va être l'impact de la création à l'échelle continentale et mondiale des superautoroutes de l'information et de la communication, dont l'on parle beaucoup depuis peu d'années et qui vraisemblablement «parleront» surtout l'anglais, sur des langues comme l'italien, le néerlandais, le polonais, le russe? Seront-elles réduites à des parlers locaux? Et quel sera l'impact sur l'arabe, le français, l'espagnol?

Scientific publications in France and Germany are published increasingly in English, while some academic conferences have followed suit in using English as the working language. The disadvantage here is chiefly that participants are generally incapable of fully expressing themselves in their own language, and are thus their participation is limited to the extent of their proficiency in English. For Québécois interculturalism is a symbol reminding them and others that their society is in an objectively different situation than the rest of Canada. It is my impression that the Canadian discourse about the two official languages and the word 'bi-lingual' are, by their very nature somewhat misleading, suggesting that French and English have equal weight. The problem here is the failure to recognize that these languages have, in fact, different cultural power and different social standing within Canada

inasmuch as the rest of the world. Québécois will always have to resist the cultural power of the English language, preventing it from entering one sphere of social life after another. Given its geo-political realities, even if Québec became an independent country, it would still have to struggle to keep French as its public language.

A MESSAGE

L'interculturel is not only a symbol but as message as well, addressed to immigrants, telling them that Québec is eager to see them integrate into society, perhaps even more eager than the federal government with its policy of multiculturalism. Québec upholds the rights and freedoms of immigrants and respects their cultural and religious practices, yet Québécois are eager to have newcomers become active citizens who will assist in building a distinct society. Interculturalism encourages dialogue, interaction and cooperation between the settled population and more recent arrivals. Ideally, recent immigrants and the established population are to come to know one another, overcome their prejudices and discover their common interests and values. Interculturalism has been promoted through several different proposals. Some have emphasized the convergence of cultures, another has stressed the common citizenship, and others have advocated a common public culture. The latter proposals want all citizens, regardless of their cultural background, to recognize the public values essential to Québec society, such as democratic participation, human rights, the importance of the French language and gender equality, among others. A common public culture would allow all citizens to celebrate their individual cultural tradition within their family, their neighbourhood and their ethno-cultural community while promoting a sense of common cause amongst diverse peoples. *L'interculturel* says to the newcomers: we need you, we welcome you, and we want to work with you to make our small society flourish.

It is regrettable that Québec has done very little to translate *l'interculturel* into practice. If interaction among the different communities is desired, initiatives must take place on several levels in order to do so. The first and most important requirement is that immigrants be able to quickly establish themselves by gaining employment. It is by working with others and participating in a common project that exchange and interaction take place. A government committed to interculturalism must see to it that the newcomers find work, that their academic and professional competencies and qualifications are recognized, and that their rate of unemployment is not higher than that of the provincial average. I am not certain whether the philosophy of the present government permits such interventions in the economic life of the province.

There are other levels in which interculturalism calls for action. At this time, the government hardly involves itself in the integration of immigrants. It does not create centres in urban neighbourhoods for teaching French, nor does it help immigrants to find their way by organizing events to make them feel welcome and to further bring them into contact with established Québécois. To make interculturalism work, all Québécois must go out of their way to include newcomers in their circles and social projects. The philosopher-novelist Naïm Kattan, who arrived in Montreal in 1954, has made an important contribution to Québec's intellectual life. One of his sayings is that the best thing you can do for an immigrant is to ask him or her to participate in a common project. By rendering a service to society, the newcomer learns to feel part of it.

L'interculturel is a great idea, but Québec has done very little to give it concrete meaning. I am associated with the Centre justice et foi de Montréal which promotes *l'interculturel* and *la culture publique commune* in its review *Relations*, as well as the activities of the sector *Vivre ensemble* in support of immigrants and refugees. In Québec many centres and networks try to put interculturalism into practice. What is missing is organized pressure on the government to support the process of integration.

PROPOS LIBRE AUTOUR DE LA DIVERSITÉ EN ACADIE DU NOUVEAU-BRUNSWICK*

Chedly Belkhodja est professeur au département de science politique de l'Université de Moncton. Ses recherches portent sur les questions de l'immigration dans les villes de taille moyenne et dans les régions de faible immigration et des discours et représentations de la diversité culturelle, religieuse et ethnique. Il mène également une réflexion sur le phénomène du populisme et des idéologies de la droite. Ses articles ont été publiés dans *Études ethniques du Canada*, *Revue canadienne de science politique*, *Politique et Sociétés*, *Argument*, *Francophonie d'Amérique*, *Lexicometrica*. Depuis 2006 il assume les fonctions de directeur du centre Métropolis atlantique. Il vient de publier un essai sur l'immigration au Nouveau-Brunswick (*D'ici et d'ailleurs*, Perce-Neige, 2011) et a réalisé deux films produits par l'Office national du film du Canada, soit *Tableaux d'un voyage imaginaire* en 2001 avec le cinéaste Jean Chabot et *Au bout du fil* en 2006.

RÉSUMÉ

Cette réflexion s'intéresse à la manière d'envisager la gestion de la diversité en milieu minoritaire francophone. Au-delà d'une application des modèles du multiculturalisme et de l'interculturalisme, le défi de faire avec la diversité demande un arrimage nouveau de l'identité historique avec celle des nouveaux arrivants. Le cas de l'Acadie du Nouveau-Brunswick illustre bien le chemin parcouru depuis quelques années.

* Ce texte est une version légèrement remaniée d'un extrait tiré d'un récent essai intitulé *D'ici et d'ailleurs. Regards croisés sur l'immigration*, publié chez l'éditeur Perce-Neige, 2011.

Dans le contexte minoritaire francophone, une question fondamentale à poser est celle qui interroge la réelle volonté des communautés francophones de transformer les balises identitaires de la société minoritaire et non simplement de travailler les capacités organisationnelles pour accueillir un nouvel arrivant. Ces préoccupations, on les retrouve dans certaines analyses plus théoriques, réflexion nourrie en Acadie par des textes importants, dont ceux de Mourad Ali-Khodja et de Nasser Baccouche Ali-Khodja, 2003; Baccouche, 2003). Ces sociologues ont questionné la difficulté à penser l'altérité dans une société minoritaire, notamment à un certain malaise lorsque vient le temps de la concevoir pour ainsi lui permettre d'émerger parmi nous, et la difficulté de penser à l'absence d'un espace permettant un débat public sur de nouvelles questions identitaires. Nicole Gallant, chercheure à l'INRS, et moi-même avons posé différemment cette question à partir d'une perspective de recherche de terrain visant à analyser les représentations de la diversité dans les discours des associations francophones,

soulignant que la forte minorité acadienne du Nouveau-Brunswick maintient la distinction ou la distance entre le «eux» et le «nous» et façonne son projet de société sur la défense des acquis de la communauté historique (Gallant et Belkhodja, 2005).

Depuis quelques années, la venue de nouveaux francophones dans des communautés introduit de nouvelles questions sur le plan de la place de l'immigrant, obligeant les communautés elles-mêmes à se questionner sur l'identité. Finalement, on en vient à se demander comment l'immigrant et la société d'accueil font évoluer les balises identitaires de la communauté. Prenons le cas de la langue. Certains nouveaux arrivants ne voient pas la nécessité de jouer le jeu du minoritaire et de prendre parti d'un discours militant de défense des acquis linguistiques; ils ne sont pas venus uniquement pour consolider la communauté d'accueil. Des immigrants francophones veulent envoyer leurs enfants dans le système scolaire anglophone afin de leur donner une solide base en anglais, considérant que l'acquis de la langue française ne pose aucun problème pour eux. Ils n'expriment pas la même inquiétude linguistique. Imaginons un peu la réaction de la communauté francophone qui se bat depuis des décennies pour ses écoles francophones... Je me dis quand même que cet enjeu

de la langue ne doit pas se limiter à des considérations individuelles, mais doit faire place à l'importance du lieu d'ancrage du processus de l'intégration, c'est-à-dire, du premier contact de l'immigrant avec la société qui l'accueille. Il me semble que cela doit être essentiellement un accueil francophone permettant de situer l'immigrant qui désire un cadre de vie en français. Ce qui cloche depuis quelque temps, c'est que tout le monde ne cesse de dire que l'acquisition de la langue anglaise devient la seule manière de pleinement s'intégrer à une société minoritaire. Un drôle de glissement se produit vers l'acceptation d'une identité bilingue, reflet idéal de la culture néobrunswickoise et d'une identité canadienne plurielle. Dans ce sens, l'usage de la langue se détache du projet de société francophone pour intégrer le discours de l'identité bilingue et de son inclusion dans un modèle multiculturel. Il n'est pas facile de mettre le doigt là-dessus en affirmant que le problème se situe à un endroit. Il y a plutôt une sorte d'évanescence d'une culture changeante vers un horizon politiquement neutre.

Sur ces enjeux identitaires, les contours d'un débat se précisent autour de la nécessité à défendre ou préserver le thème de la fondation en tant que cadre de référence de la francophonie minoritaire. De ceci découle un malaise à préciser comment le discours de la diversité s'inscrit dans ce moule fondateur. Il y a quelques années, cet enjeu de société a pris forme lors d'un débat autour de la place de la Déportation de 1755 au sein de la mémoire collective acadienne canalisé par la volonté de certains individus à demander des excuses officielles à la Couronne britannique. Je cite ici un échange d'opinion dans les colonnes du journal *Le Devoir* entre Joseph Yvon Thériault et Donald Savoie (Savoie, 2004; Thériault, 2004). En 2004, le politologue Savoie applaudit la décision du gouvernement fédéral de reconnaître la tragédie du peuple acadien par une Proclamation royale qui, selon lui, inscrit cet événement du passé dans le contexte de valeurs canadiennes à partager et non dans celui d'une reconnaissance spécifique à un peuple en particulier. Savoie considère que cette manière de faire permet de réduire le sentiment du ressentiment et du désir de reconnaissance de l'événement pour exprimer la fierté et les succès de la société acadienne à travers les siècles :

La collectivité acadienne est maintenant dotée de sa propre université et a produit récemment une classe d'entrepreneurs qui connaissent beaucoup de succès. La présence des Acadiens se fait sentir dans le monde des affaires, le gouvernement, les beaux-arts, la littérature et les professions libérales, avec des personnalités comme Louis Robichaud, Roméo LeBlanc ou Antonine Maillet.

Pour sa part, Joseph-Yvon Thériault questionne cette position :

Jusqu'à récemment, le nationalisme acadien, s'il reconnaissait son adhésion à la société canadienne, le faisait à travers une médiation, soit la nation acadienne, qui était elle-même liée aux autres groupements francophones – y compris québécois –, constituant l'un des éléments de la réalité binationale du Canada. Dans la «fierté» canadienne, tel que l'exprime Donald Savoie, cette dimension a disparu. C'est au Canada terre d'immigration, donc au multiculturalisme, qu'il associe la nouvelle reconnaissance acadienne. Serait-ce que les Acadiens ont troqué leur désir de nationalité pour une reconnaissance ethnique ? Si tel est le cas, on aurait un bel exemple où la reconnaissance d'une mémoire abolit la mémoire qu'elle prétend reconnaître.

Selon Thériault, déplacer la légitimité de la nation du peuple acadien vers le projet fluide et innovant de la fierté canadienne évacue un élément considérable de son identité, soit le socle de la reconnaissance construit à partir du projet fondateur national. La question se pose avec encore plus d'acuité par rapport au projet de la gestion de la diversité. Dans un article récent, Joseph-Yvon Thériault et Martin E.-Meunier (Thériault et Meunier, 2008) ne semblent pas voir la chose comme étant dans l'ordre du possible, car l'idéologie de la diversité brise la possibilité de faire société et donc l'élément vital des communautés francophones minoritaires. animateurs et chercheurs au Centre interdisciplinaire de recherche sur la citoyenneté et les minorités (CIRCEM) de l'Université d'Ottawa, ils visaient principalement «l'École de Toronto» (les chercheurs Monica Heller, Normand Labrie et Diane Farmer)¹. Dans ce texte, ils considèrent que l'élaboration d'une «nouvelle francité» minoritaire calquée sur la dynamique multiculturelle, fluide et individualiste de la francophonie torontoise poursuit l'œuvre de «dénationalisation de l'affirmation des francophonies vivant en situation minoritaire» (p. 206). Selon Thériault et Meunier, il devient urgent de rétablir les balises d'une appartenance commune : «Or, faire société, c'est plutôt établir de manière permanente un rapport à soi et élaborer et maintenir (bref, instituer) un «nous» qui, justement, dépasse l'affinité des individus qui composent des groupes identitaires; de cela, l'école de Toronto ne semble pas vouloir» (p. 216). Monica Heller et ses collègues se voient accusés de cosmopolitiser l'identité francophone pour en faire une parmi d'autres dans la grande ville de Toronto.

Depuis quelques années, des intellectuels posent la question de comment faire société dans un monde où les identités multiples remplacent le projet commun du vivre-ensemble. Avec la controverse des accommodements raisonnables de 2006-2007 au Québec et des suites autour du débat sur la laïcité et le port du voile intégral, ces intellectuels s'inquiètent devant ce qu'ils qualifient de «multiculturalisation de la société québécoise» par des demandes de reconnaissance de groupes ethnoculturels². Selon eux, il y a comme une urgence à faire passer un autre message que l'idéologie dominante du progressisme des élites intellectuelles de gauche acquises au pluralisme identitaire et au cosmopolitisme montréalais.

Cette critique du bon sentiment identitaire imposé par la culture du politiquement correct, de la perte d'un sens commun est valable, mais je ne vois pas toujours quelle route prendre pour préserver un idéal francophone au pays. Je partage avec Thériault cette nécessité de ne pas constamment faire un portrait élogieux de la société minoritaire autour des multiples conquêtes (sorte de catalogue de faits et de personnes à citer dans un parcours glorieux, sorte de musée vivant). Il ne suffit pas aussi de produire une image de la diversité comme ces visages souriants et figés sur des brochures touristiques. Il faut que la diversité soit vivante, inscrite dans la réalité quotidienne des milieux de vie dans la francophonie canadienne. Comme le souligne Thériault, il s'agit de faire société, ce qui ne serait plus du tout évident de nos jours. Là où je prends mes distances, c'est dans la manière d'engager le débat par rapport à l'apport de la diversité, c'est-à-dire, de ne pas simplement la réduire à une notion idéologique et apolitique au service du multiculturalisme canadien et de l'interculturalisme à la québécoise.

Je me demande ce que cherchent vraiment ces sociologues. Faut-il renouer avec une tradition conservatrice de la fondation? Mais quelle est la fondation aujourd'hui? Le Canada français, la dualité canadienne, l'héritage de la Révolution tranquille, les valeurs «occidentales»? Je pars peut-être d'une autre perspective, celle d'une lecture plus empirique et sociologique de petits faits dans un espace, dans un lieu où la diversité peut constituer une dynamique d'une fondation qui évolue par l'importance de l'immigration. Au Nouveau-Brunswick, on se sent un peu loin de tout cela, mais il ne suffit pas de croire que le contexte plus paisible de la situation identitaire de la minorité francophone acadienne, à l'abri d'une grande diversité ethnoculturelle, qui connaît bien le sens de l'accommodation dans sa relation harmonieuse avec une majorité anglophone, soit un garant de stabilité et de sécurité identitaire. Au contraire, à l'image de ce qui se passe un peu partout dans l'espace francophone canadienne, la société acadienne du Nouveau-Brunswick se transforme tout doucement par un apport de la diversité, dans ses villes, dans ses écoles et campus

universitaires, dans ses lieux de travail, d'où l'importance à travailler les questions de l'inclusion et de la reconnaissance des différences.

Au moins, peut-on espérer que ce débat naissant autour de l'immigration et de la diversité permettra de se dégager de certaines représentations connues de l'Acadie, soit l'engouement généalogique, l'identité diasporique ou encore cette muséification du projet acadien dans le parcours glorieux et ronronnant de la résilience. L'enjeu de la diversité doit également nous préoccuper dans le sens où un glissement de langage se produit vers une évacuation de la référence politique dans le projet du devenir acadien réduit à une inclusion de la diversité dans un projet multiculturel dépolitisé. Le grand défi qui se pose est de faire société avec la diversité.

NOTES

¹ Joseph Yvon Thériault est depuis 2008 au Département de sociologie de l'Université du Québec à Montréal et titulaire de la Chaire de Recherche du Canada en Mondialisation, Citoyenneté et Démocratie.

² La figure la plus médiatique est Mathieu Bock-Côté. Doctorant en sociologie à l'Université du Québec à Montréal (UQAM), essayiste, chroniqueur et invité de plusieurs émissions de télévision. Cet intellectuel défend la nécessité de repenser et de refonder la nation québécoise autour d'un projet conservateur. Il est l'auteur d'un essai à succès, *La dénationalisation tranquille* (Montréal, Boréal, 2007) et d'un tout récent ouvrage, *Fin de cycle. Aux origines du malaise politique québécois*, Boréal, Montréal, 2012.

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DEBATING QUÉBEC'S INTERCULTURALISM AS A RESPONSE TO CANADA'S MULTICULTURALISM: AN EXERCISE IN NORMATIVE NATIONALISMS?

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ABSTRACT

This paper argues that normative debates about the relative merits of interculturalism in Québec are evidence of a particular type of nationalism in both Québec and Canada, one that continues to centre the experiences of the “two founding” nations of Canada. In order to resituate this debate, I locate interculturalism within the rise of tolerance discourses in Western liberal democracies since the 1980s. The first section of the paper presents a brief overview of some of the major claims for the rise of interculturalism in Québec. The second section of the paper provides a concise analysis of the racial politics of the intercultural discourse in Québec. By doing so, I argue that despite their respective legitimacy, interculturalism and multiculturalism must be read as continued attempts to manage and limit expressions of racialized diversity in the social and political realms.

Since the release of the final report of the Bouchard-Taylor Commission in Québec, English-Canada has become increasingly aware of the differences between Canadian and Québécois approaches to diversity management.¹ Besides normative reactions favouring Canadian approaches as more tolerant and tolerable – thus building on English-Canada's stubbornly consistent claims about Québec's intolerance and/or racism – much of the scholarly interest in this question remains mired in the politics of nation-building in Canada and Québec. The purpose of this short intervention is to propose an alternative avenue of research, one that critically engages with the politics of interculturalism in Québec by tying these dynamics into broader ideological trends in Western liberal democracies, including in Canada.

The first section of the paper presents a brief overview of some of the major claims for the rise of interculturalism in Québec. The second section of the paper provides a concise analysis of the racial politics of the intercultural discourse in Québec. By doing so, I argue that despite their respective legitimacy, interculturalism and multiculturalism must be read as continued attempts to manage and limit expressions of racialized diversity in the social and political realms.

INTERCULTURALISM IN QUÉBEC: A DIFFERENT APPROACH?

As we have seen throughout this special issue, Québec has a unique approach to managing racialized diversity, in which the concept of multiculturalism common in Canada has been formally abandoned for the concept of interculturalism – or the set of institutional rights and responsibilities associated with policies on tolerance and respect of differences within a French-language social environment. The 1990 policy document *Au Québec pour bâtir ensemble: Énoncé de politique en matière d'immigration et d'intégration* [In Québec to Build Together: Policy Declaration on the Question of Immigration and Integration] is often seen as the first document to fully articulate the unique policy implications of interculturalism (see Marhraoui, 2005; Rocher et al, 2007). These include three main tenets: French as the language of public life; a democratic society, where everyone is expected and encouraged to participate and contribute; and an open, pluralist society that respects democratic values and inter-communitarian exchange (Gouvernement du Québec, 1990, p.16).

While there are many different views about interculturalism in Québec (see Labelle, 2008 for an overview), the general scholarly consensus is that the intercultural approach is more favorable to inter-ethnic and interracial harmony. Within these arguments, interculturalism is taken to mean an openness to the Other, to cultural exchange, and to respecting identities; it thus stands in stark contrast to Canada's more amorphous and individualistic multiculturalism (Juteau, McAndrew, and Pietrantonio, 1998; Labelle, 1998; Labelle and Rocher, 2004; Lefebvre, 2008). Capturing this analysis, Alain Gagnon and Raffaele Iacovino (2005, p.30) explain how Québec's intercultural approach is based on a process of "cultural convergence" that diverges substantially from the Canadian multicultural approach:

[Interculturalism] contends that the incorporation of immigrants or minority cultures into the larger political community is a reciprocal endeavour – a 'moral contract' between the host society and the particular cultural group, in the aim of establishing a forum for the empowerment of all citizens – a 'common public culture.'

The authors state perhaps the main tenet of the position that favours interculturalism over multiculturalism in academic literature, the idea of a metaphorical moral contract between newcomers and Québec society, one that places Québec's "common public culture" at the forefront.

A number of scholars of Québec have argued that such policy differences are evidence of Québec's adoption of a more republican model of citizenship, underlining integration to an emerging common public culture (see Juteau, 2002; Couton & Blad, 2009). In this understanding, Québec's approach is influenced by political and philosophical currents originating in French republican ideologies. Those familiar with the heated debates over a number of policies associated with governing diversity in France might find echoes in Québec's recent trials on similar questions. Many of those promoting the "republican" approach in Québec argue that Canada adheres to a more liberal conception of citizenship, emphasizing individual rights within a pluralist society. In other words, Canada promotes the construction of disparate publics, while Québec promotes integration to one broader conception of the public.

Regardless of what approach – interculturalism or multiculturalism – one favours, there seems to be notable agreement in either scholarly or popular accounts that these two approaches are markedly different. In fact, after reviewing the literature on this question, I argue that the inter/multi-culturalism debate has reinvigorated one of

the key features of Canadian and Québécois nationalisms: the persistent focus on the English – French divide. Yet, as I explained previously, I position my analysis of the inter/multi-culturalism debate purposefully outside of its normative parameters.

WHITHER MULTICULTURALISM?: THE RISE OF INTERCULTURALISM AS A POLITICAL STRATEGY OF CONTAINMENT

Despite the general agreement in Québec (and to lesser degree, in English-Canada) that Québécois and Canadian approaches to cultural pluralism are different in *practice*, some scholars argue that any differences between these two approaches are more of a political concern. For example, political scientist Daniel Salée (2007) has argued that, "Such differences, though, matter more for political reasons than for analytical or taxonomic reasons in the minds of those who stress them" (p.113-14). Concluding her review of the two policies, Amy Nugent (2006), a former public servant for the Governments of Canada and Québec working on their respective cultural-pluralism files, makes a similar argument: "National mythologizing [is] more important in explaining popular and academic discourse than substantive policy differences" (p.21).

Thus, due the many *political* positions against multiculturalism in Québec, and the newfound interest in interculturalism in the rest of Canada, I suggest that it is instructive to understand both the Québécois and Canadian approaches to cultural pluralism as deeply politicized tools for constructing national subjects. In this spirit, I would now like to analyze the theory of interculturalism in Québec using recent research on the rise of tolerance in Western liberal democracies.

TOLERANCE IN THE WEST

Wendy Brown's work on the rise of tolerance discourses in the West since the 1980s provides us with some theoretical language to explicate the development of interculturalism in Québec. By replacing the English-Canadian concept of tolerance with that of accommodation, interculturalist discourses in fact point to new forms of state-based discursive efforts to define the "problem" of diversity. Brown (2006) explains that tolerance, or in our example of Québec, accommodation, is part of a civilizational discourse that pits a "cosmopolitan West" against "its putatively fundamental Other" (p.#). Tolerance discourses, in these circumstances, identify both tolerance and the tolerable with the West, "marking," as Brown argues, "nonliberal societies and practices as candidates for an intolerable barbarism that is itself signaled by the putative intolerance ruling these societies" (p.6). Those familiar with the Hérouxville Code of Conduct (2007),

the City of Gatineau Statement of Values (2011) or the new Canadian Citizenship Guide (2008), "Discover Canada," will recognize the rather explicit language of barbarism and (in)civility these documents employ as evidence of an innate Canadian or Québécois tolerance over imagined racialized Others. As Brown explains, under this discursive regime, civility exists in the West, and tolerance of incivility becomes a fundamental Western value. While this argument may seem far removed from my discussion about inter/multi-culturalism, allow me to situate it within the deliberations that took place in Québec during 2007-2008 (viz. Bouchard-Taylor Commission), through a brief review of my most recent research (Leroux, forthcoming), which analyzes a sample of the written briefs presented to the Commission by individuals and organizations in Québec. For the purposes of this paper, I highlight the most salient feature of this discourse, that of gender equality as a fundamental Québécois value.

THE BRIEFS

In many ways, the question of gender equality has been at the forefront of the debate over racialized diversity in the West. Québec is not unique in this regard, as feminist scholars across a wide spectrum have written about the Western preoccupation with the figure of the endangered Muslim woman struggling against patriarchal norms (Yegenoglu 1998; Jiwani 2006; Razack 2008; Haque 2010). In the aftermath of the Bouchard-Taylor Commission, several Québec-based feminists have argued that a narrowly liberal understanding of gender equality generally operates to uphold Western civilizing norms in Québec (among them, Chew, 2009; Ramachandran, 2009; Mahrouse, 2008).

The discourse opposing so-called Western values of gender equality with purported non-Western patriarchal practices was on very clear display throughout the commission's hearings, whether in the *Conseil du statut de la femme du Québec's* (CSFQ) proposal that the Québec Charter of Rights and Freedoms be amended to ensure that the equality of men and women supersedes the freedom of religion or in the Government of Québec's eventual modification of the Charter on these same grounds.

Nevertheless, through my analysis of a sample of briefs presented to the Commission, it becomes clear that an opposition to accommodation through the gender equality versus religious freedom binary is commonplace. Flowing from this belief, Québec is often celebrated as a model student of Western civilization, with a global mission to spread its superior values and norms. In fact, among the many briefs that express elements of this discourse, naturalized immigrant "traditions" are largely to blame for gender inequality in Québec society, not practices inherent to Québec, which is held up as an egalitarian space for women.

Several organizations, including the *Centrale des syndicats du Québec*, an important Québec-based social and political institution, also made their call for limits related to cultural and especially, religious practices quite plain by repeating the commonsense formulation that in many ways has become "fact" in Québec: the idea that human rights commissions and courts are overrun with requests for accommodation that infringe on norms of gender equality, what the CSQ called the "return of religion" in the public sphere earlier in their brief. Yet, as Yolande Geadah (2007) demonstrates, no more than 85 of the 5,482 (or 1.5%) official requests for accommodation to the *Commission des droits de la personne et des droits de la jeunesse* [Québec Human Rights Commission] in the five-year period preceding the Bouchard-Taylor Commission (2000-2005) were of a religious nature, and only fifty-five of these made requests for accommodation. Of these, Geadah (2007: 23-25) confirms that the majority was made by Protestants, including mainstream Christians and Jehovah's Witnesses, requesting accommodation for religious symbols and practices in the public sphere (e.g., establishing prayer rooms, the wearing of religious symbols, etc.). What purpose, then, does it serve respondents to suggest that the *majority* of the requests for accommodation involved conflicts between minority religious demands (viz. Muslim and orthodox Jewish) and gender equality? Sirma Bilge (2010, p.198, my translation), writing specifically about the discourse on gender equality in Québec, argues that "the gender equality and sexual freedoms discourse is an integral part of the homogenizing and totalizing processes that go hand in hand with the constitution and reaffirmation of national identity [in Québec]." Indeed, for respondents, gender equality becomes the legitimating practice and/or value that points to Québec's national genius and places it within a civilizational order based on European white supremacist discourses. In other words, gender equality becomes Québec's contribution to Western civilization. One need only focus on the cultural practices of racialized Others, even when similar practices occur regularly in Québec society (e.g., violence against women). In this way, none of the respondents speak explicitly about race; yet, race haunts the spectre of nationalism in Québec, much like it does in Canada, through what Brown (2006, p.6) calls the depoliticization of tolerance:

Depoliticization involves construing inequality, subordination, marginalization, and social conflict, which all require political analysis and political solutions, as personal and individual, on the one hand, or as natural, religious, or cultural on the other.

We see over and over again in the briefs efforts to depoliticize difference by relying on the culturalization of race – race as innate cultural practices, in this case, violence against women.

While a small but important number of the briefs in my sample resist the common discourse of opposition that pits Québec values to those emanating from elsewhere (spatially, religiously, culturally), for the most part written by organizations representing Muslims in Québec, the large majority relied on the civilizational discourse I present above. Nowhere in the briefs is there an explicit discussion of racial difference; instead, respondents enumerate a number of values and practices that position Québec and the Québécois within frameworks of Western civilization and white supremacy, laying bare the problematic *racial* assumptions that are at its foundation. In this sense, arguing the relative merits of interculturalism or multiculturalism might serve broader ideological purposes, such as managing and limiting expressions of racialized diversity in the social and political realms.

NOTES

¹ This essay is a modified version of a presentation I delivered at the Association of Canadian Studies/Canadian Ethnic Studies Association sponsored conference “Multiculturalism Turns 40: Reflections on the Canadian Policy” held in Ottawa in September/October 2011. Thank you to Eve Haque, Carriane Leung, Lynn Caldwell, Andrea Fatona, and Rinaldo Walcott for their helpful comments.

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CANADIAN CROSS-CULTURAL UNDERSTANDING: FROM TAYLOR TO KYMLICKA TO REASONABLE ACCOMMODATION

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ABSTRACT

Canadian discourses about immigrant and minority integration have evolved over the past four decades; a large number of federal and provincial government programs and policies are now involved in the integration process; Canada has been more successful than any other OECD country in welcoming and integrating millions of people while maintaining economic prosperity and social peace. Yet, negative discourses have crept in. This article provides a narrative on how cross-cultural understanding and multicultural citizenship came to be Canadian products that gave this country its edge.

The views expressed in this article are those of the author.

This issue of *Canadian Diversity* on cross-cultural understanding looks at culture as a carrier of many elements, such as ethnicity, language, religion, arts, cuisine, leisure and sports. The implication is obvious, for it involves inter-faith dialogue, the linguistic duality of the two official languages/cultures, and the desire to understand the myriad of over 200 ethnic groups in Canada, as well as the broader issue of identity and belonging. Since others in this issue tackle the core theme from practical or policy angles, this article, although coterminous, is limited to a narrative of the philosophical debate of the past twenty years.

CROSS-CULTURAL DIALOGUE

Cross cultural dialogue is a quintessentially Canadian answer to addressing the challenges faced by our society with regards to social transformation. It is precisely needed if such transformations are construed as presenting potential sources of cantankerous future tension. The Canadian approach of public dialogue and royal commissions has served the country well over the decades. In this Canadian tradition, experts call for open discussion on issues surrounding multiculturalism and citizenship.

Through peaceful dialogue, Canada has tendentially more progressive views on socioeconomic issues and immigration and multiculturalism compared to those expressed in Europe and elsewhere. Dialogue since the early 1960s has ubiquitously led to building a Canadian vision of the future without sanctimony: an evolutionary, peaceful transformation from the Quiet Revolution in Québec to the sophisticated federal and provincial legislative framework around social, gender, and racial equality and multiculturalism.

Perhaps, a good point of departure is inter-faith dialogue: In 1776, at a convention to draw up the constitution, a delegate named Heinrich Roth, from a small sect who had emigrated from Germany to escape religious persecution, argued for the inclusion of a clause guaranteeing *freedom of religion* in the constitution. Benjamin Franklin, who chaired the session and was well known for his strong secular and anti-clerical beliefs, asked Roth why a religious person would want freedom of religion. Roth answered, "Because we're not sure we are right," to which Franklin responded that he was the most admirable religious person he had ever met, because all the others were so self-assured. Professor John Sigler of Carleton University took this story a step further:

*"In the dialogue which is being practiced in Canada, we will need much more of that spirit of listening to others with the recognition that we have so much to learn from each other. And we should always be aware of our biases and prejudices if there is to be any genuine effort at mutual learning. On that basis alone we can enter any real dialogue of healing in this troubled age."*¹

Almost 228 years later, at a conference on religion in Berlin in 2002, German philosopher Jürgen Habermas threw an intellectual bomb against established views about religion, and in line with his opposition to conventional thought process in current western political culture. He called for a philosophical program that completes the Enlightenment process and a pragmatic approach that benefits society, where citizens are the main doers. He said that religions are essentially "intolerant" projects because they are "closed" (in his words, they are "un-enlightened" projects), built on eternal irrefutable facts and statements, and on fixed dogmas that cannot be modified or replaced no matter how long *inter-faith dialogue* continued. To him, the adherents of every religious denomination believe that they own complete truths and those who belong to other religions are wrong in their beliefs; for if they agree with the views of members of other religions, they risk doubting their own beliefs. Religious ideologies do not accept thought outside their own religion, e.g., Catholic catechism says that the Church does not accept any other religion; in Muslim *sharia*, Islam is the only religion of God, and accepting any other belief endangers faith.

Habermas here was not anti-religious, nor an atheist. He was simply delivering a clear message that "integrating" all religions into a single universal one is impossible, if not hypocritical. What participants in inter-faith dialogue believed to be rapprochement, or agreement, was in fact hiding or downplaying fundamental differences, and bringing forward what unites. Rather, Habermas suggested that conferrers should focus on seeking to know the religions of one another and respect them for what they are and make peace with them, without antagonism or attempts to prove one another to be wrong. Such mutual understanding would then be transferred to the *public sphere* – Habermas' recurrent theme – i.e., brought out to community, the media, and governments, to facilitate cooperation and working together in day to day life. And this represents the guts of Habermas' position on the primacy of dialogue: people go through "discursive" and "dialogical" exercises to reach practical commonalities that make life easier.

The Canadian Charter of Rights and Freedoms (1977) guarantees the freedom of religious belief:

2. Everyone has the following fundamental freedoms:
 - (a) Freedom of conscience and religion;
 - (b) Freedom of thought, belief, opinion and expression, including freedom of the press and other media of communication;
 - (c) Freedom of peaceful assembly; and
 - (d) Freedom of association.

15. (1) Every individual is equal before and under the law and has the right to the equal protection and equal benefit of the law without discrimination and, in particular, without discrimination based on race, national or ethnic origin, colour, religion, sex, age or mental or physical disability.

Dialogue in the public sphere was the backdrop of strong foundation for multicultural citizenship in Canada.

RISE OF MULTICULTURAL CITIZENSHIP

TAYLOR/THESIS

Canadian social history could provide rationale for the legislative developments, but it was work by enlightened men that gave this rationale depth and texture, such as Canadian philosopher Charles Taylor. In 1992, Taylor argued that societies, such as Canada, have become increasingly multicultural and more open to migration. This has led to a situation where some cultures impose themselves on others (with assumed superiority of a hegemonic culture) and placed minority cultures in danger of vanishing. The recognition or non-recognition of minority cultures then influences identity formation; non-recognition causes damage/pain and oppresses people (e.g., African Americans and women in history). Therefore, the demand for recognition has become a basic human need. German philosopher Johann Gottfried Herder (1744–1803) provides two guiding principles: (1) society's acceptance that every individual is *original*; and that (2) it is an ethical ideal for everyone to be true to oneself. These principles of originality are not only for individuals but also for groups of people as carriers of culture (if one is not true to oneself, then they suffer from cowardice and eventually of alienation as well explained in Sartre's existentialism). Taylor suggests that:

*"Equal recognition is not just the appropriate mode for a healthy democratic society. Its refusal can inflict damage on those who are denied it... The projection of an inferior or demeaning image on another can actually distort and oppress, to the extent that the image is internalized."*²

In this vein, Taylor advocates a modern notion of individual identity, where everyone is recognised for their particular identity, distinctness, and particularities, and is not subject to assimilation by the mainstream or to oppression of the group they belong to. The recognition should be limited to a combination of rights and cultural traditions since the state cannot be made responsible for enforcing equal recognition of private interests:

*"...it (the politics of difference) asks that we give acknowledgement and status to something that is not universally shared. Or, otherwise put, we give due acknowledgement only to what is universally present – everyone has an identity – through recognizing what is peculiar to each. The universal demand powers an acknowledgement of specificity"*³

Habermas/Anti-Thesis

In a symposium held at Stanford University in January 1995, Habermas responded to Taylor's thesis⁴. The issue was individual versus group rights and whether a constitutional democracy based on individual rights and freedoms ought to recognize group rights, which might lead to what the French call *communautarisme*; this would create a cleavage between individual rights vs. collective goals, complete equality vs. recognition of difference (special rights (and equal rights) for everyone but allowing restrictions for "special" citizens). Habermas then made this polemic:

*"Should citizens' identities as members of ethnic, cultural, or religious groups publicly matter? And if so, how can collective identities make a difference within the frame of a constitutional democracy? Are collective identities and cultural memberships politically relevant, and if so, how can they legitimately affect the distribution of rights and the recognition of legal claims?"*⁵

For him, religion and ethnic identities are private matters and have no place in the public sphere. It is harmful to bring forward group rights in a constitutional democracy based on individual rights and responsibilities, and the state cannot allocate claims when religious or ethnic identities are forced upon the public sphere. Habermas criticizes attempts in Western democracies to revive nationalist dogmas – whose disastrous outcome is a painful matter of historical record. They must be combated by *constitutional or civic citizenship* that respects democratic principles⁶. Therefore – and here lies Habermas' master statement – all concrete legislation should be evaluated in light of universal

normative precepts embodied in the constitution itself. In line with his philosophical discourse, he argues that national identity should be based on an appeal to universal principles of justice, human rights and democracy and not on beliefs of rights or wrongs based on immediate or particularistic points of reference as re-enforced by one's peer group or nation (even if that means the majority ethnic or linguistic group):

*"Laws are legitimate only if they are in tune with the opinions, values, and norms generated discursively in civil society... Legitimate laws must be consistent with moral, ethical, and pragmatic considerations and serve the good of the legal community"*⁷

For a democratic constitution to take root it must be supported by a political culture consistent with modern morality and resonate with ethical understanding of all cultural groups in the country. A political culture cannot be seen as an expression of particular values of the majority culture⁸. Habermas' call for *civic citizenship* as compared to *ethnic citizenship* found meaning in Germany of the 1990s; where it contributed to a modern citizenship law in 2000. He saw hope in a new era of political community that transcends nationalism-based states (based on ethnic and cultural likeness) towards one based on equal rights and obligations of *legally vested citizens*. This civic democracy requires a political community which can collectively define its political will and implement it as policy through the legislative system. This political system requires an activist public sphere, where matters of common interest and political issues can be discussed, and the force of public opinion can influence government decision-making process.

Kymlicka/Synthesis

Canada was the golden mean between Taylor and Habermas, as brought forward by Canadian thinker Will Kymlicka. Canada after 2000 proudly displayed her own brand of civic citizenship called *multicultural citizenship* that recognized minority rights. Kymlicka explains the triumph of multicultural citizenship thus: for years the central critique of multiculturalism and minority rights theory was based on the argument that justice required state institutions to be "colour-blind" and therefore the onus remained firmly on proponents of minority rights "to show that deviations from difference-blind rules that are adopted in order to accommodate ethno-cultural differences are not inherently unjust"⁹. But this onus has shifted as Western democracies have come to recognize, at least in theory if not always in practice, the legitimacy of minority rights and policies with respect to both immigrants and

Aboriginal peoples, and adopt multiculturalism and self-government for national minorities in some countries. “The burden of proof” became much more balanced in terms of defenders of so-called colour-blind institutions now having to demonstrate that maintaining such institutional arrangements will not lead to injustices for minority groups.

This balance has, in turn, forced critics of multiculturalism and minority rights to search for a new basis for their critique. What Kymlicka claims the ideal of a so-called “normal” state model has shifted away from the centralized and homogenous model of the past, toward a multicultural *ideal*. Throughout much of the 20th century, Kymlicka writes, the most influential example of a *normal* state was France – i.e. a highly centralized state with an undifferentiated conception of republican citizenship and single official language; France had no room for minority rights. But this has changed dramatically since the 1990s and the best example was the European Union’s decision to make respect for minority rights one of the accession criteria for would-be members. Kymlicka sees in this shift a moral redefinition of the modern state ideal wherein denying the existence of minorities or treating them as politically inconsequential is seen as evidence that one is not yet ready to become a member in good standing of the club of democracies. He then lists three key features that mark the shift away from the older ethnic citizenship to multicultural citizenship. These three features are:

- (1) The repudiation of the idea of the state as belonging to a dominant group.
- (2) The replacement of assimilationist and exclusionary nation-building policies with policies of recognition and accommodation.
- (3) The acknowledgement of historic injustices and offering amends for it. Canada was indeed moving forward as an example to the world of a successful democracy that respects all its citizens.

THREATS TO MULTICULTURAL CITIZENSHIP

Over the past ten years, civic citizenship both in Canada and Europe has been hit by an erosion-critique. There was a growing European discourse that wanted to return to a conventional national identity. Habermas considered such discourse as a regression for the modest gains that Germany has made as a democratic nation in the decades that followed the war¹⁰. His advocacy of civic citizenship for Europe was encountering serious acrimony, and his unfolding enlightenment project was challenged by social realities on the ground in Europe including declarations by governments that multiculturalism was dead and that things were not going well for minorities and migrants in their midst.

In *Multicultural Odysseys*, Kymlicka explains how the European experiment is challenging the global spread

of Canadian multiculturalism¹¹. Although he became pessimistic about the up-take of Canadian multiculturalism globally, he remained committed to its advancement in terms of protecting vulnerable groups from injustice. In his clearest and most recent statement yet, he writes¹²:

Ideas about the legal and political accommodation of ethnic diversity – commonly termed Multiculturalism – emerged in the West as a vehicle for replacing older forms of ethnic and racial hierarchy with new relations of democratic citizenship. Despite substantial evidence that these policies are making progress toward that goal, a chorus of political leaders has declared them a failure and heralded the death of multiculturalism. This popular master narrative is problematic because it mischaracterizes the nature of the experiments in multiculturalism that have been undertaken, exaggerates the extent to which they have been abandoned, and misidentifies not only the genuine difficulties and limitations they have encountered but the options for addressing these problems.

The European backlash to Canadian multiculturalism has crept into Canada where an emerging discourse was re-interpreting national identity in terms of European roots and symbols, giving pride of place with respect to the two founding peoples – the French and English, and throwing doubt whether all Canadians truly identify with our state as a multicultural one in the way that Kymlicka suggests. Historians and journalists preached a uniform pre-multiculturalism past and argued that Canada is an oasis of Western democracy that could be spoiled by the coloured immigrant¹³. Since opponents of multiculturalism can no longer rely on a justice-based critic that was ended in the 1990s, many have re-grouped now around a concern for “stability” rather than “justice”. As Kymlicka puts it, “critics focus not on the justice or injustice of particular policies, but rather on the way that the general trend towards minority rights threatens to erode the sorts of civic virtues, identities, and practices that sustain a healthy democracy”¹⁴.

However, in criticizing multiculturalism and minority rights policies in the broader context of democratic citizenship and identity, critics have placed themselves in the awkward position of having to infer – if not proclaim explicitly – that there may be something about the ethnic minority-focus of multiculturalism that is undemocratic and destabilizing for the larger society (i.e., recognition is bad). But this is an awkward position because it seems

to, at the same time, force them to emphasize that the roots of Canadian democracy are “European” roots. In other words, adopting an eroding citizenship-critique of multiculturalism seems to require that a corresponding emphasis be placed on the ethno-national (European) origins of Canadian democratic values and institutions. This position is stated by Philip Resnick¹⁵:

Canada is not a blank slate to be reinvented with each new immigrant or group of immigrants that arrives at our airports. Its underlying political and social values are ultimately European-derived ones: peace, order, and good government, constituted authority, political community, individual liberty, and citizenship equality.

In effect, what this position amounts to is denial that multiculturalism might represent a truly “Canadian” democratic innovation. And this is a rather ironic outcome for these critiques, as it may represent an attempt to “ethnicize” democracy itself. What the “eroding citizenship-critique” seems to suggest is that multiculturalism is divisive, baleful, destabilizing and ultimately undemocratic; whereas democracy and its underlying principles is European (particularly British and French). They have in effect used a Euro-centric approach and propagated it in an avalanche of recent books that considered democracy as essentially European and that some nations – and by extension, some ethnic groups and religions – are loath to embrace such values and would fail the test of identity and belonging. The position then is a racialized construal practiced by the same individuals who cry wolf about Western democracy. Conferences were held in Canada and Europe to talk about demographic growth of minorities at a time when serious government and academic research has proven this to be a hoax at best.

TRIUMPH OF MULTICULTURAL CITIZENSHIP

The backlash discourse has since failed, at least in the Canadian context, on two accounts:

- First, it ignored multiculturalism as a distinctly Canadian product in its attempt to convince the public that it was not working in Europe, where things are not going well for majority/minority relations. Using European experiences to illustrate their position and without logical transition of argument, was simply raining on Canada’s parade¹⁶. They purposely ignored the fact that no European country has the sophistication and lengthy experience (41 years) in laws and programs that Canada has. Rather, Europe uses an attenuated version that mounts to rhetoric.

- Secondly, the assumed failure of the integration process in creating identity and belonging is refuted by the fact that people are not sedimentary rocks or anthropological creatures; they do change and do embrace Canadianness. In 2008, the Department of Canadian Heritage has commissioned Kymlicka to do work on the state of multiculturalism in Canada in the early 21st century. His findings and a long list of supporting evidence confirmed the success of the Canadian model.

Kymlicka presents four kinds of refutations against the negative discourse:

- First, he disputes the caricature of multiculturalism as the uncritical celebration of diversity at the expense of addressing grave societal problems such as unemployment and social isolation. Instead he offers an account of multiculturalism as the pursuit of new relations of democratic citizenship, inspired and constrained by human-rights ideals.
- Second, he contests the idea that multiculturalism has been in wholesale retreat, and offers instead evidence that multiculturalism policies have persisted, and have even grown stronger, over the past ten years.
- Third, he challenges the idea that multiculturalism has failed, and offers instead evidence that multiculturalism policies have had positive effects.
- Fourth, he disputes the idea that the spread of civic integration policies has displaced multiculturalism or rendered it obsolete. He instead offers evidence that multiculturalism policies are fully consistent with certain forms of civic integration policies, and that indeed the combination of multiculturalism with an “enabling” form of civic integration is both normatively desirable and empirically effective in at least some cases.

Canada’s multicultural citizenship was not after all about forcefully assimilating religious and visible minorities, but rather about recognizing the importance of pluralism and diversity in social cohesion by constantly building common spaces and wide avenues of voluntary integration. Further, it was not about separateness and divisiveness but about respect for difference and the inclusion of all Canadians. Public opinion polls, socio-economic studies, and evidence of greater integration have demonstrated that Canada is adapting well to religious and ethnic diversity. A continued application of responsible policies and programs in Canada, and the spread of public education and greater awareness have helped reduce the potential for paranoia.

Canadian success in creating common spaces for all citizens respects Habermas' approach and the Canadian thought tradition of Taylor and Kymlicka. Everyone comes to an open space and inter-acts, works with everyone else, lives with them, and goes to school or university with them, etc., and eventually an integrated society is achieved. An illustration of this approach is presented in a study entitled, "Integration and Identity in Canada: The Importance of Multicultural Open Spaces"¹⁷.

The alternative to people knowing each other and talking to one another and mixing in common spaces (marriage, workplace, school, community, club, etc.) under circumstances and frameworks that are acceptable to all, is isolation and retrenchment into hostile positions that are tantamount to conflict. This came out clear in the Taylor/Bouchard Commission on reasonable accommodation in Québec that also talked about the positive role media could play, especially in terms of reporting religious and minority issues in the context of a public debate rather than in search of provocative sound bites as some media has been doing in the years 2001-2009.

CONCLUSION

The chain - leading from Taylor's right to recognition, to Habermas' public sphere, to Kymlicka's multicultural citizenship - is important to appreciate the value of public dialogue around identity and belonging, rights and recognition, and common spaces of social integration. Canada is unique in her embrace of diversity as a unifying force, a country built by immigrants and their descendants who joined the native peoples starting four centuries ago. A multicultural approach requires nothing short of mutual respect and common embrace of a unifying citizenship. The dialogue as prescribed by multiculturalism is superior to coerced integration or forced assimilation that has led to social upheavals in many countries around the world. Antipathy and suspicion toward religious and visible minorities could roll back hard-fought gains, which over the decades have won a significant degree of integration for minorities and cultivated respect for difference across Canada and gave a lot of prestige to this country all over the world.

The Canadian approach of multicultural citizenship has advanced over the past forty years and has led to many gains and great achievements supported by legislation and social programs as well as by a strong evidence base. Research has shown that social integration is a complex process that cannot be hastily imposed on individuals or groups. The ailments of French and German approaches of an over-arching super culture that almost denies diversity within its borders could be resolved by the Canadian approach to integration and Canada's well-developed

programs, tools, and policies. Canadian media can help cultivate a democratic culture that values public dialogue itself, more highly than they currently do. This could be "the next frontier" of integration and recognition.

NOTES

- ¹ John Sigler, *Boundaries and Bridges: Muslim Communities in Multicultural Canada*, Carleton University, 1997.
- ² Taylor, Charles et al. 1994. *Multiculturalism: Examining The Politics of Recognition*. Princeton: Princeton University Press: 36.
- ³ Taylor, Charles et al. 1994: 39.
- ⁴ Amy Gutmann, editor, *Multiculturalism: Examining the Politics of Recognition*. Contributors: Charles Taylor, K. Anthony Appiah, Jürgen Habermas, Steven C. Rockefeller, Michael Walzer, Susan Wolf. Princeton, New Jersey, Princeton University Press, 1994.
- ⁵ Jürgen Habermas, *Struggles for Recognition in Constitutional States*, *International European Journal of Philosophy*, n° 128, 1993.
- ⁶ Habermas, "Apologetic tendencies", and "Historical Consciousness and Post-Traditional identity: Orientation Towards the West in West Germany". Cited in Habermas, p. xxi.
- ⁷ Finlayson, James Gordon, *Habermas: A very Short Introduction*, Oxford, Oxford University Press, 2005: 141-142.
- ⁸ Ibid.: 128.
- ⁹ Will Kymlicka, "The New Debate on Minority Rights", In *Multiculturalism and Political Theory*, Edited by A. S. Laden, and D. Owen, Cambridge, U.K., Cambridge University Press, 2007: 42.
- ¹⁰ Jürgen Habermas, *The New Conservatism*, p. xviii. Note 27.
- ¹¹ Will Kymlicka, *Multicultural Odysseys: Navigating the New International Politics of Diversity*, Oxford, U.K., Oxford University Press, 2007.
- ¹² Will Kymlicka, *MULTICULTURALISM: Success, Failure, and the Future*, Migration Policy Institute and Queen's University, February 2012: 1.
- ¹³ Kamal Dib and Ian Donaldson, "The Adams-Cohen Debate on Canada's Identity and Diversity", *Canadian Diversity*, 6(4), fall 2008: 145-149.
- ¹⁴ Will Kymlicka, "The New Debate on Minority Rights": 46.
- ¹⁵ Resnick, P., *The European Roots of Canadian Identity*, Peterborough, Broadview Press, 2005: 61.
- ¹⁶ Will Kymlicka, "The Current State of Multiculturalism", *Multicultural Directions*, special edition of *Canadian Journal for Social Research*, Volume 2, number 1, Montreal, Association for Canadian Studies: 15-34.
- ¹⁷ Kamal Dib, Ian Donaldson, and Brittany Turcotte, "Integration and Identity in Canada: The Importance of Multicultural Common Spaces", *Multicultural Discourses in Canada*, special edition of *Canadian Ethnic Studies*, 40(1), 2008: 161-188.

MULTICULTURALISM, INTERCULTURALISM, CONVERGING TOWARDS A COSMOPOLITAN CITIZENSHIP IN LIBERAL DEMOCRACIES

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ABSTRACT

Multiculturalism has been the cornerstone of Canadian cultural policy for the last forty years. Is it time to move on and build towards a new cultural envelope that will define Canada for the next century? Immigration and the widespread movements of peoples will continue to be a direct result of globalization moving forward. Just as liberal democracies must evolve in order to protect our democratic values, multiculturalism must also evolve and go beyond the boundaries put in place by ethnic communities. Cosmopolitan citizenship, integration and transculturalism based on individual rights and freedoms, are the key socio-cultural challenges that Canada will face in the 21st century.

All nations and peoples are living and experiencing the process and the eventual effects of globalization. This process of globalization can be observed in areas such as immigration (movement of peoples), culture (policies of multiculturalism or the rejection of multiculturalism) and cultural exchanges (interculturalism and transculturalism). The objective fact remains; since the advent of massive globalization and the explosion of communication technologies (i.e. in reference to the Global Village concept of Marshall McLuhan) the world has become a massive cultural mosaic, interacting (or as they say in the new techno linguistics “interfacing”) and thereby creating a multicultural space of exchange, hopefully producing the positive result of interculturalism.

Nevertheless, in spite of the hope of creating an on-going intercultural exchange, the fear of cultural homogenization, a negative by-product of globalization, remains an apprehension felt by peoples around the world. As John Tomlinson states in *Globalization and Identity*: “It is fair to say that the impact of globalization in the cultural sphere has, most generally, been viewed in a pessimistic light. Typically, it has been associated with the destruction of cultural identities, victims of the accelerated encroachment of a homogenized Westernized, consumer culture”¹.

Therefore what we are witnessing, in reaction to this fear, is an upswing in identity politics. Identity in this context of an anti-globalization mentality can be defined in connection with a multiplicity of aspects that eventually create a comfort zone of acceptability. Language and the safeguard of that language can define identity. Culture and the safeguard of that culture can also define it, as with the safeguarding of different religions and spiritual beliefs. To fully understand the socio-cultural phenomenon of identity politics is not only to recognize it through societal practices or legislation, but also to put in place mechanisms that will create the space necessary to incorporate it into the wider concept of human rights based on law as practiced, though not perfectly, in liberal democracies.

Unfortunately, as 2011 drew to a close, three of the most important liberal democracies pivotal in structuring the democratic backbone of the new Europe; the United Kingdom, France and Germany, all declared that multiculturalism in their respective countries was a failure and that for the future these countries would promote integration into the culture of the host country. Integration has always been the mainstay of France, based on the principles of “La république”. Without actually having any legislative policy on multiculturalism, Germany and the UK did have an open approach toward

the acceptance of immigrants nonetheless. With regards to the United Kingdom, immigrants from the British Commonwealth of nations possessing British passports could be accepted while the Germans maintained an open-door policy for immigrant workers to propel the German economy. This about-face by these three countries, based on an anti-Muslim backlash has fostered a questioning of multiculturalism in other European countries.

This rejection of multiculturalism by the most prominent countries of Europe demonstrates very clearly that these three nation-states have failed to conciliate, (because it is always a question of reconciliation) the concept of multiple cultures, with identity politics and ultimately with basic human rights for all peoples living within their borders. In this regard Canada has succeeded modestly in securing the necessary parameters through its multicultural policy, of constructing an essential space for a cultural and multicultural debate. This is not to say that more should not be done to enhance multiculturalism and even go beyond the strict parameters as prescribed by the law on multiculturalism.

The Canadian model of multiculturalism is based on our form of liberal democracy. One of the foremost experts on multiculturalism, Will Kymlicka², has actually coined the phrase "*liberal multiculturalism*", which facilitates the understanding of the concept as applied to Canada. This is not to say that we have not encountered difficulties and certain contradictions in applying our policy. Since the promulgation of the *Multiculturalism Act* in Canada the challenge has been to conciliate the rights and freedoms of every individual living in Canada, regardless of citizenship, enshrined in our constitution and the charter of Rights and Freedoms and the collective rights of each ethno-cultural community that exist within Canada. On the one hand we have enshrined basic human individual rights and freedoms for each person living in Canada, regardless of race, religion, gender, age, profession or class. While on the other hand, we have cultural rights of ethno-cultural communities based on custom, religion, history, language, and at times on parental authority. We know through experience (40 years) this has led to many conflicts, which have been left up to the courts to settle.

Over the years we have been witness to a cumulative corpus of critical research directed towards Canada's multicultural policy. Neil Bissoondath³, a noted Canadian author of Trinidadian descent, feels that the institutionalization of multiculturalism has led to the "ghettoization of the different ethno-cultures in Canada" and subsequently to a reduction of the supremacy of individual human rights and freedoms and to the hegemony of ethno-cultural rights based on custom etc.

Other critics, such as Nancy Fraser, write: "By enjoining the elaboration and display of authentic, self-affirming and self-generated collective identities, it puts moral pressure on individual members to conform to group culture. The result is to impose a single, drastically simplified group identity, which denies the complexity of people's lives, the multiplicity of their identifications and the cross-pull of their various affiliations"⁴ Anne Philips, a post-multiculturalist critic writes much in the same vein: "Multiculturalism exaggerates the internal unity of cultures, solidifies differences that are currently more fluid, and makes people from other cultures seem more exotic and distant than they really are. Multiculturalism then appears not as a cultural liberator but as a cultural straitjacket, forcing those described as members of a minority cultural group into a regime of authenticity, denying them the chance to cross cultural borders, borrow cultural influences, define and redefine themselves."⁵

What should Canada do with regards to these criticisms? Should Canada just push aside such debate or should Canada follow the lead of the United Kingdom, France and Germany? Canada should do neither. By facing these "critiques", Canada should go forward and build on the solid base created by 40 years of experience that we can humbly say, though it's not perfect, the Canadian model of multiculturalism has proven its worth. The time has come to go forward and forge a new model, based on multiculturalism, yet going beyond it as well.

INTERCULTURALISM/TRANSCULTURALISM

Multiculturalism should be seen as only the starting point of the understanding; applying, safeguarding and encompassing culturally based human rights. The ultimate goal of any culturally based society should be the creation of a cultural awareness based on a cosmopolitan citizenship. William Kymlicka talks about a multicultural citizenship which defines the concept of citizenship in accordance with the experience and application of multiculturalism in the last 40 years. A concept of cosmopolitan citizenship demands that we move beyond and start to proceed towards an understanding of culture and individual freedoms through the prism of interculturalism, or as this author prefers to name it, transculturalism.

The South American scholar Fernando Ortiz originally defined transculturalism in the 1960's⁶. Ortiz postulates that in the early stages of transculturalism, there is synthesis of two simultaneous actions. This objective process, which includes one's past while confronting the present, thereby forges a mixed identity based on a dual culture. As the mixing continues with other cultures encountered in a multicultural society, we add on other cultural identities, thusly producing a mosaic of identities. As Guy Scarpetta⁷ wrote, "each person is a mosaic".

Let's be clear here, we are not talking about a psychological identity, but a cultural identity. If we have a mosaic of cultures (multiculturalism), the proximity of these different cultures should produce a mosaic of identities. Our cultural identity is not uniquely one-dimensional. History and anthropology have shown us that people are products of different influences, even the multiplicity of the cultures that surround us. Once we have broken down the barriers of the national culture, the recognition of self in the other (transculturalism) based on shared human values, leads to a new form of humanism. This new form of humanism, based on the multiplicity of identities and culture, leads to a mutual and common understanding of human rights. Human rights therefore does not only exist based on a strictly judicial context but more importantly in a societal context as well. The type of citizenship that evolves out of this construct leads inevitably to the concept of a cosmopolitan citizenship.

If the Canadian model of multiculturalism has survived and grown, it is because the parameters in place were born out of liberal representative democracy. If a cosmopolitan citizenship is to be born and eventually survive in our globalized world, our liberal democracy must also grow into a more encompassing liberal social democracy, based on a pursued course of widening the path of individual freedoms.

INDIVIDUAL VERSUS COLLECTIVITY

Because the process of interculturalism requires the widening of individual freedoms supported by a social liberal democracy, the emphasis to construct this new identity must be placed on the individual. Change in a liberal and/or a social liberal democracy is based on the individual, who is enveloped by freedoms that give him or her free choice. Up to this point in the Canadian multicultural model, the importance has been placed on the collective communities, which has created a patchwork of the different ethno-cultural communities across Canada.

With this model we have also seen barriers erected between the different communities, and also between certain Canadian values based on human rights and liberal democracy. Each ethno-cultural community has its own hierarchy of power and influence, which gives rise to certain contradictions within the ethnic communities themselves and vis-à-vis the rest of Canadian society.

As we have stated above, barriers, no matter where they are found, are broken down or perforated by individuals who wish to forge ahead and institute change. Presently in Montreal we have an interesting intercultural phenomenon

that is taking place among the young artistic community in a section of the city called the Mile-End. This area, which in the past 15 years has become the home for young artists from all ethno-cultural communities, was for many years a working class area habited by different communities, who represented the cultural mosaic of Canada, but who never crossed the community barriers to meet with the other. The Portuguese stayed with the Portuguese, the Italians stayed with the Italians, the Jews stayed with the Jews etc. and the Québécois Francophones were not even present.

Individual artists, encouraged by the explosion of musical styles, based on a shared urban pop culture and reality forged a synergy that included 'the other'. Musical groups, and later theatre groups, writers, poets and performance artists, in order to expand their urban popular reality, very eagerly crossed the ethnic boundaries, while respecting their historical and cultural heritage, to create a new reality, new music, new writing and transcultural identities. They created a new artistic space that gave rise to a new cultural space.

This has become a transcultural experience in this neighbourhood that does not rely on any sort of organizational program. This experience came from a shared love for the creative arts, and individuals in a liberal democracy who dared cross boundaries. As Leonard Cohen, once wrote and sang "The street where all the races meet".

CONCLUSION

Therefore, a journey from institutionalized multiculturalism to interculturalism/transculturalism, which this author believes is one of the challenges of the 21st century for liberal democracies, places culture at the centre of a new humanistic prism. Culture seen through the working of transculturalism, becomes a pivotal process that breaks down boundaries, between nations, peoples, ethnic communities and individuals.

Of course this new horizon cannot be produced over night. It remains an evolutionary process, supported by an expanded liberal social democracy, people of good intentions and individuals who are willing to take a leap of faith in breaking down collective barriers. As Jürgen Habermas writes: "(...) even in a world-wide consensus on human rights could not serve (presently) as a strong equivalent to the civic solidarity that emerged in the framework of the nation-state. Civic solidarity is rooted in particular collectives identities; (while) cosmopolitan solidarity has to support itself on the moral universalism of human rights alone.

NOTES

- ¹ Tomlinson, John, "Globalization and Cultural Identity", in David Held and Anthony McGrew, *The Global Transformation Reader: An Introduction to the Globalized Debate*, Cambridge UK, Polity Press, 2033: 268.
- ² Kymlicka, William, *Multicultural Citizenship: A Liberal Theory of Human Rights*, Clarendon Press, Oxford, 1998.
- ³ Bissoondath, Neil, *Selling Illusions: The Cult of Multiculturalism in Canada*, Penguin, 1994.
- ⁴ Fraser, Nancy, "Recognition without Ethics", *Theory, Culture and Society*, 18(2): 24.
- ⁵ Philips, Anne, *Multiculturalism without Culture*, Princeton University Press, 2007: 14.
- ⁶ Ortiz, Fernando, *Transculturalismo*, Mexico, 1965.
- ⁷ Scarpetta, Guy, *L'impureté*, Paris, Seuil, 1989: 26.

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MULTICULTURALISM, INTERCULTURALISM, AND THE EFFECTS OF A WEAK *ETHNOS*

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ABSTRACT

A model of integration is a vastly complex creature that interweaves political, legislative, and administrative processes, but it also boils down to a relatively coherent conceptual core. Canada's model of integration includes norms, policies, and practices that are quite standard fare internationally (at least among Western democracies), but it is uniquely framed by a "multicultural" self-definition. Canada stands out as a particular case among liberal nation-states: not only is its *ethnos* distinctly weak, for historical reasons, but its leadership and population have largely embraced the idea of civic integration. Ironically, in spite of Quebec's strong nationalist streak, this province also has a weak *ethnos*, because the French Quebecois' claim to peoplehood is effectively contested. This helps to understand why there is no significant rift between Canada's multiculturalism and Quebec's interculturalism, either in principle or in practice, otherwise than in a matter of degree and ideological sensibilities.

Canada's "multiculturalism" and Quebec's "interculturalism" are what are usually called *models of integration*, that is, normative and policy frameworks that seek to define and facilitate immigrants' transition toward full national membership. A model of integration is a vastly complex creature, as it interweaves political, legislative, and administrative processes at many levels and with different methods and resources, but it also boils down to a relatively simple and coherent conceptual core. In other words, a model of integration is supposed to reflect a society's particular idea of what membership means (or, put more precisely, what the social contract that binds members together mean), which in turn relies on that society's existential bearings: its national identity, beliefs of shared origin and destiny, common values, etc. This doesn't necessarily mean that the "facts on the ground" are in sync with those basic cultural understandings – actually countless contradictions are commonly observed – but the model of integration nevertheless provides a master narrative with which the government and public opinion make sense of the collective challenges they face. For instance, in spite of the highly dissenting political and ideological viewpoints that make up the current immigration discussion in the United States, most participants still hold the notion that theirs is a "country of immigration" and they tend to describe their current conundrum with the trope of "the system is broken". The cliché of the "melting pot",

while discredited since the civil rights movement (that brought awareness of the clear limits of "racial fusion" in U.S. history), still stands in the back of many Americans' mind as an unspoken reference when assessing the integration – or lack thereof – of Latinos into society's fabric. While I'm not arguing that such images and ideas represent some sort of "essence" from which public policy orientations and social behaviour and attitudes would naturally derive, I do contend that a country's historical path and reified cultural norms (including memories, symbols, rhetorical shortcuts) underlie institutional structures, government priorities, expert counsel (including scholarly production), and public debate on integration.

Now, Canada's multicultural model occupies a particular place in this country's self-definition. Of course, all bounded national entities establish membership rules and develop their own conception of "nationalness"—who belongs and who doesn't, what does belonging entail, how one comes to belong (or ceases to do so). But I'm not only referring to civic rights and duties, rules of nationality and naturalization (and loss of citizenship or residency privileges): I'm also thinking of the ways in which a given country may specifically articulate those parameters. A society that consistently pursues collective self-introspection – i.e. putting the question of "who are we?" at the center of the public conversation – will write down charters of rights, declarations of common

values, guides for newcomers, policy guidelines, “white papers”, etc.; it will create consulting bodies, launch educational campaigns, fund citizenship-building initiatives, etc. Much of that body of work generated by elected representatives, government agencies, the media, civil society organizations, and academia will consist of discourse. Or put in other terms, the ratio of words to deeds will be very high. This is exactly the case of Canada’s multiculturalism. *What is done* – any factual or tangible measure (actual funds distributed or spent, policies and regulations enforced, actions or processes initiated, etc.) – will pale, in numbers, compared to *what is said*. But should this be the measure with which we assess the true importance of multiculturalism in Canada? Hardly so. It is true, though, that the advocates of multiculturalism (for whom it promotes openness, ensures equality, enriches us all) and its critics (who see it bringing about ethnic ghettos, hurting social cohesion, threatening universal values) mostly clash against each other’s abstract idea of what societal membership means and what society should become (and is, and was), rather than about a comprehensive and empirically-based set of analyses and programs.

But if that’s the case with Canada and its own model of integration – a web of norms, policies, and practices that are quite standard fare internationally (at least among Western democracies) but which is framed by a “multicultural” self-definition –, what makes Canada different from other countries in this regard? Is it only a matter of discourse, that is, Canada “would talk the multicultural talk” more than others, or is there a fundamental difference when compared to, say, Australia Spain or Sweden? Again, I’m not discussing here concrete types and scales of government action (laws promulgated, budgets appropriated) or policy outcomes (e.g. which country shows a better record on the integration of immigrants), which would display some interesting variations but certainly not a sharp divide between self-defined multicultural Canada and the rest of the world. In this regard, let’s mention that Queen’s University’s Multiculturalism Policy Index shows that, other than Canada, Australia, Belgium, Finland, Germany, the Netherlands, New Zealand, Norway, Portugal, Spain, and Sweden had explicitly affirmed multiculturalism or had created a relevant public entity to implement multicultural policies in 2000 and/or 2010. That is, 11 countries out of 21 examined were deemed multicultural while, curiously enough, the United States did not make the cut. Canada may get consistently high scores on the multiculturalism indicators (although not always the highest), and it certainly leads the way on several issues, but it’s not entirely atypical within the group. In

fact, the gap that separates Canada from other countries that adopted multicultural approaches to diversity (with or without using the label itself) stems, in part, from Canada’s – to use Will Kymlicka’s words – “thinner” or “tamed” model of nationhood. But I would go further. If, as Seyla Benhabib puts it, the politics of peoplehood consists of a negotiation between the *ethnos* (“a shared community of fate”) and the *demos* (“a democratically enfranchised totality of all citizens”), Canada stands out as a particular case among liberal nation-states: not only is its *ethnos* distinctly weak, for historical reasons (i.e. not by choice), but its leadership and population have largely embraced the idea of civic integration¹. Of course, other multiculturally-inclined countries have done the same, at least to a certain extent, but the notion of an overriding national identity that commands loyalty and, eventually, full assimilation, is still very much present in those places (all the more so in the wake of the current anti-multiculturalism backlash in Europe).

Now, what about Quebec? A quite common, albeit flawed, approach to Quebec’s model of integration has been to oppose it to Canada’s model by referring to the tension of *ethnos* and *demos*. Quebec’s nationalistic thrust would naturally put the emphasis on the ethnic definition of peoplehood, instead of following (English) Canada’s path towards civic integration. While certain aspects of this contrast may be founded (historically speaking, much less so politically in today’s context), it is important to challenge the simplistic notion that (English) Canada and Quebec have contradictory models of integration, as well as the idea that one model is right and the other is wrong. Regarding the latter, it goes without saying that the *ethnos* needs to be “tamed” for the *demos* to flourish. However, the “shared community of fate” is also necessary for social cohesion and solidarity to exist. This is a complex debate about a fragile balance that any liberal nation-state in the globalization era is bound to address. But I shall focus here on the alleged disparity between (English) Canada and Quebec. Quebec has officially adopted an “intercultural” model, which posits interaction and exchange between cultural groups rather than maintaining ancestral identities. Interculturalism also entails that, in spite of their particular cultures, all communities must adopt a common public culture, defined by the use of the French language and by certain fundamental values (such as secularism and gender equality). But doesn’t Canadian multiculturalism also promote interaction rather than isolation, and seek a convergence in the public sphere around a common language and universal values? Actually, in my view, there is no significant rift between Canada’s multiculturalism and Quebec’s interculturalism, either in principle or in practice, otherwise than in a matter of degree (more or

less general tolerance to the manifestation of cultural differences in the public realm) and ideological sensibilities (the use of specific words or historical references).

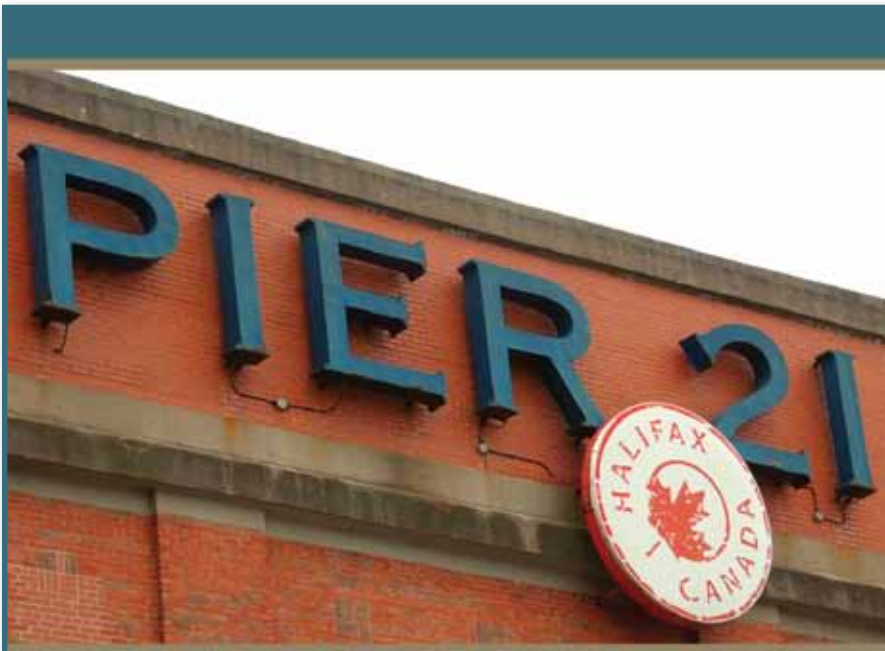
Ironically, in spite of Quebec's strong nationalist streak, both (English) Canada and Quebec share a weak *ethnos*. I don't mean by that that French Quebecois' national identity is frail – a majority of them feel quite strongly about their “community of fate” – but rather that their group's claim to peoplehood is effectively contested. Put it simply, no one credibly challenges the fact that France belongs to the French people. But the question “Does Quebec belong to the French Quebecois people?” is seen by many as a fair one to debate, and not all answers are unconditionally affirmative (as they would be in France's case). Canada's multiculturalism and Quebec's interculturalism are two variations of the same model of integration, one that favours civic inclusion rather than assimilation, plays down public displays of patriotism, values diversity in itself,

and judges immigrants' contribution to society as mostly positive. This depiction is supported by abundant research data on Canada and Quebec's political and social realities, as well as by many media content analyses and opinion polls. This doesn't mean that all is fine, but it certainly supports the hypothesis that a weak *ethnos* encourages people to collectively discuss membership rules (the social contract), and when that happens in a highly democratic setting, multiculturalism (or interculturalism), as the optics through which to tackle diversity, almost inevitably appears as the way to go.

NOTES

- ¹ For Benhabib and Kymlicka's views on nationhood, see: Seyla Benhabib *et al.*, *Another Cosmopolitanism: Hospitality, Sovereignty, and Democratic Iterations*, (ed. Robert Post), Oxford University Press, 2006.

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CANADIAN HISTORY AND IDENTITY: MARKING 200 YEARS OF THE CANADIAN EXPERIENCE

ANNUAL CONFERENCE ON THE TEACHING AND COMMUNICATING OF THE HISTORY OF CANADA OF THE ASSOCIATION FOR CANADIAN STUDIES

**November 23-24, 2012,
White Oaks Conference Resort and Spa
Niagara-on-the-lake, Ontario**

The Association for Canadian Studies and its partners would like to invite proposals for workshop sessions, panel sessions, individual papers and videos for our national history conference marking the Bicentennial of the War of 1812. The conference will be held on November 23-24 in Niagara-on-the-lake, Ontario. The Conference will mark the ninth in the series of national history conferences held by the Association for Canadian Studies, the 2012 conference will be a second collaboration with the Ontario History and Social Science Teachers' Association (OHASSTA).

The conference organizing committee welcomes proposals address issues around the contemporary relevance of historic issues such as the War of 1812. We invite submissions on such topics as the impact of historic conflicts on Canadian identity, history and geography including the development of towns and cities in Canada. Other topics include the social and economic characteristics of Canada during the first two decades of the nineteenth century, the nature and evolution of relations

between British, French and Aboriginal peoples in Canada, the historic relationship between Canada and the United States and the challenge for classrooms teaching about conflicts such as the War of 1812. The organizers are seeking proposals from various disciplines and perspectives.

The conference will be pertinent to all those interested in issues revolving around the teaching and communicating of Canadian history. Professors, students, teachers, researchers, civil servants, decision makers and members of non-profit and history related organizations will benefit from the conference sessions, as well as the opportunity to meet and hear experts from across Canada.

We ask that proposals be no longer than 200 words. Proposals will be evaluated by the Conference steering committee of the Association for Canadian Studies. Individual sessions will be 20 minutes in length and group session will be 75 minutes. Visit our web site at www.acs-aec.ca for additional information. Please send proposals by e-mail to James Ondrick, Director of Programs of the Association for Canadian Studies at james.ondrick@acs-aec.ca or call (514) 925-3097.

The Deadline for Proposals is April 30, 2012.

HISTOIRE ET IDENTITÉ CANADIENNE : MARQUER LES 200 ANS DE L'EXPÉRIENCE CANADIENNE

CONGRÈS ANNUEL SUR L'ENSEIGNEMENT ET LA TRANSMISSION DE L'HISTOIRE DU CANADA DE L'ASSOCIATION D'ÉTUDES CANADIENNES

**23-24 novembre 2012
White Oaks Conference resort and Spa
Niagara-on-the-lake, Ontario**

L'Association d'études canadiennes et ses partenaires invite des propositions d'ateliers, de panels de discussion et de présentations individuelles pour son congrès historique national afin de marquer le Bicentenaire de la guerre de 1812. Le congrès se tiendra du 23 au 24 novembre 2012 à Niagara-on-the-lake, Ontario. Le congrès marquera la neuvième édition du congrès sur l'histoire organisé par l'Association d'études canadiennes, et sera l'occasion d'une deuxième collaboration avec l'Ontario History and Social Science Teachers' Association (OHASSTA).

Le comité organisateur du congrès invite des propositions portant sur des questions liées à la guerre de 1812 et sur sa pertinence contemporaine. Nous invitons les soumissions portant sur des thèmes comme l'impact des conflits historiques sur l'identité, l'histoire et la géographie canadienne, y compris le développement des villes au Canada. D'autres sujets comprennent les caractéristiques sociales et économiques du Canada durant les deux premières décennies du 19^e siècle, la nature et l'évolution des relations entre les Britanniques, les Français et les peuples autochtones au Canada, la relation historique entre le Canada et les États-Unis

et le défi lié à l'enseignement des conflits comme la guerre de 1812. Les organisateurs sollicitent des propositions de différentes disciplines et perspectives.

Le congrès sera pertinent pour tous ceux qui s'intéressent aux questions liées à l'enseignement et à la transmission de l'histoire canadienne. Professeurs, étudiants, enseignants, chercheurs, fonctionnaires, décideurs et membres d'organismes à but non lucratif et d'organismes œuvrant dans le domaine de l'histoire pourront bénéficier des séances du congrès et de l'opportunité de rencontrer et d'entendre des experts venant de partout au Canada.

Nous demandons à ce que les propositions ne dépassent pas 200 mots. Celles-ci seront évaluées par le comité organisateur du congrès de l'Association d'études canadiennes. Les sessions individuelles seront d'une durée de 20 minutes et les sessions de groupes d'une durée de 75 minutes. Visitez notre site Web à l'adresse suivante pour plus d'informations : <http://www.acs-aec.ca>. Veuillez envoyer vos propositions par courriel à l'attention de James Ondrick, Directeur des Programmes de l'Association d'études canadiennes à james.ondrick@acs-aec.ca ou téléphonez au (514) 925-3097.

La date limite pour envoyer vos propositions est le 30 avril 2012.



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